

Politics of Ethnicity in North East India

With Special Reference to Manipur

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P.T. HITSON JUSHO

Manipur being a state inhabited by different ethnic groups has been engulfed with more problems that are mainly of political, economic, social, linguistic and ethnic character. The present book has thus, not only discussed the social background of the Tribal Groups but also their economic positions besides their political attitudes and preferences. It also attempts to make an in-depth study of ethnic identity crisis and conflicts in Manipur and its effect in the political system of the state.

Keeping in view of the present political scenario, the book is a comparative analysis of the empirical situations and patterns instead of confining only to theoretical approach.

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Politics of Ethnicity in North-East India

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The entire region of North-Eastern States of India is predominantly inhabited by the tribals with numerous clans and sub-clans of immense diversity. Unlike the other parts of India, North-Eastern states are augmented with more problems which are mainly of political, linguistic and ethnic character. Today, North-East comprises of seven states, viz., Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. The entire region is almost inhabited by people of Mongoloid origin and they are divided into pretty good number of tribes who speak different languages. It is a "multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, multi-religious region, characterised with tribal dominance in the hilly and mountainous areas."¹ It also formed the most important tribal belt of the country.

The states of Assam, Manipur and Tripura comprises of the non-tribals, who constitute the majority. These states also have a sizeable population of tribals. In contrast to these states, the states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh are hilly areas and predominantly tribal in ethnic composition. As Das says "North-Eastern occupied a unique place in the socio-cultural, biological, linguistic and economic map of India."² Broadly speaking the hills of North-East constitute eastern part of the mountain wall formed by the Himalaya. The region is endowed with throbbing culture, tradition and popular heritage.

(After the Independence of India, the different communities of the region have become more conscious of their separate identity and launched various movements mainly by means of violence and in consequence of that they have been able to

attract the attention of the Government of India. Subsequently, North-East emerged as a distinctive regional identity in the national life of India. The region has of late become the focus of attention at the National Level.

The Government of India today is making all out efforts to bring this region at par with the other states through the development of infrastructure, generation of employment and removing of poverty in the rural areas of the region to bring about the desired socio-economic development. The region, however, without any ambiguity still remained undeveloped than the rest of the country. '

Historical Perspective of North-East

Every state of North East India has got their own history and they together made the history of the North-East India. Barkataki elaborately observes, "there were apparently wave after wave of migrations and the invaders belonged to the 'Indo-Chinese' linguistic family of which the two most important sub-families are the 'Monkhmer' and Tibeto-Burman...."³ The Tibeto-Burmans sub-family includes the Bodos, Karbis etc. in Assam, the Nagas and the Kuki-Chin groups of tribes in Nagaland and Manipur. There are also several other tribes like the Mizos of Mizoram and the Monpas, Daflas, Apatanis, the Ads, etc. of Arunachal Pradesh.

There have been ethnic mixture between the Tibeto-Burman and the Tias (Siamese) whenever they lived together either in upper Brahmaputra valley or Manipur valley. The Indo Aryans who migrated from the West to the North-East India established political supremacy over the Brahmaputra valley and Hinduised the tribals whenever possible and ultimately forced the tribes to confine themselves in the interior region of the Brahmaputra valley and the surrounding hills.

The process of migration and settlement was also a part of the struggle for economic and social survival and political domination. There were contacts between various ethnic groups leading into integration and assimilation of their respective cultural traits. Every ethnic group of the region have their own language, customs, traditions and way of living which formed the occupational structure of the society. The tribal villages

were under the control of a King or Chief. However, the petty tribal chiefdoms, were conquered by the new hordes of invading and migrating Ahoms from upper Burma. The Indo-Aryans who migrated from the west also established political supremacy over the tribals and Hinduised them whenever possible. However, a new phase in tribal history of the region started with the penetration of the British into tribal areas, which were not earlier organized into proper principalities or states, though they had village level polity formations.

Pre-Independence Period

The British came to India to make a flourishing trade in this country and consequently became the political master of India. Arrival of the British in North-East India, according to Chaube "goes back to 1761 when the East India Company and the Nawab of Bengal (through their combined armed forces) assaulted Tripura."⁴ The British with their hold over the region of North-East India brought missionaries to propagate Christianity among the tribals. The tribals who subscribed to local faith were reluctant to adopt Christianity, however they were convinced by the activities of the missionaries in certain pockets of the regions. As such with the rise of christianity various tribes abandoned their traditional customs and culture and adopted the life style of the outside world. To impart education the missionaries set up several mission schools in the tribal hills areas. These schools created interest among the tribals for education and Christianity. Gradually people felt the need of education and there was demand for more schools in the hills. In response to the demand of the people, the British administration through Christian missionaries opened several schools in the hills. Burman observes, "One of the most striking features of the impact of christianity on the social and political life is the introduction of modern western education, which in turn has a profound effect on the life style and consumption pattern."⁵ The mission schools remained the chief agencies for imparting education to the hill tribes till the independence of India.

Before the introduction of Christianity and western education there was no tribal or inter-tribal organization to deal

with the needs of the tribals as a whole. Each village was only responsible for its own economic, social, spiritual and political needs. However, with the introduction of new administration by the British the tribals were moved for the need of a broad base economic growth and well being of the people of the hills. Thus, this broad base organizational need which required to be taught and trained to the tribals was basically done by missionaries by establishing schools, though their primary purpose was to teach the tribals read and write Bible and hymnals. In this, influence of the British administration also contributed to a large extent. The British declared in 1874, the whole of erstwhile Assam as a Schedule District. It was later "changed to chief commissionership in 1912 and it became a Governor's Province in 1921."⁶ The Britishers ever since they acquired foothold in the region, tried to develop and diversify the economy though obviously from their own perspectives. Although, the tribals have been concerned with the perseverance of their identity as stated earlier, it was primarily to ensure their economic growth and well being, that led to the move for broadbasing of ethnic identity so as to involve all the tribes living in a specific area in the struggle for certain basic interests.

This realization led to a movement among the diverse tribes residing in Naga and Mizo Hills for better understanding and unity among themselves. Consequently, the sub-groups like Angamis, Aos, Lothas, Semas, Chakhesang, Rengmas, etc. in Nagaland and Tangkhul, Maram, Poumai, Anal, Mao, Tarao, Mongsang, Moyong, etc. in Manipur accepted common denomination as Nagas. Similarly, people living in the Lushai Hills viz., Chang, Paibbe, Ralte, Lushai, Poi, etc. gave up their traditional rivalries and formed the new denomination as 'Mizo' (which means highlanders).

With the new education, new politico-administrative institutions and other agents of modernization introduced by the British and Western missionaries, the tribal became more and more conscious of their identities and it gave birth to the emergence of various tribal socio-political organizations. For instances the Khasi National Durbar (KND) in 1923, the Khasi States Federation (KSF) in 1934, the Naga Club in 1918, the Naga Hills District Council (NHDC) in 1945 which was later

changed to Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946, the Mizo Union in 1946 and the United Mizo Federation Organization (UMFO) in 1947. These organizations were formed so as to demand special treatment for their territory and activate their distinct tribal identity.

British Administration in Manipur

During the advent of the British into the present North-East India, the Maharajah of Manipur was an ally of the British Government, and remained so till the end of the British rule in India. In the beginning of 1820s the British Defence Power on the North-East Frontier was not very powerful. They viewed with alarm the growing military might of the Burmese and the effect it would have on their own future in India.

After the death of Manipur ruler Bhagyachandra, Manipur entered into the period of destitute due to constant conflicts among his sons for succession. Thus, the Burmese took the advantage of the situation invaded Manipur in 1819 and occupied for seven years with savage atrocities which is still remembered as 'Chahi Taret Khuntakpa' (Seven Years Devastation). The Burmese forces established their political authority over Manipur till 1826. After their occupation the Burmese forces appointed a local person of royal blood as the king of Manipur under the suzerainty of Burma. As the Burmese were extending their empire over to Manipur and Cachar, the British took interest in the affairs of Manipur as they thought the Burmese forces might attack their position. Consequently, tension started arising between the British and Burma which was a great advantage to the princes of Manipur who scattered into Cachar. Gambhir Singh took the initiative and approached the British for their assistance to fight against Burmese. Thus in 1824 war was declared and the Burmese were defeated. The Burmese King left with no options entered into a peace treaty. The war came to a close when the Treaty of Yandaboo was signed in 1826 between the British and Burma. The treaty recognized Gambhir Singh as the King of Manipur.

Earlier, only occasional communications were made between the British Government and Manipur state. Sir James Johnstone, the British political officer of Manipur remarks, "Our

first relation with Manipur dated from 1762, when Governor Verelst of the Bengal Presidency—with that splendid self-reliance and large-mindedness characteristic of the markers of the British Empire ... entered into a treaty with the Rajah of Manipur. As this treaty came to nothing practically our connection with the little state really dated from 1823.”⁷ When the British opened communication with Gambhir Singh, the Maharajah of Manipur in 1823, 500 Manipuris under his command were taken into pay roll of the British Government. These men were later constituted as the Manipur Levy. They were given training and equipments by the British Government to fight on their side against the Burmese. With the help of these troops the Burmese were driven out of Cachar. The British then advanced into Manipur, however, it was strongly resisted by the Nagas. Johnstone while elaborating the Nagas’ resistance puts, “At this crisis the Manipur Levy showed its immense value. The men could move lightly equipped without the paraphernalia of a regular army ... and with such effect that in a short time not only was Manipur cleared, but the enemy driven out of the Kubo Valley.”⁸

The Manipur State’s sovereignty was recognized by the Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 executed between the British Government and the Burmese empire. According to the Treaty, “His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from the future interference ... with regard to Manipur, it is stipulated that, should Ghambir Singh desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof.”⁹ Subsequently, in 1833 and 1834 the Maharajah of Manipur made Treaties with the British Government of India. The terms of the treaties were mainly for “trade and military alliance between the Manipur and the British Government,”¹⁰ and “giving away of the Kubo Valley to Burma.”¹¹ The Manipuri Levy had been maintained till 1855 when the British Government of India withdrew their connection from it and ceased the payment of the Manipuri Levy.

The internal wars and feuds of the Royal family of Manipur led to the Imphal Disaster of 1891 in which high ranking British officers, including J.W. Quinton the then Chief Commissioner of Assam were murdered. Thus, war was declared and Manipur was defeated by the British, and Maharajah

Churachand was appointed the king of Manipur. And Manipur became a princely state in 1892 under British suzerainty. After this disaster many changes and reforms were introduced in the state. Thus, with the objective to engross political power and to strengthen their position the British Government instead of bringing Manipur under their direct rule, granted the existence of the State.

The Manipur State Durbar was constituted in 1907. Then the Government of the state was handed over to the Rajah and Durbar. However, the British retained extensive powers. The President of the Durbar, the highest court of the Manipur state was always to be an 'English' Indian civil service officer. All the judgements by the Durbar involving the death penalty had to be confirmed by the Governor of Assam. The Maharajah thus became practically a puppet of the British Government of India. This capture of political power of Manipur by the British Government in 1891 brought great changes and Regular Administration started through the Political Agent—the President of Manipur State Durbar whose "duty of the Political Agent in Manipur was like that of an ambassador."¹²

After British conquest of Manipur, the hill tribes "were brought under a common administrative system, but they were separated from the administration of the valley of Manipur inhabited by the Hindu Meiteis."¹³ The administration of the Durbar was only confined to the valley as there was no proper contact between the hill-man and the administration at Imphal due to lack of proper communication. It was only after the Rebellion of 1918 that new rules were framed for the administration of the Hill Areas of Manipur. Thus for the better administration of the hills the area was divided into four subdivisions, with one headquarter at Imphal and three outside with its headquarters at Churachanpur, Tamenglong and Ukhrul. And in 1919 the Political Agent and the President of Manipur State Durbar were given the control over the hill tribes. The Government of India in their letter No. D-3754-P/32 dated 8th December 1932 stated:

History shows that the Manipuris cannot and will not give the hills an administration of the standard to which they are both entitled and now accustomed and that it can only

be maintained by the control now exercised. We are under an obligation to the hill tribes to maintain to them to a decent administration. The consequences of unrest and rebellion among them might be most dangerous for those portions of British India and Burma which lie along Manipur's boundaries.¹⁴

Subsequently, just before the Independence of India some attempts were carried out to safeguard the interests of the hill tribes of Manipur. Under the Manipur Hill Peoples Regulation 1947, the hills areas were divided into nine circles and circle benches were constituted to administer justice according to the tribals customary laws. However, after the state of Manipur merged with the Union of India in 1949, there were no more Circle Benches in the hills of Manipur. Today the sub-divisions in the state have been increased to thirty, which is shown district wise in Table 1.

Table 1: Present Position of District and Sub-division

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>No. of Sub-division</i>
1.	Senapati	4
2.	Tamenglong	4
3.	Churachanpur	5
4.	Chandel	3
5.	Thoubal	2
6.	Bishnupur	2
7.	Imphal*	5
8.	Ukhrul	5

Source: Census of India 1991, Series—15 Manipur.

* Includes Imphal East and Imphal West Districts.

Political Dimension of Ethnicity in Manipur

The geographical area of Manipur is 22,327 sq. km. out of which 90 percent of the state is made up of hills inhabited by the tribals. The rest 10 percent is covered by valley mostly populated by the non-tribal people Meiteis and scanty of tribals occupying some certain parts of the valley. The valley is surrounded by densely forested hills (inhabited by the tribals), but there are some land routes through these hills connecting Manipur with the Brahmaputra valley and Kabow valley and through these with the rest of the world.

The people inhabiting Manipur as a whole can be classified into two categories—the tribals (which consists of Naga group of tribes and Chin-Kuki-Mizo group of tribes) and the non-tribals communities (which include the Meiteis and the Pangals—Manipuri Muslims). There is problem of political identity among the minor and unrecognized tribes of Manipur State. This has led to the movements for integration of Naga inhabited area of the State with the State of Nagaland for a single administration on one hand and on the other hand the tribes of Kuki-Chin-Zomi groups are demanding integration of areas dominated by them with the State of Mizoram or formation of a separate state. Moreover, the process of assimilation and merger of the smaller tribes into bigger and recognized tribes or into the Naga or the Mizo has been taking place in Manipur due to out-break of ethnic conflicts between the Nagas and the Kukis. The hill tribes of Manipur comprised of 33 recognized tribes and a bunches of tribes are still struggling for the inclusion of their tribes in the Scheduled Tribe list of the Constitution of India, viz., Inpui, Mate, etc. These unrecognized tribes lack any governmental protection unlike the recognized scheduled tribes of the state who are protected by the constitution of India. All the government's development schemes and grants are being channelled through an instrument called recognized scheduled tribes and the unrecognized tribes. suffer and remain backward inspite of many tribal developmental schemes being sanctioned by the Central and State Governments. The 33 recognized tribes are: (1) Aimol, (2) Anal, (3) Angami, (4) Chiru, (5) Chothe, (6) Gante, (7) Hmar, (8) Kabui, (9) Kacha Naga, (10) Koirao, (11) Koireng, (12) Kom, (13) Lamkang, (14) Lushai, (15) Maram, (16) Maring, (17) Mao, (18) Monsang, (19) Moyon, (20) Paite, (21) Puram, (22) Ralte, (23) Sema, (24) Simte, (25) Salhte, (26) Tangkhul, (27) Thadou, (28) Vaiphei and (29) Zou, (30) Poumai, (31) Tarao, (32) Kharam and (33) Any Kuki tribes. The hill tribes who had an autonomous status during the king of Manipur were polarized into Nagas and Kukis by the British Administration. The arrangement of administration which was done for their administrative conveniences in turn created a sense of differentiation among the people of Manipur, which is still very much prevailing between the tribals and the Meiteis, and

between the tribals of different communities, particularly between the Nagas and the Kukis.

The Nagas and the Kukis constitute the two main tribal groups in Manipur. Those who "have affinity with the Nagas tribes of Naga hills were given generic name 'Naga' while other tribes who have affinity with Chins and Lushais were called 'Kuki' from a conglomeration of tribes."⁵ The British forbade seriously the king of Manipur to send expeditions to the Naga hill. The British Government was intended to survey the entire area of the Naga hill and sent a number of survey parties. Though the Nagas strongly resisted, they were suppressed and thus "the British got a firm foothold on the heart of the Naga hills."¹⁶ The British were reluctantly drawn into confrontation with the Nagas for the protection of the Manipuris. And it was no longer, by and large, possible for Manipur to have any political deal with Nagas. In the words of Asoso Yunuo, "... In order to appease Manipur, the British company government incorporated the Mao, Tangkhul and Tamenglong Naga areas into Manipur in 1842, whereas the Angami areas were placed in Assam, after which the Naga Hills were created as a district of Assam in 1886."¹⁷ The British entered into an agreement with the king of Manipur to further their scope in the field of trade and commerce. Since the passage to Manipur was only possible through the Naga hills, the British were determined to have firm control over the Nagas. They went on subjugating the territories of the Nagas one after another. The king of Manipur, on the other hand, was not for trade and commerce but his intention was to bring the Naga hills under his direct rule. This policy of Manipur king for permanent conquest of the Naga hills, however made the British cautious and alerted the administrators.

As a matter of fact, the British were compelled to adopt a new policy to combat the king of Manipur's desire to extend his influence to the Naga hill. Apart from this the intervention and military control of the British policy over the Naga Hills were not found to be successful to check and control the aids of the Nagas nor could maintain peace among the warring Naga villages. Lord Dalhousie entirely forsaked the military intervention and adopted the policy of non-interference in 1850 to 1865, which was later replaced by a Forward Policy. The

'Non-Interference' policy laid down by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-General of India, reads:

.... With respect to the share the state of Manipur has borne in these transactions, I must observe that the reasoning by which Major Jenkins is led to assume that Manipur has been abetting the Nagas is loose in the extreme.

If, however, better proof of the fact be shown, and the complicity of Manipur either recently or hereafter shall be satisfactorily established, there can be no difficulty in dealing with it. In such case, it would be expedient to remind the Rajah of Manipur that it will not suffer his subjects, either openly or secretly, to aid and abet the designs of the enemies of this Government; and that if he does not at once control his subjects and prevent their recurrence to any unfriendly acts, the word on which the existence of his state depends will be spoken, and its existence will put an end to.¹⁸

Although, the "British penetration under the Forward Policy into the Naga hills was resisted in the form of Naga Revolt of 1878-80 which was a serious attempt to push out the British,"¹⁹ the revolt was crushed down. Consequently, the Nagas, though speaking different languages unintelligible to each other, fighting among each other, were brought under a common law and administration by the British. Thus, "Nagaisation process was set rolling with the British creation of the Naga identity."²⁰ For instances, the Naga club set up in 1918 and the Naga National Council (NNC), 1946 under the aspirations and influence of British officials, worked for the creation of a separate Naga political identity.

Another tribal group, the Kukis of Manipur is a branch of the great Kuki-Chin family of people. The term 'Kukis' is a generic name covering a large number of tribes in the North-East India and some part of Burma (Myanmar). Ever since the British landed up in the Naga hills, there have been incessant confrontation from the Nagas. To make easy their penetration and lighten their logs of burdens in dealing with the furious and savage Nagas, the British adopted a policy to make the Kukis stronger and united than the Nagas. Bhattacharjee states,

“Lieutenant Bivar, the Junior Assistant, North Cachar submitted a plan to the Government of Bengal envisaging the establishment of a Kuki colony in a deserted area.... With a view to holding the Naga intruders in check”²¹ and in fact they “were provided with fire-arms for self-defence....”²² The Kukis were considered as peaceful subjects of Manipur by the British and armed them and utilized them as sepoy of villages against the Nagas. Subsequently the Kukis, however, highly dispersed tribes in the North-East India were made to settle in Manipur on the advice of the British Political Agents. But soon the Kukis began to show disloyalty to the British and made an attempt to forge themselves into a formidable political force. Anti-British movement was launched through a Kuki Confederacy which led to a “revolt in 1917–19.”²³ Though, their rebellion was suppressed, the British adopted a policy not to act rigorously with severity towards the Kukis. This mild attitude of the British was due to the fact that they could control more easily the raids of the Nagas if the Kukis were encouraged to take on the Nagas.

Gradually, the Kukis became more conscious of their separate identity and attempts were made by forming several political organizations to bring all Kukis and allied tribes together under one ethnic group. To mention one such political organization was “the Zomi National Congress (ZNC), founded in 1972, redefines the Chins of Burma, the Kukis of Manipur, Assam and Nagaland, and the Lushai (Mizo) of Mizoram and other areas as one nationality called Zomi... seeks to create one territorial unit for Zomi.”²⁴ Though efforts were made to bring all the minor tribes of the Kuki group into a single framework, there still prevailed a sense of disagreement on the call for unification of all the Kuki group of tribes under one appellation. This added more complexity to the political situation of various ethnic groups in Manipur.

In order to make better acquaintance and clarity of the present political situation in the state, an attempt has been made to stress a brief reference of the valley. The Valley land mainly concentrated by the Meiteis. Manipur, as stated earlier is a place where different races of people with different cultures are staying together. The Meiteis are separate group of people distinct from the tribals of the hills, and have their own

identity forming the dominant ethnic group in the state. Let us mention some of the views regarding the people of the valley (Meiteis) given by several scholars and writers. Greatly influenced by the linguistic and cultural affinities between the Meiteis and the hill tribes of Manipur and their folklore, W. McCulloch advanced a theory that the "Meiteis appeared to have been the descendants of the Naga and Kuki tribes."²⁵ In support of the cultural affinity between the Meiteis and the hill tribes of Manipur Hodson remarks, "Two hundred years ago, in the internal organization in village, in habit and manners, the Meiteis were as the hill people now are. The successive course of foreign invasions, Shan, Burmese, Hindu, and English, left permanent marks on the civilization of the people ... but their ultimate homogeneity with the Nagas and Kukis of the hills is undoubted."²⁶ In fact, it is undeniable that there are similarities in customs, habit and manners between the Meiteis and the tribals of Manipur. Johnstone while giving the propinquity of the Meiteis to the Nagas observes, "There can be little doubt that some time or other the Naga tribes to the north made one of their chiefs Rajah of Manipur, and that his family ... retained some of their old customs. This is shown in the curious practice at the installation of a Rajah, when he and the Ranee appear in Naga custom ... attended by two or three Manipuris with Naga arms and accoutrements."²⁷ Gangmumei, a local scholar is of the view that, "Immediately before they settled down in the Valley they must have lived in different places in surrounding hills ... as indicated by the Clan Chronicles."²⁸ However, recently the tribals origin of the Meiteis has been challenged by some scholars arguing that there is wide gap of differences between the Meiteis and the tribals. Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that Manipur is profoundly a mixture of different ethnic groups. The Meiteis being occupying the fertile plain land became economically more powerful than the tribals of the hills. And undoubtedly, they become a dominant ethnic group in the socio-economic and political spheres of life.

As such the tribal group of tribes, the Nagas and Kukis started various movements demanding either for a more political autonomy or a separate administration in the form of statehood for their respective groups. Conflicts between the Nagas

and Kukis are also becoming very common. The Meiteis on the other hand, upholding their traditional supremacy over the tribals are apprehensive over the growing of various tribal political movements in the state. Moreover, the tribals incessantly insist that they are being neglected for their political identity, whereas the Meiteis assert for the State's territorial integrity. As such the present political system has become more and more intricated and full of disputes. There has been a constant crisis of confidence among the different ethnic groups and crisis of leadership in the political system of the State.

The problem of ethnic strifes and uprising is a national issue which invites immediate attention of all. The root causes of maladjusted behaviours such as ethnic uprising, political instability and of insurgency needed to be explored. It is of urgent necessity to understand the view of the striking groups and find out its solution in nutshell before it is too late and reach the point of no return. The objective of the study, therefore, is to find out the root causes of ethnic clashes and political upheavals in Manipur. And also to ascertain the best caution and wisdom to be maintained by policy makers and political functionaries. It is of immense importance to find out ways and means as to what could be the best approach to the problems relating to the people of the hills tribes. It also seeks to study in view of preserving the most picturesque beauty of the state, contribution to national development in various spheres and to strengthen the unity and integrity of the country and Manipur, in particular.

The Chapter 2 of the present study, examines the tribal politics and state system in post independence era in Manipur. In Chapter 3 the study has been made on the identity crisis and tribal conflicts in Manipur. Chapter 4 examines the efforts of the state government towards bringing a conflict resolution. It also examines the efforts made by state to tackle conflicts and insurgencies. In Chapter 5 an effort has been made to study the political economy of tribals and non-tribals and state response in economic field to tackle the problems of Manipur. Lastly, a conclusion has been made on the whole study. This also outlines some important suggestions to tackle the ethnic problems and effective conflict resolution in future.

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