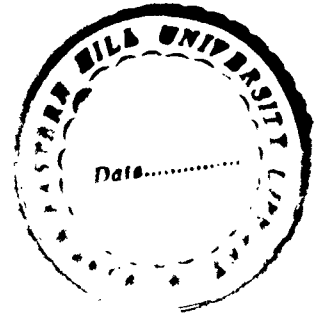


**LIFE AND LIVELIHOOD OF DISPLACED NAGAS
IN UKHRUL DISTRICT, MANIPUR.**

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement of the
Degree of Master of Philosophy in Geography

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CONTENTS

| | Pages |
|---|---------------------------|
| Declaration | i |
| Acknowledgement | ii |
| List of Tables | iii |
| List of Figure | iv |
| CHAPTER-I | |
| Introduction | 1 - 11 |
| 1.1 | Introduction |
| 1.2 | Review of Literature |
| 1.3 | Statement of the Problem |
| 1.4 | Objectives |
| 1.5 | Research Questions |
| 1.6 | Data Base and Methodology |
| 1.7 | Study Area |
| CHAPTER-II | |
| Population Profile | 12 - 17 |
| 2.1 | Population Distribution |
| 2.2 | Sex Ratio |
| 2.3 | Literacy Rate |
| CHAPTER-III | |
| The Conflict and the Causes | 18 - 31 |
| CHAPTER-IV | |
| Life and Livelihood of Displaced and Affected People | 32 - 38 |
| CHAPTER-V | |
| Conclusion | 39 - 43 |
| | |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 44 - 46 |
| | |
| CURRICULUM VITAE | 47 |

North Eastern Hill University, Shillong

Declaration

I, Periya Raikham hereby that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by me, that the content of the thesis did not for basis of award of my previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and the thesis has not been submitted by me for any other research degree in any other University/Institute.

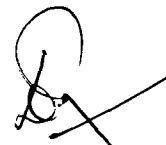
This is being submitted to North Eastern Hill University, Shillong for partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil) in Geography.



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Head of Department of Geography

Acknowledgement

It is in indeed a great pleasure for me for having completed my M.Phil work on “Life and Livelihood of Displaced Nagas in Ukhrul District, Manipur.”

I wish to acknowledge my indebted and gratitude to my supervisor Prof. B.S. Mipun, Department of Geography, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong for his enduring guidance and advises which gave me constant inspiration through out my work without which it would not have come into its present form.

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I express my deepest sense of gratitude to my Parents, brothers and sisters for their constant support and prayer through out my study.

Above all I thank Almighty for all the blessings.

Periya Raikham

Date:
Place: Shillong

LIST OF TABLES

| Table No | Title | Page No |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| 2.1 | Total Population | 13 |
| 2.2 | Sex Ratio | 14 |
| 2.3 | Child Population | 15 |
| 2.4 | Literacy Rate | 16 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| Figure No | Title | Page No |
|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 2.1 | Total Population | 13 |
| 2.2 | Sex Ratio | 14 |
| 2.3 | Child Population | 15 |
| 2.4 | Literacy Rate | 17 |

CHAPTER –I

Introduction

1.1. Introduction:

Displacement of population is a curse of development in the modern world. Large number of original population is displaced from their homeland to give place to development activities. The displaced persons are forced to leave their land whether they like it or not. Displacements are most frequently caused by various factors like natural calamities, climatic changes and socio-economic factor, cultural and political causes. Inter-ethnic violence has become one of the common factors in almost all over the world. Different parts of the world have facing different types of ethnic clash due to varying political conditions. Racism induced people to flee their original or habited place of settlement within or across the border thereby creating fear amongst those receiving displaced people. The concern is growing over the issue of displacement throughout the world. Several millions of people in every nook and corner around the globe have been uprooted either by conflict, human rights violation, natural disasters and development projects which forced these uprooted people to take refuge within or across borders. There has been no internationally agreed upon definition of who an internally displaced persons are, yet, the United Nations current working definition holds internally displaced persons are those who have been forced to flee their hearth and homes suddenly or unexpectedly in a large number due to ethnic strife or as a result of armed conflict and the systematic violation of human rights but continue to settle within the territory of their own country. There are

currently 25 million internally displaced persons uprooted by conflict and human rights violation worldwide.

Displacements are occurring in North-Eastern States of India where various tribes and ethnic communities with different cultures, customs, dialects and traditions settled from time immemorial. The North-East Region is marked with ethnic clashes and counter insurgency operations, where there by Government forces have led to substantial internal displacements in this region particularly in Assam, Manipur, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. Other factors like development projects, natural disasters like flood and take over of land by migrating communities have also led to large scale of displacement in this part of country.

In North-East India, the politics generally follows the ethnic path. Ethnic-cultural mobilization and movements launched by various ethnic groups in the region has remained an on going process. Many ethnic groups have launched entirely new type of movements in some cases. Such ethnic movements create tremendous hardship to the people living in the area and faces force migration and thus they are displaced from their homeland. Manipur is not far from such crises. The state has witnessed substantial internal displacement and ethnic relocation in the wake of the Naga-Kuki and Kuki-Paite conflict in 1990's that led nearly 2000 death and rendering more than 30,000 homeless. These clashes also affect the living conditions of the people such as health, socio-economic conditions and physical environment. The North-Eastern part of India comprises of many tribal communities. The state of Manipur has a number of ethnic groups with their own cultural identification. In

Manipur there are 33 ethnic groups. Among them Meiteis, Nagas, Kukis and Paites are the dominant groups. Due to political aspirations and other reasons among them creates incoherent environments in the state that leads to armed conflicts. In the hills four of the five districts are associated with the Naga freedom movement, thereby causing communal tension and on the other hand Kuki's are demanding Kuki homeland.

Conflict between Nagas and Kukis are resulting to displacement of people from their homeland. The communal violence between Nagas and Kukis re-emerged in 1992 for the third time after 1919. But this time it has continued for several years unlike earlier. The sufferings caused by these communal conflicts are miserable. Ukhrul district of Manipur affected most due to this problems and number of displaced population and affected are also in large numbers. The feud between the two tribes Nagas and Kukis have been traditional, historical and geographical, each of them try to gain political and geographical supremacy on the other from the previous century.

1.2. Review of Literature:

In this present world ethnic diversity, social instability and National unity have all presented challenge with which all the countries have had to cope from the time of their Independence. It is also to be recognized that different kinds of ethnic settings pose different kinds of problems are to be expected for Governments and leaders and thus differences are to be expected. One might also consider how the issue of globalization affects ethnic conflicts and thus resolution. The positive and

negative aspects of globalization are not limited to the economic sector. But have social, Cultural, and political implications as well. Conflict and fighting which happened in the past are still going on till today, causing so much of changes in their social life and economic conditions.¹⁵ Alexander analyzed the happening of different conflicts in different countries and the impact of these conflicts in various ways.¹⁶ Thomas edited book “Dimensions of displaced people in North-East India” and different contributors have stressed the impact of ethnic conflict which makes the persons displaced and the problems in this region due to sharpening ethnic strife. The ethnic upsurge of any form is bound to bring the state into conflict with the society. On the other hand ethnic solidarity and harmony among various groups consolidate state society relationship hereby promoting the process of Nation building .Therefore it can be said may prove to be a source of strength or a source of destruction.¹⁷(Ginger)

Milton¹⁸ mentions that ethnic differences are involved in some of the worlds most intractable conflicts. They are also experienced as the source of the most satisfying and the most essential aspects of life. While studying the ethnic identity of the North-East India Das N.K.¹⁹ wrote that a review of the vast literature on the subject reveals several dimensions of cultural articulation, ethnic identification and

¹⁵ Alexander, Frederick (1957) *our Age of Unreason* Philadelphia Lippencat

¹⁶ Thomas, C Joshua (2002) *Dimensions of Displaced People in North-East India*, Regency publication New Delhi

¹⁷ Azam, Kousar J (Ed) (2001) *Ethnicity, Identity and the State in South-Asia*, South Asian Publishers New Delhi

¹⁸ Yenger, J Milton (1997) *Ethnicity*, Piem Rawat publications, Jaipur

¹⁹ Das, N K (1989) *Ethnic identity ethnicity and social stratification in North-East India*. Mittal Inter-India publication, New Delhi

the urge of cultural revivalism amongst the natives. Other books which are worth mentioning in various studies on North-East are such as Agrawal²⁰, Kumar²¹, Sengupta²². Guha²³. Most of the mentioned authors have discussed and explained about the tension and social conflict in North-East India, giving the view that growing sense of ethnic identity among different communities in the North-East has been one of the most important factors leading to the rise of conflict. And also tension and conflict are due to interaction of the diverse historical, social, political and economic forces.

Other scholars like Bhadra & Mondal²⁴, Doshi²⁵ Mehta, etel²⁶ also mention the problem of ethnicity and conflict in North-East India. Singh²⁷ has written in his book *The problem of change - A study of North-East India* that the ethnology religions and values that have played a considerable role in shaping the political attitudes of the people of North-East India.” Biswas and Bhattacharjee²⁸ mentioned that North-East as a subject of exclusion deals with the binary opposition between indigenous and the alien and discuss the dilemma of formation of community and state in the North-East India. In his opinion the Indian state itself has been based upon a non consensual

²⁰ Agrawal, M.M (1996): *Ethnicity, Culture and Nationalism in North-East India*. Indus publishing company; New Delhi.

²¹ Kumar, B.B (1995): *Tension and conflict in North-East India*: Cosmo publication; New Delhi.

²² Sengupta, Sarthak (2002): *Tribal studies in North-East India*: Mittal publication; New Delhi.

²³ Guha, Biswajeet (1998): *Conflict and violence in Indian Society*; Kanishka Publishers Distribution, New Delhi.

²⁴ Bhadra. R.K. Mondal, S.R.(1991): *Stratification Hierarchy and Ethnicity in North-East India*: Daya publishing House, Delhi.

²⁵ Doshi, S.L. (1990): *Tribal Ethnicity class and Integration*: Rawat Publication, Jaipur.

²⁶ Mehta, etel(Ed) (1996): *The turbulent North-East*: Akshar publication, New Delhi.

²⁷ Singh, B.P. (1996): *The problem of change. A study of North-East India*:Manzar Khan Oxford University press, New Delhi.

²⁸ Hussain, Monirul, (1993): *Assam Movement: Class Ideology and Identity*, Manak Publications, New Delhi.

contractual negotiation of its territory sovereignty over whole of North-Eastern India. They opined that ethnic mobilization depends upon the production of rupture in its anti assertion. In the process it gets directed against disposed as the alien. Hussain²⁹ commented upon the response of the Indian state to the ethnic demand of the Nagas that the Indian state took fifteen years to opt for political and constitutional solutions. The creation of a state of Nagaland in the Indian Federation however, has meant a management of the Nagas with the rest of India is yet to be achieved. Ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition. Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity, which has been defined by De Vos as consisting of the 'subjective' symbolic emblematic use by a group of people... of any aspects of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. An ethnic group uses cultural symbol and subjectively self conscious community that establishes criteria in the matter of descent, birth and a sense of kinship may become important to ethnic group members.³⁰

1.3. Statement of the Problem:

The communal violence between Nagas and Kukis re-emerged in 1992 after 1919. The Naga- Kuki conflict in the hills of Manipur has led to the displacement of about 11000 Kukis and Nagas since 1992. The casualties on both sides have been severe. These two tribes have been fighting with each other over their rights

²⁹

³⁰ De Vos, George and Ross, Lola Romanucci (eds) (1975) *Ethnic Pluralism*. Palo Alto, Calif: Mayfield Publishing co.p16

ownership of land. Both have armed militants which have resulted to violent armed conflicts, killing, burning of houses, displacing each other, the tension had restricted movement of the people for several years affecting their livelihood. More than 11,000 houses belonging to both tribes have been torched in arson. More than 600 villages have been uprooted. The conditions of the displaced people are pathetic. The non-existence of formal relief camps by the government immediately after the displacement caused them more hardship. The Government could not provide even the basic necessity in the camps. Most tribes were displaced from their hearth and homes due to such conflicts. After displacement they are exposed to all sorts of dangers and many children have lost their parents and thus lost their basic security of home and parents. About 70% of women and children are among the displaced persons who are in extremely vulnerable conditions. The displaced women usually do not have the income earning capacity to sustain themselves and their children. They lack human necessities such as food, clothes and safety. Conflict and internal displacement not only disrupt the lives of the individuals concerned but the whole communities and societies. When large number of persons flees an area, it becomes depopulated and farmland is neglected. The areas to which they flee are also heavily affected. In rural areas forests and grasslands are quickly stripped out for housing and farming. The damaged done to forests and environment will have long term economic and environmental effects.

This ethnic clash in Manipur spreads to Ukhrul, Tamenglong, Senapati and Churachanpur districts. It has become a political, economic and strategic problem

affecting broad geographical areas. The demographic pressure resulting from internally displaced people inflow leading to ethno-demographic imbalances and subsequent pressure on the local resources both natural and infra-structure have often created a tense atmosphere in the areas of Internally Displaced (IDP) influx. The movements of the local inhabitants have felt the crunch in terms of pressure on both cultivable and grazing land, agriculture and forest resources. They have unequivocally shown the symptoms of compassionate.

Displaced from their homes and means of livelihood made them wander around and taking temporary shelter here and there. Many of the elders have perished; their sons who should have been in schools are doing odd jobs. In search of livelihood many youngsters have been exposed to evil deeds or have become domestic helpers and those families who owned property have sold them in order to survive.

There has been in fact, no concrete plan of the government to rehabilitate the displaced villages and families. The immediate and the only response of the government was to distribute some food grains and few sheets of roofing materials, many of which never reached the displaced people for the simple reason that they had fled towards different directions and were scattered. Secondly, housing was too early then, they were most uncertain where to settle and their priority was food. The families who received the materials had sold them for food. Out of the total 523 families, 246 have returned to their original villages and the rest settling down wherever they are now. In the case of families those who returned to their original villages housing materials like CGI sheets, woods, and rubber pipes for drinking

water and fruit trees became their priority. For those sheltering in different places their priority became housing materials only. Keeping all these issues in mind in the backdrop the researcher tries to highlight the Kuki – Naga conflict and their life and livelihood after the conflict is the main theme of this study.

1.4. Objectives:

The main objectives of the present study:

- a) To study the means of livelihood of those displaced and affected due to conflict.
- b) To study how much of food grain and housing materials have reached to the affected and displaced people who have fled from their homes.
- c) To analyze the causes of conflict between the two groups.

1.5. Research Questions:

- a) Is social composition and economic situation led to ethnic conflict and violence among Nagas and Kukis which forced them to leave their homeland?
- b) Is riot torn villages have returned to normalcy and living a peaceful life?

1.6. Data Base and Methodology:

Primary and secondary sources data are used for this study. Primary data are collected through personal interviews among the affected groups by visiting the rehabilitation centers or camps for the number villages and people affected and living in the rehabilitation camps. Data on livelihood, education, food, shelter and economic activities are collected from the rehabilitation camps, NGO's reports, and relief and

rehabilitation departments of Manipur. Population figures, number of affected villages, location of villages and types of aids received by them, are collected from the Government reports, newspapers, census data, Government documents, District statistical handbook, published materials etc. A simple statistical technique is applied to calculate their percentage. Maps and charts are prepared to support the relevant data.

1.7. Study Area:

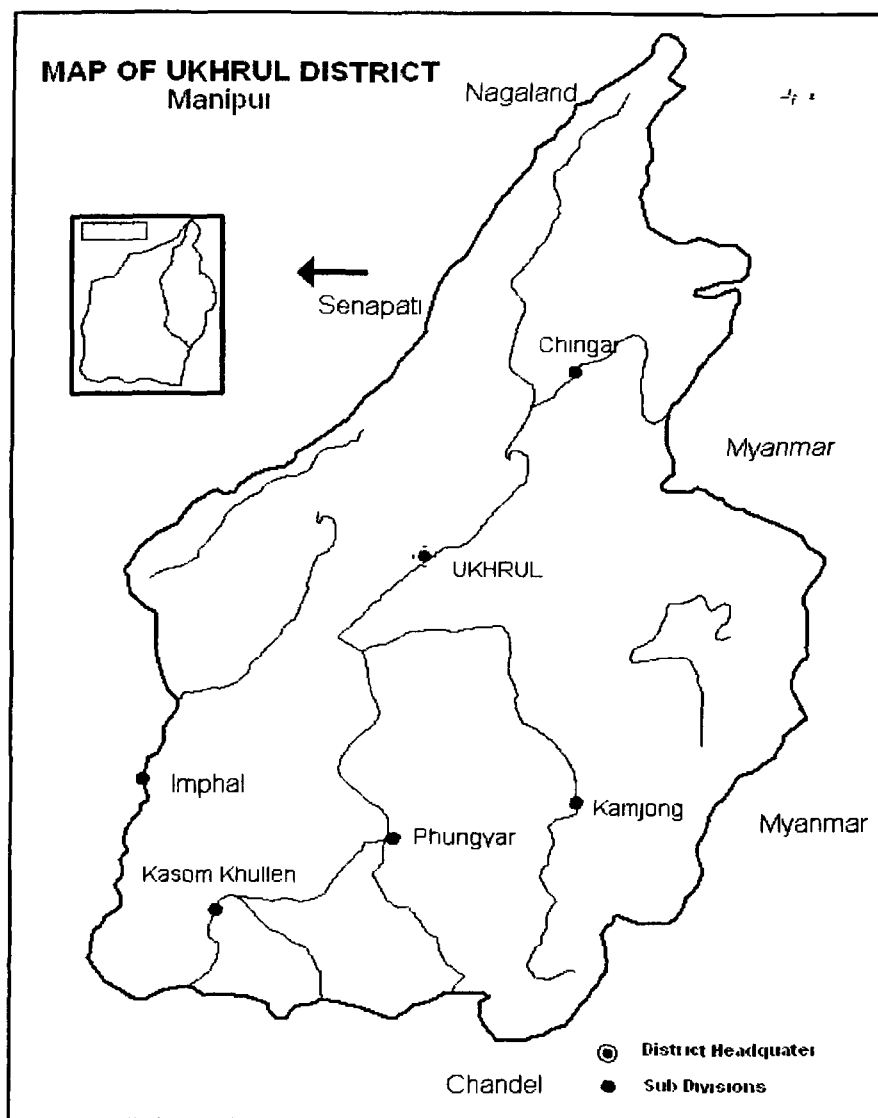
Ukhrul District is situated on the eastern part of Manipur State. It occupies roughly between latitude 25°5N 25° 41' N longitude 94° E in Manipur. The area is situated in the North-Eastern part of India extending over to the North-Eastern part of Myanmar. Ukhrul District covers an area of 4,544 sq kms and is pre-dominantly by the Tangkhul and Kuki tribes.

Ukhrul District is neighboured with the Meitei community of Manipur valley to the South-East, the Mao, Maram, Poumei to the West; the chakhesang to the North; the Kachin and Kuki to the east; the Maring to the south. Some pockets of Kuki settlements are found in Ukhrul District, especially, in the South-East and the South-West of Manipur.

This area has been chosen for this study is mainly because due to communal violence and ethnic conflict the area has been disturbed for many years. Due to arm conflict many male population have perished by leaving behind many widows and children to fend their livelihood. The families were left without their bread earners. Thus their economic condition became worst. Children were engaged in petty jobs for

their daily bread. The study aims at to find out the life and livelihood of the displaced Nagas of Ukhrul district.

Location of Study Area



CHAPTER II

POPULATION PROFILE

2.1 Population Distribution:

This chapter has been made to understand the population distribution in Ukhrul District. The population of the state of Manipur has accelerated very fast during the last few decades. The population was only 2.84 lakhs in 1901 which has increased to 5.78 lakhs in 1951. It further increased to 14.21 lakhs in 1981 and in 1991 it reached to 18.37 lakhs. As per 2001 census, the population of Manipur was 23.89 lakhs, with a sex ratio of 978 persons comprising 12.1 lakhs of males and 11.8 lakhs of females.

Ukhrul is one of the nine districts of Manipur. The population according to 2001 census is 1,40,946. The majority of the population in the district is the Tangkhul Nagas, comprising 94% of the total population with the Kukis comprising 4.59% with a density of 31 persons per sq.kms. In Ukhrul district there are five sub divisions namely Ukhrul North Sub Division, Ukhrul Centre Sub Division, Kamjong Chassad Sub Division, Phungyar Phaisat Sub Division and Ukhrul South Sub Division.

At block level the highest population is in Ukhrul Centre sub division having population of 79,191 followed by Ukhrul North Sub Division with 25,151 and Phungyar Phaisat with 13,293 and the lowest population is in Kamjong Chassad and Ukhrul South with the population of 12,937 and 10,206 respectively.

Table 2.1: Total Population in Ukhurul District.

| Sl. No. | District Sub-Division | Total Population | Male | Female |
|---------|-----------------------|------------------|--------|--------|
| 1 | Ukhurul North | 25,121 | 12,765 | 12,356 |
| 2 | Ukhurul Centre | 79,125 | 41,589 | 37,536 |
| 3 | Kamjong Chassad | 12,994 | 7,062 | 5,932 |
| 4 | Phungyar Phaisat | 13,280 | 6,728 | 6,552 |
| 5 | Ukhurul South | 10,426 | 5,269 | 5,157 |

Source: Census of India 2001

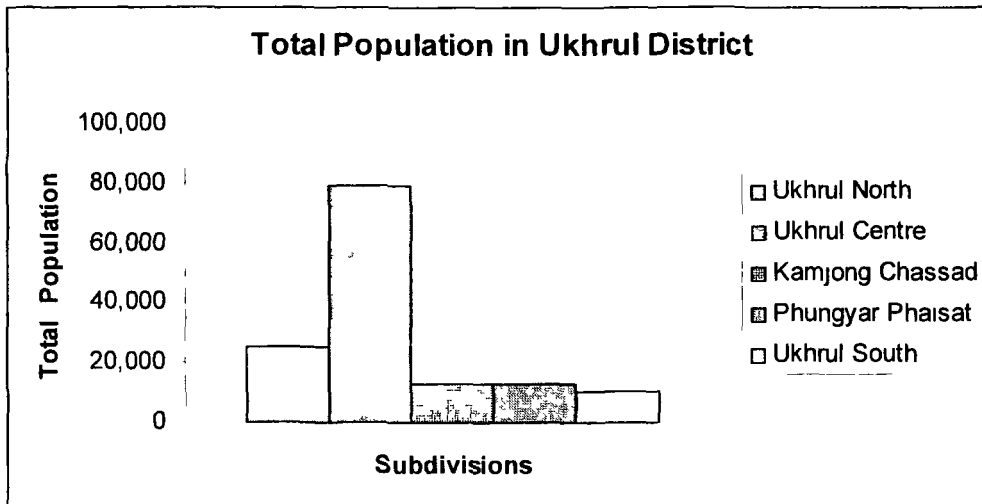


Figure 2.1

2.2 Sex Ratio:

Sex ratio is another important determinant of population dynamics. It is defined as the number of female per 1000 males in the population. According to 2001 census among the five sub division sex ratio is highest in Ukhurul South with 979 per 1000 males and is followed by Phungyar Phais with 970, Ukhurul North 962, Kamjong Chassad with 929 and Ukhurul Centre recorded the lowest sex ratio with 884 females

per 1000 male. The following table shows the number of sub divisions with their population and sex ratio

Table 2.2: Sex Ratio in Ukhurul District.

| District Sub-Division | Total Population | Sex Ratio |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------|
| Ukhurul North | 25,121 | 962 |
| Ukhurul Centre | 79,125 | 884 |
| Kamjong Chassad | 12,994 | 929 |
| Phungyar Phaisat | 13,280 | 970 |
| Ukhurul South | 10,426 | 979 |

Source: Census of India 2001

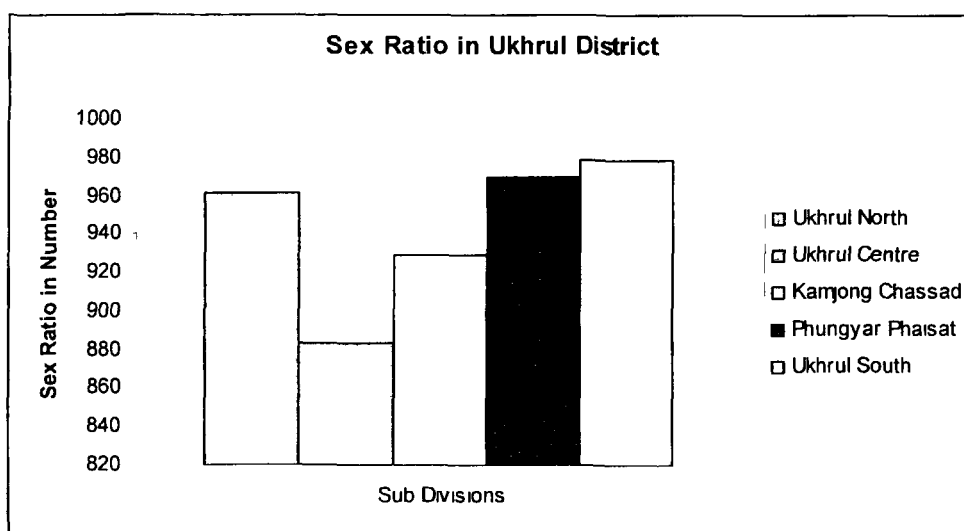


Figure 2.2

Table 2.3: Child Population in the age-group of 0-6

| District Sub-Division | Persons | Male | Female |
|-----------------------|---------|-------|--------|
| Ukhrul North | 3,411 | 1,717 | 1,694 |
| Ukhrul Centre | 11,050 | 5,766 | 5,284 |
| Kamjong Chassad | 1,935 | 926 | 973 |
| Phungyar Phaisat | 2,086 | 963 | 1,123 |
| Ukhrul South | 1,700 | 843 | 857 |

Source: Census of India 2001

The above table shows the total child population and total male and female child population. Ukhrul North record the highest child population with the number of 11050 next comes Ukhrul North with 3411 folled by Phungyar Phaisat 2,080, Kamjong Chassad 1935 and the lowest child population is record in Ukhrul South with the total population of 1700.

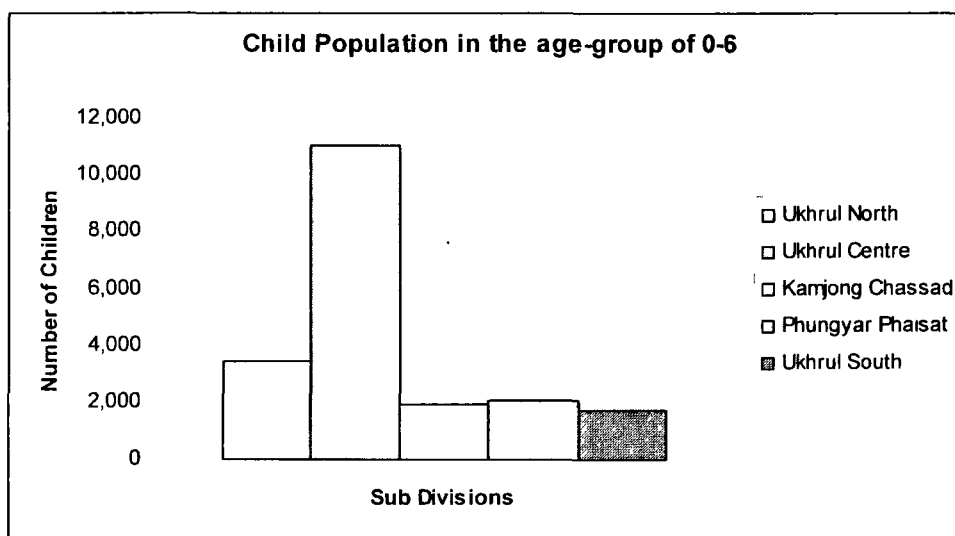


Figure 2.3



2.3 Literacy Rate:

The extent of literacy reflects the qualitative aspect of the population. The percentage of literacy in Ukhurul District was 68.96 percent according to 2001 census.

Among the five sub division, Kamjong Chassad registered the highest literacy rate with 77.4 percent followed by Ukhurul central with 75.6 percent, Phungyar Phaisat with 74.8 percent, Ukhurul South with 70.8 percent while Ukhurul North recorded the lowest percent with only 63.2 percent. The proportions of male literates are higher than that of female literate's in the districts. Literacy rates are shown in table below.

Table 2.4: Literacy Rate of Ukhurul District

| | District Sub-Division | Total Literates | Male | Female | Literacy Rate (%) | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------|--------|---------|-------------------|------|--------|
| | | | | | Total | Male | Female |
| 1 | Ukhurul North | 13,554 | 7,821 | (5,733) | 63.2 | 71.5 | 54.6 |
| 2 | Ukhurul Centre | 51,130 | 29,584 | 21,546 | 75.6 | 82.3 | 68.0 |
| 3 | Kamjong Chassad | 8,419 | 4,752 | 3,667 | 77.4 | 83.7 | 70.5 |
| 4 | Phungyar Phaisat | 8,405 | 4,693 | 3,712 | 74.8 | 81.6 | 67.7 |
| 5 | Ukhurul South | 6,041 | 3,358 | 2,683 | 70.8 | 77.7 | 63.6 |

Source: Census of India 2001

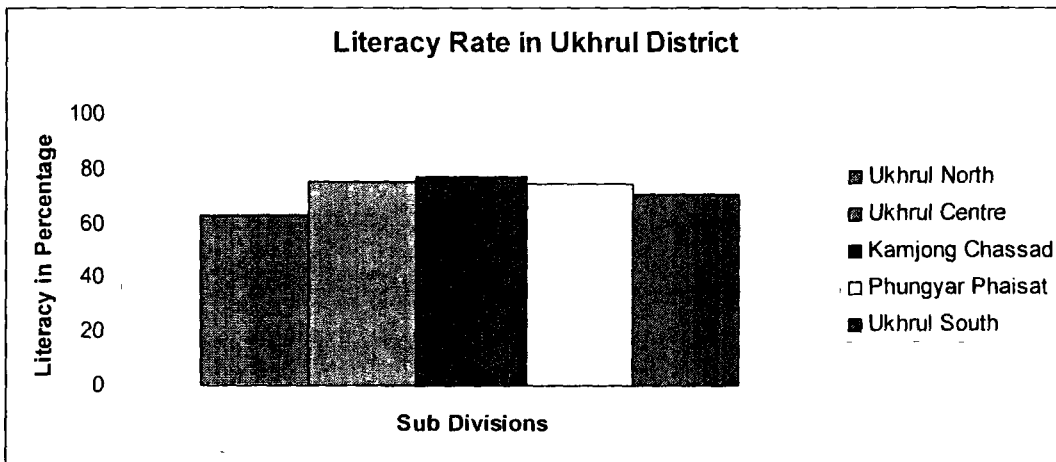


Figure 2.4

CHAPTER III

The Conflict and the Causes

The Kukis and the Nagas have co-existed in relative peace for more than a century but there was a sudden outburst of communal clash between these two tribes.

To understand the reason behind this sudden spurt of conflict, it is important to know their ethnic history and origin of the problem. The term "Naga" covers a group of people geographically widespread and culturally diverse. The Nagas are found in the North-Eastern States of India, namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Nagaland and also in the North western regions of Myanmar (Burma). Division of contiguous Naga inhabited areas into India and Myanmar was done by the British before they left India. They gifted about one third of the Naga territory to Myanmar (Burma) and another two third to India. Further division of Naga territory into above mentioned states were done by India after Independence. Thus Nagas were not only divided but reduced to minority in their own territory except in the existing Nagaland state. They are a distinct Mongoloid race speaking Tibeto-Burman who migrated to these present Naga inhabited compact areas from the east, many thousand years ago. Many theories have been propounded about the origin of the Nagas but no theory is concrete enough. Study on the Nagas from the recent past was mostly done by western Anthropologists, ethnologists, administrators and missionaries, which were later followed by Indian scholars. However none of them gives the correct picture of the Nagas and their history. As Horam³¹ remarks "as a matter of fact no single writer

³¹ Horam, M (1992) *Naga Polity*. Low price publications Delhi (reprint)

has yet found himself equal to the task of correctly portraying the Nagas historically, socially, politically and psychologically". The study of the physical features of the Nagas is also another factor of the origin of the Nagas. The Nagas bear similar features of the mongoloids. Hudson³² authority on the Naga tribes of Manipur wrote that, "Pure Mongolian cast of countenance would be observed in the face of the Nagas."

Hutton³³ an anthropologist has written on Naga tribes of Naga Hills that "they have been connected with the head hunters or Malay and the races of the southern seas on one hand and traced back to China on the other." Also the dress and the ornaments of the Nagas like shells and conch lead us to venture that they must have come from the sea-coast or they were once settled near the coast. Moreover the costumes, food habits, agricultural pattern of farming and cultivation and also the lifestyle are very similar with those people living in the parts of Borneo, Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippine. Makhel is regarded as the centre from where migration took place. Small stones of oval or triangle shapes are polished and preserved by the Nagas because of their fondness of such rare stones. It has been believed that the Nagas must have been passed through the mainland of China and Irrawati Chin win valley and moving on through Thangthut (samshok) in Myanmar (Burma) to Makhel in Sinapati district of Manipur. From there they seem to disperse again to the areas presently inhabited by Nagas. It is known by existing Monoliths which are erected by the Nagas. In Manipur the Nagas occupy the extensive areas in the five hill districts. The

³² Hudson T.C.(1974) *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*.B.R. publishing corporation, Delhi(Reprint)

³³ Hutton J.H.(1968) (second Ed) *The Angami Nagas*, p 8 Oxford university press.

Tangkhul occupies the entire East district with some pockets of Kuki population along the Manipur Myanmar borders.

The Kuki migrated into the Naga territories in 1830s. They migrated from the Chin Hills of Myanmar (Burma) probably in the year 1834. British political agent Chulloch brought the Kukis in a large number in 1840 and let them stay in Naga Hills with rations and firearms to fight against the Nagas. With no time thousands of Kukis were settled as subjects of Manipur. However, the majority came later in the First World War after being turned out by the Chins (Myanmar) in the process of inter-tribal wars. The British political agent James Johnstone defines the Kukis as “a wondering race consisting of several tribes who have long been working up from the south. They were first heard as Kukis in Manipur, between 1830 and 1840; though tribes of the same race had long been subject to the Raja of Manipur. The Kukis are strictly monarchical, and their chiefs are despotic into slavery without a murmur of dissent. They are readily distinguishable from the Nagas and are braver men.” The Kukis are settled in the eastern and southern parts of Chandel district, some pocket of Ukhrul district and (West) Tamenglong district and also sparsely scattered along the foothills in the valley districts of Thoubal and Bishnupur. The Kangpokpi sub-division of Sinapati district in the North has the largest Kuki population.

The Naga-Kuki clash is not a term in the 20th and 21st century. The first war of Naga-Kuki clash began date back as far as the 1919 when the Kukis were used by the Maharaj and the Britishers. The hostility between the two ethnic groups was traditional. Manipur’s Meitei rulers have for long been recruiting the Kukis to the

police force in the Naga dominated highlands. The British also followed a similar policy. The successive state government also placed emphasis on the balancing act. The Kuki and Naga people have co-existed in relative peace for more than a century. But a sudden spurt of clash took place between these two communities. The Naga-Kuki clash has been going on since mid 1992. Thousands of homes of both communities have been burnt and many villages have been destroyed. Several thousands have become refugees. Destruction of lives and properties continued with no sign of respect between the two groups.

Many articles written on the Kuki-Naga conflict begins with Moreh and ends with Moreh. However there are other issues on which the Nagas and Kukis do not see eye to eye. In historical perspective the trouble may be traced on the practice of head hunting by the Kukis and Nagas and the advantages made use of by the British to serve their game plan. The term Kukis and Nagas were unheard by then, it was known by their clan names or by village names. They had been living in isolation. Being their immediate neighbour, it was quite natural that inter-village rivalries and feuds that were very common in tribal societies would be found in their relation also.

Haokip, writes the genesis to the current problems in Manipur started with the political agenda of “Kuki Homeland” to be carved out of Naga territory. This was introduced to promote the tribal strife between the Kukis and the Nagas. In the process hundreds of lives have been lost and many villages have been destroyed, burnt and uprooted. Thousands have been rendered homeless from both the

communities. The issues, which divide the Kukis and Nagas is that of Sadar Hills. Prior to the Kukis rebellion during 1917-1919, there was no administration in the hill areas worth the name. The British divided the hills into North-East and South-East sub-divisions with headquarters at Ukhrul and Tamenglong respectively. Later for administrative convenience the British created the Sadar sub-division in 1933 with its headquarters at Kangpokpi. After the princely state was merged with the Indian union in 1949 and when districts were re-organized. The newly formed North district later renamed as Senapati district. While the Nagas of Manipur are against the conversion of the Sadar-Hills into a full fledged revenue district, claiming the area belong to them. The Kukis are equally empathetic on their demand for creation of Sadar-Hills as district. The Kukis demand for creation of Sadar-Hills district was first voiced in the Kuki chiefs zonal council meeting held on 3rd September 1970. The Sadar-Hills demand committee was formed earlier in July 1971. The leaders of the Kuki chiefs zonal council met Shri K.C.Pant then Home Minister and placed the demand for a separate district comprising the Sadar-Hills of Manipur. Again on October 6 1971 the delegates of the Kuki chief's zonal council held a meeting with the security commissioner at Khotjang village. All these tasks however failed to bring about any concrete result. In 1974 the Nayal commission was appointed which not only recommended for the creation of Sadar-Hills district, but also suggested for inclusion of villages of Senapati and Ukhrul districts in the proposed Sadar-Hills district for administrative convenience and development.

In 1982 a cabinet decision was taken for creation of Sadar-Hills into a full fledged district along with Thoubal and Bishnupur, but Sadar-Hills was ignored again which was supposed to be inaugurated along with the bifurcation of Imphal district. In fact the Government bifurcated the invitation of Imphal district but was silent over the question of Sadar-Hills for the second time. The main reason has always being the strong opposition from the Nagas. The Nagas said that they are not against the creation of a new district but any new district should not include even a single Naga village. The Kuki National council within few days submitted a memorandum demanding the inclusion of some Kuki villages in Senapati, Ukhrul and Tamenglong to Churachandpur and Chandel district. One must realize that so far no district in Manipur had been created on the basis of communities but for administrative convenience and all round development. The division of Sadar-Hills divided the Kukis and Nagas.

According to North-East Kuki National Association (Memorandum May 1961) after India achieved independence and where as the Kukis have become the full citizens of the great country land disputes between the two tribes of Kukis and Tangkhuls are growing more and more. Almost all the Kukis lands are now claimed by the Tangkhuls for their own possession. Accordingly there is frequent break of peace between the two tribes and the local feuds and blood sheds also occur as the result. In many Kuki lands there are no boundary stones with the neighbouring Tangkhul lands which the S.D.O. Mr. Peter gave the rights of possession and cultivation to the Kukis as long as they settle in the land. But now Tangkhul claim

such lands as their own lands. Cases of such land disputes occur in the villages of Gilchingnang, Kashung, Kampal, and Khunthang etc. The Tangkhuls threatened the Kukis to turn them out of the land.

According to Naga People Movement for Human Right (N.P.M.H.R. 19-9-92) a memorandum to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India was submitted. The political agenda at the core of the present spurt of violence seemed to be the Kukis dream for the Kuki Homeland has been presented to the Government of India in various forms such as "Kuki Refugee Settlement" creation of new district etc. The Kuki underground organization on their part laid claims on the districts of Churachandpur, Chandel and major parts of Ukhrul, Senapati and Tamenglong as the Kuki homeland. The basis of this claim can be traced to the history of the invasion of the Naga areas by the British imperialist in the later part of 19th century. The British requisitioned the service of the bands of Kukis wandering in the vicinity of Assam and Manipur for desolation of the Naga villages that were resisting the British stoutly. The Kukis were armed and supplied with rations and let loose in the Naga Hills by Mullock in what he called "The policy of planting Kuki settlement on exposed frontier." Thus the Kukis were able to plunder life and property of the Nagas from the later part of the 19th century till 1918. Although they continued their nomadic life for the purpose of British administration their temporary settlements were formally registered as villages. According to colonial records and the oral history of the Kukis themselves they had no attachment to the land as they had no skill in cultivation. They were just emerging from the stage of food gathering. This also explained their crave for

Government jobs even during the British time when the traditional inhabitants of the area were consciously keeping away from such job as “undignified” way of making a living.

The Kukis turned against the British when they felt threatened by the enactment of a law requiring a minimum of 25 households in a settlement/group for recognition as a village. The British crushed them within a year of their rebellion in 1918. But even after they fell out of British, the Nagas did not try to push them out of their areas. In fact they came from Myanmar (Burma). It may also be noted that even in our time many of the Kukis continue their nomadic life and it is not uncommon for them to completely shift to new settlements leaving behind their previous locations.

After 1919 again the main clashes began in May 1992 in Moreh town located on the border between India and Myanmar (Burma). Moreh is in Chandel district of Manipur. Some of the Kuki tribes living in the villages had apparently refused to pay “Tax” to NSCN on the ground that they did not subscribe to Naga Nationalism. NSCN has been collecting this “House Tax” from every household in the Naga areas since its inception. Nagas have been paying it willingly. Kukis living in Naga areas are also paying these taxes till then. However, it seemed that some of the Kuki villagers of Moreh region had decided to stop paying “Tax” to NSCN. This decision made it clear that a section of the Kukis were prepared to take on the NSCN. There were reports that the Kuki National Army and the Kuki Federal Council have been campaigning that Kukis should not pay this illegal “Tax” to NSCN any longer. Some of the Kukis also complained that NSCN was forcing the Kukis to pay more

than what was charged from the Nagas. They also claimed that the NSCN were threatening to evict those Kukis who were refusing to pay this illegal "Tax". It is clear that NSCN and the Kuki militant organizations were active in Moreh region for sometime.

On June 3, 1992, Onkholet Haokip a Kuki tribesman was killed in a shoot out between the KNA and the NSCN near Moreh town. The KNA said he was an innocent villager while NSCN claimed he was a KNA volunteer. After the incident many Nagas living in and around Moreh town were reported to have been abducted and tortured by the KNA. Some were killed in the process. Many Naga villages were alleged to have been served with quit notices by the KNA. The Naga villagers claimed that money was being extorted from them. A delegation of Ministers of Manipur led by the Deputy Chief Minister Mr. Rishang Keishing visited Moreh on June 14, 1992 and appealed to all the communities to maintain peace. It was reported that prominent Kuki leaders of Moreh did not attend that meeting addressed by Mr. Keishing. The state government as a precautionary measure posted contingents of Manipur Rifles in Naga villages of Moreh for protection against the threat of attacks of Kuki militants. But violence continued to mount.

On June 18, 1992 representatives of student's organization of all communities and tribes of Manipur met and decided to send a goodwill mission to Moreh. The delegation of students met the tribal ministers in Imphal and visited Moreh for three days between June 20 and 22, 1993. They held public meetings for peace. Unfortunately the Kuki National Army and Kuki Federal Council of India and

Myanmar stepped up their violence in Moreh area. The Deputy Chief Minister's second visit to Moreh on July 4, 1992 failed to restore peace. On July 13, 1992 mass exodus of Naga civilians started from Moreh area. Despite several memorandums and petitions submitted to the state Government by the Naga villagers asking for protection of lives and properties unheeded and no step was taken to stop the ethnic violence at the initial stage. On the other hand some of the senior leaders of Manipur Government took a partisan position and issued statements which flamed passions on both sides. The news of the Chief Minister and Finance Minister giving financial and material help to a section of Kuki militants further vitiated the already surcharge atmosphere. The news spread around that the army and the RAW using started counter insurgency against NSCN gave credence to the arguments that India was taking their revenge on the Nagas through the Kuki militants. Finding themselves in such a situation, the Naga villagers decided to defend themselves. The clash then spread to Ukhrul, Senapati, Churachandpur and Tamenglong districts. Nagas formed village protection force.

Militants of KNA, KFC and other Kuki organization in these districts became very active. Nagas also attacked several Kuki-villages in Tamenglong, Senapati, Ukhrul districts. Naga-Kuki clashes have now spread into the neighboring state of Nagaland, especially in the Peren sub-division. It is possible that Naga underground organizations may have got involved in these clashes. However, NSCN (I-M) have denied their involvement in this clashes particularly in the incident at Zopui village in Tamei sub-division in which about 35 innocent Kukis were gunned

down by the Nagas in retaliation of attacks against Naga villages in that area. The Nagas justified their attacks on Kuki civilians and attacks by Kukis retaliation and counter retaliation continued throughout 1993. Many civilians from both the communities were killed during this period. In the on going clash between Kuki-Nagas the state has been accused of actively encouraging one ethnic group to fight against the other as part of the counter insurgency operations apart from being accused of serving the interest of the powers that be or for having to remain mere spectators when timely intervention was needed.

The situation in the hill districts of the state continued to be tensed with reported clashes and destruction of lives and properties from time to time. Left to themselves the undercurrents between Kuki and Nagas were not so provocative to go to the extent of killing each other. But as the British Colonialist and the Maharaj of Manipur (it was then a Princely state, made up of the valley of the present Manipur state, acceded to India in 1949) against the Nagas, who were stoutly resisting against their territory being taken over by the two powers, the post independent Indian State has also made use of the Kukis. The state has been creating extra constitutional mechanisms side by side with massive use of coercive forces, creating splits, actively promoting divide and rule policy among rival groups in order to tackle any kind of challenge to its authority. Such situation is to be seen in Manipur where both the Kukis and Nagas are fighting an undeclared war against each other. The cause of Naga-Kuki clash is also because of the role of British, Manipur Maharaj, and the

Indian state like the “divide and rule policy” of the government and war of attrition over Moreh.

Neidonuo Angami President of the Naga Mothers Association³⁴ wrote that the Nagas believe that they are a distinct people with a unique history. They have not been and are not part of the political or cultural ethos of India. They claim as a distinct nation, the people with rights to self determination. India has sought to split the Naga National Movement by exploiting tribal differences that have fed factional violence and produced cycles of revenge violence. The Nagas see themselves as a homogenous people in terms of their culture and society divided by colonial powers. They aspire to be politically reintegrated. In the “Feature” the Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leader’s Fellowship Fund Programme No.14 (January 2006) wrote the Naga narrative: imagining unified greater “*lim*”. The dominant so called “Nagas” have invented and imagined narrative to justify their ethno nationalist movement which may be summed up in a simple phrase i.e. “Uniqueness of the Naga History and situation” the narratives are like the narratives of the Nagas that have common racial origin with distinct tradition, culture, customs, norms etc. Neither in the history where the Nagas were given land by the Meiteis nor by their Maharaj. The Nagas were the first settlers in the land where they are today. The Meiteis instigated the Naga-Kuki ethnic clashes. The Kukis are nomadic tribes and as such they do not have right to settle in the land of Nagas. The dominant Naga elites are propagating such ideas in their effort to carve out their exclusive spheres of influence through the

³⁴ Naga Women in the peace process, North-East India, Nagaland Historical prologue. South Asia Forum for Human Rights, Print House, Katmandu, Nepal.

instrumentation of armed organization and civil societies. The movement reached its zenith when the united Naga Council served quit notice to the Kuki villagers, which resulted the bloody Naga-Kuki ethnic clash of 1992-94. Now a day's various ethnic armed outfits have been proliferating within the Kuki-chin-Zomi ethnic movement characterized by the intra-ethnic conflict group demanding autonomous homeland. But the Kuki-Chin Zomi ethnic conflict resulted in bloody factional feud. This can be ascribed to the uneven formation of the middle class due to uneven responses to the process of modernization in all its aspects rather than mere leadership crises, electoral politics or external influences. The expansion of the sphere of influence by the Kuki elites came into clash with that of Naga elites and the Meiteis who also have been pursuing the same action. This resulted into the Naga-Kuki clash of 1990s and armed confrontation between the Kuki and Meitei insurgent organizations from time to time.

Also given the narrative quest for Kuki Homeland, the movement for Kuki homeland initiated by the Kuki elites with the objective to carve out their exclusive spheres of influence necessitated to contrive certain ideological strategies for justifying their action. The narratives are - the Kuki nation had already existed even before the arrival of the British and they had exercised sovereign authority over the land. The Kuki nation was arbitrarily divided and placed in India, Myanmar and Bangladesh. The hill districts of Manipur are neither exclusively inhabited nor dominated by the Nagas. And also Meiteis have exploited the Kukis in various ways in the past and in the present that the creation of an autonomous independent homeland exclusively for the Kuki is a prerogative historical of the Kuki ethnic

community. David V. Zou ³⁵ has also given three reasons for the Kuki-Naga clash – firstly, to get control over monetary support from smugglers. Secondly, to procure arms and ammunitions and thirdly, to have an easy access into Myanmar and South-East Asia.

³⁵ Zou, David : A micro History of conflict in Manipur, 1990-2000 Seminar paper submitted to the centre for Historical studies school of social science, J.N.U. New Delhi. December 2000 p-13.

CHAPTER IV

Life and Livelihood of Displaced and Affected People

Manipur has varied and proud history from the earlier times. It came under the British rule as a princely state in 1891. The Manipur constitution Act 1947 established democratic form of Government with the Maharaja as the Executive Head and legislative assembly so constituted functioned till it was dissolved by the integration of the state with the dominion of India in October 1949 and become a full fledged state in 1972 with Imphal as the capital. There are 29 ethnic groups in the state and the major groups in the valley are Meiteis and Pangals and the Nagas and Kukis and their sub tribes are the major groups of the hills. Each group with conflicting political aspirations of their own resulted to armed conflicts. In the hills four of the five districts are associated with the Naga freedom movement which began as early as 1947, on one hand thereby causing communal tension and on the other hand there is the armed movement of the Kukis demanding Kuki homeland. The state has been the scene of bitter ethnic conflict in recent times the major hatred between the Kukis and Nagas. Nagas and Kukis have slowly turned to a communal conflict. Over the last year Manipur has been a state of turbulence. Rival armed groups have been attacking villages killing scores of people and destroying many villages in both the ethnic groups inhabited areas of Manipur. Conflict and internal displacement also spread into neighbouring regions. The Kuki-Naga conflict originally started in Moreh town has spread to other districts. Conflict and displacement in one region influence the situations in other regions and led to a large

scale displacement. It has become a political, economic problem affecting large geographical areas. The inflow of internally displaced persons has led to demographic imbalance that often creates a tensed atmosphere in the area. The main source of livelihood is agriculture and as they flee from their villages, people are facing economic problem in their daily lives. Most of them lost their private properties as well as community assets. The gravity of the situation becomes more pronounced in the past years as there were attacks and counter attacks and retaliation from both sides such action have led to the loss of many innocent lives and displacement of thousands villages who are made to do with makeshift relief camps and shelter. In the process hundreds of lives have been lost and many villages have been burnt and destroyed, and uprooted. Innocent citizens have been living in fear and insecurity. These two tribes have been fighting with each other over their rights to ownership of land. As both have armed militants which have resulted to violent armed conflict and killing, burning of houses, displacing each other. Many villages have been forced to flee their villages and have taken shelter in other area or villages where their respective tribes are settled in a large number where as some have to take shelter in a handful of inadequate relief camps set up by the administration and some voluntary organizations. The tension had restricted movement of the people for several years affecting their livelihood. Displaced from their homes and means of livelihood they have been wandering around taking temporary shelter here and there. Many widows and orphans in search of livelihood have been exposed to evils. Families who own

land are either deprived by displacing from their village or sold them in order to survive.

Politicians make use of the communal emotions for their personal gains thus making it difficult to bring peace. Behind every peace efforts there has been violence in order to destabilize the Government. The displaced villages were desecrated by the other community. When the villagers fled from their villages neighboring villages took advantage and took away everything like their livestock, forest, water pipeline and power lines, animals, fruits, reserved forest totally desecrated thereby making their resettlement difficult. What is more growing is the sight of those disabled some mentally and other physically those who experienced killings in the family still carrying the feeling and attitude of revenge. The whole situation indicates the need for a complete rehabilitation of those entangled in the cross current of communal politics in the state. The poor displaced people have not received sympathy from the authority. There seems to be absolutely no will on the part of government to look into their problems. These people have not been rehabilitated even after 11 years of displacement.

There has been in fact no concrete plan of the Government to rehabilitate the displaced villages and families. The immediate and only response of the Government was to distribute some food grain and a few sheets of roofing materials. Many of which never reached the displaced people for the simple reasons that they have fled towards different directions and were scattered. In fact, relief and rehabilitation measures taken up by the state government for the victims and resettlement of

displaced villagers are far from satisfactory. Certain attempts have been made by some Non- Governmental Organization such as Fraternal Green Cross (FGC), United NGO Mission- Manipur (UNM-M) and such other NGO's and also co- operating with other voluntary organizations, Forums, Committees and church bodies to provide immediate relief in the form of rice, utensils, blankets, mosquito nets etc to the affected victims. However it should be noted that these has never been sufficient for them. They were also most uncertain where to settle and also their priority was food and thus the families who received the roofing materials had sold them for food. The conditions of the displaced are very poor. The non-existence of formal relief camps makes their live more difficult. Various relief camps set up by the Government immediately after the displacement could not provide their basic necessities. Most of the villages are displaced twice or thrice. They are not only forgotten but also forsaken. Hence, they do not know what to do, where to go, and how to survive. Displaced from their hearth and means of livelihood they have been wandering around taking temporary shelter here and there and they are exposed to all sorts of dangers. Many of the elders have perished, many children have also lost their parents and they don't have basic security of home and parents. Number of children affected is nurtured in makeshift orphanage. Most of their sons who should have been in school have dropped out and became rickshaw puller in Imphal town. Many of their youngsters have been exposed to evils or become the domestic helper, some family who owned property has sold them as to survive. During the conflict a large number of people were killed. Many children have lost their parents and they no longer have

the basic security of homes and parents. Many women have lost their husbands since men are killed in the combat. Women and children that account for 70 percent of displaced persons are extremely in vulnerable conditions. The displaced women usually do not have the earning capacity to sustain their family and children. Often thrust into the role of head and household since the men are perished or disabled in combat, the displaced women do not have the income of earning capacity for their livelihood. They either become housemaids or work in the fields of others on daily wage basis in order to make their ends meet.

Internally displaced persons received little medical care and they cannot send their children for former education. They lack all types of human necessities such as food, shelter, clothing and safety. Most of the internally displaced or affected people are living in urban areas in a rented house without any regular income which makes their live even more difficult. In a rural areas their conditions is better as there is an existence of a very strong support system. They were given shelter and some other assistance. Conflict and internal displacement interrupt the lives of whole communities and societies. When a number of people flee an area the area where they flee are also heavily affected as it becomes congested. In rural areas forests and grassland are quickly stripped out for housing and farming. The damage done to forest and environment will have long term economic effect. Social service, water supply and sanitation facilities become overloaded very soon in urban areas and hence, the conditions become gradually worse.

In the rehabilitation camps where they were shifted has lacked proper plan therefore, there was health and sanitation problem. There is no proper drainage system and it is the common sight to see that after the rainfall the water run over the street and residence of the people thereby causing health and hygienic problems. Common diseases of the people like malaria, diarrhea, typhoid, seasonal viral fever which claims a heavy toll are caused by unsafe water. Many families have no access to health centre therefore they become more vulnerable to diseases. There are large numbers of unplanned families following primitive and unhygienic practices of child delivery often leading to pre natal deaths.

Due to the lack of economic opportunities, commercialization of lifestyles, soaring prices of essential commodities make people grabbing every opportunity for earning and livelihood. The displaced people moved to urban areas in search of food and survived by engaging themselves in various kinds of labour and physical jobs. Most became rickshaw pullers in the city and children were engaged in hotels and restaurants as their livelihood. Main factor responsible for the abnormal increase is due to influx of displaced people from hill to valley in search of more economic opportunities and better means of livelihood.

Demographic pattern of the city has changed due to migration of the displaced persons. Displaced persons in urban centers live mainly in rented houses.

Educational system is also insufficient or totally non existent. In most cases the relocated people establish makeshift schools for themselves. Even if school exists, school building, teachers and teaching materials are never sufficient, and often

parents do not send their children to school as they cannot afford to pay the costs, or they require their children to help in their family for economic benefits. Also the nonfunctioning of Government schools in the villages and the inability to access the opportunity of going to private schools due to poverty. It is alarming to find 25-50% of the youth in every village doing nothing except stealing, drinking and wandering aimlessly. Displaced from the means of livelihood, displaced from schools and having no opportunity and no skill to earn livelihood with dignity they are vulnerable to all social evils. These are some of the major factors that are creating multiple problems in the state.

CHAPTER-V

Conclusion

There are 29 ethnic groups in Manipur. The major groups are Meitei and Pangals of the valley, Nagas, Kukis, Paites and their sub tribes of the hills. Each of the tribes with their conflicting political aspirations resulting to armed conflicts among the tribes. Four of the five districts are associated with the Naga freedom movement which began as early as 1947. On the one hand thereby causing communal tension and on the other hand there is the armed movement of the Kukis demanding Kuki homeland. The killing and extortions, looting, by the armed militants has made it difficult to believe that this movement is the movements of the indigenous people for their rights. The counter insurgency operation of the Indian security forces often committing excesses and violating human rights of innocent people has also alienated the people. There is no political will to ease the tensed situation since it is a political game with people's emotion. The communal violence between Nagas and Kukis re-emerged in 1992 after 1919. But this time the conflict among them continued for several years unlike before. The great divides between the two groups have already taken a heavy toll. The sufferings caused by this clash became miserable since it continued for long. The Nagas and the Kukis were living in peace and harmony since time immemorial. There had been inter- marriages among them and sharing of cultural events with feelings of communal harmony. The conflict resulted differences between the two tribes, have lost their friendships and mutual trust. They have changed their attitudes towards each other.

At this juncture of crisis there must be a concerted effort to bring them back together for reconciliation. The government also should not only frame an effective policy for the rehabilitation of the displaced people but also give equal attention to the quality of the rehabilitation provided. There should be effort on providing minimum infrastructural facilities like drinking water, schools, health centre etc. The Govt. agencies and NGO's should make serious efforts to rehabilitate the affected families. The displaced people need housing materials and financial support to regain their livelihood and sustainability. Besides, the NGO's and Human Rights Activists should try to take help from the National and International organizations to stop further displacement and contain conflict. The Government needs to extend adequate security to the affected persons so that they regain a sense of security and confidence to start a fresh life. Primary schools required to be restored to prevent and to reduce school dropout children. A concerted effort should be made by the political party in power in the state with a political will to solve the problems. Last but not the least; it requires a general awareness of the problem and the voluntary organizations, political parties, intellectuals and the public in general together to find out the ways and means to solve the problem.

Second chapter deals with the population distribution of Ukhrul district, with the literacy rate, sex ratio and number of villages at the block level. The population according to 2001 census was 1, 40,946 persons with a majority of the Tangkhul Nagas. The Tangkhuls comprises of 94% to the total population with the Kukis 4.59% with a density of 31 persons per sq. kms.

The third chapter highlights the causes of the conflict between the two ethnic groups. The current problems in Manipur started with the political agenda of “Kuki Homeland” to be carved out of Naga territory. In the process hundreds of lives have been lost and many villages have been destroyed, burnt and uprooted and as a result thousands became homeless from both the communities. The issues, which divide the Kukis and Nagas is that of Sadar Hills. Prior to the Kukis rebellion during 1917-1919, there was no administration in the hill areas worth the name. The North district was later renamed as Senapati district. While the Nagas of Manipur are against the conversion of the Sadar-Hills into a full fledged revenue district, claiming the area belong to them: The Kukis are equally empathetic on their demand for creation of Sadar-Hills as district. The division of Sadar-Hills divided the Kukis and Nagas.

On June 3, 1992, Onkholet Haokip a Kuki tribesman was killed in a shoot out between the KNA and the NSCN near Moreh town. The KNA said he was an innocent villager while NSCN claimed he was a KNA volunteer. After the incident many Nagas living in and around Moreh town were reported to have been abducted and tortured by the KNA. Some were killed in the process. Many Naga villages were alleged to have been served with quit notices by the KNA. The Naga villagers claimed that money was being extorted from them.

The cause of Naga-Kuki clash is also because of the role of British, Manipur Maharaj, and the Indian state like the “divide and rule policy” of the government and war of attrition over Moreh.

The fourth chapter analyses the living conditions of the displaced or affected people. As a result of the ethnic clashes, large number of affected people has moved to village and towns where they find sense of security and also economic opportunities. Children who should have been in schools have left schools and have become rickshaw puller or hotel boy. These children have lost the opportunity of going back to school; rather they are engaged in working as daily wage labourers. The displaced women do not have the income to fend for their livelihood. They either become housemaids or work in the fields of others on daily wage basis in order to make their ends meet.

The last chapter presents the summary of the study. There are 29 ethnic groups in Manipur. The major groups are Meiteis and Pangals of the valley, Nagas, Kukis, Paites and their sub tribes in the hills. Four of the five districts are associated with the Naga freedom movement which began as early as 1947. On the one hand thereby causing communal tension and on the other hand there is armed movement of the Kukis demanding Kuki homeland. The killings, extortions and lootings by the armed militants have made it difficult to believe that this movement is the movements of indigenous people for their rights. The counter insurgency operation of the Indian security forces often committed excesses to innocent people that alienated the people. There is no political will to ease the tensed situation as politicians play political games with people's emotion. The communal violence between Nagas and Kukis re-emerged in 1992 after 1919. But this time it was continued for several years unlike before. The great divide between the two groups has already taken a heavy toll. The

sufferings caused by this clash became miserable. The Nagas and Kukis were living in peaceful harmony since time immemorial. There were inter marriages between the tribes. As a result of the conflict they lost their closeness, and friendship. The traditional institution of friendship has been destroyed and there is no more mutual trust and relationship. The conflict has changed their attitude, sharing of cultural events become difficult, earlier a part of tradition.

Last, but not the least, it requires a general awareness of the people to the problem. The voluntary organizations, political parties, intellectuals and the public in general should join their hands together to find the ways and means to solve the problem. Those who have been displaced their life and livelihood requires general attention of the public for a proper rehabilitation.

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