CHAPTER V

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE HILL AREAS OF MANIPUR

5.1 TRADITIONAL TRIBAL POLITY.


Traditionally every tribe of Manipur had a unique political system of their own. All types of political systems were found among the tribals, in the past. The hill tribes of Manipur remained independent of any external domination. Each village was a republic of its own. Monarchy was the form of Government for some of the tribes. Traffic and trade between villages having been minimal as a result of the practice of head-hunting. Each village grew in isolation and ruled by a hereditary Chief. The Authority of the chief was unquestioned.² The Naga chief was a judge, an administrator or a warrior-chief. The Hill tribes

had a distinct social life, law, costumes and method of governance of the people. They were isolated from the rest of the world and remain undisturbed.

The tribal village was a primary unit of administration. Each village was an independent unit. Social life, law and order, customs, etc. were strictly maintained by the villagers. As such democracy in its pure form also existed among the tribals. Villages were run by a council of elders and men of influence elected by the people headed by the chief. With the passage of time some Manipur Raja with or without success tried to control the hill tribes. During the reign of Loiyumba (1074-1122 AD), he collected tributes from the North-Western hill tribes. On the other hand, the tribals were not only in a state of inter-tribal warfare but also time and again involved in raids and reprisals with the plainsmen. The tribal village that lived far off were undisturbed. They were not subjected to the control of Manipur administration.

Traditional Relationship between the Hills and the Valley. As history recorded, the Hills and the Valley were closely related with one another in many aspects. The sentiments that signify the nature of traditional relationship between the hillmen and the plainmen is best manifested in some saying in Manipuri: (i) “Chingboroi-Tamburoi,” signifying their relationship based on love, affection, mutual understanding and friendship, (ii) Secondly, “Haoringjel Nairingjel,” signifies a sentiment of mutual distrust,
hatred and hostility between the two. It also implies heartlessness and cruelty used to describe the nature of hillmen by the valleymen. Both of these sentiments however, they might be to another, were to be found in the relationship between the two.

Other historical factors which contributed to their relationship are such as, the Tribals were bot only in state to inter-tribal warfare but also time and again involved in raids and appraisals with the plainmen. T.C. Hodson said; "we known from the chronicles of Manipur that raids and reprisals marked the relations of the hill villages with the people of the valley from the earliest times." It also observes that those plainmen living in the outskirts of the valley were subjected to raids from the tribes living in the nearby hills. Then the practice of head hunting among the various tribe just like mängbe-sengba practised by the plainmen was also not conducive to the development of mutual trust between them. Rather, it was harmful for them. Another legend also described their relationship for instance, the legend of Panthoibi Haoreima and Nongpok Ningthau. There were also many cases of intermarriage between the two from ancient times. Cases of intermarriage between the two were there from the time of their ancient forefather and it has increased at present. The old Meitei manuscript Naotthingkhong before he became the king in 663, went to the Nongmaiching and lived there after marrying Petonga. The relationship between the

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hillmen and the plainmen was very close during the reign of Charoirongba and Garibnawaz. It is true that king Garibniwaz embraced Hinduism and constructed to the alienation of the hillmen from the social life of the Meitei. However, he himself was very close to the tribals and when he went to attack Burma, many Tangkhuls, Thangals, Kabuis, Marings and Anals joined the expedition.

In the past, it is also true to say that many plainmen were going up the hills and become tribals and vice-versa. When there were inter-clan wars among the seven clans of the valley, people belonging to a defeated clan feld to the hills and become tribals in course of time. According to others old Meitei manuscripts like Leithak Leiharol, Pudin, Leishang Themli, Lamlakshang the elder brother of Mabudhau Yum Thangba of Sarang Leishangthem, also went to the hills and become a Kabui.

Further the relationship between the hills and the plainmen of Manipur as their first political relationship before the coming of modern politics can be proved in many ways. They have a number of similarities in their traditional socio-cultural life. They may be described as.

10. Ibid., p.16.
(a) Dormitary system is found not only amongst the tribes like Kabui, Tangkhul, Maram, Mao and Anal but also amongst the Meities.

(b) Two sets of deities (i) Household deities and (ii) outdoor deities are found in the religious life of both.

(c) Traditional tribal costumes are still a must while performing certain rituals connected with Laiharaoba.

(d) In the Laiharaoba of certain Villages of the east it is traditional to invite Tangkhuls.

(e) There are also similarities in the traditional style of making house. Chirongs are also found common.

Finally there is also the festival of Merahaochongba which bears special testimony to the close relationship between the two. The idea behind this festival is to show that the people in the hills and plains are all brothers and sisters.

Thus, in the process of political development in the hills areas of Manipur, the two, i.e. the hills and the plains relationship is found too be the first step. The maintenance of their relationship with Meitei can be termed as the first political window.

5.1.2 The Coming of the British. The British did not disturb the Nagas when they appeared in this region for the first time. However, as days passed, by all is not well with the Chief and the Village Administration. The defeat of Manipur in the hand of the British in 1891 brought a new administrative system in the hills. The administration of the tribal areas was taken over by the President of the Durbal, a British officer administered on behalf of the Maharaja. A new imposition of House-tax of Rs.3/-per year in the hills was
announced by maxwell in the year 1892.\textsuperscript{14} In the next year, the hill areas were divided into five divisions and each division was placed under an officer called ‘Lum Subedar.’\textsuperscript{15} Many Lambus were also appointed to provide assistance to the hill administration. In 1919 the Hill areas were divided into three sub-divisions, each being administered by a sub-divisional officer who were all European Officers. The headquarters of the Sub-divisions were Churachanpur, Tamenglong and Ukhrul.\textsuperscript{16} This arrangement was abolished in December 1929 for it did not work satisfactorily and the whole Hill areas were divided into two parts, one having the charge of the North and the other South. This arrangement also found dissatisfaction and thus abolished and divided the hill areas into three sub-divisions, Sadar, Ukhrul and Tamenglong. The 1930 witnessed strong demand from both the hill and the valley people, and the Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha for amalgamation of the hill and the valley administration.\textsuperscript{17} However, the proposal failed to materialize as a result of the refusal of the president of the Darbar. He said, “let the valley be properly governed first and then it will be possible to put a case to the central government for some sort of administration to be extended to hillmen.”\textsuperscript{18} In 1947, paramountcy lapsed and the administration of the Hill Areas was transferred to the Maharaja. Then the Manipur State constitution Act 1947 was passed and was extended to the whole of the state of Manipur.

\textsuperscript{14} R. Reid, \textit{History of Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam} (1893-1941) Delhi, 1983, p.70.
\textsuperscript{16} V.V. Rao, T.S. Gangte, Ksh. Bimola Devi, \textit{op. cit.}, p.46.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Memo. No. 3951}, dated 3 March, 1939, from the PMSD, to the Durbar Members.
inclusive of the hill areas. In 1947, the Manipur State Hill Peoples (Administrative) Regulation Act was enacted on 10 August. This Act provided for the regulations and establishment of Village Authorities. There was a Minister of State for the Hill Administration. He held responsibility of the administration of the Hills under this regulation in accordance with the constitution Act of the state. The Regulation reads:

"The responsibility for the administration of the hill people is vested in the Maharaja in council and shall be exercised in accordance with the constitution Act of the State and the provisions of this Regulation as amended from time to time."

Under this Regulation, a decentralization of administration was attempted. For the purpose of administration, all the hill villages were grouped into circles and sub-divisions Circles Authorities was constituted for each circle comprising of a circle officer and other five members elected by the village Authorities falling within the circles. And for each sub-division there was a sub-divisional Officer who exercised general executive control over the local authorities in the Sub-Division under the orders of the Minister-in-Charge of Hill administration of the state council of Ministers. The Minister-in-charge may delegate such powers and functions on the S.D.O and C.Os as

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22. *Ibid.*, section No.7
may seem suitable from time to time. The main duty of the village Authority and the circle Authority was to maintain law and order. Appeal from decisions of the village Authority lay to the circle Authority from which decision an appeal could also lay to the Hill Bench at Imphal and then from there to chief court whose decision would be final. In exceptional cases the chief Court could also set aside the decision given by the hill Branch as well as the circle Authority. Thus this system of administration continued till the merger agreement of Manipur into the union of India on 15 October 1949.

5.2.1 LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN HILL AREAS.

There was no local Self-Government in Manipur before 1947. In the hill areas of Manipur local Self-Government was introduced in 1947. Under the Manipur State Hill People (Administration) Regulation Act, 1947. Section 38 of the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947 provided that the local authorities in the Hills should exercise such powers of local Self-Government as may be laid down in the Manipur State hill peoples (administration) regulation, 1947. From the year 1947, the responsibility for administration in the Hill was vested in the Maharaja in Council and exercised in accordance with the Manipur State Constitution Act and the provisions of the Regulation as amended from time to time. For the Hill Administration, executive officers also were appointed in accordance with the Rules for the Manipur State Appointment Board. Chapter II(SS5-9) of the Regulation specified Local Authorities to be established in the Hill

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23. *Ibid.*, section No.8

area as provided in the Schedule thereto. Accordingly the villages to which Regulation applied were grouped into circles and Sub-Divisions as provided in the Schedule to the regulation.²⁵

Village Authorities. In each Village with 20 tax paying houses or more a village authority was constituted, consisting of Khulakpa, one representative from each clan and the village elders. The concern S.D.O had to formally recognise the village Authority so nominated. He was the final Authority in matter concerning the constitution of the Village, but appeal could lay to the Minister-in-charge of Hill Administration against the S.D.O’s decision.

5.2.2 Power and Functions of the Village Authority, under the 1947 Act.

(i) A Village Authority was responsible for maintenance of law and order within its local jurisdiction. It discharged ordinary duties of the police in respect of crime committed within its locality. It had to report to circle officer regarding the commission of any heinous offence within its jurisdiction.

(ii) The Village authority was also concerned with the administration of justice.²⁶ The Court of the village Authority tried cases involving theft, mischief, cattle theft, illegal, slaughter of cattle, simple hurt, assault or using criminal forces etc. The village authority could impose fine not exceeding Rs.200/- for the offence which it is competent to try. It

²⁵ ibid., p.22.
decided the cases in the open debate in the presence of at least three witnesses, the complainer, and the accused. It also tried suits the value which did not exceed Rs.500/-.

(iii) It also decided dispute regarding the ownership of land or the right of cultivation over land within its local jurisdiction subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the concerned circle Bench.

5.2.3 Circle Authority. Above the village authority, there was a circle. In each circle, a circle authority was constituted consisting of a circle officer and a council of five members elected by the village authority. A village with less than 20 tax paying houses was not entitled; but a village in excess of 20 was allowed vote on the basis of the number of tax paying houses. The election to this was held every three years. The following diagram shall clearly show us the organisation and constitution of a circle Authority under the Regulation.

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(a) 20-50 tax paying houses will cast 1(one) vote

(b) 51-100 tax paying houses will cast 2(two) votes

(c) 101-200 tax paying houses will cast 3(three) votes.

The circle Authority was entrusted with functions of municipal character. They were responsible for the administration of lower and upper primary education, the construction and maintenance of bridle paths, and bridges, cultivation, reduction or elimination of Jhum Cultivation, maintenance of land records, collection of taxes, preservation of forests. both ordinary and reserved and so on.

The Circe Authority also heard appeals both civil and criminal. On the criminal side, the circle Authority exercised the power of a magistrate of the first class.

On the Circle side, the circle Authority tries all suits the value of which did not exceed Rs. 1000/- It also heard appeals against the decisions of the village courts within its limits. Appeals against the decisions of the circle Authority were taken to the Hill Bench. From the Hill Bench appeals were taken to the Chief Court, whose decision was final.

This arrangement continued till the merger of Manipur into the Indian Union. The Hill Bench and the Hill Courts established under the Regulation were abolished in 1950 and the Circle Bench in 1955.30

5.2.4 The Manipur Village Authorities (In Hill Areas) Act, 1956. In 1956, Parliament enacted the Manipur villages Authority (in hill Areas) Act, and it come into force in 1957. This Act, determined the strength of the village authorities in the Hill Areas. It was based on the number of houses paying tax as,

A village with 20 to 60 tax paying houses had a village authority with five members, from 61 to 100 tax paying houses had 7 members and 101 to 150 tax paying house had 10 members and 151 and above tax paying houses 12 members.

Under the previous regulation the members of the village Authority were nominated by the chief. However, under the 1956 Act, the members were elected on the basis of adult franchise.

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The number of village authorities which constituted the circle under the 1956 Act were:  

(i) Sadar Hill Circle - 68 village authority with 263 elected members.  
(ii) Tengnoupal Circle - 82 village authority - 702 members  
(iii) Ukhrul Sub-Division - 121 village authority - 702 members  
(iv) Mao Circle - 112 village authority - 571 members  
(v) Tengnoupal Sub-Division - 105 village authority - 578 members  
(vi) Jiri, S.D. - 16 village authority - 89 members  
(vii) Churachanpur - 112 village authority - 571 members  
Total - 567 village authority - 3060 elected members

5.2.5 Power and function of Village Authorities, under the 1956 Act. Under this Act, every village Authority. Within its jurisdiction, shall perform the following functions:  

(i) Maintenance of Law and Order,  
(ii) Arrest of suspected accused person,  
(iii) Arrest of an accomplice in a heinous offence,  
(v) Arrest of any person for whose arrest a requisition has been received from the police,  
(vi) Arrest of any person obstructing the village Authority, or police officer in the performance of their duties,

(vii) Arrest of any person who has escaped from lawful custody,

(viii) Report to the concern Sub-Divisional magistrate of every unnatural, Serious riot, etc.

(ix) Production of the person arrested by it before the nearest magistrate within a period of 24 hours excluding the time taken in the journey,

(x) Review of development work and report there off too the concern B.D.O. and looking after the overall functioning of government schools.

The Sub-Divisional Magistrate shall have control over the Village Authorities subject to the control of the Deputy Commissioner.

5.2.6 The Village Courts. A Village Authority may also function as a court. The State Government by notification through official Gazette appoint two or more of the members of the villages authority to be the Village court during their tenure of office as members of the village authority. The village Court had jurisdiction over criminal cases. The person convicted by the village court had no right of appeal against the decision of the court. It had power to fine an offender not exceeding two hundred rupees, in default to imprisonment was for a term not exceeding one month. No woman should be sentenced to imprisonment for default of payment of fine. A person may not be sentenced and may be released provided he was not previously connected for any offence, because of age, character, etc.

The village court had jurisdiction to try cases for the recovery of money due to contract, suit for the recovery of movable property or the value of such property, suits for damages by cattle trespass.

The village court could not entertain classes such as partnerships account. The village court shall not entertain suit unless one of the defendants resided within the village and the course of the action had a risen wholly or in part within its limits.

No woman shall be compelled to appear in person before a village court as an accused or as a party or as a witness. A village authority can seek assistance from any person within its local jurisdiction for due performance of its powers and functions under this Act.

A village court should record its decisions in writing. The jurisdiction of the village court had been determined by law.

5.2.7 Morung (Bachelors’ Dormitory). There was another interesting non governmental institution in the tribal villages the Morung or Bachelors’ dormitory for the unmarried boys. This dormitory is known by various names.35

(i) The Kabui called it Khanchu for boys and Lachu for girls,

(ii) The Tangkhul called it Mayar Long (boys)

(iii) The Hmars called it Baunzual (boys),
(iv) The Khongsai called it Golhangsam (boys),
(v) The Maram called it Rangta (boys),
(vi) The Mao called it Kharailiya,
(vii) The Anals called italillinga, etc.

The girls' dormitory existed not in all tribes.

The main functions of the dormitory were defence of the village, training of arts, etc. All boys attaining puberty must live in dormitory until they are married. It was the village guard room and the centre of social, religious and cultural life of the tribe. The Morung made all important announcements. The Morung entertained important visitors to the village, they were to arrange any village feast. They collect firewood, fetchwater and distribute the meat.

The Morung was empty during day time but came to life after sunset only. The Morung was financed by the villagers. A member of the Morung had to leave it when he had married. Although Morung existed in all the tribal villages, no such institution existed in all tribal villages for unmarried girls there is a difference between the bachelors' dormitory and the girls' dormitory. The girls were strictly prohibited from entering the boys' dormitory, bachelors were not prohibited from entering the girls' dormitory. The leader of the Morung had certain qualifications as, he must be elderly, with ability to promote in basketry, canework, music and folklore.
Thus, Morung or dormitory system of the tribal in the hill areas played many important roles in the village administration. It was the only institution for the youths in relation with the social life. It was also the only window outside their world. However, Morung does not exist today because, there is no head hunting, no hostilities among the villages and tribes, with the dawn of civilization.

5.3.1 THE MANIPUR (HILL AREAS) DISTRICT COUNCIL ACT, 1971.

The tribals of Manipur felt that the all districts in the hill must be autonomous. With this view the District Autonomy Demand Committee was formed to initiate and spear head the demand. The Committee thus, submitted a memorandum to the then Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi on the 14th October, 1971 stating.

“We the hill tribes of Manipur belonging to different tribes, sub-tribes and clans are a homogenous people. Our culture, customs, traditions, society, physical appearance and languages are so identical that we from one distinct ethnic unit together. We can converse freely in our respective tribal languages without any hitch.” In order to mark their identity, they also suggested that each hill district be granted full autonomy by constituting autonomous district councils. They also suggested the functions that must be trusted to them in the memorandum.

Looking the interest of the Tribals of Manipur and for administrative convenience, Parliament enacted the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Councils Act, 1971. The Act laid down that all the Hill Areas of Manipur shall be divided into six Autonomous Districts, each endowed with a District Council, consisting of 18 members elected and two nominated members. The Autonomous Districts are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Manipur South</td>
<td>98,114</td>
<td>Churachanpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Manipur North</td>
<td>38,428</td>
<td>Senapati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Manipur East</td>
<td>32,229</td>
<td>Ukhrul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Manipur West</td>
<td>44,775</td>
<td>Tamenglong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Manipur Sadar Hills</td>
<td>68,751</td>
<td>Kangpokpi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Manipur Tengnoupal</td>
<td>38,23</td>
<td>Chandel</td>
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5.3.2 The Constitution. The Constitution of the District Council read as:

(i) As soon as may be after the commencement of this Act, the Administrators shall cause all the hill Areas to be divided into not more than six autonomous districts.

(ii) The Administrator (administrator of the union territory of Manipur appointed under article 239 of the constitution) may, by order, notified in the official Gazette:

(a) declare that any area in any autonomous district which is intended to be

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included within the limits of any municipality, containment to or town committee
shall cease to be a part of such autonomous district;
(b) increase the area of any autonomous district;
(c) diminish the area of any autonomous district;
(d) Unite two or more autonomous districts or part there of so as to form one
autonomous district;
(e) define the boundaries of any autonomous district;
(f) alter the name of any autonomous district.

(iii) (a) For each autonomous district there shall be a district council.
(b) The total number of seats in the District Council to be filled by persons chosen
by direct election on the basis of adult suffrage shall not be more than eighteen.
(c) The Administrator may nominate not more than two persons.

(iv) All the constituencies were single member constituencies and by simple majority.

(v) The Administrator may from time to time, by order, alter or amend any order
made under the section No.4 given above.

(vi) In the constitution, the following points also clearly mention; that a person shall not
be chosen to be member of District Council unless he is an elector for any District
Council Constituency in that autonomous District, and he shall not hold any office
of profit.

(vii) As regards the qualification of the candidates for election to the District Council
there are the usual ones which we have already noted in connection with the
election of members of the village authorities.
(viii) Every person whose name is for the time being, entered in the electoral roll of a constituency shall be entitled to vote at the election of a member of the District Council for that constituency.

(ix) Election of a District Council shall be held in accordance with the rule under section 21.

(x) The name of all persons elected or nominated to be member of a District Council shall be published by the Administrator in the official Gazette.

(xi) The term of office of a member shall be five years.

(xii) Each District Council shall be a body corporate by the name respectively of “the District Council of name of an autonomous district” and shall have perpetual succession and a common seal with power to acquire, hold and dispose of property and to contract and may by the said name sue and be sued.

(xiii) A District Council shall choose two members to be respectively chairman and vice chairman.

(xiv) Every member shall, before taking his seat, make and subscribed at a meeting of the District Council, an oath or affirmation on the prescribed form.

(xv) No person shall be a member both to the Legislative Assembly of the Union territory of Manipur and of a District Council.

(xvi) Every member shall be entitled to received allowances as may be determined by the Administrator.

(xvii) Every member shall be deemed to be a public servant within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian penal code.
5.3.3 Functions of District Council. The function of District Council prescribed under the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Council Act 1971 read as: 39

(i) The maintenance and management of such property movable and immovable and institution as may be transferred to that council by the Administrator,

(ii) The construction, repair and maintenance of roads, bridges, canels and buildings as may be transferred to that council by the Administrator,

(iii) The establishment, maintenance and management of primary Schools and the construction and repair of all building connected with these institutions and institution of scholarship,

(iv) The establishment, maintenance and management of dispensaries,

(v) The establishment and maintenance of cattle pounds including such functions under the cattle-trespass Act, 1891 as may be transferred to that council by the Administrator,

(vi) The establishment, maintenance and management of market and construction, repair and management of all buildings connected there with,

(vii) The supply, storage and prevention from pollution of water for drinking, cooking and bathing purpose,

(viii) The Construction, repair and maintenance of embankments and the supply, storage and control of water for agricultural purposes,

(ix) The preservation and reclamation of soil,

39. Ibid., p.8.
(x) The preservation, protection and improvements of livestock and prevention of animal diseases,

(xi) The management of such ferries as may be entrusted to the charge of that council by the Administrator,

(xii) The initiation, inspection and control of relief works,

(xiii) The allotment, occupation, use, or the setting apart of land, other than land acquired for any public purposes or land which is a reserve forest, for the purpose likely to promote the interest of the inhabitants of any village or town situated within the autonomous district for which that council is constituted,

(xiv) The regulation of the practice of Jhum or other form of shifting cultivation.

It shall be competent for a District Council to recommend to the Government relating to the following matters in so far as the concern member of the scheduled Tribes, namely:

(a) appointment or succession of chiefs,

(b) inheritance of property,

(c) marriage and diverse and

(d) social custom.

5.3.4 Procedure and Staff of District Council. For smooth running of administration and implementation of work, the District Council may from time to time appoint committee. For every District Council there shall be a chief Executive officer as secretary of the
council who shall be appointed by the Administrator. The District council has no legislative power. The District Council is authorized to levy certain taxes, such as a tax on profession, trade, employment, animal, vehicles, and boat, entry of goods into a market for sale.

District Council fund. A District Council has its own fund called 'Council Fund.' All money received by or on behalf of it under the provision of this Act or any other lower credited to his fund. The account of the council is audited by the state government in the prescribed manner.\textsuperscript{40}

It must submit its budget every year to the government for the next financial year. The Government may or may not modify it. The budget, if approved by the government, shall be the budget of the Council.

Chairman and Vice-Chairman. A District Council shall have its own chairman and a vice-chairman who are elected from amongst its members. The chairman is a whole-time functionary and entitled to salary and allowances. He can also be removed from office by a resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the council at the meeting held for the purpose.

5.3.5 District Council and Village Authority. A District council may ask for any

\textsuperscript{40} M. Ibohal, \textit{Local Self government in Manipur, op.cit., p.47}. 
information, except on judicial matter from the village Authority situated within the council's local jurisdiction. The council may ask for any information from village Authority regarding its financial position and direct the village authority to perform any of the latter's discretionary functions if the council provides for necessary fund. In fact the District Council in the Hill Areas of Manipur had not been able to perform their duties well for want of proper fund.

There is lack of Democratic decentratisation in the District Councils. The District Council also cannot make of much progress and success in their functions on political ground. It is also undeniable fact that a District Council run by a non-ruling political party always get defeated and disappointed at the hand of the ruling political party. The District Councils were places under the administrative Control of the Deputy commissioner.

As stated, not satisfied with the modus operandio of the District Councils under the Act, the tribal intellectual in Manipur have been demanding that the sixth Scheduled of the constitution of India should be extended to and enforce in the hill Areas of Manipur.

5.4 DEMAND FOR SIXTH SCHEDULE.

5.4.1 Problems faced by Tribal of Manipur. Ever since the attainment of statehood of Manipur, the Tribals had suffered untold miseries and relegated in every socio - economic development all because of the power politics and biased policy adopted
towards the Tribals.41 The committee also highlighted the grievances of Tribal under Manipur Government as.

(i) Forceful extension of Manipur land Revenue Act and Manipur Land Reformed Act in the Tribal Areas,

(ii) Imposition of Manipuri language upon the Tribals,

(iii) Violation of Service quota and Promotion rules,

(iv) Gross misuse and diversion of funds of Tribals,

(v) Monopoly of A.I.R. and Doordarshan,

(iv) Constant transfer of Tribal Government Servant.42

The committee also mentioned in their memorandum submitted to G.K.Pillai that “there has been misuse of tribal sub-plan (TSP) by investing/utilising this fund in the valley also it being utilised for development of the Hill (Tribal) areas of Manipur.” “Employment under the hundred point roster has hardly been honoured in almost the entire department of the state government with only about 16,00 (Sixteen thousand) tribal employes as against it ought to have been somewhere about 28,000 (Twenty eight thousand) tribal employees in a total of about 90,000 (ninety thousand) employes of the state.”43

41. “Manipur Tribal on The Move” Sixth Schedule Demand Committee Manipur (Working Committee, Delhi. Front Page

42. Ibid., Front Page

5.4.2 Origin of the Demand. The idea to the demand for Sixth Schedule was conceived when the North East State Reorganisation Act, 1971 was made. In fact, the existing District Council, which eventually was found to have been hollowed. Though it seems to be good in theory, it is an uninteresting pseudo and without any autonomy and financial power in practice. Therefore, the Hill Areas Committee of Manipur Legislative Assembly under the chairmanship of Shri S.P. Henry passed a resolution in 1974 recommending for extension of Sixth Schedule in the hill (tribe) areas of the state in place of the existing District Council. In view of the existing Act does not satisfy the aspiration of the Tribal people in Manipur, the Zoomi Democratic Front (ZDF) convened a consultative meeting with all voluntary organizations, political parties and political leaders of the tribal people and temporarily formed the “united Tribal Organisation of Manipur” (UTOM) as born on September 29, 1990.\textsuperscript{44} Subsequently, the united Tribal organisation Manipur promptly endorsed to revive the movement of Sixth Schedule.

\textsuperscript{44} A Brief Account on the Movement of Sixth Schedule, Sixth Schedule Demand Committee Manipur, p.1.
5.4.3. PROPOSED ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE UNDER THE SIXTH SCHEDULE

Extensive Chart

GOVERNOR

STATE GOVT.

COUNCIL

(Principal Secy)

CDO

DO (s) (Equivalent to the rank of Secy.)

DEV ADMN

DDO (Dy. Commissioner office equivalent)

DEO (S) Existing Dist. Level Officers representing Department

BDO

BL0(s) Existing Block Level Officers representing Departments

DIST COMM UNIT (s)

TRIBUNAL ADMN

DIST. COURT

Regional Court

VILLAGE COURT.

PROPOSED FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCIL.  

(Developmental intensive - Chart)

Executive Members with Portfolios (Line Departments).

Development Officers with Portfolios (Line Departments)

Dist. Development Officers (Covering all the Departments of Council)

PROPOSED OPERATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE COUNCIL

(Political Intensive Chart)

MANIPUR HILLS COUNCIL

COUNCIL

MODERATOR & Dy.

CEM - 1
DY.CEM - 1/2
EX-MEMBERS - 6
TOTAL NOS. OF COUNCILOR -

A
B
C
D
E
F

KEY TO ABBREVIATION NOTES

CDO - Chief Development Officer
DO - Development Officer
DDO - District Development Officers
DEO - District Executive Officers
BDO - Block Development Officers

BEO - Block Executive Offices
DY.COM - Deputy Commissioner
SDO - Sub-Divisional Officers
CEM - Chief executive Members.

47. "Manipur Tribals on the Move." op.cit., p.3.
5.4.4 Government Responses. In view of the problems, the committee underwent several forms of agitations and submitted memoranda to both the state Government and the central Government. As a follow up of actions of the Hill Area Committee resolution of 1974 as given above, the Committee resolved the following resolutions subsequently:

Resolution of the Hill Areas Committee dated 19-3-1978.

Resolution. “The amendments to the Manipur Hill Areas District Council Act, 1971, proposed by the sub-committee have been discussed by the committee on 4-3-1978 and in course of the discussion there was proposal in favour of the extension of the provision of the Sixth Schedule of the constitution to the administration of the Tribal area in the State of Manipur as the existing Act does not satisfy the aspiration of the tribal people in Manipur. It is therefore unanimously resolved that the government be urged to recommend extension of the provision of the Sixth Schedule of the constitution to the Hill District of in Manipur.”

Resolution of the Hill Areas Committee date 8-6-1983.

Resolution: “The Committee decided to reaffirm the last resolution passed on 15-3-1978 in regard to the extension of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India in the Hill Districts of Manipur.”


49. An extract from the resolution of the Hill Areas of the Hill Areas Committee, Manipur, dated 15-3-1978.

Resolution. "The Hill Areas Committee after a detail and prolong discussion unanimously reaffirm the resolutions adopted by the previous Hill Areas Committee's demanding for extension of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution to the existing tribal inhabited Hill Districts of Manipur without any further delay."\(^{50}\)

Resolution adopted by the Hill Areas Committee on 21-8-1991.

Resolution. "The meeting of the H.A.C. held on 21-8-91 resolved to appreciate the state Government for arriving at a decision for extension of the Sixth Schedule of the constitution in the hill District of Manipur.\(^{51}\)

Further they resolved the state government to communicate the centre Government before 29-8-91 and the state Government to argue the centre to bear financial expenses for its introduction.

Resolution Adopted by the Hill Areas Committee on 12-5-1995.

Prof. Dr.M.Horam Chairman H.A.C. in the chair.

Resolution. "The Hill Areas Committee resolved to reaffirmed the earlier resolution adopted by the H.A.C. with regard to urging Government of India for extension of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Hill District of Manipur".\(^{52}\) They also resolved to send a delegation to Delhi to pursue the matter.

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50. An extract from the *Hill Areas Committee Manipur, resolution*, dated 29-3-1988.
51 An extract from the *Hill Areas Committee Manipur, resolution*, dated 21-8-1991.
52 An extract from the *Hill Areas Committee Manipur, resolution*, dated 12-5-1995.
Resolution adopted by the H.A.C. Manipur on 9-5-2000

Resolution: The Hills Areas Committee unanimously resolved to reaffirm that election to the District Councils in Manipur should be held within the shortest periods and extension of the Sixth Schedule be pursued vigorously.53

In response to the move the following have been taken by state Government and the central Government.

On 28th April, 1988 Mr. A.N.Kaul in his official letters to Hill Areas Committee Manipur wrote about the Fifty first amendment Bill 1984 that the Minister of Home Affair Mr.Pv.Narashimha Rao “had assured the House that provision of the Sixth Schedule to the constitution may also be extended to the state of Manipur at the earliest oppportunity”.54

Proceeding of the cabinet meeting held on 13-5-1991. with Shri. R.K.Ranbir Singh, Chief Minister in chair.

Decision. Cabinet decided to recommend the extension of Sixth Schedule in the Hill Areas of the state with certain local adjustments and amendments.55

Proceeding of the cabinet meeting held on 17-8-92 with Shri.R.K. Dorendra Singh, Chief Minister in the chair.

53. An extract form the Hill Areas Committee Manipur, resolution, dated 9-5-2000.
54. Letter from A.N. Haul, joint Secretary, Lok Sabha Secretariate to under Secretary, Hill areas Committee Manipur Legislative Assembly, dated,28-4-1998.
55. An extract from the Manipur Cabinet decision in its meeting held on 13-5-1991.
Decision. "Decided that a recommendation be made to the Government of India for extension of the Sixth Schedule to the Hill Areas of Manipur." 56

The state Government thus conveyed its decision to the centre. In his letter to the Hon’ble Prime Minister of India P.N.Narashimha Rao, Mr. Rambir the decision dated 13-5-1991 by his cabinet and urged for constitutional amendment during the current parliament session. 57

Mr. C. Daungel in the chair of the Hill Areas Committee forwarded a memorandums submitted by the S.D.C.M. to the Chief Minister Radhabinod Kojjam on 14-3-2001 as "The Hill Areas Committee had all along supported this view and already adopted resolutions to this effect, ... the government of Manipur also appear to have adopted a policy for the extension of the provision of Sixth Schedule to the Tribal (Hill) Areas of Manipur." 58 He therefore, once again conveyed the recommendations of the Hill Areas Committee for extension of Sixth Schedule to the existing District council of Manipur.

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56. An extract from Manipur cabinet Decision in its meeting held on 17-8-1992.
57. R.K. Rambir Singh Chief Minister of Manipur Confidential D.O. No. 2/6/81 to the Prime Minister of Iddia. 22-7-1991.
5.5. TRIBAL INSURGENCIES.

5.5.1 The Thadou Insurgency. History recorded that the Thadou originally live in the Lushai Hills. The Lushai Chief Lalula Sailo once drove them away from his chieftainship in 1910. The Thadou migrated to Manipur and settled down there. When they came to Manipur their contact and the relationship between the British were strange for various reasons. The first reason that lead to strange in their relationship was the British compelled the Thadou to render labour on certain occasion known as Pothang. The Pothang compelled some of the Thadou to migrate from Manipur to distant place. As the Thadou had experienced the misery demanded for exemption from Pothang.

The Second factor which led to the strange relationship between the British and the Thadous was the restriction placed on possession of fire arms not more than one. The British intended to serve a dual purposes, to control inter-tribal and inter-clan feuds and at the same time to maintain law and order in the tribal areas. However, as the Thadous used fire arms to raid the neighbouring areas, pillage their properties, kidnapped man and women and reduced them to slavery they detested this policy. For a Thadou a gun is a life long companion. As such there was alienation of the Thadou from the British.

The Third reason was the recruitment of Thadous for service in foreign countries. The British recruited about 1000 Thadou for labour in France during the first world war. When the British came for second batch recruitment the Thadou refused and

said the British that they would pay some money in place of the recruitment. The vice
president ordered the burning of their villages and granaries. This infuriated and resorted
to insurgency.

There was also factor responsible for the strained relationship among them. It
was in 1917 that the British compelled the Thadou to pay a house tax of Rs.2/- per
house. Two rupees was substantial or heavy amount for the Thadous.

Further, during the British ruled the Hill administration was under the political Agent
and the President of the Durbar. They introduced lambus system. It reduced the power of
the chief and the Lambus harassed, pillaged and plundered, heavy bribes, from the people
without the knowledge of the administrator. There was lack of contact between the
administer at Imphal and the common men in hills. Thus, these oppressive rule resulted
in insurgency.

In view of all those oppressive ruled the chief of Assam, Chengjapao, the head of
all the Thadou chiefs directed his colleagues to resist from any command. When some
of the chiefs met at Zatpo to discuss the situation, the chief of Laijing, Tintang Haokip
suddenly leaped for war, fire his gun, chanted the name of his fore fathers and declares
that he would fight the British till the end of his life.60 He was appointed the commander-
in-chief of the Thadou army.61 Thus the ultimate cause for the Kuki rebellion was that they
thought the Kuki lived independently of the administration, except that they paid house tax.

During the Thadou was they killed altogether 317 men, women, children and combatants. 84 combatants died of the diseases contracted in the field. The total strength of the British force to quell the rebellion was 6,200 combatants 8,300 transit coolies. The total expenditure incurred was Rs.28.09 lakhs. It took two years to quell the rebellion.

5.5.2 The Kabui Naga Insurgency. The Kabui thought that they were at logger heads with one another. However they realised that this disunion among the Kabui Nagas responsible for their political slavery. The two anxious laws which the Kabui Naga hated were the Pothang Bekari and the Pothang Samkai, the Pothang Bekari was that whenever an officer came at any village, the village must carry their luggage free of cost from one place to another. The Pothang Samkai was that the villagers had to maintain those officers during their stay at the village. The British forced whenever they deny and alimate their relationship.

Another cause to this alienation was the Kukis encroachment on their land and the British fail to prevent it though they collect house tax on the condition that they would protect in the interest of the Kabui Nagas. Jadunang appeared on the scene and he came to the conclusion that the only way to solve that problem was the elimination of the British and the establishment of Kabuiraj.63 Jadunang and his disciple, a seventeen year old Rani Gaidinlienu spread this idea among all Kabui Nagas, collect funds for purchased of arms

and ammunitions trained the people in the guerilla warfare for the liberation the Kabui Naga from the British. The Kabui Naga kingdom based on the principle of equality, liberty and fraternity spread like a wild fire at the Tamenglong areas. At that juncture Jadunang taught his followers that:

"the Meiteis have their own king,
The whites have a king
The Indians have a king of their own
Why should not have one of our own as king
The whiteman and we are all human beings
Why we should be agreed of them,
All men are equal
We are blessed people,
Our days have come
Our powerful weapons are kept hidden by God at Zeiliad.
We shall pray and worship God,
Only by His grace we can become kings."\(^{64}\)

With the slogan Kabui Naga Raj, Jadunang trained the boys and Rani Gaidinlieu trained the girls and advised them that British Raj had come to an end and the Kabui Nagas Raj was a certainty. Jadunang constructed two temples, tended a big python in his compound and worshipped it and thereby created an impression to other that he was a

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64. V.V.Rao, T.S.Gangte, Ksh. Bimola Devi, "op.cit., p.172."
messenger of God sent by him to liberate the Kabui Nagas from the British rules. He was very popular. Women offered egg, meat and worshipped him.

In 1927 Mahatma Gandhi visited Silchar. Jadunang welcomed with song and dance by one hundred boys and girls. In 1929, the Kabui Naga kingdoms, a heaven on earth where there would be no starvation no disease no poverty, etc. was promised by him. He applied Gandhian method in someway. His tax stands for, tax should be paid but not to the British but to the Kabui Naga Raj. He said Kabui Nagas should fight against the British and the Kukis who had encroached their land.

Knowing those activities, the Government of Assam wrote to the Government of India.

"A Kabui Naga named Jadunang, living at a village Kumbuiram on the bridle path, has proclaimed a Kabui Naga Raj, and the Kabui Naga believing that he is a messiah for whom they had been waiting all those years, have sent him, as attributed a large number of mithuns, the semi-domestical goyals. Large assemblies of Nagas have been held at a village named, Nongkhai, where Jadunang has been treated as a God. According to the Kukis, Jadunang was collecting guns with the intention of attacking them. D.C. Naga Hills also recieved information that Jadunang has ordered that revenues may be paid this year to us but be paid next year to him."  

Based on this report government arrested him and wanted to eliminate and

sentenced him to death on 13th June, 1931. He was executed on 29th August, 1931 at the age of 26 years. Thus the gifted leader of the Kabui Naga, a social reformer, freedom fighter and integrator of all Kabui Naga died for the Kabui cause.

5.5.3 Rani Gaidinlieu. Rani Gaidinlieu a great leader of the Kabui Nagas and a veteran freedom fighter was born on 26th January 1915 at Longkao Village, Tamenglong District. She began the association with Jadunang at the age of 13 years. Her meeting with Jadunang was the beginning of her religious and political life. Jadunang’s ideas were left to Gaidinlieu to translate into action. She took up the leadership of the movement for independent.

A legendary figure in tribal or Naga polity in particular Rani Gaidinlieu aimed at the unification of the kinder sub-tribes the Zemei, Liangmei, Rongmei and Puimei for this is the means for establishment of the Naga Raj. (Now known as Zeliangrong). She thought that all of them spoke the same language, lived on common territory, observe common culture, customs and yet were disputed, fighting against one another. The unification of their tribes was intended to establish the Naga Raj. In order to bring their unity she wanted to preserve traditional Naga culture and religion. She was against the conversion of their people into Christianity. She even introduced her own braned of reformed religion known as “HERAKA” meaning ‘religion of a true god.’ She realized that Polytheism among the Kabui was also responsible for their disunity. She therefore preached monotheism.

Gaidinlieu impressed her followers;

"We are a free people'

The white man has no right to rule over us,

We shall not pay tax to the British,

We shall not obey their unjust laws like the Pothang."68

Gaidinlieu asserted that Kabui Naga Raj was a certainty if people follow the monotheism. The Kabui Nagas followed her unquestioningly and the movement spread throughout their people's inhabited areas. Like her master Jadunang she was influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy. The movement caused anxiety to the British. Therefore, the government of Assam directed the D.C. of the Naga Hill District to deal her with care. The D.C. ordered her arrest. She went underground with one thousand soldiers with 400 rifles in 1932.69 Attacks were started at army camps. The Government offered Rs.200, Rs.500 and so on as reward to any one who could give about her movement.

She was arrested in October 1932 by a strong force under the command of Captain Mc. Donald at Pulonie Village. She was sentenced to life imprisonment by Higgins the then Political Agent of Manipur and who sentenced her Master Jadunang to death. She spent 14 years in different jails, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru learnt Gandinlieu and her movement when he visited Assam in 1937 and met her in Shillong jail. He was impressed

69. Ibid., p.23.
by her activities and shocked that a young girl of 20 should suffer so much. Jawaharlal Nehru described her as the “Rani” of Nagas. The Congress tried her release but the British feared that once her release the movement would break out again. She was released from Tura jail in 1947 only after independent of India, but she was made to live in a remote village of Vimrap in Makokchung District of Naga Hill. In December 1991 she returned to her native village Longkao, where she desired to spend her last days. Till then she concerned for the protection of the interest of Zeliangrong and formation of a separate state within the Union of India.

Gaidinlieu the legendary Queen breathed her last on 17 February 1993 at the age of 78 years. Thus, she sacrificed her life to uplift the down trodden tribals.

5.6.1 THE NAGA NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

Since time immemorial the Nagas dwelt on a fringe of civilization. Every village lived in self-sufficient and self-governing. Villages of Nagas were ruled by various kings or Chiefs either hereditary or elected. Traditionally, the Nagas shared a common homeland, and broadly speaking belong to the Mongoloid race group. They also shared a common faith and practice common religion. Their dialects originated from the Tibeto-Burman group. The Nagas are inhabited in the present state of Nagaland, in the Naga hills of Manipur, in the North Cachar and Mikir Hills, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Nawgong of Assam, in the North-East of Arunachal Pradesh, in the Somraha Tract and its
contagious parts of Burma (Myanmar). 70

It has a period for the Nagas to decide their future as soon as possible before the end of the British rule in India. As early as 1918, the educated Nagas organised themselves into the “Naga Club” they were preparing themselves politically in the event of India gaining her independent from the British. 71 Thus they were very anxious about their chief concern the political future of their land after the exit of the British.

Simon Commission. On 10th January, 1929, the statutory commission led by Sir John Simon with Clement Attlee as one of the members visited Kohima to find out the wishes of the Nagas about their political future. A memorandum was submitted that Nagas should be left alone when the British left India. In its memorandum the Naga club wrote:

“If the British Government, however, wants to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have conquered us themselves, and to whom we are never subjected; but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times.” 72

The commission reported thus; “we see therefore, the Naga peoples fear of

exploitation; they fear racial exploitation, economic exploitation and political exploitation. Their "fear" may not be genuine but there is, in it theory."73 "They do not ask for self determination, but for the security f land tenure, freedom in the pursuit of their traditional methods of livelihood and reasonable exercise of their ancestral customs."74 In May, 1935 reports of the commission were placed before the special committee on Indian Bill of the House of common in London. But from 1st April, 1939, the Nagas Hill District along with the North East Frontier Tract, the Lushai Hills and Cachar Hills were only declared "excluded Hills" of the province of Assam,75

5.6.2 Naga National Council. When the World War II was over the Naga Hills District Tribal Council, which was established under the chairmanship of Charles Pawsy in 1945 with the objective of educating the Nagas to rule over themselves in a democratic manner,76 was changed into Naga National Council(NNC) in 1946. At its inception the council consisted of 29 members. Tribes are represented through a system of proper senate representation. However, on the eve of Indian Independence they were all not of one mind. Then certain Nagas demanded immediate independence, some others were not in favour of a complete break from India and yet others were inclined to become a British Mandatory under the Red and Coupland plan.77 Most Nagas favoured the first of

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73 Ibid., p.39.
75 M.Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.41.
77 M.Horam, op.cit., p.41.
these demands. A committee on the Aboriginal Tribes; and the sub-committee of the advisory committee visited Kohima on 20th May, 1947. T.Sakhrei, while welcoming them enthusiastically demanded for setting up of 'an Interim government of Naga People of a period of ten years, so as to enable the Nagas to be schooled as to make a responsible choice at the end of the ten years.\textsuperscript{78} Shortly after their visit Sir Akbar Hydari the then governor of Assam visited Kohima to discuss the matter in detail with the Naga National Council. The meetings were held on June 27, 28 and 29, 1947. The agreement concluded was known as Nine-Point Hydari Agreement.\textsuperscript{79} The preamble to the agreement recognised the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their own wished.\textsuperscript{80} Article of the agreement read as;

"The governor of Assam, as the agent of the Indian Union, would have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure the due observance of this agreement; at the end of this period the N.N.C. would be asked whether they require the above agreement regarding the future of the Naga Hills be extended for a further period or a new agreement be arrived at.\textsuperscript{81}

Article 9 of the agreement is important and proved controversial, and it has

\textsuperscript{78} M.Zingyii, \textit{op.cit.}, p.64.
\textsuperscript{79} M.Horam, \textit{Naga Insurgency, op.cit.}, p.42.
\textsuperscript{80} V.V.Rao, \textit{A Century of Tribal Politics, in North East India} 1870-1974, Chan and Company, New Delhi, 1975, p.312.
\textsuperscript{81} \textit{ibid.}, p.314.
become the crux of the Naga Political problem. The government interpreted these articles as meant that, at the end of ten-year period, the Nagas would be free to suggest for any changes in the existing administrative set up and receive greater autonomy within the Indian Union. But Phizo interpreted it that the Nagas would be free to secede from the Indian Union at the expiry of the ten-year period. Through different interpretation between the two parties the N.N.C. consistently maintained that it had given the Nagas the right to claim Independence and to secede from the Indian Union.

5.6.3 Interview with Mahatma Gandhi. Right after the controversy sparked off by the 9 point Agreement, a Naga delegation led by A.Z. Phizo met Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi on 19th July, 1947. Gandhiji said “Naga have every right to be independent. We did not want to live under the Domination of the British and they are leaving now. I want you to feel that India is yours and I feel that the Naga Hills are mine just as they are yours.” He further said that but if you say it is time, then the matter must stop there. If you do not wish to join the Union of India nobody will force you to do that. The congress government will not do that,” he said. The delegation told Gandhiji that the Nagas would be independent by 15th August, 1947. Gandhiji said humorously and asked, “Why not now, why wait for 15 August?” The delegation told him convincingly of the threat made by the then Assam governor, Sir Akbar Hydari, that in the event of the Nagas declaring themselves independent.

82 M.Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.44.
83 M.Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.44.
independent, military forces would used against he Nagas. Gandhiji become serious and said: Sir Akbar Hydari is wrong. He cannot do that. But if he does, I will come to Kohima and ask them to shoot me before they shoot one Nagas".84

Naga Independence was declared on August 14, 1947 without any disturbance. On 28th November 1949 the Naga met C. Rajagopalachari, the first governor general of Free India at Shillong and appraised him of the Nagas. The Governor General expressed such views as: "India wants to be friendly with you, India does not want to deprive the Nagas of their land. Nagas are at full liberty to do as they like, either to become part of India or be separated if that would be best for their interest".85

The Nagas were invited to joint the Union of India when it was formed for the first time in history in 1950, but the Nagas outrightly rejected it. The Naga people informed the Indian Government, the UN and those countries that had their embassies in Delhi on 24th January, 1950 that "the Nagas do not accept the Indian constitution". The Naga movement for self determination gained greater momentum after phizo was officially elected the President of N.N.C. In 1951 he organised a plebiscite in which thousand of Naga voted for Independence.86 It was in Kohima on 16th May that 99.9 percent of the Naga populace voted in favour of remaining Independent. The finger print copies weighing 80 lbs was shown to the Indian state. In 1953, when the prime Minister visited

84 V.V. Rao, op.cit., p.315.
85 M.Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.84.
86 M Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.60.
Kohima, the N.N.C. demonstrated by withthrowing from the public meeting while he was addressing the Nagas without success went on negotiating with India till 1954. Phizo formed a parallel Naga Central Government on 22\textsuperscript{nd} March, 1956. The N.N.C. organised its own defence department and political wing, Nehru in parliament said on 7\textsuperscript{th} August, 1952 that "we want no force marriages or force unions. However he flatly betrayed when the Naga refused to accept the Indian arm forces to Nagalim equipped with a draconian law known as "Armed Force (special powers) Act 1958". From 1954 to 1959 there was much Bloodshed. It is worth mentioning that the Manipur Naga Council, which was formed in 1956, merged with the N.N.C. in a year later in 1957.\textsuperscript{87} The Naga Central Government was changes to Federal Government of Nagaland in 1959. The Flag of the F.G.N. was hoisted on 22\textsuperscript{nd} March, 1962 at Phisinjua Rengma village and Sung their National Anthem. A constitution was presented and signed by the president of the Federal Government. It was later amended in 1968. The preamble to the constitution runs thus: "We the people of Nagaland Solemly acknowledging that the sovereignty over this earth and the entire universe belongs to the Almighty God alone". The preamble of the Yehzabo (constitution) also says that "the Naga National Council shall be the only recognised political institution in Nagaland".\textsuperscript{88} The constitution consist of 12 parts and 144 articles. In 1960 the underground Nagas sent to Mr. Raymand Hutchinsona in Britain a complete report of the atrocities allegedly committed by the Indian against the Nagas. In 1964, when Rev Michael Scott come to Kohima the Federal Government submitted a memorandum to him in a bid

\textsuperscript{87} The Yehzabo of Nagaland, para-XII.
\textsuperscript{88} A.Yunuo, op.cit., pp.270-271.
to internationalize the Naga cause and to speak in the UN on behalf of the Nagas. A convention of Baptist church leaders was held on 24th February, 1964 and formed a four-man peace mission comprising Rev Michael Scott, a renowned peace activist J.P.Narayan, a prominent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and B.P.Chaliha a celebrated Chief Minister of Assam and Shankarrao Deo as the members, and the federal government of Nagaland initiated for a peace talk. The two sides signed a cease-fire agreement which become affective from the midnight of 5th September, 1964. It was agreed for an initial period of one month but was extended from time to time till August, 1972. \(^8^9\) Under the cease-fire agreement the Government of India agreed that "the security forces will not undertake:

(a) Jungle operations,

(b) raiding of camps of the underground,

(c) patrolling beyond one thousand yards of security pools,

(d) searching of villages,

(e) aerial action,

(f) arrests and

(g) imposition of labour by way of punishment" while the underground "accepted that during this period they will refrain from

(i) sniping and ambushing,

(ii) imposition of fine,

(iii) kidnapping and recruiting,

(iv) sabotage activities,

(v) raiding and firing on security posts town and administrative centres,

(vi) moving with arms or in uniform in towns, village and administrative centres whereas there are security posts and approaching within one thousand yards of security posts.\textsuperscript{90}

The cease-fire day observed all over Nagaland and other places where Nagas lived “Today is a happy day for the people of Nagaland as well as for the people in the rest of Indian.”\textsuperscript{91} Said Dr. Radhakrishnan, the late president of India. After many rounds of talk were held the two parties come to the parting point. Since the Nagas stood firmly by their demand for sovereignty and the government of India insisted on a solution within the Indian constitution, there was a “dead lock” in the Indo-Naga talk. The year 1964 ended with a sense of frustration for both sides, and the political picture in Nagaland as well as the cease-fire covered areas of Ukhrul, Mao, Tamenglong etc. were unsecured and come back to armed confrontations.

5.6.4 Suisa's proposal to Naga leaders. It is observed that talks during cease-fire were started fairly and promisingly. Before any decision was arrived, the Naga delegates Mr. Suisa and Vizol were sent to London to meet Phizo to bring a consensus decisions. Suisa was a Tangkhul Naga and one time Member of Parliament from the outer

\textsuperscript{90} M.Horam, \textit{Naga Insurgency, op.cit.}, p.108.

\textsuperscript{91} M.Horam, \textit{Naga Insurgency, op.cit.}, p.109.
constituency of Manipur. He joined the underground when the cease-fire agreement was signed. As a prominent leader, he advocated to his Naga friends and leaders that a settlement of the Naga issue would ultimately have to be arrived at by negotiations with the Indian Government and the Nagas would have to rest content less than independent.\textsuperscript{92} He tried to convince the Naga leaders that they must accept a solution which would give them a status less than that of an independent state but higher than that of an ordinary state which allow Nagas to live with their own pattern of government and manage all affairs in their own baring accept defence, communication and currency in the Indian hand.\textsuperscript{93} However, difference of opinion arised between him and other Naga leaders particularly Phizo’s groups. He was thus force to leave from the Naga peace camp. Eventually the disappointed man got his exit from the organisation.

5.6.5 Shillong Accord 1975. In early November 1975, both the parties come again on the negotiation table, initiated by the liason committee of the Nagaland peace council. The six members underground delegation led by Kevi Yallya(brother of Phizo) met L.P.Singh on November 19,1975, at Raj Bhavan, Shillong. The following were the outcomes:

1) The representatives of the underground organisation decided of their own volition to accept without condition the constitution of India.

2) It was agreed that the arms, owned by the underground, would be brought out and deposited

\textsuperscript{92} M.Horam, \textit{Naga Insurgency, op.cit.}, p.134-135.
\textsuperscript{93} M.Horam, \textit{Naga Insurgency, op.cit.}, p.178.
at appointed places. Details for giving effect to this agreement will be worked out between them and the representatives of the Government, the security forces and members of the liaison committee.

3) The underground organisations should have reasonable time to formulate their issue for discussion for final settlement."

Other few terms such as return of Naga, the integration of all Naga inhabited contiguous areas, change in election system were presented. Thus it is wonder andironical that the Nagas who opposed Suisa vehemently and considered his proposal as political blasphemy have now accepted the Shillong Accord.

5.6.6 N.S.C.N. Following the signing of the so called Shillong Accord Nagaland, Manipur and other Naga areas were in turmoil and even ready for volcanic eruption against the Accord. Some overground Naga leaders from Manipur and Nagaland also renewed their earlier demand for greater Nagaland. In the midst of the crises a new political party, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) came into existence on 31-1-1980, against the Accord. Isak Chishi Swu was the executive chairman of the NSCN while Khaplang and TH.Muivah were vice-chairman and General Secretary respectively. The NSCN thus denounced the Shillong Accord and the leadership of Phizo. The NSCN aimed to bringing "free existence of Nagaland" which according to them was "a must for the salvation of the people."94 It also ruled out 'the illusion of saving Nagaland through peaceful

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94 Manifesto of the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland, produced in M.Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.244.
means. They condemned the accord of 1975 as “Accord of treason of 1975”. They condemned that a particular leadership staying in a foreign land has sustained the existence of Nagaland thus far and that he alone will bring the final victory too, need immediate correction.” The manifesto goes to says, “True, facts must be admitted and it is a fact that the most ignominious all out made in the history of the Nagas ever since the time of the first bullet of freedom fired is beyond despite the notorious “Shillong Accord”. In the manifesto they also reaffirmed that, “politics is successful”, but only when backed by arms”. The manifesto further says, “.... To us, it is definitely socialism alone that can assure the fairest to the community as a whole as it is the only social and economic system that does away with exploitation and oppression .... therefore, any force opposing it would obviously amount to being anti-national and anti-people.

The National Movement of NSCN more concerned with Manipur after the development of the Shillong Accord. Th.Muivah the General Secretary of the NSCN is a Tangkhul Naga of Manipur. From the early parts of 1980 the NSCN started working more actively in manipur. They even have link with some Manipur valley undergrounds. Unfortunately the Khaplang group of the NSCN broke away for internal issues as N.S.C.N(K). The Isak, Muivah group is known as N.S.C.N(IM). The collective leadership of the

95 Ibid., p.36.
96 M Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.179.
97 M.Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.244.
98 M.Horam, Naga Insurgency, op.cit., p.244.
N.S.C.C(IM) seek the support of other countries and thus recieved positive respond from many countries and International organisation. The N.S.C.N.(IM) got registration in UNPO in the year 1993. The International organisation such as the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation, UNPO (The Hague, The Natherlands) society for Threatened Peoples(Goettingers, Germany), European Alliance with the Indigenous People( Brussels Belgium), Support Group for the Indigenous Peoples. Foundations, KWAI (Antwerpen, Belgium), Indigenous Council in the Netherlands(Armsterdam), International work group for Indigenous Affairs, IWGIA(Copenhegen, Denmark), and Cultural Survival(Ottawa, Canada) have recognised with serious concern. HWAI, an International Support Group for Indigenous Peoples based in Belgium, issue a statement at Geneva on 30th July, 1993 under the heading “Declaration on Nagalim”, and “whereas the inalienable historical rights of the sovereign existence of Nagalim are indisputable, and whereas the firm stand taken on this by the Naga people HWIA, the Flemist support group for indigenous, commit itself to support the inherent right of the Naga people to self-determination and independent..... “For the sake of peace and justice, we strongly urge the right of the Nagas to determine their own future.”

They also went to further contact and the following resolution were also arrived at high level as (NO.5), under the leader the heading “Resolution on the struggle of the Naga People in their Residence Against invasion the Hague in the fourth General Assembly of the UNPO, held from 20-26

January 1995; "Recognizing the historical Sovereignty of the Naga people over their territory, the right of the Naga people to determine their own government and the illegality of the invasion and continue occupation of Nagalim by the Indian and armed forces...... Therefore, "vows to continue its support for Nagalim and the Naga people." ¹⁰¹

It is interesting in general that despite the past experience and the failed talks, the Indo-Naga has once again shown their commitment to democratic norms by entering into a new cease-fire on 1st August, 1997. Mr. Narasimha Rao while he was the Prime Minister of India expressed his opinion that the Naga problem should be solved through political talks. It is with that faith the two parties enter into a peace process. The basis for the peace process was that, ¹⁰²

(i) "The talks would be unconditional,

(ii) The talks would be concluded at the highest level, which means that they would be held between the Indian Prime Minister or his specially designated Emissary and the prime minister of the government of the People's Republic of Nagalim (GPRN) and

(iii) The talks would be held anywhere outside the territory of India i.e. in third neutral countries."

The cease-fire coverage encompasses all the Naga areas. Thus baring on three

terms given above the two parties initiated for political talk at the following dates and places; 103

(i) 12 June 1995, Paris, (a) P.V. Narasimh Rao, Indian Prime Ministers, (b) N.S.C.N.; Chairman Isak Chishiswui and General secretary Th. Muivah,

(ii) September 1995, New York, (a) Verma Principal Secretary to Indian Prime Minister, (b) N.S.C.N; Chairman Isak Chishi Swu and Th. Muivah,

(iii) 17 November 1996, Bangkok, (a) Indian team led by Rajiest Pilot, former Union Minister of India, (b) N.S.C.N: General Secretary Th. Muivah,

(iv) 3 February 1997, Zurich, (a) Deve Gowda, Indian Prime Minister, (b) N.S.C.N.: Chairman Isak Chishi Swu and General Secretary Th. Muivah,

(v) 26 and 27 May 1997, Geneva, (a) Satish Chandra, principal Secretary of Indian Prime Minister, (b) N.S.C.N; Chairman Isak Chishi Swu, vice Chairman Khodao Yantham and General secretary Th. Muivah,

(vi) 5 to 6 May 1997, Bangkok, (a) N.N. Vohra, Principal secretary to the Indian Prime Minister of India (b) N.S.C.N: General secretary Th. Muivah,

(vii) 25 to 26 May 1998 Bankok (a) Swaray Kaushal, special Emissary of prime Minister of India (b) N.S.C.N: General Secretary Th. Muivah,

(viii) 26 June 1998, Zurich, (a) Swaraj Kaushal, Special Emissary of the Prime Minister of India, (b) N.S.C.N.; Chairman Isak Chishi Swu and General Secretary Th. Muivah,

103 Ibid., p.34-35.
(ix) 18 September 1998. Armsterdam, (a) Swaraj Kaushal (b) Th.Muivah,

(x) 30 September 1998, Paris, (a) A.B.Vajpayee, Indian Prime Minister,
   (b) Chairman Isak Chishi Swu and Vice Chairman Khadao Yanthem and General
   Secretary Th.Muivah,

(xi) 24 to 27 March 1999, Armsterdam, (a) Swaraj Kaushal, (b) Isak Chishi Swu and
     Th.Muivah,

(xii) 23 to 25 September 1999, Armsterdam, (a) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special
     Emissary of Indian Prime Minister, (b) Isak Chishi Swu and Th.Muivah,

(xiii) 12 to 13 November 1999, Armsterdam, (a) K.Padmanabhaiah, (b) Isak Chishi
     Swu and Th.Muivah,

(xiv) 29 to 30 July 2000, Bangkok (a) K.Padmanabhaiah,
     (b) N.S.C.N.;Lt.Gen.(Retd)V.S.Atem, Special Emissary of the Naga Prime
     Minister."

Thus, many rounds of talk were held peacefully. In continuities of the on going
Indo-Naga Peace process another round of talk was held in Bangkok from 13 to 14 June
2001. A five points Indo-Naga cease-fire agreement was signed on 14th June, 2001. The
first point of the agreement reads as ; "The cease-fire agreement is between the
Government of India and the N.S.C.N. as the two entities without territorial limits."104
Right after the publication of the agreement by the media, everything became black in the politics of Manipur the Meitei people vehemently opposed the cease-fire extension without territorial limit. The Manipuris enmass rose up against the agreement. As a result prohibition under CRPC 144 was imposed in the Greater Imphal areas. The All Manipur United club organisation called a 66 hrs general strike on 16th June, from its midnight. Bandh supporters burnt effigies of Prime Minister A.B.Vajpayee, Union Home Minister L.K.Advani and N.S.C.N. leader Th.Muivah and K.Padmanabhaiah B.J.P. flag. 

The Manipur Student Federation locked up political party offices. On 17th June, the AMSU denoted state MPs and MLAs to resign. As opposition to the discussion to extend the Indo-NSCN(IM) cease-fire to the soil of Manipur ... the skyline of Imphal city enveloped by grey smokes. A prominent AMUCO member R.K.Anand stated, unless the centre withdraws the decision to extend the Indo-NSCN(IM) cease-fire from Manipur, the apprehension in the mind of the people that the territorial integrity of Manipur would be compromised will never be erased. In the course of action Manipur Assembly secretarial, Political Party offices, M.L.A. quarters including Chief Minister's office turned into ashes by the protesters. 13 protesters were also shot death by CPRF on 18th June,2001. Almost all the Manipuri based organisations cooperated in the protest against the Indo-NSCN(IM) cease-fire extension without territorial limit. Normal life in the

105. The Sangai Express, 16 June, 2001
107 The Sangai Express June,17.
108. Ibid.,
valleys was completely paralysed till 27th July, 2001. Nagas lives were threatened in the Imphal valley and all left for their respective Hill Districts. The city looked deserted. In contrary to the Manipuris opposition to the Indo-Naga cease-fire extension to Manipur, the whole Naga Hill Districts praised the unilateral leadership for the same. Welcoming the cease-fire extension, rallies were held in the District headquarter of Chandel, Senapati, Ukhrul and Tamenglong.¹¹⁰ Four Prominent Naga organisations - Naga Hoho, United Naga Council (UNC) Manipur, Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) and Naga Students Federation (NSF) urged PM to uphold June 14 Bangkok Agreement between the centre and NSCN(IM). Thus the two groups become poles apart on the cease-fire issue. As the Manipuri people went on continuing dharnas, set in Protests, hunger strikes, public rallies, public meeting the Centre government finally delated the three words “Without territorial limit” from the agreement between the centre and the NSCN(IM) on 27th July, 2001.¹¹¹

Thus preparation were made from two parties to enter into a new face of Indo-NSCN(IM) political dialogue for a lasting political solution.

Thus while dealing with the political development in the Hill Areas of Manipur, one cannot ignore or deny outrightly in the undergrounds activities in the hills. The insurgents emerged in Manipur Hills as early as 1920’s. In every political movement or development

¹¹¹ Manipur Fact File 2001. op.cit., p.18
in the hills the Government on the one side and the underground groups on the other side appeared into two opposite actions. Manipur was described by many as "A little paradise" and "A flower on lofty height." However, life of the hill peoples becomes in a position between the Devil and the Death sea with the emergent of different insurgency movements. Life become horrible in the midst of two Governments. People have to toterate all those extortions, violence and unlawful activities. On the other hand every Tribal insurgent group enjoys this respective community support in one way or other. They can fairy influence the ordinary peoples of their community which lead to contrast with the Governmental activities. Further one of the Strongest insurgent group of the North East India, the N.S.C.N(IM), by entering their Indo-Naga peace talk reflects the state as well as the National Politics.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE
HILL AREAS OF MANIPUR

From the facts stated above, we have seen that the small State Manipur
is inhabited by different communities and tribes. It can also be broadly clas-
sified into two groups as the hill and the valley people. The hills are mostly
inhabited by the Nagas and a few Non Nagas, of Kuki-Chin tribes. The valley
is inhabited by the Meiteis with a few Muslim and Non Manipuri outsiders.
It is also said that every Naga village was an independent village. They were
free from any external domination. Each village has a republic of its own. The
tradition of head-hunting of Naga society was the reason behind. It is also
no doubt that there was a close relationship between the hills and the valley.
Their relationship can be termed as the first political relationship of the two
groups of people and a political window for the Nagas outside their kingdom.

It has also been stated that the British did not disturb the Nagas when they
came to Naga region for the first time. It was only after the defeat of Manipur
in Anglo-Manipuri war of 1891, that the Naga hills were annexed and put them
under their control. Since then, the British imposed a strong administrative
system upon Nagas. Later in 1947, the British administration of the hills were
handed over to Maharaja of Manipur. Subsequently, the hills also included into the merger of Manipur with the union of India in 1949. This coaxed of Mani-

pur Kingdom by th Indian and the code of Nagas right now termed as forcible overthrown. On the contrary, the Indian thought that they have consolidated their country. Since the merger of Manipur into the union of India, the government of Manipur passed a member of Acts for administration in the hills, for example the Manipur Village Authority Act 1956, the Manipur Hill Areas District Coun-
cil Act 1971 etc. were passed to meant for a balance development in the state.

In our analytical point of view, the introduction of local self government is good even though, the hill peoples could not console by those Acts. The Acts seems to be attractive and suit for administration in the hills. But for the hill peoples, in reality those Acts became an acid test development. The tribal peoples observed it as a hallow sympathy or a hollow victory which serve no purpose and neither desirable nor benificial to them. Out of all these disappointments and dissatisfaction, the various social organisations came into existed and started their demand for introduction of six scheduled in the
hill area of Manipur. These are the social issues in today's tribals of Manipur. Therefore, these issues lead to a number of agitations, economic blockage, strike and destructions. It always disturb the normal life of the people of Manipur.

To give my opinion, the tribal's demand for Sixth Scheduled can be granted promptly by the government of Manipur as well as by the Centre. It is nothing but just to uplift the weaker sections of the state. As a matter of fact, the State Cabinet had also recommended to the centre for extension of the same. At the same time the Hill Areas Committee of Manipur Legislative Assembly had also recommended the matter to the state government for the first time in 1974. Every succeeding committees reaffirmed it. As per the recorded facts, I take their demand as genuine and acceptable. Extension of Sixth Scheduled will give them more chances of equality among the tribals and balance development between the hills and the valley. The ideal of democracy is equality, indiscriminate of caste creed or colour. The government and the principle of our democracy is for a maximum welfare of the people. According to my assessment, hundred percent of the tribals of Manipur want Sixth Scheduled
as per provision in the Indian Constitution. Their move for Sixth Scheduled can be termed as a democratic move and justified for the north eastern regions of India like Manipur. We can also take into account the various problems related to social issue, economic and political issues. In the small State Manipur there are a number of underground groups both in the hills and the valley. It is no doubt to say that the root cause for existence of various underground organisations operating in the State are due to dissatisfaction with the government. Some are for lack of confidence to the government for their future life, some others dislike their functioning style. Further, other stand for their historical rights to self determination. We can analysis in brief about the major underground argainsations of the hills in relation to their political development as under.

When we study about the political movement in the hills, we cannot just ignore the activities of the various groups of insurgencies. As for example, the Thadou insurgency was born out of disagreement with the British India on their policy of Pothang, restricton on the number of possession of
fire arms, recruitment of Thadous for war and creation of Kuki homeland. In our observation there are same mistakes on the part of the government which led them to form such organisation. In fact, we can neither justify nor deny such a case. It is the only matter of the government to settle. In the same way, the Kabui Naga insurgent also came into appear due to imposition of Pothang Bekari, the Pothang Samkhi, encroachment on their land by the Kukis and the negligence of the British on the matter inspite of collecting taxes for protection of their land. Thus, Jadonang and his follower Rani Gaidinliu started the movement for establishment of a kabui Raj knowing his activities, the government of British India sentenced him to death on 13th June 1931. He was in fact, the real leader of the Kabui Nagas who could enjoy the status of unquestion leadership. He can also be regarded as a national freedom fighter. Rani Gaidinlui was a main follower. The suppressive attitude of British towards the Kabui was the responsible for their existance.

The Nagas national movement can also be analysed as per the historical facts stated above. It is a peculiar thing that each and every villages of Nagas
were living in a self governing or as independent village. They were ruled by a village Chief or Head man. The Nagas thought that they had never been ruled by India and not ever been a part of India. The nagas were annexed by the British. As a matter of fact, the Nagas thought that the Naga themselves will decide for their future in the event of India gaining her independent from the British ruled. The Nagas also thought that they would be liberated when British withdrew India. With this view the Naga club submitted a memorandum to Simon Commission which visited Kohima on 10-1-1924 not to be thrust to one who never had conquered them but to leave them alone. A nine (9) point agreement with Sir. Hydani Akbar was signed in 1947. But there was differences of interpretation on some points from both sides after the agreement. Phizo met Mahatma Ghandhi and the later was also cleared and optimistic on the matter. Thus, the Nagas declared their independent on 14th August 1947. However the Naga’s were badly threatened by the Indian forces and their independent was not accepted by the Government of India and made them a part of India. That is why the Naga termed it forcible plunder of Nagas country.
It can be analysed that a great differences of opinion and confusion arose between the Indian and the Naga. In its positive way of thinking the Naga thought that they have every right to be freed as did earlier. Therefore, the Naga informed the Indian government, the United Nation and other country the Nagas did not accept the Constitution of India. With this view they went ahead for recognition of there independence. When we look at the negative aspect on the matter, it is thought that whatever may be the condition in the past, the Naga had already been ruled by the British India as such, they can not be parted from India ever after the independence of India from British. Thus, both theoriest contains certain rights.

As a result, the Naga formed an organization called the Nagas National council (NNC) under Phizo was very strong till 1979 which fought far the course of Nagas.

The NSCN was the offspring of NNC. It existed due to disagreement among the leaders of NNC on the issue of Shillong Accord 1975. The NSCN
was again divided into NSCN(IM) and NSCN(K) for their internal issues. Thus we see disagreement and differences of opinion among the leaders in their hard course of National movement. In general observation, the NSCN(IM) is regarded as one of the strongest in the region. It also enjoys the support from many peace loving Countries in the World today. The on-going cease fire for Indo-Naga peace talk is in progress. It is the hope and expectation of the peoples that both parties will sincerely work for bringing a long-term and honourable political solution at this juncture.

Thus, we see all these irregularities and problems in the course of the movement for political development in the hills of Manipur. It is also observed that the underground organisation in the hills of Manipur appeared in the beginning of the 20th century and probably they have been playing a significant role for their political future. They have a sacrificial spirit for their Motherland. On the contrary, the general public are facing a lot of problems in their daily life as well as political relation with other communities in the State due to their undue and excessive interference in various fields.
Knowing all these facts, the people of Manipur can not just ignore the activities of the various underground groups working in manipur while dealing with the political development in manipur. These powerful armed underground organisation can shape the life and political style of their respective communities to whatever they like. People whether willing it or not but fallow their dictate and face different problems in their day to day life. In such a stage people are governed by two governments. One can not go against the principle of their based organizations. As such when we discuss about the political movement and development in the hills of Manipur, the activities of those underground groups cannot be dropped out since they are always going on the opposite side of the popular government. Therefore, we also analyse the activities of the various insurgencies of the hills in course of our study on political development in the hills of Manipur.

Further, the ever increasing number of such organisation and its activists can also be considered in serious. In general finding, it is found that most of the youngster went to underground organisation due to dissatisfaction with the
corrupted government. They want to bring even a small correction for the welfare of the generations to come before going dawn to their further ambition. While other are fighting for their historical right to self determination. Thus, the state government should also realise to whatever may be the mistake committed on their part. Manipur may be one of the worse among the North East Indians states in respect of law and order and political situation.

To bring a peace, normalcy and political harmony among the people, it is the duty of the government to treat equally to all sections of the society. The government should open the door for an open discussion to the burning groups so as to see their grievances and to solve the problems. The organization of both the under and overgrounds should also be constitutional or based on the larger interest of the people. Public should also co-operate to the larger interest of the State. So that our land Manipur “the little paradise on earth” as created by Jawaharlal Nehru can be justified.