CHAPTER - II

Review of Literature

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the issue of ethnic conflict or identity politics is quite pervasive. There is hardly any country that does not face such issues of conflict. Therefore, there is dearth of writings on issues of identity politics, ethnicity and conflict. However, very few quality works are available on the topic under study that is the study on conflict between three major ethnic groups in Manipur. It has not been taken up as serious academic venture by any researcher so far.

Some scholars say that ethnic conflict emerged as a post cold war phenomenon. In the late 1980s the communist world collapsed and Cold War international system became history. After the cold war, a dangerous conflict between the peoples belonging to different cultural entity emerged.¹ On the idea of ‘cultural entity’, scholars are attempting to answer the most basic question: who are we and who are they? And people define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, historical values, customs, and institution. They also identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious community, nations, and, at the broader level, civilization.² For at least 150 years liberals and socialists confidently expected the demise of ethnic, racial, and national ties. And the world will be unified through international trade and mass communication. These expectations have not been realized. Instead, we are witnessing a series of explosive ethnic revivals across the globe. Clearly ethnicity, far from fading away, has now become a central issue in the social and political life of every continent. As such identification become apparent there is a necessity to start discussion on issues of ethnic conflict with the explanation of meaning of terms used often in the discourse.

2.1 Concept of Ethnicity

John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (1996) reveal more understanding on the key terms in their edited book. According to the book ‘ethnicity as term and subject of the study is very recent.’ There are a number of theories on ethnicity provoked by different scholars in the book. One of the leading theories is primordial theory, in which exponent like Max Weber (pp.35-39) shows the ethnic groups as mass status groups. He is concerned to combined with subjective and objective aspects, and balance their cultural and political bases. He oscillates between political factors and historical memories in the shaping of a sense of common ethnicity. Clifford Geertz (p.40-44) has emphasized the importance of cultural ‘givens’, like religion, language, race, nationality and customs to which people attach a ‘primordial’ quality. However, this so called primordialist position has been criticized by Jack Eller and Reed Coughlan. As aprioristic and asociological, they expose the reducing social phenomena to inherent bonds. Pierre van den Berghe (p.57-62) exposes genetic reproductive of individuals and their propensity is favor to close kin groups. Later it is extended their range of relationships to wider groups like ethnics and races.

Fishman (p.63-69) ‘Ethnicity as Being, Doing and Knowing’ examines the historical origins of inherent bonds in cultures. He shows how, contrary to the liberal and materialist assumptions of western intellectuals, ethnic bonds of ‘being’, ‘knowing’, and ‘doing’ are given concrete bodily expression in kinship, language and religion. Connor (p.69-75) too emphasizes the physical roots of mass ethnic psychology, which depends on ‘blood relationships’. Nationalist leaders understood such relations to whip up and manipulate the emotions of the masses.

Unlike this approach, Instrumentalist Fredrik Berth (p.75-82) emphasizes the strength of the social boundary of ethnic groups at the expense of the changing cultural contents which at any one time enclosed. Cohen (p.83-85) argues that ethnicity should be regarded as a type of political resource for competing interest groups. His analysis is one of the many that stresses in individual and collective goals.

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Rational choice theory exponent like Michael Hechter (p.90-97) and Michal Banton (p.98-106) reject the normative and structuralist explanations. They build models of group solidarity on the basis of individual pursuit of public good. For Hetcher, individuals, to secure their goals of wealth, prestige, and power, agrees to give up certain freedoms to organizations. In this approach, ethnic organization plays a key role in monitoring and controlling information to their members. Banton (p.98-104) defined ethnicity at the micro-level in the study. He explores individual ethnic preferences and uses a version of game theory, to determine the circumstances. Individuals choose to align themselves with their ethnic kin rather than on the basis of class, religious, or gender identities.

There are several elements that come on the way to an agreement about the central concepts of ethnicity. One widespread assumption is that ethnic groups or communities are necessarily parts of larger society. The interdependence between each other is increasing in present societies. Further difficulties are caused by changes in the etymology of the key terms like ethnic, ethnic community and the ‘ethnicity’. Eriksen, Elishabeth Tonkin, Mryyon McDonad, and Malcon Chapman underline the meanings and status of all these terms. Thomas Eriksen (p.28-30) has pointed to the confusions arising from the concept of ‘tribe’ to the ‘ethnicity’. He also considers the issue of majority ‘ethnics’ which may become nations is a debatable. But Connor objected that this remains an unexplored area of research. The fact is that the English word ‘ethnic’ which has no equivalent proper noun to the Greek word (origin word) ‘ethnos’. Like Eriksen, Tonkin, McDonald and Chapman are main anti-essentialist tradition of anthropology which aims to reveal the relational and subjective nature of ethnicity.

2.2 Role of Ethnicity

Ethnic line will not disappear in the foreseeable future. Moreover, strong ethnic lines are drawing more sharply in many parts of the world. Ethnic groups in conflict mutually reinforce their antagonistic identities. In the midst of collapsing states or empires, the dream for nation state becomes vivid for ethnic minorities. Even, in less conflict setting, a personal identity is persisted in the culturally complex and rapidly changing society.
Now, the recognition of identity and ethnicity is an important module of life. Milton\(^4\) (1997) asked “should we celebrate that fact as a source of great humanistic strength? (p343).” Milton explains that there is ample evidence of strong networks of private associations based on the ideal of pluralism. The association does not weaken the cohesion of a democratic society but actually strengthen it. Such networks serve to relate individuals are closer meaningfully to the large and also to protect from excessive engrossment on freedom by society and state. The task is to keep identity of a group in balance with other human wide identities.

Milton suggests that there is a need to aware of the causes and consequences of various mixings of individual, ethnic societal and human wide identities. A society is wise to create an environment where the right to ethnicity is fully protected and mutually respected. While it works to strengthen those conditions that tend to make ethnic identity in multi society. A society, according to Milton, is most fortunate where ethnicity continues as minor groups. It serves as remarking to major themes of individual identity and with larger society in the world.

Role of ethnicity is more described in Paul Brass’s (1991) work\(^5\) *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. According to him, ethnicity plays a role of competition amongst the cultural groups across the world. Ethnic conflicts and secessionist movements as inseparable part of ethnicity exist in the multiethnic society. These movements are sometimes referred as nationalism. If it is used in the main stream politics, then it brought a complex and difficult situation. Therefore, Brass formulates a theoretical analysis based on two distinct premises, viz., 1) ethnicity and nationalism are not 'givens' but are social and political constructions and 2) ethnicity and nationalism are modern phenomena created by the activities of the modern centralizing state.

According to Brass, ethnicity and nationalism are the creation of elites, who drew upon, distort and sometimes fabricate materials from the cultures of the groups.

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Elites wish to represent in order to protect their well being or to gain political and economic advantage for their group as well as for themselves. The second argument is that ethnicity and nationalism are modern phenomena inseparably connected with the activities of the modern centralizing state. But Brass’s position is that ethnic identity and modern nationalism arise out of specific types of interactions between the leadership of centralizing states and elites from non-dominant ethnic groups especially but not exclusively on the peripheries of those states.

Brass as subjectivist exposed that ethnic identities in multiethnic societies are always in a state of flux. There is a situation to favour assimilation by differential mobilization of the minority ethnic groups during the decline of ethnic identity, job, security, etc. Ethnic group chooses to assimilate to the language and culture of the larger or ruling group for their opportunity. But the assimilated group may remain distinguishable enough by cultural or religious marker. It is to be an instrument for newly group to raise and serve conflict or solidarity. Brass advocates that conflicts are triggered by struggle for control between elites over resources. Ethnic self-consciousness, ethnically based demands, and ethnic conflict can occur only if there is some conflict either between indigenous and external elites and authorities or between indigenous elites.

With regard to conflict resolution, Brass advocates negotiation and accommodation. He also favours to keeping the state system open while trying to decentralize the overly centralized states. Brass’s theories are based on his extensive study of the historical and political processes in multi-ethnic societies. There is much truth in his identification of the problem in the state of Punjab and elsewhere in India, viz. in relentless centralization and, often, some questionable interventionist policies of the central government.
2.3 Conflict and Peace Process in World

Each conflict throughout the world (either inter or intra levels) are followed by peace process endeavor by respective government at large. There are few literatures on the mechanism of peace process. Horowitz\(^6\) (1985) outlines the origins and manifestations of ‘raw’ ethnic sentiment. He also discusses how institutions can affect the expression of this sentiment. He calls these the "two imperatives" of explaining ethnic conflict (p. 228). There are three main approaches that have been applied to ethnic conflict: Modernization theory, economic interests, and cultural pluralism. However, he denies an economic theory is the "ethnic division of labor". Most economic theories assume that ethnic conflict arises either from ethnic groups competing for jobs, or business leaders competing for the same market, or whatever. But he points out that, in most societies, one group favors some lines of work, and another group favors other ways. Economic conflict rarely coincides with ethnic conflict because different ethnic groups often embrace different economic paths.

However, he begins his explanation of ethnic conflict seriously from group psychology. Much of the tension comes from group comparison. People evaluate their abilities/worth relative to other people and since group identity is often central to individual identity. This self-esteem is strongly influenced by a comparison of group to others. Colonial policies strengthened group identities, on the one hand, and created "advanced" and "backward" groups on the other. Despite the importance of the ethnic division of labor, he now argues that in-group elites in backward groups may exhort their group to catch up and emulate advanced groups. Many backward groups have an anxious fear of going extinct. Horowitz concludes by admitting his focus on group, rather than individual, psychology.

Western conceptions of politics are often procedural as ‘power is a means to an end.’ In ethnically divided societies, power is also an end unto itself for two reasons: it confirms group worth and it ensures group survival. Different ethnic groups have different claims of legitimacy. Some accept their "alien" status without claiming

legitimacy. There are many sources to claim legitimacy and can vary in their moderation/extremism. Combining group esteem needs with competing claims for legitimacy yields the dynamic of ethnic politics. Welfare of a group is often more important than the absolute welfare of society. These factors explain the importance of symbolic politics, with language being the ultimate symbol. Language can be used to exclude other groups. The status of the language denotes the status of the group that speaks it. Language affects everybody in their mobility, not just some sectors. Civil service jobs are another important realm of symbolic politics, but often it is played by group elites who stand to benefit most directly from ethnic appoint policies. However, it does not mean that it is purely an economic issue. A good theory must explain both elite and mass behavior and also account for the passionate, symbolic, and apprehensive aspects of ethnic conflict (p. 226). So, he concludes "ethnic conflict arises from the common evaluative significance accorded by the groups to the acknowledged group differences and then played out in rituals of affirmation and contradiction" (p.227).

Horowitz considers when ethnic groups will attempt to secede from a state. He divides ethnic groups and regions into two as backwards and advanced. Advanced groups have benefited from education and non-agricultural employment and backward groups are less educated, less wealthy and are stereotyped as "indolent, ignorant and not disposed to achievement." Advanced and backward regions are defined based on the relative economic position in a country.

The logic is that backward groups in backward regions will have little reason to stay in the state. They will feel discrimination and will fear extinction. Advanced groups in backward regions won't want to secede usually because they will often benefit from exporting labor and capital from the country (since their own region is backward). Backward groups in advanced regions are unlikely to secede because they are unlikely to be a significant population group in the advanced region. It follows that there must be some large advanced group which makes the region advanced.
Radha Kumar’s (2009) edited book describes on actual conflict and potential negotiations in ongoing peace processes in the world corners. He dispenses some selected conflicts that appear in reality. The overarching theme of the book is to learn peace negotiations from society that have been violently divided along ethnic or religious lines by competing claims to self determination. Radha Kumar suggests that only two of the simulations replicate actual negotiation as they took place Northern Ireland and Jammu and Kashmir. Two others envisage an imaginary stage in ongoing negotiations (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Nagaland). It also focuses the fractional issues, peace building and the changing roles play by key actors in deeply divided societies. Each chapter deals with specific aspect of self determination conflicts and their resolution.

In the first chapter, John Doyle and Adrian Guelke (p.1-35) describe on conflict and how they precede negotiation between Northern Ireland and British. The roots of the conflict in Northern Ireland lie in competing aspirations for self-determination under the British rule, beginning with a series of English invasions of Ireland from the 12th century. Following a series of alternating political mobilizations and fail rebellions, the British Government ultimately proposed home rule for Ireland within the UK, but the reaction to this policy within Ireland led to polarization. The majority pursued the goal of complete independence, while a minority, particularly that proportion of the protestant population concentrated in the northeast of the island where they constituted a local majority, retained a sense of British identity, wished to maintain the union with British and strongly proposed home rule. So political violence rose in Northern Ireland and there was increasing disorder on the street.

The two sides signed the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement on 1998. Under this agreement, the British and Irish governments agreed to give up their competing territorial claims and established a joint body for bilateral cooperation. The agreement set up a common assembly and joint mechanism, human right commissions. Besides, the

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parties agreed that the British army would withdraw in phases tied to the implementation of the agreement. This objective should be able to understand the political dynamics that made the agreement possible among the antagonists with diametrically opposed objectives. At the same time, participants will be aware of the difficulties that were encountered in implementing the settlement and its political impact.

On Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, Radha Kumar and Anjali Puri (p. 65-133) suggest that it is an imaginary issue (conflict and negotiation). This conflict covers vast areas in the South Eastern Europe. Yugoslavia, a federation of six republics Servia, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia- Herzegovina and Macedonia created in 1945, fragmented violently along religious faultiness in 1990-91, between Christians and Muslims and other side Catholic and Orthodox Christians. On the issues of political, economic, culture, religions, language etc. bloody ethnic war between Bosnia-Herzegovina that kill 250,000 people and it also divided into two above entities: Muslim/Croat Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Bosnia Serb Republic, Republican Srpska, each with its own president, government, parliament, police and other bodies. The negotiation takes places five years after the internationally brokered Dayton Peace agreement of 1995. Unlike the Belfast Agreement, the agreement comprised a package that could be reviewed ten years later. Some provisions of the Dayton Agreement were clearly transitory, such as international administration and the security, and others were more ambiguous when it came to review. For example, the Bosnian Constitution that was part of the Dayton Agreement included provision for constitutional amendment but the Bosnian government needed international support for amendment. However, a number of issues were involved in amending the Constitution.

The issue of ‘Samia’ Radha Kumar (pp. 356-382) emphasizes on the role of international community as humanitarian intervention. The land Sami in Africa was a French colony. When French withdraw, following an independence war led by United Samain Liberation Army, they agreed with United Samian Liberation Army (USLO) that the country would create a power sharing government of Muslims and Christians, with representation a set of imaginary country for four minorities. In 1956, army chief, General Ido, was declared independent Samia’s first president. But Samia remained poor
and socially fissured during his rule. Recently, Samia has been plagued by famine and recurrent ethnic conflict. This country has recently been engulfed by a new wave of conflict in which tens of thousands have died and hundreds of thousands of people have fled their homes. In 1976, National Union party (NUP) was set up by Samia Christian groups. After general Sadi death in a helicopter crash, Muslim movement and NUP struggle for power and leadership. In January 2006, Muslim movement militias and their Zema allies suddenly targeted villages allied to the NUP, whose militias retaliated swiftly by targeting Sunni, Sufi and Zema villages. The conflict rapidly spread to the towns and country’s capital fell under the control of five separate militias.

The book also suggests on a major confidence-building and stage one measuring: a ceasefire as the first step towards political resolution. Ceasefires were essential to the prospects for a political settlement in Northern Ireland. The ceasefire would have had the same impact in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Jammu and Kashmir if they could have been achieved. The purpose of this abstract simulation is twofold – first, to focus on the structural elements of a successful peace process and to distinguish which confidence-building measures (CBMs) play the make or break role. Second, to enable participants to explore the qualities-objective as well as subjective- that are vital in good peace negotiator.

2.4 Ethnic Conflict in India

There are many other books dealing with the ideas of ethnicity, peace and conflict. Instead of going to all now let me turn the attention to the issues in Indian context. The problem of conflicts inside India is at large, complex and difficult to resolve. Such crucial problem, in fact, is mostly happened in all plural societies. Ethnic antagonism, violence, issues of integration and survival issues are engrained in the politics since the formation of India. Therefore P S Rastogi (1986) attempts to studied such problems in the Indian society. He endeavors to derive predictive interference in the analysis. His analysis

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further proceeds toward the requirements of monitoring and control for problem solving. He picks up three major ethnic tensions in India, viz., the inter-group turbulence in Assam, the Sikh extremism in Punjab and Hindu Muslim communalisms in his analysis.

According to Rastogi, Hindu-Muslim conflict is a chronic situation in Indian society. It differs from Punjab and Assam situations in two important prospects. Firstly, this acute socio-political problem dates back to the period of British rule and earlier. It led to the partition of the subcontinent in 1947 and has continued to persist even in independence India. Secondly it is not localize regional problem. As many as 142 districts all over the country have been identified as being prone to communal incidents. Of these, 60 districts have been designated as hyper-sensitive to communal conflict.

In fact, every year scores of violent clashes between Hindus and Muslim occur in diverse parts of the country (p.186). Dozens of innocent persons lose their lives in these incidents. Many more are seriously injured and become homeless. Diverse type of incident of Hindu- Muslim violence in different parts of the country present a dismal picture of man’s inhumanity to man. The sources of the problem lie in the deep rooted emotions of distrust, hate, rage, contempt and bitterness of large sections of the two communities towards each other. These emotions are, however, supported by cognitive world views consist of a set of negative images, beliefs, stereotypes and prejudices about the older community. They are, time to time, reinforced by feeling of politico-economic and psycho-cultural insecurities engendered by contemporary socio-political and developments.

These opprobrious world views are sociologically interesting in view of the fact that the Muslims of the India sub-continent are mainly converts from the native Hindu population of the country (p188). Muslim populace of the country does not constitute distinct and separate racial stock. Muslim groups differ from region to region in terms of their dress, language and local customs. They however emphasize their group identity through visible symbols and rituals of their common religio-cultural practices.

The general dynamic structure of the problem-phenomenon also elucidates a concept of the levels of control of a problem. This concept clarifies the plural levels of
solution of a problem ranging from an immediate treatment of its worsening symptoms to
the elimination of the very basis of the problem. Each level of control is characterized by
solution measures specific to that level.

The appreciating of the book is that it gives suggestions extensively on such
problem. There are numbers of suggestions which covering not only monitoring all
related but also arms aspects. The monitoring of the foreign linkages with militant Pan-
Islamic organizations, the Pakistani connection and secessionist activities in Kashmir are
important in solving the conflict. The division of problem solving measures are may be
divided into two as sort term and long term. The short term aims at treatment of the
symptoms i.e. emergence, development and escalation of communal violence and riots.
They are thus primarily concerned with forestalling and or overcoming the disturbed law
and order condition. Long term measures focus on the government’s credible and
sustained communication measures. Their nature, significance and impact were outlined
in the discussion of any problem in India. They aim at producing a slow, steady and
cumulative impact on the distorted images and beliefs of the two social groups about one
another. They are meant to influence the socialization and life experience of the
individuals toward inter-communal goodwill, harmony and cooperation. Exceedingly
slow nature of the process of cognitive and attitudinal changes sought to be initiated by
them, account for their long term nature.

Finally, the book endeavor to view the problem of ethnic conflict in yet more
basic terms. Hatred, bitterness, violence, destruction and human suffering engendered by
this conflict are seen as the outcomes of the non-recognition of deeper bonds between
man and man consequential to an exclusive primacy of intra-communal social bonds.
Segmentation of human social order into groups and communities, fractionation of social
ties between man and man and barriers to positive emotional relationships between
human beings on the basis of their religion, community, race region, language, ideology
and beliefs need to be overcome in order release the man from his self-created
imprisonment within the walls of hate, destruction, death and misery.
2.5 Northeast India

When it comes to the Northeast India one easily assumes that the region is centre of all the conflict in the country. It is manifested in various such as nationalism, ethnic movement, regionalism etc. This contradicts mainland scholars and observers who laud the nation's commitment to democracy and unilateral declared it as the most functioning populous democracy in the world. But serious challenges to the ‘nation-building’ process in post-independence India came from Northeast India (Nagas, Assamese, Meeteis etc). The emergence of ethnic nationalism or sub-nationalist uprising in Northeastern is more extreme then those in other parts of India. From the idea of centre periphery syndrome of the dependency theory developed by A.G. Gardiner, Misra’s (2000) book\(^9\) brilliantly portrait the idea how the centre (mainstream Indian state system) has been challenged by the peripheries (i.e. the small political territories) in Northeast India. Although the strike to the centre by the periphery has been a multipurpose activity, the author deals only one i.e. curving out from the Union of India (as an independent entity). The 50 years movement against India made by ethnic or nationalistic groups of the region could have characterized in two forms- democratic and extremist. But the author emphasized only the violent form of ethnic striking by the insurgents (NSCN and ULFA).

On the introductory chapter, he opens intellectual debate that how the seven states which have numerous differences in politico-economic and social history can be clubbed together under the common umbrella ‘the North East’. He narrates that there has been a tendency of the main land India’s scholars to view the problems and prospects of these states (northeastern) from single perspective. But for him it is nothing than an illusive construction. These states posses not only distinct cultural historical traditions but economically too they are in different stages of growth. For instance, Assam state is different from the other states of the region. Historically she has a civilization link with the mainland India where as no others have. Unlike Assam, almost all the hilly

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nationalities of the other states did have posses the experience of state formation. Thus, the author has made emphasis that there are discernible similarities among the states of the region such as insurgency, economic backwardness, poor communication system etc.

However, in the later part, the author has turned his perception towards stipulated purpose of the work. During the freedom struggle of India, the leaders of the nation could able to create a common consensus as one nation, one language, and one country. But just after the partition of the nation that form of emotional construction had jolted which later was treated as the question towards Indian nation building process. According to the author, the centralized authority of the Indian state is being repeatedly questioned, issues based on uneven development of the socio-economic order raised and the idea of mainstream redefined. Many ethnic nationals such as the Nagas, Mizos, Meeteis and the Assamese have raised demand for autonomy or right to self determination by creating chaos in the entire region. These ethnic uprising of the region have challenged mainly the Indian value system. That’s why the Indian state is not only fighting just for insurgency in the region but also for the survival of those values on which the Indian union stands.

The author portrays the historical roots of the Nagas’ struggle for freedom. The author has revealed many historical dimensions from a new angle of analysis on ‘Nagas Struggle: Historical Roots and Clash of Cultures’. For him the Nagas had never any form of civilizational link or attachment with the mainland India. They had quite separate history which is anyhow not related with any other independent nationalities of India. In short before British advent to their land they were never being defeated by anyone in history. That’s why their attachment was only with the Britishers, not with any Indian administration or leaders during the period of freedom struggle. When the Britishers landed on the Naga areas they adopted the policy of ‘excluded area’ or ‘partially excluded area’ through which the land of the Nagas or other such hilly areas could be administered separately by separate authority. They had given autonomy in certain aspects of their socio-political lives so that they would able to continue their earlier way of lifestyle. The Britishers of course, were not forgetting to impart their western values along with the traditions of the Nagas by inviting the Christian
Missionaries into the land. As a result, the Nagas had gone more familiarized with the western values rather than the Indian value system which was later becoming instrumental in creating a separate ethnic identity among the Nagas. On this line, the author is trying to give an account about the historical roots of the Nagas’ struggle in the chapter by concluding that the ongoing Nagas’ struggle has been a struggle between two cultures i.e. the Indian as well as the Nagas. Though a homeland, Nagaland was successfully negotiated in 1962. Breakaway Naga leaders went into exile in and fought a decades-long civil war into incorporate Naga inhabited areas of Neighboring states into the homeland. The issue of single administrative system or self-determination of Naga tribes who are spread across four different states in Northeastern is unacceptable to India.

The author also discusses role of the India State in tackling the challenging Naga problem. At the initial stage the NNC (Nagaland Nationalist Council) was working with full support of its fellow nationals. But according to the author that was possible because of the anti-Naga tradition maneuver taking by the Indian state system. Therefore, the India re-institutionalized the British policy (rule and divide) in order to split the organized efforts of the NNC. The India was fully succeeded in executing the narrow ethnocentric tendency among the sub-tribes of the Nagas as an instrument to divide the organizational bases of the Nagas which later culminated into inter-ethnic/intra-ethnic clash and conflicts in the state. On the other hand, the India was used her sponsored medias for imputing a general consciousness among the common masses of the state that their so-called national heroes were exploiting all the benefits of the grants and aids that provided to their state by the centre. Besides of these maneuvers, the Indian state had brutal army operations in the state in order to default of the extremists. As a result of the army operations as well as of their gradual losing of faith on arms struggle have decreased the Naga struggle to a large extent.

Chapter four and five deal with the burning issue of Assamese sovereignty which has been warming the politico-economic milieu of the state since independence. In the chapter four the author explores the historical roots of the question of sovereignty in the minds of the Assamese nationalities. In this searching the author starts his mission
from 1826 onwards i.e. just after the British rule over the state by the Treaty of Yandaboo. There are various revolts and extremist operations took place during the colonial period. Among them the anti-British revolt started by Moniram Dewan, Peoli Phukan, peasant revolts of Phulaguri and Pathorughat, socio-cultural nationalistic sentiments developed by the educated elite section of the state including the figures like Kamalakanta Bhattacharyya, Laksminath Bejboruah and Ambikagiri Rai Choudhuri etc. are taken into especial consideration in the chapter. However, the author accepted these occurring provide historical sentimental attachment to the modern extremist revolutionaries. Besides, the political leaders of the Assam Congress also provide a modest ground for demanding sovereignty. Among them the role of Gopinath Bordoloi in removing Assam from ‘C Group’ and his demand for special status to Assam is the source of inspirations in later. Of course, all these happenings during that period had never for complete independence but for autonomy within the Indian state according to the writer.

In the fifth chapter the author analyze the issue of Assamese question of sovereignty from post independence experience. Just after partition of the country, many Hindu refugees from East Pakistan were entered into Assam creating havoc tensions between the state government and centre. B.P.Chalihas’ government was instrumental in materializing the ‘Assam State Official Language Bill, 1960’, which alone can be responsible for balkanization of the state. The Bill had tightened the distinct linguistic sentiments of all the ethnic groups of the state in general and of the Assamese in particular. Another two important incidents took place in the 70s and 80s of the last century had significant contribution in building Assamese sentiments in strict sense. First was the India’s humiliated defeat in the war with China where Nehru’s farewell address to the Assamese people without taking any counter measure to protect the part of the country from Chinese occupation. This behavior of the mainstream leaders questioned the Indian identity of every conscious Assamese national. Similarly the second incident was related with the socio cultural identity of the Assamese people. The heavy influx of foreign nationals into the state as refugees in 1971 which there was six years of movement taking more than 800 lives. ULFA’s aim to make Assam as sovereign state has been a
critical step on the extremist as well as unsatisfied youth has been taken especial attention of the writer in the chapter. The author has lucidly analyzed the causes of the ULFA’s armed struggle for sovereignty in the chapter as well as the state maneuvers to destroy them forcefully and politically by questioning about survival of their basic aim in future.

In the chapter the author deals with the relative causes of the problems erupting in the region. For him, many causes of movements in the world (the economic factor or development issue) have not been instrumental in Northeastern India’s uprising. Instead, idea for an independent Naga homeland (Naga way of life) would be ensured. That is why the insurgent (NSCN) could capture the support of the different Naga tribes as well as could able to continue parallel government with the state in many remote areas of Nagaland. According to him, still the issue of independence is an unsolved issue like many other issues of Manipur and Assam. The centre and the state government have not exposed any form of willingness to meet the identity issue of the people of the region. Often they take resort to armed counter violence, abused of human rights and making more striking the national sentiments of the states.

On these unstable crises, Sanjib Baruah's (2005) book questions a critical engagement on India's Northeast policy. The book reacts at India government’s policy in the northeast which is odd with the rest of the country's system of governance. The security-driven obsession of the government undermines the working of democratic exchanges and negotiations between the centre government and the people in Northeast India. Militancy and counterinsurgency politics are creation within the working system by India. The author investigates the historical points and organizational functions that enabled the emergence of insurgents in Assam. He writes for an Indian audience to create awareness of the failure of democracy in the Northeast and expose the weakness of the government of India. He declares, "Northeast governance works outside the rules and norms that govern India's democratic political institutions. . . . While the elections

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continue to play an important role, basic democratic values like the rule of law, accountability, and transparency get thrown out of the window” (p. 165).

The broad sweep of politics that he covers in the book is based on a multisite research. The stories are wide-ranging, focusing on militancy movements in Nagaland, Assam, and Manipur; the counterinsurgency operations and militarism of the central Indian state; government corruption and financial deals made with surrendered insurgents such as the Surrendered United Liberation Front of Assam (SULFA); failed development politics in Arunachal Pradesh; and the deformed institutions of democratic governance in the Northeast. Here he defines ‘Disorder’ in terms of India’s political system. The sustainability of disorder has made the abnormal to a normal situation and stuck between war and peace in the region. He suggests an alternative institutional imagination for the Northeast. The key to the political settlement is the recognition because there is no inherent crisis of territoriality (p. 102). Once this is accepted and acknowledged, a two-track policy should be implemented. A new regional alliance, like the European Union model, should be put in place within which the demarcated, ethnic boundaries of states disappear for practical day-to-day work. The opportunity to pool resources and pursue a regional agenda, he predicts, will chart the path for a transnational policy involving the economies and people of Southeast Asia. Transnational engagements will do well for the Northeast and provide opportunities for the region to acquire access to global markets and technology to overcome the handicaps of its landlocked condition. At the same time, it could create a space for a less territorialized version of the politics of recognition that animates the ethno national conflicts (pp. 27, 102).

The suggestion to create a regional economic space for bringing together local, national, and transnational political scenario is challenging and innovative. Solutions directed to the political economy alone, however, will not solve the people's quest. The Northeast is a cultural and historical entity little known to the rest of India. The clichéd discussion on militancy in the national media has transformed the region into a place without history. Hence, alongside a new and bold transnational regional economic policy, common sites and spaces of understanding also need to be developed. Here, he remarks that music is a vibrant and shared culture that people in the Northeast enjoy.
Northeast music also travels easily to areas in South and Southeast Asia. Like music, at the end of the book, he asks NE people should live with main land people by accommodating culture recognition and language of harmony.

Sanjib Baruah's another book explores the growth of Assamese 'sub-nationalism' and its rather uneasy relationship with pan-Indianism. The book opens with theoretical concepts deal on different connotations of 'nation-building'. Sub-nationalism builds up in India has had a dialogical relationship with pan Indian politics. And it is often animated by the India's Constitution. The federal structure of the country needs a lot of restructure so that the centralization of political power and policy-making is effectively reduced. Pointing out the disjuncture between the Assamese and the pan-Indian public sphere, the book highlights the issue of immigration and demographic change in Assam. Baruah feels that it is could have serious implications for Indian democracy. This could be a debatable point because some of the writings about the situation in Assam have come from 'pan-Indian' intellectuals.

The book also discusses how colonial political geography came to affect the cultural politic of Assam in the post-independence. After the British take-over, the boundaries of the Assam were continuously changed to meet administrative convenience. The major effect of the colonial assumption is that Assam was an extension of Bengal. Historical or cultural continuity relations were never considered when the British restructured the boundaries of Assam. And its major casualties show on the Assamese-Naga relationship. While it is true that the Ahoms maintained a working relationship based on a mix of force and conciliation with the exaggeration that there were "strong commercial and political ties" between the Nagas and the Ahom kingdom. The British, on their part, developed a policy of minimum interference with the Nagas because this proved to be least expensive. This policy may be divided into two periods: the early period when the main aim was to prevent Naga raids into the Assam plains where tea, oil and coal were becoming major British investments and to extend that much of

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administrative control as was absolutely necessary to keep the tribes in check. At later period, the policy was clearly marked by an attempt to segregate the hills from the plains.

In his analysis of Assamese sub-nationalism, overlooks the role of Assamese exclusiveness played in the break-up of Assam. He shows how the Assamese obsession with language politics led to all other socio-economic issues of the region being sidelined. There has been little space for either the plains’ tribals or the hill people within the framework of Assamese sub-nationalism, limited as it was primarily to the Brahmaputra Valley.

Today, onetime militants who fought for an independent Assam are accusing the ULFA of trying to sell Assam to Pakistan and thereby break up India. The fact is that they had maintained their independent status up to the advent of the British. And British are responsibility for Indo Pak issues. In the discussion, there will be provision for Assamese Issue. Baruah sees the central government as the 'prime mover' in the break-up of Assam. New Delhi created new states so as to preempt insurgencies in the north-east. He also refers to the "contradiction between Assamese sub-nationalist vision of an Assamese Assam and the reality of multiethnic Assam having greatly facilitated the break-up of colonial Assam". One feels that holding the centre primarily responsible for the break-up would be adopting a rather simplistic approach. The language riots of 1960-61 drove the final wedge between the Assamese and the hill peoples while the 1972 disturbances alienated the plains tribes, thereby further reducing the chances of accommodative politics in an undivided Assam.

The subsequent part of the book deals on the foreigner’s issue, the dichotomy between pan-Indian and Assamese perceptions of the threat to Assamese identity posed by illegal infiltration from neighboring Bangladesh. Baruah quotes from New Delhi's official documents to show that the issue of illegal infiltration was an accepted fact but political equations in Assam prevented it from initiating any meaningful action. He treads on known ground when he refers to the role of organizations like the Asom Sahitya Sabha and the All Assam Students' Union during the popular movement which had succeeded in getting the support not only of the ethnic Assamese but also of the plains tribal.
The analysis of the rise of militant sub-nationalism under the ULFA is perceptive and well argued. He rightly points out that it was the ULFA which brought to the fore the question of underdevelopment and of Assam being treated as a colonial hinterland. But the colonial thesis had been developed by some Left intellectuals much before it was adopted by organizations like the ULFA. It is also true that the ULFA supports were beyond the ethnic Assamese and its cadres were drawn from almost all segments of the state's indigenous groups. On the immigration issue, the ULFA's stand differs radically from that of the AASU and other Assamese sub-nationalist organizations.

Baruah refers to ULFA's support base and points to the widespread public grief over Parag Das's popularly death. The support to Pakistan during the Kargil war led to a plummeting of ULFA's popularity and its credibility was sharply affected. There are not many people in Assam today who would take the outfit's demand for an independent Assam seriously. Baruah is rightly exercised about the violations of human rights by the state. But one feels that his account should have been balanced by the violations committed by organizations like the ULFA. In the ever-shrinking democratic space, the number of silent voices seems to be increasing at a frightening rate. The issue of human rights is being viewed from an increasingly restrictive angle, with each ethnic organization trying to put forward its own version of human rights. Even ethnic cleansing is being sought to be passed off as a struggle for human rights of a particular ethnic community.

India against itself is marked by passion and deep involvement in the subject. The insider's viewpoint tends to give a sharply subjective angle to certain portions of the book. But the overall impression that it leaves is of a consciously objective effort to present the situation in Assam in the context of the practice of federalism in present-day India. Book is thinking about all the major issues that confronts Assam and the other states of the north-eastern region. All this, however, in no way detracts from the overall merit of the work. Obviously, Baruah does not and cannot be expected to offer any solutions to the present tangle in Assam. But one hope that his analysis of the situation on the disjunction between Assam's identity and its relationship with India, would eventually
help reduce prejudices and pre-conceptions which continue to mark New Delhi's approach towards developments in the north-eastern part of the country.

2.6 Ethnic Nationalism in Manipur

Finally it will be appropriate to discuss some of the writings on ethnic conflict in Manipur. The sub nationalist movements (revolutionary movements) are still on-going in Manipur. It is being undertaken mainly by three groups (Meetei, Kuki, and Naga). Though there are number of ethnic base underground groups in the state, only these major three groups are considered seriously in the state. In fact, it has produced tremendous impact on the polity, society, governance of the state and as also the psycho of the people in particular. The Government of India was compelled to change their attitude towards Manipur. The movement’s source is rooted in the political issue. On these themes, N Joykumar Singh (2005)\(^{12}\) studies both theoretical and empirical views on revolutionary movement in Manipur. The work gives an understanding the post-merger political movement which had in two trends. The first was on non violence to establish democratic representative form of democracy and statehood for Manipur within the Indian Union. The second was armed struggle for the liberation of Manipur and establishment of sovereign state outside the Indian Union. However the book is more concerned with the second category of the political movements which are described popularly as insurgency and also known in Manipur ‘Naharolgi Ihou’. The movement is definitely not a movement in the conventional sense. It is a deep rooted assertion of the ethnic nationalism with a clean act of revolutionary agenda. The book shows a well researched and well documented work for which the author should be commended.

The scholarship and historical acumen of Joykumar are unfolded in the pages of the book. The author deals with five aspects of the theme: a theoretical exposition on revolutions, the genesis of the revolutionary movements in Manipur, the nature and character of the movement, the leadership pattern and the impact of the movements. Starting with the classical definition of the revolution as ‘change or transformation’ the author deals with comparative theories of revolution, both Marxism and non Marxism. If

we follow the classification of the revolutionary categories, one is inclined to think the insurgencies in Manipur as the guerrilla-based armed revolutions (p.10). The occurrence of armed revolutionary struggle was due to denial, by the imperialist or the pro-imperialist government, of the peaceful means for the masses of the people to gain national aims including armed intervention to reverse popular trend towards independence. This type of revolutionary movement uses ‘violence against violence’. The guerrilla warfare is a form of revolutionary struggle in Manipur.

The author has given an impartial and objective account of six well-known revolutionary parties, namely, the Meitei State Committee, United National Liberation Front, Revolutionary Government of Manipur, People Liberation Army Eastern Region, People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak and Kangleipak Communist Party. The writer analyses the character of the parties on the basis of the ideological perspectives. The Meitei State Committee was the legacy of the Communist movement launch by Hijam Irabot Singh; naturally the members of MSC were admirers of Irabot Singh but their ideology was mixture of nationalism and leftist slogans. The KCP is the inheritor of the tradition of MSC. The United National Liberation Front is based on the Manipuri Nationalism and common cultural heritage of the Meiteis and hills tribes. The exploit of RGM, which was off soot of the UNLF, shows its similarity of the ideology in the plank of the original front. They use the name ‘Manipur’ which is not used by other parties, which used the term Kangleipak. PLA is purely based on Maxism. PREPAK is based on Meitei ethnic nationalism. The author gives fairly authentic presentation of the parties, their aims, objectives and their activities, failure of achievements. RGM broke away from the UNLF, so also the PLA. Bothe PREPAK and KCP are independent of UNLF. The analysis of the role of leaders and the pattern of leadership is a major contribution of the book. The author examines the role of leaders like A Somendro, O Sudhirkumar, N Bisheshor, R.K. Tullachandra, W. Tomba etc.

However, Rajendra Kshtri (2006) studies the discontent feeling and dissatisfaction of the Meetei youth. He compare between the current underground

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movement and the light of past movement. The seeds of secessionist movements are now in vague in the state were shown that Meetei movement cannot be reduced to a mono-causal explanation. Two specific movements have been selected for examining the issue viz. the first movement focussed as background and the second movement plausibly causative.

The book has three sections and six chapters. The first two chapters show the theoretical framework to geo-political profile and historical background of Manipur and its main majority community Meetei. The political integration of Manipur with Indian Union took place in the year 1949 through a merger agreement. However, Rajendra portray the period from 1930s to early 1950s movement are the most important in the history of Manipur. During this period, legendary hero of Manipur Hijam Irabot’s movement of anti feudal and colonialism was born and seeding the present revolutionary movement. During his reform period and demand for absolute responsible government, suddenly Manipur merged into the Indian Union that incarnated him into underground leader. Credit goes to Irabot that he was first and foremost a nationalist and also remained as defining point of Meetei Nationalism without acknowledging the contribution of his cotemporary Naoriya Phullo who revives the traditional religion against the Hindu.

The emergence of parent underground organisations and their background is not directly connected with Irabot. But, since the formation of UNLF by various communities, it has main demand ‘secede Manipur from mainland India’. The member strength of the UNLF in the initial stage could not define. In the initial stage of revolution, they had a fractional issue that was also not elaborately explained. Emergence of PLA from the platform of RGM and CONSOCOM, ideological oriented groups, changed the entire insurgency scenario in the northeast. The author pointed out that PLA is first in the region who openly declares itself as ‘Maoist’. Organisation structure, recruitment process and mode of fund raising, and social and economic background of the activists are more in elaborated. Most importantly, the reason of joining to the underground is opposite to the observation by Indian leaders suggesting that such underground are ill treatment or wrong led youth. However, according to the systematic survey undertaken by the Rajendra is that the reason of the merger is primarily result of
emergence issue. Therefore, he suggests for the settlement of ‘Indo- Manipur conflict’ through the political way.

Chapter five describes about the activities of the insurgents. The two big insurgent UNLF and PLA address the restoration of loss Kabow valley to Manipur was the second most important issue in the agenda next to liberation Manipur from Indian rule. On the other side, the founder leader PLA N Bisheswar jointed the mainstream politics by contesting the election. They formed a political party called Democratic Independent Front (DIF), ideologically back by Maoist-Leninist, announced ‘from bullet to ballot’ is still confusing in the discussion. The surviving of the movement is depending upon the popular support of mass. The idea is striking by the advice of Mao-Ze-Dong- “the richest sources of power to wage war lies in masses of the people”. The two popular supports ‘Active and Passive’ is getting by insurgents though their communication channel- Down, Resistance and other pamphlet of the groups. Interestingly, deployments of army to bring an end to insurgency further instigate the movement and create a scope for them to get more support.

The last chapter explains about ideologies of the insurgent groups who are operating at the Imphal valley. The explanation of the theoretical concept of the insurgency is well and sound. Both Negative and positive aspects of ideology showed in the contemporary thought of Marxism, Leninism and Gramsci. Rajendra confirms that there was no concrete ideology in the beginning of insurgency. He suggests that PLA is only ideology oriented in Northeast India since Irabot movement. However, in Northeast India, there are many Maoists operating and it branded. Finally, if we study deeply, the book shall point out some areas of further research.

2.7 Naga Nationalism

Many scholar provoked Naga issues in the previous books rather slightly. Their movement emerged in Manipur in latter period. U.A. Shamray (2007)\textsuperscript{14} book is totally based on documentation of Naga Integration movement since 1929. And he suggests that

it is also related to the emergence of ethnic nationalism in Manipur. The book has divided into seven chapters: 1. Introduction, 2. The Naga Population, 3. Land Use System: Uniqueness in Tradition, 4. The state called Manipur, 5. Naga Integration Movement, 6. Naga Political Talks: Revivalism of Naga Integration Movement, and 7. Concluding Remarks. The book suggests that before independence the history of Naga was unclear and since British lapse India, the movement of Naga integration mostly taken up by Naga elites from Nagaland (then Naga hills). Though in Manipur, many Naga groups aim at for integration, there were many Naga leaders who stand against the Naga integration and rather want to maintain status quo of Northeast India state boundary. The classification of ethnic groups in the book is little bit confused. The author criticize the state’s machinery and media persons for creating artificial territorial-political identities like Nagaland Nagas, Manipur Nagas, Assamese Naga, Burmese Nagas, so on. Though the terms are became ‘ethnic marker’ in the identification in their address, such classification is now making for a complex territorial politics. In chapter 4, the explanation of ethnic relations (the emotional relation and interdependent culture) is totally missed. In the concluding part of the book accepts Roy Burman’s suggestion for Naga problem into two views i.e. short range perspective and long range perspective. Roy Buman proposition is that the solution is akin to what is being followed in Scandinavian countries for Sami community. The Samis are spread over Sweden, Finland, Norway and part of Russia but they remain the citizens of respective countries and their interests are taken care of by the Sami Council, an apex body.

Another work by R Vasum (2000)\textsuperscript{15} exposes even those Nagas who aspired for a distinct-political identity outside India. There was a common consensus about their approach to the Naga issue. Even if the Naga people entertained a common objective, there were differences of opinion among the top leaders about the tactics to be followed. Though right to self determination is an inalienable right of every people, the exact form of right to self determination of a people takes or should take, depends on the historical social ecological milieu in which the concerned people is situated at a particular point of time.

The Naga right to self determination is to be perceived in this holistic framework. Vashum has presented the factual detail of course of events leading to the self identification of the Nagas as a people; he has also presented the chequer history of confrontation between the Naga militants and Indian state. However, the book does not explain whether the criteria of right to self determination of the Naga fulfill or not.

2.8 Kuki Chin Nationalism

The book of S. Thianlalmuan Ngaihte (2013)\textsuperscript{16} exposes the “elite class” and their influence on shaping thoughts and minds of the community in the “tribal egalitarian societies”. The study gives an insight into the parallel evolution of an elite group and identity, (trans) formation of communities, inter-connected issues in the process of identity making of Paite as a Chin Kuki Mizo tribe.

The Paite society under study, like any other “tribal” group in the North-east, has no caste stratification. The monetary assets or economy of the Paite elite cannot be compared to other elite segment in other parts of India because they never considered the economy as essential character of class determination. The class line draws in terms of “education” rather than “economy”. The identity formation and consciousness amongst the Paites is the influence of educated class which arises from their encounter with colonization and modernization. Now Paite elites successfully mobilized the community and taking the forward role in the movement of identity recognition. As a distinct tribal group, the elite further process to ethnic nationalism and consciousness. The study shows that the formation of identity or transformation of identity, further to nationalism is a modern emerging phenomenon. And in the process, there are competition and conflict also involved. In fact, the Paite society undergoes dramatic changes from oral to written language, from village traditional (chieftainship) administration to (modern) state administration.

Though the Paite elite have taken up a leadership role in the promoting the culture, customs and traditions, they do not actually acknowledged the “political” leadership. Perhaps, due to the understanding that politics is either elections (electoral politics) or as political parties are popularly known in the Manipur as being part of the underground movement. So, this set of politicized elites was actually “social and political agents”. One of the key contributions of the Paite elite is in the form of mass media that includes print, songs and other literature. The ethnic consolidation of the community was not only based on culture or literature and sense of belonging of the Paite educated class. The elites’ work is geared towards the empowerment and uplift of their brethren. Now it has more to do with protection from other dominant groups. With parallel “identity formation” by other ethnic groups, the inter-intra conflict was eventually inevitable by Paites.

It may also be added that Paite society at large is non-industrial in nature. However the elite class, vis-a-vis class lines (as universally understood), does not come under the “proletariat and bourgeoisie” line or the Karl Marx’s class concept. In the case, the elite do not fully hold or direct community discourse. In the present reality, Paite class lines or the class divide is still thin and not very visible. This can be witnessed in their socialization, such as the Young Paite Association, or community events, where even an IAS officer would be seen performing his duty if he is asked to serve a community feast. Such insightful analysis shows that the economic factor was not pulled the Paite community together, unlike the common presumption of poverty, vis-a-vis economic under-development as a key rationale for the struggle for “identity”, ethnic conflict, or even a violent struggle for self-determination in Manipur.

Modernity has tremendously changed in every sphere of the way of life. But Ngaihite points out that the traditional elite compromise on emerging modern elites. Though Ngaihite does not put much weight on the intra-conflict, undercurrent conflict between the traditional and modern elite is much existence. The case can be cited in the recent demand for more “power” by members of the local self-governance and the district councils. It may also be noted that the Autonomous District Councils were non-functional for over 20 years. While the chief rights were abolished under the Acquisition
of Chief Rights Act, 1967, it may be noted that village chiefs still enjoy respect from the people and that their existence and role are still recognized.

In the current context the Zomi federation (new identity) has been able to include all the Zosuante (descendants of Zo). In the issue the elite attempted to further broaden their interest in taking the key leadership role in propagating Zomi consciousness or Zomi nationalism, through successfully mobilizing and consolidating the Paite identity. This, according to Ngaihte, is due to political conflicts and competition, most importantly an existence of parallel identity labels such as Kukis or Hmars. Moreover, ethnic, ethnicity, ethnicisation is a complex and ongoing process, therefore the nationalist consolidation under the Paite leadership is “inconclusive”. Ngaihte gives an instigate thought of further research on the numerous conflicts encountered, witnessed and experienced in Manipur.

2.9 Ethnic clash in Manipur

There are various ethnic movements in Manipur. They have experience clash or objection each other in their ideology in the movements. A Koireng’s (2008) work is extensively detailed on the Kuki and Naga conflict in Northeast India particularly in Manipur. The empirical oriented study has been divided into six parts. The introduction begins with the conceptual clarification of the terms - ethnic group, identity and ‘ethnicity’. It also highlights the ethnic composition and demographic variation of Manipur, the field site of this study, and the inter-ethnic turbulence in the methodology employed by the researcher in realizing the objectives and authenticating the premises on which the present study based. The limitations faced by the researcher in carrying out the study are also discussed in this chapter.

The second and third chapter is a narrative of the ethno-genesis, evolving identities of the tribes and the traditional relationship between each other. It was mainly the Nagas and Thadou speaking Kukis from among the Kuki-Chin group who were involved in the clash. In the case of the Nagas, those involved were the Tangkhul,

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Maring, Zeliangrong, Poumei, Mao, Maram, Lamkang, Thangal, Monsang and Moyon. Enough evidence has also been shown in the book that traditional rivalry was not totally absent in the inter-group relationship of the two communities. The third chapter mainly focuses on the factors and circumstances that led to the Kuki-Naga clash. It traces the origin of the clash from the divide and rule policy of British colonialism, the colonial legacy which revisited after Manipur’s merger to India and unresolved problems of inter-village disputes on land questions. It also scrutinizes the aspiration and assertion for exclusive ethnic homeland protagonised by the ethnic armies of the respective groups. Other recent and contemporary factors which either facilitated or led to the outbreak of the clash, such as factional feud of the tussle over the recruitment of teachers for Chandel Autonomous District Council, etc. are also highlighted in the chapter.

According to Koireng, political situation and inter-ministerial competitions are also responsible for the clash. The author further said that the Kuki-Naga clash was a consequence fall out of inter-ministerial rivalry. In fact, in 1992 RK Dorendro was the Chief Minister of Manipur when the trouble started brewing up between the Kukis and Nagas. RK Dorendro himself admitted that there were a lot of pent up feelings amongst the Naga and Kuki ministers. Chief Minister further alleged his Ministerial colleagues that involved in the ethnic violence in the hills. Governor of Manipur, in his report to the President of India further contended that Rishang Keishing has precipitated the Naga-Kuki conflict and gave it the color of an ethnic conflict. He also alleged RK Dorendro providing tacit support to the Kukis by supporting C. Dougel who was a Kuki. The Governor of the state recommended the President Rule on the ground that the continuation of the existing ministry would provide an impetus to the extremist activities, fuelling the Kuki-Naga clash and further incapacitating the reason for the imposition of President Rule on 1January 1994 by placing the Assembly under animated suspension was failure of Dorendro led Ministry to contain the Kuki Naga clash.

The description of the casualties inflicted in the clash is in terms of both man and material loss. It also highlights the credibility the State Security Forces who were engaged as law enforcers during the period of clash. The firing tendency of the ethnic armies involved in the clashes was so high. But during the clash State forces actively
engaged in their duty in far and remote areas, though they have faced lack of transport and communication. It also highlighted the problems and ramifications of affected people of the clash. The peace initiatives and concerted efforts towards reconciliation are under the civil organizations and church. Some of the local relations are turn into normal after the negotiation was hold between the warring groups.

After making an in-depth analysis and critical assessment of the various issues in the preceding, the author establishes the validity of the premises. The articulate genre of micro-nationalism marked by an exclusivist agenda through the process of ethnic cleansing and expansionist design in the context of an ethnic competition for access to the power and resource of the state provides a framework for the emergence of Kuki-Naga clash. It is met with a multiplier effect due to deliberate mobilization of historical grievances, unresolved inter-village border dispute and prevailing crisis of governance. The chapter further elucidates that the equilibrium in the inter-ethnic relationship got disturbed because of the Kuki-Naga clash and establishes its bearing with the subsequent inter-ethnic clashes occurred in Manipur and other Northeastern states of India. It further concludes that performing the last rites of the Kuki-Naga clash with mutual understanding by both the Kuki and the Naga, and acceptable to the intermediary tribes and other native population as well, will not be possible until and unless the displaced people are allowed to return and settle at their erstwhile ancestral village and former sites. It also concludes that such a vision is blurred by the lack of commitment on the part of government and civil societies and partisan design of the ethnic armies. It also concludes that the vulnerability of resurfacing the clash continues to stay alive because of the continued existence of the aspiration and assertion for homeland and counter homeland which complicates the solution to the problem of displacement.

It wind up with some suggestion for harmonizing inter-community ethnic relationship in Manipur in general and between the Kuki and the Naga in particular inferred from the findings of the present study. The first suggestion is securing the right to free and fair election as a (Indian) constitutional right to check the criminalization of politics. Secondly the unwritten and non-specific property rights system in the hills has to be replaced by strong foundation of property rights system for attracting investment in
the hills from among the tribal elites and for empowering the hills-men with land rights. Thirdly, the states should be empower the civil society organizations working for inter-community harmony and peaceful co-existence by giving institutional collaboration so that the movement for peace and inter-community harmony will become a continuing process and a people’s movement. Fourthly, if autonomy has to be granted, the guiding spirit of it should be that of peaceful co-existence and not of extending sovereignty to a particular ethnic community. However, for harmonizing Kuki-Naga relationship the immediate step to be taken up is the redressal of the grievances of those affected by the clash and facilitating the return and re-integration of those by the clash to the site of their erstwhile residence districts of the state.

S.R. Tohring (2010)\(^\text{18}\) also conceptualizes the above Naga and Kuki conflict but in terms of identity issues and their relations. From the historical perspective she covers her study areas not only Manipur but also Nagaland and Assam and the western Myanmar; where these ethnic groups are settled. It is also discussed how the ethnic identities of the Nagas and the Kukis came into being. This study explains various intellectual definitions of the terms like ethnic cleansing, genocide, communal clash and ethnic conflict. The author gives different views on the violent ethnic conflict including the concerned ethnic groups and the government. The detail discussion on the causes of the violent between Naga and Kuki in 1992 is also highlight. The study encompasses not only the relationship of two ethnic groups, but also the role of the government and its agencies, and the condition of Manipur state, that led to the outburst of Naga-Kuki conflict. The author also narrated some of the incident that happen severity, brutality and barbarism of the violent conflict. Furthermore, author selected some incidents to show how human rights were violated by those who were sent to quell the violence and protect the civilians.

In the discussion, it shows that underground wings as well as civil organization whether they stand for ethnic interests or not. She explains the difference between civil organizations and arm wings is that the former used non-violent methods to

achieve their goals and are considered legitimate while the latter are generally unconstitutional. But this aim is not difference amongst the civil and armed groups. In fact, these civil groups are mouth piece of the armed groups. As a result of this, the government of India approach maximum confidence to the arm wings and entered peace talks which are still going on.

Particularly chapter three discuss on various aspect on the historical background, political religious and Socio-Economic relations during the period of 1826-1990. The discourses in this chapter begin with their origin, migration, British colonial policy and the role of native rulers. With this background, this study examines the relationship between the Nagas and Kukis. The two ethnic groups’ relationship is looked at from two different angles i.e. the perspective of violence and peace.

There was convert or overt nonviolent clashes going on between these two ethnic identities particularly in post independence India or even prior to it. Within the Naga militancy, after the Shillong accord of 1975, there was infighting, by 1980s, a new situation emerged. In 1980, NSCN was established and in 1988, it got spite up into NSCN-IM and NSCN-K. These two rival factions were chasing each other to establish a sole authority over the Naga inhabited areas and also to secure legitimization as a Naga militant group. Due to legitimization attempt, there were killing Naga militants themselves. This affected to Naga civilian and many innocent people were also slain, tortured, harassment, kidnapped etc.

While these are going on in Naga society, Kuki militants emerged with a demand for ‘Kuki Homeland’. The emergence of Kuki militants, with a demand of Kuki homeland paved the way for new phase of relationship with Nagas. They came into direct clash with the Nagas demand called independence ‘Nagalim’. Thus, the Naga militants particularly NSCN-IM and the Kuki militants rival in late 19980s. NSCN-IM could not tolerate Kuki militants to operate in the Naga dominated areas where the Kuki villages interspersed the Naga villages. On the other hand, Kuki militant assert their authority over the Kuki civilians by telling them not to comply with NSCN. Further, the Kuki militants and some of the Kukis might have had harassed the Nagas calling certain incidents, which Naga militants might had done. As a result, they chased each other. One
important thing to be achieved from the government of India but due to the clash of objective or interests including land, they come into direct confrontation and the resultant hostilities.

It also critically deals with the process for the restoration of normalcy between these two ethnic communities. In 2002, NSCN-IN and KNA agreed for a ceasefire. Thais shows the main militants involved in the violent cash agreed for peace. The central and state government also provided succor to the victims of the clash. One important organization that emerged to retrieve the situation was committee for the Restoration of Normalcy (CRN). The apex body of Kukis and Nagas could discuss the burning issue and take an appropriate action together and bring normalcy in their relation. The All Tribal Student Union, Manipur (ATSUM) is one of the strongest, efficient and more effective tribal organizations in Manipur. They visited Moreh town aim to retrieve the situation and bring peace and harmony between the two. The role of church to restore normalcy in the Naga-Kuki conflict is remarkable and perceivable. In fact, the churches persistently worked for the peace despite many problems. ‘Good Will Mission’ of Churches visited various affected areas with the objectives: reduce tension, stop killing destroy properties, reconciliation, forgiveness and peace, help victims etc. Besides, tribal women associations, political party, lawyer and militants groups also active to restore normalcy between the Naga and Kuki conflict.

The book *Bleeding Manipur (2004)* traces the causes of the ethnic clashes and deep hatred amongst the people of Manipur. The book also depicts how civilians are used sometimes as human shields in the ongoing fights amongst the armed groups. And it points out the unhealthy relations in ancient time amongst some communities in the hill areas. Indeed, the crisis burns round the year with multiple socio-political issues in the state.

The book finds that the armed groups who are inciting the youths of respective communities to fight against one another and trying to divide the state along ethnic line. Three agitators were killed at Nagaland-Manipur border town of Mao Gate in

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a protest against Manipur Government’s decision to disallow T. Muivah - a leader of NSCN-IM from Manipur to enter Manipur. The Naga communities which represent 17% of total state population angered against Manipur Government’s decision. Meanwhile the rest of the population is agitating against the Central government on home coming issue. Manipur experienced volcanic communal tension when opposed the ceasefire (between NSCN-IM and GOI) during the Vajpayee Government. State Assembly building burnt, 18 lives lost, and Manipur remained a month long burning with public irate until Government of India restricted the Naga Cease Fire within Nagaland state. Manipur’s Nagas are very emotional because Manipur provide dozens of separatist militants apart of T. Muivah lead NSCN-IM.

All the militant groups and draconian security forces must hold responsible for the bloodshed in Manipur. Either militants or security forces kill everyday one or two persons. The peace talks between the NSCN-IM and Government of India is one good gesture moving towards permanent solution to Naga issues. Everyone must support this but it is only the people of Nagaland alone see the permanent and lasting solution. He said all the outfits of Naga negotiate for peace because they know that gun brings nothing solution except more bloodshed. Now it is more concerned with the neighboring states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and particularly Manipur when Government of India handles the Naga Peace Talk. Indian government without consultation with any of neighboring states decided cease-fire, which brought bloodshed in the state of Manipur since 1997.

One of the biggest allegations against T. Muivah is that though he may be peace initiator for Naga alone, he has committed hundreds and thousands of killings crimes. The rest of the public of Manipur believe that T. Muivah’s visit will be greatest threat to state integrity and will create enmity amongst the ethnic groups of Manipur. The author proposes the alternative to the Ministry of Home Affair (MHA) that Muivah visit should be in strict guidelines. First, restrict him to visit only at his native village Somdal and not beyond. Second, restrict any public gathering and meeting during his visit. Third, restrict any communal statement either in word or written that will create or provoke enmity between any groups or hurt sentimental, which are offensive crimes under Indian
Penal Code. Fourth, any member of NSCN-IM is outlaw outfit members beyond Nagaland and so is the same with T. Muivah.

The book exposes civilians are victim under the fighting between the insurgent and state forces. Armed Force Special Power Act 1958 give extra powers to the forces deployed in the disturbed areas while tackling militants, extremist or insurgents. Under the Act, a warrant officer or non commission officer may also arrest without warrant, any person who has committed a cognizable offence or against whom a reasonable suspicion exists that has committed or is about commit a cognizable offence and may use such force as may be necessary to effect the arrest.

In sum, ethnicity and ethnic conflict in multi society is a new emergence after the cold war period. Many of the group struggle for recognition under the Constitution of their respective country; it has almost a tendency for the conflict. The world has separated into sharp division on the basis of ethnic group is shadowed in the world politics. The dream for nation state becomes vivid for ethnic minorities. India is no exception. Particularly in Northeast India, it becomes a day to day life. Manipur a state of Northeast India has three major ethnic groups whose shown their aspiration in the public space. This politicizing aspiration brought a number of causality to the innocent mass and loss property.

However, there are many aspects which are missing in the study of ethnic conflict in Manipur. The reviewed studies reveal that the ethnic conflicts across the world have been studied in various dimensions such as social, cultural, economic and political conflict. These studies include those few one from India, Northeast India and Manipur as well. Even the processes of conflict like identity issues or ethnicities are common in Manipur in particular and India as a whole. Yet, the dynamics of these processes are quite different in Manipur as compared to the race of India. In the rest of India, politicization of the ethnic identity has been corresponding to antagonistic, whereas in Manipur it is consciousness rather than ethnic politicization which has taken place along with the two processes i.e conflict and integration. Besides, the ethnic people of Manipur are not free from the influence of insurgents groups on various issues.
The books studied on ethnic nationalism and violence in Manipur is neglecting about the ethnic relations. It is more important to address how the ethnic peoples of Manipur sharing the land and resources and interdependent on economy in history. One remark is that the folk song ‘Chingmina Koina Pangakpa’ at the valley which means Highlanders or tribal protects the boundary. However, the service of all section to the State is delimiting in the present day. Therefore, it is common inquiry that in the post-colonial period how people are governed by the Meetei rulers. The Hinduism and Christianity came in different period and then how did these religions played in the ethnic relation and other side created the ethnic consciousness. The seeding of British ‘divide and rule’ policy grows in the present day and their fruit are eaten by the ethnic people. The weakness of Indian political system particularly in the representative of minority or small ethnic groups is ignored in all the books. Why did ethnic groups want to encroach particular areas under the title homeland, inherent land or ancestral land? The phenomenology of this process is quit necessary not only for decode the conflict and peace process. The books are not more satisfactorily explained the importance of composite dialogues in their discussion. What are the impacts and features of large number of migrant people settle in Manipur. Besides, counterinsurgency tactic playing by the central government instigating conflict is not explained satisfactorily so far.

The present study therefore more emphasis on the ethnic relations in the past. It is more studied on ethnic philosophy (what they dream and see for) with the assertive and re-assertive or counter and encounter statement for homeland and greater land of ethnic groups. Though, it is an empirical study, the logic behind ethnic philosophy is explored as factor for ethnic conflict in the state. The study is handicapped if we skipped the dichotomy of insurgents which reflect in the ethnic conflict in Manipur.