CHAPTER-II
EMERGING CONFLICT SITUATION
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In the first chapter the conceptual framework of the term Identity crisis and its repercussions to the day to day politics of Manipur has been analyzed. It may be noted that the prevalence of poly-ethnic situation has prevented the process of emergence of the common identity of Manipur. Manipur is inhabited by the major tri-ethnic group such as Naga, Kuki-Chin and Meitei. These different communities had asserted their ethnic identity in social, economic and political formation. And ethnicity or the ethnic consciousness has led to the emergence of ethnic movement in many part of the world leading to the ethnic nationalism or multi-ethnic state system. In such a plural society conflict is inevitable.¹ So we have to analyze about the conflict situation in Manipur particularly among the hill tribes and before going to the

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¹ Gangumel Kamei, “Ethnicity and politics in Manipur”, unpublished article presented in the talk programme on Ethnicity and Politics of Manipur, organized by National Research Centre, Imphal at MU, 16th September 2003.
genesis of conflict one needs to comprehend the concept of conflict.

In socio-political perspective, conflict is the struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals.² Weber further insisted that conflict cannot be excluded from social life . . . Peace is nothing more than a change in the form of conflict or in the antagonistic or in the objects of the conflict, or finally in the chances selection.³

In other words, conflict is defined as a disagreement through which the parties involved perceived a threat to their needs, interest or concerns. It is also pursuit of incompatible goals which can intensify struggle between opposing forces, especially in the absence of collaborative problem solving mechanism. In conflict situations, resources

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³ ibid
are mobilized to force the other party to change their behaviour according to one's own wishes. Mismanaged conflict turns into violence causing mass destruction.

All these socio-political phenomena exist in Manipur. Basically the question of conflict situation has been raised when each group has different interest giving critical output. One could resolve it after identifying their interest and pursuing their interest in order to find out the compromise line. This is a formula of conflict resolution which is being applied in all standard both domestic and international conflict situation. But no one could ignore conflict prevention; conflict management and conflict transformation, when one took keen interest to bring solution. That is the result that, it is better to see the conflict situation of Manipur through this process particularly the Naga-Kuki conflict because it was the big tragedy of Manipur history associated with genocide, making refugees in their own homeland and forced population transfer.
As we know conflict emerges from the pursuit of incompatible goals which can intensify struggle between the opposing forces, especially in the absence of collaborative problem solving mechanisms. In conflict situations, resources are mobilized to force the other party to change their behaviour according to one's wishes. Mismanaged conflict turns into violence causing mass destruction.

Many lasting internal conflicts have their roots in structural injustice. Serious conflicts are embedded in an equitable social and economic system, reflecting prolonged exploitation supported by coercion. The destruction of cultural identities, political autonomy and economic sustainability for the weak has been associated with the imposition of dominant power situations. This is reflected in the rule of tyranny of Manipur and state was transformed into capitalist economy system.

But one should not assume that this structural injustice is only for the hill people. The same fate was in the hands of other Manipuri's also. It is assumed in the sense that when
valley people were under the rule of despotic king, hill people were under the British rule. But most of the hill people are in anguish with Meitei community not to structural injustice of both feudal system and colonial system

**Genesis of Conflict Situation**

As the king of Manipur took Hinduism as state religion and the process of ‘sanskritisation’ was carried on, and the notion of Manipuri denotes only to the people inhabited in the valley i.e. Meitei and Meiteilon or Manipuri language. The hill tribes were outside the connotation of the term Manipuri. In due course of time, Christianity had emerged in the hill areas and hill tribes become too feel as separate entity of valley.

It may be noted that ethnic canvassing by the Meitei king, both in the hill and valley could finish, such social situation would not emerge. The political capital remained in the valley and all the amenities remained in it. The hill tribe's day by day arouses the sense of animosity to the valley people and these leads to the conflict situation in Manipur.
This is due to the external forces. One part through fertilizing contacts of external forces underwent alchemic changes and become the advanced valley folks. The other, denied such influence in equal misuse due to the remoteness and inaccessibility, remained stuck up and became the backward tribe. A reciprocal aloofness seems ingrained in their ways of life. In the plains, the tribal seldom feel native despite the political elevation they have attained. In the hills the plainsman breadth thin air. They dress differently, eat differently, worship differently and even tend to think differently.  

But this conflict between the hill and valley is mere one. The manifestation of conflict like struggle of scarce resources, power or status were occur among the hill tribes vis-a-vis Nagas and Kuki-Chin peoples which were deeply rooted. They had traditional adversaries in our pages of history. On February 1880, ‘Chingsao’ ‘Tangkhul’ Naga village was attacked by well armed Kukis from nearby Chassad Kuki

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villages and people of Chingsao after reckoning their losses, they found that 20 men, 7 boys and 25 women and one girl were missing. Again in 1892, a band of Kukis raided Chinjari Naga village and massacred 286 people.6

In retaliation of the earlier attacks, a Kabui Naga village in the western part of the state wiped out a Kuki settlement in 1918 slaying the inhabitants.7 The main reasons of the conflict were because of attempts by different tribes to dominate over the other. On different occasions, such as the invasions of the Mao Nagas in north Manipur, the ‘Suktes’ in south Manipur and the Naga uprising in Kohima in 1879, the Kuki warriors were used by the colonial officials and this was the time when probably the first seed of discontentment of the Nagas against Kukis was sown.8

Another important genesis of the conflict between these warring tribes is that the policy of divide and rule which

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6 Robert Reid, “History of the Frontier Areas Bordering Assam; from 1883-1941”, Eastern publishing house, Delhi, 1983., p.77.
7 Ibid.
was initiated by British. We know that the role played by the missionaries which imparted western education along with missionary activities and created a strong sense of consciousness among the hill tribes. In the time of their arrival, the colonial authorities divided their areas of activities not on the basis of north-south, east-west but on the basis of Naga areas and Kuki areas led by William Pettigrew ‘American Baptist mission’ and Watkins Robert ‘North-East India General Mission’ earlier known as ‘Thadou Kuki Pioneer Mission’ respectively.9

As the genesis of conflict situation is analyzed, it always associated with the confusion of nationalism and emergence of ethnic nationalism. The root cause of this conflict is armed conflict. The armed conflict with the centre or government of India is the major conflict in north-east India in general and Manipur in particular. The demands of the underground organisations of the hill areas such as the National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isaac Muivah (NSCN

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-IM) and Mizo National Front (MNF) were demanding greater Nagaland and greater Mizoram. The former is at stake to make either greater Nagaland (southern Nagaland) or South Nagaland (creation of new state of Nagas who were inhabiting in Tamenglong, Chandel, Ukhrul and Senapati districts of Manipur as the same condition of north Korea and south Korea i.e. north Nagaland and south Nagaland). But the later seem silent after the solution of Mizo rebellion in Mizoram. So it is better to see how the conflict situation of hill tribes is related with the armed struggle of Nagas in Manipur.

**Naga Nationalism**

The Nagas were indigenous group of people which inhabit in the state of Nagaland, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and adjoining areas across the border in Myanmar. The origin of the word 'Naga' is not definitely known. The issues become more complicated due to the continuing process of identity assertion, formation and expansion movement of the Naga themselves. There is a theory that the word 'Naga' has been derived from the Sanskrit word 'Naga' meaning
snake.\textsuperscript{10} The Naga are so called that they worship snakes. However this is far from the truth. The Nagas are not snake worshippers. It will also be a great mistake to connect with the Naga Punzees, the snake worshippers of India. Again another school of thought contested that the word is derived from the Assamese word ‘Noga’ - applied by them to the hill tribes in the hinterland of the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts.\textsuperscript{11}

There is yet another theory which says that the word Naga has been derived from the word ‘Nok’ or ‘Nog’ meaning people in the language of some eastern Naga tribes. However this theory is also not without controversy. It is being question on the ground that if the word Naga is a corruption of Nok or Nog meaning people, then why is it that the term is not applied to all the people living in the hills or at least in the Naga Hills.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{10} Captain Butler quoted by G A Grierson in “Linguistic Survey of India”, vol.3. Part.2, Delhi, 1967, p.205.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, p.194.
\textsuperscript{12} M. Horam, “The word ‘Naga’”, unpublished article, p.6.
R.R Shimray also put forward a theory that the word Naga was derived from the Burmese word 'Na ka' meaning pierce ears and was anglicized into Naga. These also was accepted by the rebel leader Isaac Chisi Swu as the most acceptable theory of the origin of the word Naga. But Prof. Gangumei Kamei refuted such contention and stated that it created more confusion to the whole problem. Though no final word has been said on the derivation of Naga, it is certain that the name was given by the outsiders. The term was popularized and enforced by the British colonial authorities during the introduction of the British rule in the Naga areas to identify a particular tribe not in relation to the Kukis. Till recent days, the so called Naga tribes inhabiting in Manipur and Nagaland never use the term 'Naga'. During the Second World War, R.R. Shimray was surprised when intruding Japanese troops called him Naga on breaking the doors open, for he thought himself as a Tangkhul not as a

Naga, later it was the local interpreter who told him that the Tangkhul are also Nagas.\textsuperscript{15} Alemchiba also expressed similar view that as late as 1954, he found the people of ‘Tuensang’ rarely speaking of themselves as Nagas but as ‘Konyaks’, ‘Changs’, ‘Phoms’ and so on.\textsuperscript{16}

Before the advent of the British the Nagas were unknown to the rest of the world. The modern sense of the nation state or independence was not known to them but every Naga village has been a republic having its own village government each village being socially self sufficient.\textsuperscript{17} Most of the Nagas live in mountain top village with signs of fortification still intact and head hunting-an institutionalized form of inter-village warfare was occasionally still taking place. Neighboring village spoke dialects or language totally incomprehensible to one another and in their communication involving war-making or alliance

\textsuperscript{17} K S Singh, “Tribal movement in India”, vol.1. New Delhi, Manohar publications, 1982, p.41.
building they relied on sign language, which reached a high state of development.

The emergence of common ethnic identity consciousness of the Nagas was a gift of British colonialism as they grouped the tribes under a generic name for the convenience in administration and ethnographic purposes and Second World War in which Nagas were exposed to the outside world. The American Baptist missionaries spread Christianity imparting education and other western culture. It was through this education that Nagas open a new chapter of their social and political consciousness.

Their consciousness becomes an organized movement after the return of Labour Corps, which served during the First World War and formed the Naga Club along with educated Nagas in 1918. The chief concern of this organization was about the political future of the Nagas. This was the turning point in the history of the political history of Nagas. This organisation submitted a memorandum to the British ‘India Statutory Commission’ popularly known as ‘Simon
Commission' on January 10, 1929 that the Nagas would become free as 'they have been before', when the British would leave and the future of the Nagas could never be bound by any arbitrary decisions of the British government.\(^\text{18}\)

In the course of time many different organisations, unions and councils at many levels were formed. The Lotha Council was formed in 1923 and Ao Council in 1928 and many more council was established by the middle of the nineteen forties. The next landmark was formation of the Naga Hills District Council in 1945, uniting the individual tribal council under the initiative of the then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District.\(^\text{19}\) This was to unite the Naga areas on the modern lines. The name of this council was changed into Naga National Council in 1946 in a meeting at Wokha and took over from the Naga Club in spearheading the movement.

\(^{18}\) V Sumi and K Timothy, "Cry for Justice", (MIP, GPRN) date and place of publication not cited, p.178.

\(^{19}\) Op.cit., p.43.
In the year 1947, from June 27 to 29 a meeting was held between government of India and NNC and signs an agreement popularly known as Hydari Agreement. In this agreement the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their wishes was recognized. The article 9th of the agreement was vaguely worded and becomes most controversial one. It can be interpreted in many ways. The Nagas interpreted that they had the right to claim independence after a period of ten years. To the Indian government, it means that after ten years same agreement may be renewed or a fresh agreement may be arrived at. The interpretation of the same article in different angles formed the crux of the Naga problem. Akbar Hydari, the signatory representing the government of India warned the Nagas that Naga Hills District in fact refused to join the Indian union, India would use force against them.

Meanwhile there emerge two groups in the NNC where one groups wants to remained within the Indian union whereas another group led by A.Z. Phizo who did not accept
the Hydari agreement as they thought that the terms of the agreement were sort of self-determination for Nagas. For this instance, they went to Delhi and propose their view that the Nagas be left outside the Indian union when the British withdrew from India. But their demand was left in the air. To pursue their aspiration, NNC declared Naga independence on August 14, 1947 when they realized that the constituent assembly of India had backtracked on the nine point agreement and ignored the provision. But NNC in fact was not unanimous on the issue of Naga independence before, during and even after the declaration of Naga independence.20

On the other hand, during this time tribal leaders of Manipur were busy in drafting the Manipur constitution Act.1947 and Hill Areas Regulation Act. They are Mr.Daiho, Mr. Suisa, Mr. Tiankham, and Mr. Teba kilong. They were important members of constitution making body and drafting sub-committee. At that time they had not given the

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tendency of Naga integration in spite of their educational qualification and prevailing condition in Naga Hill District.

From the early part of 1950s the Naga nationalism gained momentum and was accelerated with the election of A.Z. Phizo as the president of NNC on December 11, 1950. Under his leadership, NNC called for a 'plebiscite' on May 16, 1951 for which they collected signatures and thumb impression and also appeal to all the Nagas to rise and work for the freedom. But it is to be noted that the so called Naga plebiscite was carried out only in the Naga Hills, an administrative unit within the state of Assam. ²¹

As the time goes, the Naga political problem becomes serious. They boycotted the first general election held in 1952. No one file nomination for candidate and nobody turned up to cast vote. But in Manipur three Naga political parties are contested in the election. They are Mao Maram Union

(MMU), Manipur Zeliangrong Union (MZU) and Naga National League (NNL) of Manipur. As the government of India did not pay any heed to the Naga problem, they took up violent ways to intensify the movement. Again on March 30, 1953 they boycotted the visit of Prime Minister Nehru with his counterpart, the then Prime Minister of Burma. The reason behind the boycott was the refusal of the Nagas demand to read out a statement at the public meeting for the acceptance of the 9th point agreement and conceding their right to secede after ten years. The situation became tense as armed violence, murder, arson, looting and kidnapping had become quite common and widespread. This leads to the declaration of disturbed area in the Naga Hills on January 29, 1956.

In the middle of the 1950s, the movement becomes more consolidated, defined and stringent. There emerges a group who advocated a negotiated settlement of the Naga problem between the conflicting parties, the NNC and Indian government. With this aim in view an 'All Tribes Naga
People Convention' was held in Kohima from August 22 to 26 1957 and mooted the idea to set up a single administrative unit for the Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA. In its third convention of NPC, a so-called 16 point proposal was passed to create a separate state of Nagaland within the Indian union. This proposal was accepted by the government of India. From this instance, the 16th state of India called 'Nagaland' was granted by the state of Nagaland Act, 1962 and was subsequently inaugurated on 1st of December 1963.22

But the NNC did not recognize the existence of Nagaland state and declared it as a bribe given by the government to the member of the Naga People Convention (NPC) and its convention was no more than a Puppet assembly. Meanwhile efforts were being made to restore normalcy. But the situation goes rather tense as for the first time the Government of India imposed the Unlawful

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At this juncture, Nagaland Peace Council (NPC) was formed by the joint efforts of Naga church Leaders and Sarvodaya Peace observers in the middle of 1974. By the year 1975 November 11, an accord was signed between the underground Nagas led by Kevi Yallay, brother of AZ Phizo and the Government of India represented by LP Singh, the then Governor of Nagaland popularly known as 'Shillong Accord'. This historic accord admits that the underground Nagas on 'their own volition' accepts the constitution of India without any pre-condition. This accord was another great blow to the Naga National Movement which by and large realized that it was a sellout of the Nagas rights. It also resulted in the division of Naga leaders and subsequent split in its underground organization. Issac Chishi Swu, the Vice President and Thuingaleng Muivah, the General Secretary of NNC tried their best to convince some of their colleagues, especially A.Z. Phizo the then president of NNC who at that
time had settled in London to condemn the Shillong Accord. But their voice went unheeded.

From this instance, despite their patient attempts for restoring the damage image of the NNC for having accepted the constitution of India, there seemed to be no headway to the cause, they formed a new organisation called National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) abandoning the NNC on January 31, 1980 under the leadership of Issac Chisi Swu as chairman, S.S. Khaplang as Vice-President and Thuingaleng Muivah as General Secretary. It stands for Naga sovereignty. Over the course of time, NSCN took the mantle of Naga nationalism and came to represent the most radical section of Naga underground movement. However, in the year 1988, another serious misunderstanding develop within the NSCN and as a result, it came to a split into two factions, one led by S.S. Khaplang known as NSCN (K) and another by Isaac Chisi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah which came to be known as NSCN(IM).
The later becomes more powerful and efforts were being made to obtain their asserted interest.

**Different Political Aspiration of Kukis**

Kukis refers to an indigenous ethnic groups inhabiting in a contiguous region of north-east India, north-west Burma (Myanmar) and Chittagong Hill Tract in Bangladesh. This term appears to be originated in Sylhet, in erstwhile East Bengal. Elly refers to ‘the tribe called Kuki’ by Bengalis. An attributed meaning of the term is ‘hill people’. In the Encyclopedia Britannica records, it is a name given to a group of tribes inhabiting both sides of mountains dividing Assam and Bengal from Burma, south of the Namtaleik River.

Again this term was first used as a reference in 1777 AD when this tribesman attacked the British subjects in Chittagong where Warren Hastings was the Governor General of Bengal. ET Dalton mentions that the Kukis were

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25 Gangmumei Kamei, in “Genesis of the Ethnoses of Manipur” in N. Sanojaoba (eds.) Manipur Past and Present; vol.3, p.34.
first known from an article by surgeon Mc Crea in Asiatic Researcher vol.2, on 24th January 1799 who described the Kukis as a ‘nation of hunters and warriors’.26

Lt.Col. Shakespeare in his book ‘Lushai Kuki Clans’ classified these group of people as old Kuki consisting of Aimol, Anal, Chothe, Chiru, Kolhen, Kom, Lamgang, Purum, Vaiphei, and Khochung. The reason for calling it as appeared that they were old settlers and are recorded in Manipur chronicles as early as in the 16th century whereas new Kuki consists of Thadou, Khongsai, Hangsing, Chongloi, Singson, Doungel, Baite, Simgte, Paite, Guite, Mizo, Lupheng, Lupho, Gangte, Vaiphei and Zou as they were immigrants of 18th century.27

Although this same group of people was known in different name as ‘Chin’ in Myanmar and Kuki or Mizo in India, Meitei called them as Khongsai. The scattered habitation resulting from their nomadic habit, T.C. Hodson

26 Ibid.
cited a Kuki who told him "... we are like the birds of the air, we make our nest here this year, and who knows where we shall build next year". As a result, the Kukis are found today scattered all over the hill districts of Manipur. Such demographic distribution of tribal ethnic groups of Manipur has been since existence till date.

This group of people lived in this place since time immemorial. But one may argues that they were come to Manipur only in between 16th to 19th century from Chin Hills, Burma to Manipur. Although it is said that the kingdom of Manipur had a larger area in the olden days than the one at present, it covered the portions of Burma into Ningthi River in the east and in the south it was extended beyond Chin Hills up to the sea. The king of Manipur had been using the Kukis as warriors. It was the Kukis, whom the king of Manipur used that, subdued the Maos of the north. Even today, the people

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of Mao have the story of their defeat at the hands of the Meitei king who used the Kosameis (Kukis in Mao).\textsuperscript{30}

The word 'Naga' though it is given by the outsiders, became a cementing force to the varied tribes despite their extreme heterogeneity and cut throat hegemony but in the case of Kukis it appears to be a division in unity. Linguistically, unlike the Nagas, they can communicate to one another with the least effort in their respective dialects.

For the first time, the Kuki elite organized themselves into the Kuki National Assembly (KNA) in 1946.\textsuperscript{31} It was the apex social organization that spearheaded the issues relating to the interest of the Kukis in the early part of independence in India. In its general assembly held at Thingkangphai, then Manipur south district, KNA passed a resolution to create a 'Kuki state' and send a representation.


to the Prime Minister, Nehru. As an offshoot of the Naga unrest in the Naga Hills and offspring of the Mizo rebellion in Mizo hills, towards the beginning of 1965, the Kukis of Manipur and their cousins, Lushai of Mizo hills held a conference at Churachandpur to discuss about their political future. One group wanted to demand a sovereign state for the Kukis and Lushai of Manipur and Assam known as Mizoram whereas another group wanted Mizoram but as a state within the Indian union. The later outnumbered the former and the members of the conference pulled themselves apart. In January 1966, KNA meet near Imphal and passed a resolution to uphold the unity and territorial integrity of the tribe within Manipur. The Manipur administration had hardly time to consolidate the Kuki loyalties and form them into anti-Naga unrest as earlier done by the colonial authorities. But the supporters of the independent Mizoram in Manipur, who were sulking after the setback they had suffered in

Churachandpur the year before, took heart and joined the Mizo rebels. Thus with a well defined political motives, the Kukis began enhancing their struggle to achieve their asserted interest.

In August 1987 there had emerged Kuki National Organization (KNO) with its constituent Kuki National Army (KNA), while KNA is demanding an autonomous state for the Kukis in Sakaing division of Myanmar. Another section wanted a Kuki homeland in parts of Ukhrul, Senapati, Churachandpur and Imphal valley (including Imphal and Bishnupur) and Kuki inhabited areas of Assam and Nagaland. Again in 18th May 1988, an organization was also formed to perpetuate the political demand of KNA as Kuki National Front (KNF) to pursue creation of a Kuki homeland within the framework of Indian constitution as initiated by KNA in 1960. From 1990 onwards their demand for a new polity has been rejuvenated. Thus the demand for the right to self determination, which means secession from the Indian

union or greater internal autonomy, is the main ideological basis of the present conflict.

However in the early part of 90s 'NSCN (IM) had attempted to wipe out the Kukis in the name of ethnic cleansing in 1992, as a part of their struggle for the attainment of sovereign state of Nagaland based on Naga nationalism. This directly created the clash between these two warring tribes.

Broken out of Ethnic Clash in the Hill

The clash erupted in May 1992, on the border town of Moreh on Kuki refusal to pay the so-called 'Nagaland Tax' demanded by the Nagas. In January 1993, in retaliation of killing Kukis, quit notice were served on the Nagas by Kuki National Army (KNA*). Then Nagas also served quit notices on the Kukis chiefs. Thus violence erupted again and again.

Allegation had been made that ethnic clashes between the Nagas and Kukis had been deliberately incited by the authorities. In reality the clashes between these two
ethnic groups are due to demand and counter-demand for the expansion of their greater territories inhabited by each groups though some scholars opines that it has its genesis in the colonial period. The Kuki militants are allegeid to have received moral support from the government agencies, both of Manipur and Union Government. They were demanding financial assistance, arms and material to fight and finish the NSCN.35

S.R. Shimray extremely criticized the Naga-Kuki conflict that KNA of Myanmar's direct involvement in collusion with the KNF and Kuki Defence Force (KDF) in this Naga Kuki strike is a naked aggression to India and Manipur in particular. He openly further asked a question stating "Can we allow such mercenaries forces to remain in our land and secede the land of Manipur with them to Myanmar?" He also stated regarding the occupying of land by the Kukis conceiving the idea that their land (land of Naga) occupied by the Kukis, who are coming from Myanmar that "Each and

35 "Naga Kuki Clash in Gam A Shimray : An Introduction to the Ethnic Problems in Manipur", New Delhi, undated, p.12.
every nation has got the legitimate right to determine its course of life within the prescribed limit of the land. As such, a stray seed fallen in the garden of others cannot be rooted and grow there since the garden had already been made grown with its proper and legitimate seed long before".\textsuperscript{36}

But on the other hand, Kuki Student Organization (KSO) defended the charges levelled by the Nagas that there is no war between the Kukis and Nagas in Manipur. It is only disharmony germinated by the banned NSCN (IM) who forcibly collected what they egoistically termed as "Nagaland Tax" within the Manipur state from the bonafide citizens, the Kukis who are original citizens of Manipur, especially in the present Ukhrul and Chandel district for the last so many years.\textsuperscript{37} Further the organization stated that ‘as history reveals the Kukis were owners and rulers of north eastern of the present India including upper Myanmar, prior to the British period. To defend these areas the Kukis did fight

against the mighty British Empire for the three continuous years (1917-1919). To deny this fact is to deny Indian freedom struggle. The present day Kukis did not loose heart to safeguard to integrity of these areas. This is made clear when the Kukis sacrificed their lives and all they have instead of paying the NSCN (IM) taxes that lost many lives, villages and other valuable properties'.

By refusing to pay the so-called 'Nagaland tax' collected by the NSCN (IM), the Kukis proved themselves as a loyal citizen of Manipur because there could be 'no two parallel governments simultaneously'. It is said that the Kukis are not projected as defenders of the state despite so many evidences. And, when Shelley Chara (an MP candidate for outer Manipur parliamentary constituency) has no problem on NSCN (IM) tax for Nagaland, he could not be counted as protagonist of the NSCN (IM). Results and findings of Shelley

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38 ibid.
Chara ‘close examinations’ on the matter is immediately required by the Kukis.\textsuperscript{39}

Thus, both the Nagas and the Kukis blamed each other having interaction and reaction within these feuds. But both of them have hidden agenda of occupying land in order to make greater Nagaland and Kuki homeland. Here the Meities which constitutes majority of Manipur populace are at the center of the scale because both of them are fighting for alteration of boundary of Manipur which is very small state. Nevertheless from the side of the Meities, a social worker gives his statement that ‘if we Manipuri’s (Manipuri’s means those people who were inhabited in Manipur. So we may say that Manipuri Naga, Manipuri Kuki and Manipuri Meities) fight among ourselves on the issue of land, linguism, communalism, sectarianism and parochialism. Who will survive? If there is no Manipuri’s there will be no Manipur and if Manipur no longer exist there will be no Manipuris. Lakhs of Meitei people have watered to the turmoil situation of

\textsuperscript{39} ibid.
Manipur with great tolerance and patience without having enmity among the brothers of different ethnics. It can also be possible because they never dream about forming Meitei land like other ethnic groups in Manipur particularly Naga and Kuki. Meitei seemed to be very happy to live with other fellow ethnic brethren in the valley of Manipur. They do not seem to have any tendencies to take side with either of the groups instead they have tried to build the bridge between them with neutral effect.40

From the above views given by the leaders, social activist and student organisation, one came to understand that the genesis of Naga Kuki conflict is land dispute and harbouring of different political aspiration. But these conflicts could be visualised in a worse form in 1992 with violent action between these two ethnic groups.