CHAPTER IV

Ethnic Identities of the Reangs of Mizoram and Causes of their Ethnic Assertion
Ethnicity - Concept and Meaning

The Greeks called all the non-Greeks as the ethnos or pagans and they designated themselves as the Genos. They clearly differentiated between the ethnos and the Genos. The groups or communities are formed on kinship through many generations of cohabitation in the same area frequently mixing with each other. They share the same type of experiences in religion, social customs, traditions and economies. The Greeks of the olden times were a proud people and the term ethnos or ethnokos, the barbarians is used for all such groups having the same type of characteristics.

The Latin word Natio is having the same meaning which is now used in a broader sense. It is also a sense of belonging in a population much larger than the ethnic group, which is small and compact in a given area. The ethnicists study the ethnic groups, not only from the social and economic points of view, they analyse them as a politically autonomous group.

An ethnic group, big or small, has a political and economic agenda. To achieve these goals, they are ready to struggle. This happens in India as well as in other countries of the world. After the independence of India, this is generally termed as sub-national aspirations. In many countries of the world, these are termed as the national movements. As the number of small ethnic groups are
large, the ethnic struggles are also numerous. The ethnic identity is
the conscious utilitarian action on the part of an ethnic group. The
consciousness take them to different spheres of activities, economic
and social are prominent among them.

In a democracy, the ethnic groups find outlets for political,
social and economic expressions. Any human group want such
expression when they see the assertions elsewhere. The pattern and
the organization are closely observed. Often, the courses of actions
are immitative and organized in the similar fashions. The number of
people involved in the movement, may be large or small, but the
political or social assertion takes place in the name of ethnicity.

In common parlance, the meaning of the term underwent
changes now. Danda feels that the non-Christian tribes following
their own cultures and religious beliefs, make these as tools for their
ethnic assertion. They are backward looking, having no interactions
with the modern trends. He called these groups having exotic and
primitive cultures. These ethnic groups are now assertive and
demanding autonomy in different places.

Our human kinds are divided into so many groups. Each
group feels a strong bond of affection and affinity among
themselves, its appeal is universal. In a working democracy, there
are always group political assertions where the ethnicity helps in the
process of mobilisation. In understanding social stratification, the ethnic identities play decisive roles and the groups assemble under the banner of ethnicity. In the west, the industrialization affected all nations there and there is a growing trend of social mobility in accordance with class and nation. But the attachment to the roots of ethnicity still remains strong and when there are economic and political movements undertaken, the ethnicity comes back with vengeance.³

Glazer and Moynihan mentioned that the term ethnicity appeared in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972 and the American Heritage Dictionary in 1973. Moynihan defined it as the condition of belonging to a particular ethnic group and ethnic pride (Glazer and Moynihan 1975).⁴

David Riesman first referred to the term ethnicity in 1953. The Oxford English Dictionary in its edition of 1972 included it as a new word. Cynthia H. Emoloe used it in 1973. In India, the term was popularized by J. Das Gupta in 1975. From the original term ethnos, so many new terms are coined. The terms ‘ethno centrism’ (Edward Byron Reuter, 1941), ‘ethnic communities’ (Caroline F Ware, 1938), ‘ethnic groups’ (H.S. Morris, 1968), with analogy to it, ‘primordial group attachments’ (Clifford Geertz, 1963), ‘communal group’ (Daniel Dell, 1975), ‘the minority group’ (Preston Valien, 1964) came
to be used in the discussions on ethnicity. Max Weber and Talcot Parsons are also the significant contributors to the study of ethnicity.\textsuperscript{5}

During the Second World War, the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1938) and Modern Hand Book of Sociology (1941) were published. The racial arrogance and the colonial ill temper also created many terms like heathen nations, alien minorities to designate them as the inferior groups, not at par with the developed cultures. It is, therefore, a difficult effort to define a universally acceptable definition of the term ethnicity. In the complex scenario of the north eastern part of India, the ethnic upsurges are common and the ethnic groups cannot be easily classified considering the levels of assertions.

An ethnic group grow their own norms and values which are precious to them and the members of an ethnic group compare their own position vis-à-vis the other ethnic group. Every ethnic group share some common feelings which tie them into a knot. This sense of togetherness persists in them and provides them a distinct identity and a strong emotional bond is generated.

The common experiences in social, economic and political aspects focus their attentions to themselves. In sociological terms, there is a strong ‘we’ feeling develops among them and from that
stand point, they start considering all others as ‘they’. Interestingly, the ethno centrism is found in all ethnic groups. If ethnicity is the shared views of the members within it, the democracy also throws up opportunities to share. No ethnic group, hitherto uninitiated, could remain aloof from such interactions.

An ethno conscious person believes in a collective action. An individual may not believe in a collective action but when he is ethno conscious, he is a real collectivist and feels a great comraderie in his community. He quickly identifies his religion, language, culture and clan system and tries to protect them. The more plural the society is, more will be the ethno centric assertions. The ethno consciousness and its progress start from a sense of denial, real or supposed, grave or moderate or a historical legacy. The Constitution of India acknowledges the presence of ethnic groups and provides protection to them. The constitution guarantees rights of the ethnic groups. The pages of the constitution provides the protection to the tribal people in the north east through the Sixth Schedule provisions. The denial of the ethnic rights may lead to a movement where the movement leaders generate a sense of pride in the culture and language. The ethnic group waits for the formation of elite therein who provides the leadership. The elite form a ‘spearhead’ organization that controls the movement. It is always noticed that
the similar ‘spearhead’ organization is found in the opposing ethnic group.\textsuperscript{6}

The ethno consciousness ensures cultural stability, uniformity and social integration within a social group. We find that when a group becomes ethno centric in character, it often encourages loyalty towards their own culture. In this way, it is observed that a culture survives and continues on the manifestation of ethno centrism. However, the cultural interaction with other such groups, consciously or unconsciously, continues and it enriches the bases of ethno centrism. An ethno centric group thinks that they are right in doing a particular job when it is done for a general cause. It is observed that a group movement emotionally supported by the members of an ethnic group is an overwhelmingly satisfying for the people.

No two groups are identical and there are points of differences. In ethno centrism, these differences are highlighted. In ethno centric exercises, there are many levels, each one interacts, counteracts or conflicts with the same level in other ethno centric group. The language interacts or conflicts with language, so on.\textsuperscript{7}

The history of human settlement throughout the world narrates that the human groups lived in isolation in the past. With the beginning of the modern time, the human groups are coming
much closer to each other. It is observed that the ethnic consciousness is more prominent and identifiable now because of this closeness among different groups. The isolation does not encourage consciousness.

No human group is without problems. It comes in different shapes, economic, social and political. The economic resources being scarce, the conflicts may raise its head over the share of these scarce resources. The charge of the denial of economic opportunities may be raised from different quarters. In many cases, a purely economic issue may be converted into an agitational programme based on ethnicity.\textsuperscript{8}

A situation where hundreds participate may turn into an ethnic issue if it persists for a long time. It defies easy definition as the situation differs. It has a ‘physio-cultural’ characteristic. Fredrick Barth (1969) took a broad view of it after analysing hundreds of situations throughout the world. According to him, the ethnic group itself asserts ethnicity in its way. A sociologist enumerates diverse classifications of human groups in the society and in the context of India, such classifications are more relevant. These are, racesub-race, tribesub-tribe, castesub-caste, classsub-class, language dialect, religionfaith, sectsub-sect, territoriality, nationality, degree of aristocracy and at times, levels of techno-cultural efficiency.
The ethnicity comes as a self assertion from a human group who wants to be recognized as a distinct group. It is a case of self ascription. The ethnicity and its core characters must be reasonably retained in course of assertion, otherwise, the base of ethnicity may be weakened. The whole process is articulated by its own elite. The responses from the other groups are important. The interpretation of the word is so varied that the proper definition is difficult to find out. Following features are enumerated by Barth,

1) A group of people, who are identifiable as a distinct group for a long time,

2) The cultural values are exhibited in the forms which show unity,

3) The unity of cultural views enables internal intercourses among the members of the group,

4) A strong ‘we’ feeling exists among the members and they call others as ‘they’ meaning separate groups from them.¹⁰

**Factors responsible for the growth of ethnic assertion**

In India, the rise of ethnicity based assertions are common. After her independence, the ethnic groups on different pretexts began to assert. Some human groups based on castes are considered
socially inferior and its eventual results are felt in their economic impoverishments.

Democracy has at least provided some scope for assertion. The obvious discrimination is imposed on certain groups who are not fully organized. The spectre of inequality rules there. The recent publication of the Justice Sachar Committee Report (2007) on the minority religious group is an eye opener and it describes the pitiable condition of human groups as the leftover of history.

A modern state is a welfare state and it believes in the concept of democracy for all. All are to receive equal treatment from the state and grow in the same manner. But a functional democracy operates with the help of a majoritarian authority, tends to form elite who corner all powers into their own hands. So many marginalized ethnic groups, who live in the periphery of such majoritarian rule, suffer from all the characteristics of backwardness.

There is clearly an unequal distribution of power and opportunities. There is maladjustment between the state and the society. Generally, the opportunities are available in the areas where the powers reside and these opportunities travel to the periphery with much weakened intensity. For this reason, the periphery shows backwardness. The smaller ethnic groups live on the periphery of a state where the grumblings against the state concentrate.
In a brief survey of the language based ethnicity throughout the South Asian countries, we find the presence of the majoritarian versus the periphery conflicts exist and in some countries, it is present with full fury of ethnic conflicts. In India, there was a conflict between Hindi and Tamil in Tamil Nadu in sixties which took a heavy toll of lives. A compromise was worked out and the struggle temporarily subsided.

There are some peripheral ethnic groups in India which demand separation from India. The Nagas were seeking separation from the time of independence. In the state of Assam, the passage of the official language act in 1960 opened an ethnicity based political assertion. Assam state suffered so many divisions afterwards, the new states of Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland were formed. The Bodo Territorial Council came into being. All these were the results of different ethnic assertions. In Nepal, the conflict between the ethnic Nepalis and the settlers in the Terai region persists with fury. In Bhutan, the immigrant Nepalis are throwing a threat to the majority Dzongkha population and the conflict continues.

The colonial rule in different parts of the world has one common characteristic of economic exploitation of resources. At that time, the question of ethnicity is overlooked and the question of national emancipation acquired primacy in the minds of the people.
In India, the bulk of the populations were oppressed economically. There was the game of diversion on the part of the colonial rulers which is popularly known as ‘divide and rule’.

The colonialists skillfully legalized the religious divide in India through separate electorate system and fully used it for their own colonial interests. The formation of a single polity in India under the colonial system had one redeeming feature, the people could travel from one part of the country to the other.

There were large scale peasant migrations from East Bengal to Assam which created an everlasting conflict in Assam valley. The Nepalis migrated in large number to India and spread to different parts of the country. The Tamils migrated to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and Malaysia. The communal representation in India created such a deadly conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims that the partition of the subcontinent became inevitable. The border tribes in the north west of the country and also in the north east assert their independence which the post independent Government finds difficult to tackle.\(^\text{15}\)

The religious affiliation sometimes replaces the ethnic consideration. The urge for political domination encourages the ethnic issues. The conflict between the East and the West Pakistanis took a political shape resulting in the creation of the new state of
Bangladesh. In Pakistan itself, the Baluchis demand emancipation from the dominant Punjabi control. The Indian Muslim migrants to Pakistan (Muhajirs) are still facing the problem of assimilation in the county after sixty two years of independence.\textsuperscript{16}

In each of the sensitive areas currently in news, are in deadly contests and the achievement of autonomy accelerates the urges for cultural autonomy. Some areas may be cited as very sensitive ethnically, the Muhajirs in the Sind Province of Pakistan, the Nepali settlers in south Bhutan, Tamils in northern Sri Lanka and the Indian settlers in the Terai Region of Nepal and in the same manner, the Chakmas in India and Bangladesh have the problems of similar nature in different settings. Minority groups who are clearly identified as the migrants from a neighbouring country get tacit supports from the country from where they migrated.\textsuperscript{17}

Jalali and Martin Lipset observe that there is variety of circumstances under which an ethnic conflict emerges. The French speaking people in Quebec and the Bengalis in East Pakistan were resentful of their state of subordinate status and their struggles to achieve goals are well known.\textsuperscript{18}

The issues of ethnic conflicts are not uniform in nature. It is in the news that in Wales and Scotland, there are regional assertions opposed to the central hegemony of London, the capital. In
democracy, their regional assertions are to be accommodated and there are the regional parliaments already in Wales and Scotland. On the other hand, the issues of ethnic conflicts are more cultural for the Basque people in Spain and France and Quebec problem in Canada. It takes place in all forms of countries, democracy to dictatorship. Even in a developed economy, the ethnic strifes are present.

The Czechs and the Slovaks separated amicably and formed two different countries. The cultural differences are hard to bridge and when it is attended with deep economic differences, the strifes become acute. The former state of Yugoslavia consisting of several ethnic groups, such as the Slavs, the Croats, the Macedonians, the Kosovans and the Muslims of Hercegovina saw the division of a single country into six different republics. The Serbs and the Muslims are engaged in deadly conflicts rendering Yugoslavia a smaller republic with only 40 percent of the land area of the old Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{19}

The ethnic refugees pour into the neighbouring countries in thousands, making the situation worse there and most of them flee from their mother countries because of the civil war like situations prevailing in the countries. The strife in Sudan and Eritrea is an example at hand where some millions were driven out because of the ethnic strifes. In Africa, 41 percent of the region and 12 percent of
the population are affected by the strifes. There are altogether 72
major groups active in the sub Saharan Africa. It is further reported
that 230 ethnic groups are at great risks in the whole world over.\textsuperscript{20}

From the above, it is evident that no ethnic group asserts
politically unless their social and economic vital interests are put at
disadvantages which they cannot endure for a long time. This is
truly applicable in case of the Reangs of Mizoram as they are
ethnically a minor group in the state which is already mentioned in
the introduction chapter. The Mizos viewed the Reangs as a group
outside their own ethnic consideration. So a sense of ‘we-they’
feeling emerge in their mind. In Mizoram, the development is
viewed as one of the prerogatives of the majority ethnic group and
the Reangs are, for a long time, remained outside the purview of
development.

**The Ethnic Origin of the Reangs**

The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India identified
27 scheduled tribe communities as ‘primitive group’ on the basis of
some identifiable standards, such as low growth rate, pre
agricultural level of technology and extremely low level of literacy.
This study was made under the Sixth Plan Period. The Reangs
fulfilled the conditions laid down by the Government and they are
recognized as a primitive tribe in Tripura. In the state of Mizoram,
the facilities available to a primitive tribe are not available to the Reangs as they are not recognized as a primitive tribe in the state. Such tribes live in the interiors in the isolated corners of the state where the life patterns hardly change during the century. The touch of modernity is absent altogether in the areas as it is inaccessible.\textsuperscript{21}

When we search for route of migration of the tribal groups who are close to the present day Reangs by blood, we find it really puzzling and inconclusive as we cannot trace correctly the route, going beyond some hundreds years back from now. Lewin indicated that the Tipperah, the Lushei and the Kuki belonged to the Toungha group. The two most important sub-families of Indo-Chinese linguistic family are the Mon-Khmer and the Tibeto-Burman. The latter accommodates the Bodo groups. Gan Choudhury asserts that the Reangs belong to the Bodo group of Tibeto-Burman tribes of north eastern region as their language and culture suggest.\textsuperscript{22}

**Etymological Implication of Bru and the Reang**

A typical tribal person living in isolation calls himself as ‘man’ only and all members are also called men. The Reangs, a name given to them by the outsiders but within themselves, they are the Brus. By that definition, the Tripuris are the Baraks, the Garos, the achiks, the Mizos, the hill man, the Karbis, the Arlengs, all meaning man. The anthropologists say, it is the ethno-centric characteristics of large
number of tribal communities around the globe. With the encroachment of modern institutions in their midst and the gradual loss of isolation, the acceptance of the universal terms occurs. But such self identification remains within the tribe and they do not shed it.

There is a considerable debate on the nomenclature, the Reang. The Chief or the King was called Kas Kau. A Kas Kau belonged to the Reang clan only. As the King belonged to the Reang clan only, the whole community was identified as the Reangs. Later on, the Tripuri King superseded it by the Raiship but the nomenclature Reang endured. Previously, there were 12 clans of the tribe where the clan Reang did not figure. The chief’s clan was given the privileged status and it carried prestige. All other clans, being not the royal clans were grouped together. The term Reang only took the name of the whole tribe in course of time. This explanation, though interesting but they do not use the term the Reangs for themselves, they prefer to call themselves as the Brus only.

There is a general opinion among the Reang elite that the Reangs and the Tripuris belong to the great stock of Bodo speeches. The recent anthropological studies classify the Tripuris and the Kacharis, both originally belong to the great body of Bodo tribes, a branch of which migrated to Tripura in the past. Dalton, a British
official in the early colonial days brought these tribes to the
knowledge of the civilized world and he wrote a book “The
Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal” in the nineteenth century where
he mentioned the close relationship between the Reangs and the
Tripuris. Dalton left an extensive account on the districts of Bengal
and there is a fund of information in those district Gazetteers and
the earlier reference of the Reangs is available from the accounts of
Dalton, the Gazetteer of upper Burma and the Shan state (1900 A.D.).
In the records of Gazetteers, the authentic current information is
available of the Reangs as Yang Hsek, Yang Lam and Yang Wan
Kum. It seems that the Yang Wan Kum used the form Reang Rong
and the Yang Lam. Later on, the term Reang gained popularity and
at present, they are mostly known as the Reang among the non-
Reang people.

The Reangs are known as the sons of God ‘Shibrai’ or ‘Shubrai’. The term Bru might have its roots in the word ‘Bara’. God Shibrai is the principal deity of the Dimasas and he is propitiated regularly. In the middle age, the process of sanskritisation affected many tribal groups. There was a subtle interaction between the diverse tribal cultures of different ethnic origins and the comprehensive mainstream cultures. The Reangs came to be known as the Kshatriyas. It was discussed in the previous chapter that they
formerly worked in the King’s army and the kshatriyas or the military class was obviously theirs’ claim. The Hindu rituals like the use of Tulsi leaves (Basil, ocimum sanctimum) or the use of the sacred necklace came to be the common inheritance. Even their ancestry was mythologically determined. As they were the Kshatriyas, the great Brahmin warrior Parshuram was their killer. When nearly all of the Kshatriyas were annihilated, their ancestors found their saviour in Garura (called Biangma in their language), the divine bird who brought a stone from a far away place and planted it near the Jampui Hills in north Tripura. On the advice of the preceptor Kashyapa, they invoked him. From this stone, there emerged two people, one man and one woman. They were named Devatarini, the boy and the Devalaxmi, the girl. The Reangs came out of their union. Dr. Jagadis Gan Choudhury in his monograph “The Reangs of Tripura” also mentioned of a bird called Gasur which is having a totemic importance. The bird had connection with a stone and this union produced a boy and a girl. The Reangs came out of their union. The mythological stories do not deserve much attention, although behind a story, some broad hints are found. The proximity of their habitats to Myanmar and particularly to Arakan Hills throws some lights on their possible routes of migration. They were moving north and the advance party was called Riansa and the
rear party was called the Ulsa. The story speculates that the Riansa turned into Reang and the Ulsa turned into Uchoi.24

Tripuris have different sub tribes scattered over the hills. When the group of sub tribes lived in the territory, the composite name they took was the Tripuris and the Reangs were one of the sub tribes. The other sub-tribes are Hapang-Jamatya or Achlong Phadong, Naitong, Husoi, Naotiya, Hackler, Kewar, Tombai, Daindak, Garbing. But all the sub tribes are small in size. The Reangs seem to have the larger concentration of population than the other smaller tribes and came to occupy an important position in the hills. The Reangs believe that in the ancient time, they were ruled under the leadership of the two brothers Kilay and Manglay who became powerful and decided all important issues within their own community. They came to be known as the Karbari in course of time. The Karbaris were the managers under the Tripuri King, Udaigiri and they occupied a tract south of the river Matamuri. It is not easy to find out the actual period of time when two brothers ruled but it is certain that the system they introduced continued for a considerable period of time. The origin of their rule is difficult to trace but the family line continued to enjoy the privilege of authority till they came into conflict with the Tripuri King.
In the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, the Kings of Tripura extended their hegemony over the Chittagong Hills and Arakan but soon the Tripura King lost control because of the strong opposition. In 1587, as the Portuguese emerged into the scene in support of the Arakanese, the King of Tripura was soon driven out of the Chittagong Hills and had to be contended with the hilly terrains of Tripura thereafter. It seems that the Reangs were with the Kings in their conquests over the distant hills. The present Reang population in Tripura are the remnants of the population that served the King.

The story of the two brothers, Bruha and Braiha are described in their folktales. The present Reang populations are the descendants of Bruha who led the advance party. The other party led by his brother Braiha remained behind in Chittagong Hills. Bruha lost contact with his brother Braiha thereafter. The Reangs are the followers of Bruha and came to be known as the Brus. The folktale narrates the migration towards the west and the fishing in the river where the prawns were found in plenty and that was the point where two brothers were separated and they never met again.

According to folktales, there were two chiefs, Sikong Kaiskau and Reang Kaiskau amongst the Bruha lineage. Soon, they had differences over the possession of a bird’s nest in a tree. The
differences led to the bloody feud between the two. Sikong Kaiskau
overpowered Reang Kaiskau and his subjects. The descendents of
the conqueror, Sikong Kaiskau ruled for a long time and they
became hereditarily the ruling class. But their administrations
became oppressive and many Reangs decided to leave the territory.
The Reang Kaiskau people entered the territory of the Tripuri King
who felt pity and allowed them to settle in vacant lands. Henceforth,
they became the subjects of the Tripuri king.27

The Chittagong Hill Tract is now within the territory of
Bangladesh where they lived in the remote past. The ordeal faced by
the tribe did not end with the migration from the Chittagong Hill
Tract. In the territory of Tripuri king, their relation with the Tripuri
Kings was also not cordial and they fled to the jungles of the
kingdom and the undemarcated territories.

The migrations of the tribe occurred in different historical
periods affecting their fortunes. The very recent uprising against the
Tripuri King, Ratan Manikya occurred in 1942 and further
migrations swelled their numbers in Mizoram. The continuous
turmoils forced them to search for better jhum lands in the new
territory.28

The Census of 1960 recorded 1000 Reangs only, which swelled
to 9828 souls in 1971. It appears that there is a process other than
The Government of Mizoram counted the Reangs under the category of Kuki tribes in the different census operations. The Kuki tribes include a number of 37 sub-tribes like Reangs, Biate, Changsan, Chongloi, Dounge, Gamalhou, Gangte, Guite, Haokip, Haupit, Haolai and others. In 1981 Census, the kuki tribe population in Mizoram was 21,065, in 1991, the population was 31,092 and in 2001, their population decreased to 21,040. The number decreased because a large number of Reangs fled from Mizoram and took shelter in Tripura.

A Reang clan is a consanguine kin group based on the patrilineal descent. It is called as ‘Pangi’. The clan structures, ‘Pangiharo’ are further divided into two segments, Molsoi and Meska and from each of them the other sub-clans (haro or huda) developed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Molsoi</th>
<th>Meska</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dalbong</td>
<td>Rai Kachak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sagarai</td>
<td>Charkhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Nowkham</td>
<td>Musa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Apeta</td>
<td>Tuimuiafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changpreng</td>
<td>Wairem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Yakstam</td>
<td>Tamyakcha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A slightly different division is shown under the two groups Meska and Molsoi in the Census Report of 1901.

Table: 4.2  
Division of Reang Clans in the Census Report of 1901  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Meska</th>
<th>Molsoi</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Meska</td>
<td>Molsoi</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tamyakcha</td>
<td>Riang Kachak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tuimuiafa</td>
<td>Riang Kachak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the Census Report of 1931, the Reangs are grouped as Meska or Mechka and Morchai or Molsoi but no clan division is given in the Report. It is observed that the endogamous tribal unit of the Reang is divided into several clans which are now a days prevalent in the Reang community. The names of the clans are Apeta, Changpreng, Chorkhy, Molsoy, Meska, Musa, Nowkham, Wairem, Raikachak, Tamyakcha, Tuimuiafa, and Yakstam. Mukherjee mentioned two more clans, namely Dalbong and Sagarai. The Reang elders do not recognize these clans.
The Reangs have all the features of a full grown tribe though many early writers like T.H. Lewin, H.H. Risely and RHS Hutchison preferred to identify the Reang community as a clan and not as a tribe. But the social structure of the Reang is larger compared to that of a clan and they have all the features of a tribe.\textsuperscript{31} Some of the clans are discussed below.

**Apeta** - In the Reang dialect, the word apeta means fish. It is a common belief amongst the Reangs that a woman was crossing the river and the land was muddy and slushy. She fell down into the river and took plenty of water into her abdomen. Her abdomen swelled like a fish. After that, a child was born and his descendents are known as Apeta. They are experts in magic and spells.

**Changpreng** - The word changpreng means musical instrument which resembles modern guitar. Members of this clan are said to be well versed in instrumental music.

**Charkhi** - The word charkhi in the Reang dialect means spinning wheel. The Reangs feel that the members of this clan are well known in spinning.

**Molsoi** - Generally, the marital relation is established within the tribe but a Reang man or woman marrying outside is also noticed. The Reangs believe that molsoi is not a pure clan because
the origin of this clan emerged out of illicit relationship between a Reang man and a Mog woman (which is outside the Reang community).

**Musa** - In the Reang dialect, the word musa means tiger. It is believed that a baby was left by his mother in the forest. While passing the jungles, a tigress (Musa-ma) found that baby and took him into her. She brought up the baby like her child. The descendents of that baby was known as musa. The name of that baby was Thaibuha, the great legendary hero of the Reangs.

**Nowkham** - An ancestor, while on a visit to the court of the king of Tripura, stayed for some days in the place. One day, he was cooking but due to carelessness, the wooden and bamboo implements he was using caught fire and then burnt the house. The clan came to be known as the Nowkham (burnt house).

**Wairem** - The word wairem means ear ornament, this clan is said to have originated from the association of wairem which was a source of constant quarrel of a Reang couple.

**Rai Kachak** - This clan is said to be of Kuki origin. It is the clan, named after a soldier of the past. Members of this clan are expert in basketry and cane (rai) work.
Tamyakcha - The word tarn means bird. Tamyakcha is one of the clans of the Reangs who had some association with a bird. It is felt that a man wanted to keep the bird on the tree and climbed upon the tree but he fell down on the ground and broke his leg.

Tuimuiafa - It has got some link with tortoise. It is said that complexion of the ancestor of this clan was just like the colour of tortoise chest as he was suffering from leukoderma.

Yakstam - It means ornament used in hand. The member of this clan are said to have fascination for using that ornament. This clan is now extinct.32

‘A Brief Account of the Reangs of Mizoram’33 mentioned the names of two brothers, the elder Meska had four sons and the younger brother, Molsoi had six.

Molsoi Siblings - (1) Apetaw, (2) Chawrkhi, (3) Raikchah, (4) Chawsreng, (5) Tamayakchaw, (6) Tuimaiafah

Meska Siblings - (1) Wairem, (2) Msa, (3) Yakstan, (4) Nohkham

The story how the Mizos got the name Tuikuk for them is interesting. A Mizo traveller wanted to know from a Reang about his identity. The Reang did not know the Mizo language and thought that he was asked what he was doing. He was then bathing in a
pond. He replied, ‘Tuiking mi’, meaning, I am bathing. The expression was not known to the Mizo traveller. He took it as Tuikuk. It is interesting that the similar story is found in case of some other tribes. Prof T. Bhattacharjee mentioned in his book ‘Sociology of the Karbis’ that a traveller passing through the Karbi territory met a Karbi stranger. The Karbi was searching out firewoods in the jungle. The traveller asked him, who are you? The Karbi thought that the traveller wanted to know what he was searching for. He replied in his language as he did not know the language of the traveller. The traveller took it as mekuri meaning cat. The tribe came to be known as the Mikirs to the outsiders. A Karbi in his new awakening after the independence rejected this explanation and now calls himself a Karbi. Along with the political gains the tribe achieved, they preferred to be addressed as the Karbis, the new one is the sign of the new awakening. It happened in many parts of the world.

The colour of skin of a Reang man is yellowish and he is not very tall generally. The hair on his head is black. Like any Mongolian on earth, his nose is also flat. His cheekbones are prominent. His eyes are closeted in small sockets. His appearance takes nearly the broader characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman tribes.
of the region. The closer look at the dialect spoken by them generally associate them with the Bodo speeches.\textsuperscript{36}

Grierson said that the Reangs originally belonged to the ‘Palaung-wa’ group of Austro-Asiatic family of languages though at present the language spoken by them resembles the general characteristics of a Bodo speech of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages.\textsuperscript{37}

The dialect spoken by the Reangs is designated under the appellation, ‘Kau-Bru or kak-Barak’. ‘Bodo’ is a group of speeches consisting of several tribes, the Kacharis, Garos, Rabhas, Lalungs, Kochs, Dimasas, Chutiyas, Tripuris, Reangs, Jamatias, Noatias, Uchois and a few others. The Aryan speeches, the Assamese and the Bengali provided to them many common words and these are widely used. The Bodo speeches acquired general characteristics which are observable throughout the north east.\textsuperscript{38}

Their route of migration suggests that they came from the direction of the south to the north and gradually abandoned the speech akin to the ‘Palaung-wa’ group of Austro-Asiatic family of languages in preference to the Bodo group of Tibeto-Burman family of languages as the association with the former family of speeches came to be thinner in the changed environment. The dominant speech was the Kak Barak in the Tripuri kingdom. Their hopes and
aspirations revolved round their socio-political situations, they were thrown in. It was helpful for their collective living\textsuperscript{39}.

On the other hand, 'Mizo' is a generic term and it includes several tribes. The word Mizo means hillmen where Mi means man and Zo means hill. It is a unique innovation applied to the tribal groups, linguistically close to each other and they are clubbed together under the umbrella name 'Mizo'. But the Chakmas, the Reangs and the non-tribal groups are not treated as the Mizos as they have no affinity with the Mizos in any respect.

The word Mizo includes only those people who came together to this hill having same origin and close affinity in dialect, culture, cult and way of life. The Mizo tribes are, Hmar, Lushei, Ralte, Chawngthu, Khawlhring, Vangchhe, Chawhte, Ngente, Rewite, Khiangte, Paihte, Renthlei, Tlau, Fanai-Pawi-Lushei, Pawi, Falampawi, Paihte Hnam Tlangpui leh Tawng Hrangte.\textsuperscript{40}

All these tribes have their own dialects and customs. The Mizo language is said to be the official form of the base language (for literary and cultural purposes), the Lushei which is now the accepted language in print and circulation. There is a popular tale of the Mizos which says that the Mizos came from a mountain called 'Chhinlung' situated in China. The Hmars do have a story of their origin in the same nature. They call that mountain as the Sinlimg.\textsuperscript{41} It
is an admitted fact that the Mizos, prior to their present occupation, lived in the Chin Hills of Burma, presently called Myanmar.42

There are many records which narrate the different dates of migration of the Mizos. It is very difficult to arrange a chronological history of the migration. Only a broad outline can be attempted from different sources. Sometimes, the folktales come to the help of a researcher. In all probability, they came to the rugged hills (Mizoram) in the later part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century. A tribal group, searching for security came across this tract and they occupied a part of the tract and settled down there.

The story of migration of Hmar people is narrated in the book ‘The Education of the Hmar People’ by Rochunga Pudaite.43 In the present day discussion on such topic, a particular writer belonging to a tribe narrates the story of migration of his tribe as if the tribe existed by that name in that remote past. The Hmar writer says that the tribe travelled as an exclusive ‘human group’ unconnected with the consanguineous tribes for more than two thousand years. But such tribal assertion is very common among some tribes who want to establish their identity in the present day context. The truth is that the ancestors of the Hmars, the Kukis and all cosanguineous tribes once lived together and the divisions we notice came much later.
The Hmars were part of the Kuki genre before the independence and they acquired the nomenclature for the tribe only in fifties of the last century. This, of course, does not mean that they did not exist at all as a part of the group. They existed as a part of the common genre but the name Hmar was adopted due to a conflict that arose among the clans of the Kuki tribe.

The other sources said that the earlier settlement of the Mizos (composition of consanguineous tribes) was the T’ao valley of Kansu province in the north west of China then they came to the Kabaw valley of Chindwin belt by passing the Hukawng valley. Soon, they left the place for Chin Hills because of Shan penetration there and they lived in the Then range. But because of insecurity, they again left the place and came to the Len range near Tiau river in the later part of the 15th century. But the dominant tribe of that place, Pawin attacked them and the Mizos crossed the Tieu river and finally came to the hilly region, now called Mizoram around 1740 A.D. The Mizos built a big village at Selsih and they moved towards the west. As the present territory of Mizoram was an unadministered area, the tribes were engaged in deadly internecine struggles and soon they came into conflict with the colonial authority. The wild tribes raided the tea gardens of Cachar which came into control of the East India Company in 1832. After the counter offensive launched by the
British, these tribes were forced to surrender to the authority in 1885-90.⁴⁴

H.N.C. Stevenson in his book ‘The Economics of the Central Chin Tribes’⁴⁵ says that some of the tribes came to the present state of Mizoram in the early part of the 19th century. In memory of the old place, they planted some trees in the new territory. It is corroborated by J.D. Baveja in his book ‘The Land Where the Bamboo Flowers’.⁴⁶

Prof. T. Bhattacharjee in his book ‘Sociology of the Karbis’⁴⁷ writes that ‘The Chin Hills were considered to be a great halting station in the Kuki migration from the north of Burma (Myanmar) through the south sub Himalayan ranges down to the Arakan Amo. In their western flank, these hills cover the territories of Manipur and North Cachar. Except Manipur, other territories were without established governments for many centuries’.

The Lushei, the principal tribe among the present Mizo came to this rugged hills sometimes in the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Before the arrival of the British in that area, the Chiefs ruled these territories for more than a century and they, often raided the plains and carried many heads of the unfortunate plains people. These raids were common and the plains people did not have any answer to such raids of the savages. The
firm extension of the colonial rule in the hills changed the scenario and the raids were less and less.

It was a mixture of firm administration established and the messages of the Gospel, together changed their life pattern and outlook. Some tribes suffered at the hands of the raiders and the old timers recounted the stories. The Lushei and the tribes close to them living in the territory, underwent great changes and they took to the modern ways of life abandoning their savage past.

The cultural influence is based on the strength of the administration. The colonial rule for hardly sixty years left a deep imprint in the minds of the people and how much religio-cultural penetration occurred among the Mizos, it is a thing to study. The Reangs were not affected much by the new order and in the colonial days, remained outside the attempts of modernization. For the Mizos, the hatred for the white skinned had turned into great admiration that outlasted the British rule.

A tribal community is a close-knit society. Their political, social, cultural and economic lives are woven into one whole, if one sphere is disturbed, the other spheres would be affected. As for instance, the tribal societies, in its primitive form, have the traditional authority which is also supreme in social and economic fields. When the District Council is established in many hill areas
after the independence, the traditional system began to break down. The village headman is superseded by a headman appointed by the council. The ageold village dormitory is superseded by the schools established by the council. The hereditary system of chieftainship is superseded by the election system. Though the council is created to protect their rights on land, resources, the way of life as well as the economic upliftment at the grassroots, these processes of modernization took away their close knit tribal institutions. More the influence of modern institutions on the tribal institutions, there are more chances of the latter breaking down.

The Lushei Hills was administered by a superintendent before the independence but this segregated hill saw a unique constitutional innovation in the form of a District Council. Shortly after the first General Election held in 1952, the District Council was formed. The Mizos formed a political party before the independence and called it the Mizo Union Party. After the independence of the country, the party demanded self determination within India. The Government of independent India agreed to fulfil their demand by creating Autonomous District Council along with representation of three members in Assam State Legislative Assembly. During that period, the areas inhabited by the Mizos are backward and the communication with other parts of India was nearly non existent.
During the famine of 1959 (Moutam), the Mizos did not get sufficient relief materials due to the absence of road which caused much hardships in the villages and this had obviously alienated the Mizos. The Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) was formed under the presidentship of Laldenga which was ultimately converted into Mizo National Front (MNF) and the party aimed at independence.\footnote{49}

When the grievances of the people against the Government was at its peak, Laldenga, the leader of MNF gave a call of open revolt against the Government, captured the government offices, put the officers under arrest and the rebellion was supported by the Mizos in general. First few days in February, 1966, the rebels were in full control of the hills. The news reached New Delhi and the Government felt concerned about the deteriorating situation in the remote hills.

The Government of India ordered for the military operations against the rebels and the reactions of the Government was very severe. Laldenga fled to East Pakistan. After the military operation was over, the army decided to regroup all villages along the highways to avoid further resurrection. The Mizo National Front was outlawed in 1967. Slowly, the situation became normal in the district and the Government of India decided to consider their
political demands sympathetically. In 1972, they got the Union territory.\textsuperscript{50}

Statehood was granted to them on February 20, 1987 through an amendment to the Constitution (53rd Amendment). An accord was signed between the MNF and the Union Government on June 30, 1986 with a declaration that they would shun violence and would decide the political issues under the provisions of the constitution. Then a Constitution Amendment Bill and another to confer statehood on Mizoram was passed in the Lok Sabha on August 5, 1986.\textsuperscript{51}

The formation of the state of Mizoram changed the scenario and the Mizos gradually held all the key posts in the Government and the Reangs and some other tribes, not included among the Mizos began to lose grounds. The Mizos showed great innovation in transforming agriculture into a productive system. The Government discouraged the jhuming system of cultivation and encouraged all the people to take to modern methods of cultivation.

As the nineties entered, the administration was totally mizoised and not only the key positions in the Government, the lower ranks were also nearly all mizoised. The new government also encouraged people to take new trades and the Mizo people, particularly, the women were visible in large number in markets as
saleswomen. The economic spheres, such as horticulture, forestry, small and medium scale industries were gradually modernized and the Mizos in large number entered the new professions. There was acute water scarcity in the few urban centres and the modern water lines were introduced. The water scarcity was eased to a great extent. In the villages, the people took to the new techniques of the rain water harvesting and reserved water for the dry days. The tribes which are not listed under Mizos continued to live in the old ways of life. From the time, the District Council was formed on April 23, 1953 and today, a wide change occurred in Mizoram.

The advancement of the Mizos was not altogether salutary for the lesser tribes like the Reangs and the Chakmas. The newly acquired political ascendancy and the economic stability generated a sense of imposition on those tribes who are less fortunate than them. Nearly half of the Reangs were converted into Christianity. There was an attempt to impose the culture as a standard in name and lifestyle. The instructions in schools are given in Mizo language and the Reangs are learning the Mizo ways of life.

The instruction in the Mizo language was not the main point of grievance, there was the fear in their mind on losing cultural and economic identity. The ethno-centric character of the movement can be appreciated in the backdrop of the socio-political and religious
changes that occurred after the statehood and the responses of the Reangs on it. The Reangs do not differentiate between the social and religious matters.

The embracement of a religion does not take them away from the ageold customs and traditions easily. It is seen that the religion practiced take a typical local colour and flavour and no convert can forget it. Even after the conversion, several practices pursued before the conversion are retained. For instance, the Christianity in Mizoram is having a pre Christian flavour. Some beliefs are adopted or rather entered into their practices. As for instance, when a woman is killed by a tiger, it is taken that she must have committed adultery. This belief is very deeply rooted among the Mizos.

It is observed that religion is a poor competitor of ethnicity. The conversion does not change the character of social and economic life. The religion formally unites people but the ethnicity binds them together. The strong strides the Mizoram made after the statehood do not have its effects on the Reangs.

Reangs and Ethnic Assertion

No single reason can be cited in support of the ethnic assertion. No tribe assert ethnically unless they feel unbearably cornered in a state. Generally, the three specific reasons play vital
roles in such movements, economic, social and political. The economic sustenance is threatened and the traditionally practiced economic activities are not allowed to function, thus there is a fear of hunger and death. The opposing groups have hardly any concern for the plight of the hapless people who happen to speak a different language and profess a different culture. As an offshoot of the economic problem, they face the concomitant political denials. Again, there is a widening gap between the groups, one is quick to take advantage of the modernisation process and the other is not ready. In case of the Reangs losing grounds in Mizoram is the advanced Mizo tribes throwing all the unequal challenges to them who, at the start of the insurrection, were unorganized and unequipped. The ethnic assertion is the last resort of the cornered tribe and when they really asserted, they found the opposition to their cause too hot to be tackled. There was a feeling of the fragmentation of the powers of the ruling elite which they were not ready to digest and the unequal competition in economic pursuits thrown on the Reang tribesmen. In fact, the feelings of economic, socio-cultural and political deprivations and the general sense of insecurity of the tribe in the state are the main factors which make them ethnically assertive. When they became ethnically assertive,
they demanded their autonomous district council for them and the result was the ethnic turmoil between the Mizos and the Reangs.

Economic Condition of the Reangs

The British had no policy of interfering with the customs, traditions, economic and social systems in the widely dispersed tribal societies inhabiting the far flung areas of the country and no worthwhile mechanism was developed by them. The tribal people depended on the non-government groups like the Christian missionaries to reach them socially and economically. It was not possible in all parts of the region and the most of the tribal areas remained untouched and they had to fend for themselves in the remote corners of the country. There is dignity of labour among the tribal groups even in abject poverty. A tribal society does not encourage sex discrimination openly and women enjoy dignity and honour.

The property, particularly land and forest are shared communally and it is used for the welfare of all people. This situation prevails when the society remains uninterfered with by any outside agencies. There was no class distinction as the economic situation was static and economic demands were inelastic and uncompetitive.
In the past, the people lived with their own culture, nourished their own songs and dances which sustained their cultural needs. It was not only the colonial rule, before that, the many centuries of domination by the sultanates and the Moghuls, there was no interference from the authority in power on the working of panchayats. Its main socio-economic conditions underwent great transformation at the village level under the democracy that came after the independence. Their ageold isolation is breaking down bit by bit.

There are distinctive differences between the tribes, some of which are politically empowered under the new constitution and the Reangs were not fortunate enough to grab the powers when the power sharing was envisaged. They depended on their traditional hold on forests and lands that were under the threat of being squeezed from them. Their economic desperation begin to appear which is attended with political cornering. Earlier, their economic sustenance came from their jhum lands and as they too had maintained dignity of labour and equality between man and woman.

They were the nature’s children sustained by the natural resources and they never felt the economic pinches as their demands were few. Each family, in needs, went to forests to get their
necessary fuel and accessories. As the modern education is non-existent among them, they remained outside the political process that ensued after the independence. The whole economic transactions were carried out through the barter system and there was no use of money and bargaining in their society.

The independence came with a new hope for the tribes who are belonging to the Mizo group. The District Council gave them the taste of a modern administration, they had the first experience to regulate their own social, political and economic life. The education made a great stride among the different tribes who came under the term, the Mizos. The Reangs were not the recipients of the benefits in proper measure. New economic phenomenon emerged as the lands are needed for farming. In the past, lands were a bounty and it was there only to be possessed. The Mizo tribes began to explore new lands for larger cultivation and they came into conflict with the Reangs. The economy came to be based on money and the result is that the tribes who lived in altogether ‘economic simplicity’ gradually became self minded and possessive.

The Reangs suffered most as they remained backward without any political contrivance to articulate their grievances. The community ownership of lands gradually transformed into private ownership. The Reangs lived in the low lying areas on the banks of
the rivers and were generally happy with themselves as their jhum lands were available nearby. But a competitive atmosphere developed where they faced the expansive Mizo tribes demanding lands in their territory. The state policy interfered into the privacy of their life, it is the aspirations and the enterprise of outside people who needed lands in their ethnic vicinity and disturbed the peace of the Reangs. The Reangs do not stand a chance in the competition. The conflicts became real and it is soon converted into acrimony.

The lands occupied by the Reangs were not officially registered by the Government which later on transferred to the Mizos under the provision of village council system. The traditional administrative system of Choudhuriship of the Reangs was not accepted by the Government. Under the Choudhuriship, the Reangs enjoyed rights over lands.

To get their lands being registered by the government, they needed the assistances of the people in power and the authority. These people often did not listen the grievances of the people who came from the remote villages unaccustomed with rules of the Government. They ultimately suffered inordinate delays and inconveniences.

The worst discomfiture, the Reangs face is the settlement of the Mizos in their own areas. The Choudhuriship under which the
Reangs lived for a long time is unknown to law of the land and therefore, it is considered invalid. The centre of gravity being shifted to Aizwal and not actually locality centred, there is a visible gap in the standards between the centre and the periphery. The land slowly had emerged as the profit making commodity which was previously unknown to the Reangs.

The land, being the only source of their survival from which they usually get the resources for the maintenance of their livelihood, they cannot live without it. Jhum cultivation requires sufficient lands which are often taken away by the state forest department. The new economic order forced a large indigenous Reang population to turn to daily wage earner and it is a big change in a small tribal community.

The new rules for land ownership took away the community ownership and it is called eminent domain by Walter Farnandes. In the past, it was the community ownership unencumbered by the written laws. The very ordinary Reangs do not maintain legal documents as proofs. Now the lands are allotted by the Government with legal proofs. To adjust with the new changes is difficult for them. The lands in their possession began to shrink under the impact of the new land acquisition laws and a new chapter too started in the
life of the tribe and they are to struggle for their own survival as a tribal entity.

On close observation, it can be assumed that the land ownership is the root cause behind the Reang problem. The ethnic differences came as the necessary adjunct to it. No initiative was made to peacefully settle the dispute within the legal framework. The tribe, totally uninitiated to the modern ways of life are thrown into the darker facets of life where many of them faced hunger and destitution with uncertain future before them.

Before the achievement of the statehood, the Mizos themselves became the aggrieved party against the inactions of the state government in combating their own economic plight which appeared as the famines (moutam) throwing thousands into starvation. The insurgency (1966 to 1986) had its effects on the economic life of the people living in the area and as said earlier, the Government of India in order to check the insurgency adopted many steps by regrouping the different villages, imposing curfew resulting the restriction on the normal agricultural activities of the people in which the Reangs suffered more because of their dependence on jhum cultivation.

The district came under the control of the armed forces and they introduced public distribution system and the people could get
commodities at reasonable prices. The system was initiated to help the beleaguered tribal people, but the effects were not salutary for the public altogether as their agriculture was in a shattered state that included the jhuming practices of the Reang population.

After the attainment of statehood, the lands were acquired on the plea to maintain ecological balance and to preserve wildlife which enhanced the cover of forest to 40 percent of the total land area of the state. The different policies and programmes introduced by the Government aimed at the discontinuance of the jhuming operation.

A New Land Use Policy (NLUP) is initiated since 1980 which militated against the interests of the smaller tribes. Besides the extension of the forest cover, the Government encouraged livestock rearing, sericulture, horticultural plantation and small scale industries. The well equipped Mizo tribes could take advantage of the innovations introduced by the Government but the Reangs were not ready to take advantage of the opportunities.

All the above mentioned operations point towards the entry of private capital and enterprise which the Reangs as a community lacked. Different reports of the Indian Council of Research on the farming in the hills of the north east India mentioned of the
discomfiture of the smaller tribes having no idea of financial capital and private initiative.

A tribe performs so many religious and agricultural rites and each one of them has connections with the agricultural practices. The profit making is not the character of a genuinely tribal people and as they live communally, they shared the productions also communally.

It is stated above that the Government of the state is moving very fast in undertaking modern practices but the new trends are coming to the Reangs as form of competition where they are failing. So long, the jhuming sustained them, now the economic competition came as an unadjustable phenomenon to them. The inertia is difficult to break.

Table 4.3
Reangs Preference for Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Preferred</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shifting Jhum Cultivation</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>41.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Cultivation</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government servant</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>31.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily labour</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey.
From this investigation, it is clear that out of 300 respondents, 125 (41.66 percent) prefer jhum cultivation which they followed for generations, 72 (24 percent) prefer permanent cultivation and 94 (31.33 percent) prefer government services for their occupation. Since majority of the Reangs prefer cultivation as their occupations, they need a wide stretch of lands for their economic survival. Majority of them prefer jhum cultivation as they are not accustomed to any other mode of cultivation. Moreover, they are illiterates and they could not read any literature carrying information on the advanced knowledge of agriculture. Only 3 (01 percent) reply to the query that they prefer daily wage earning as an occupation and 6 (02 percent) offer no answers to the question.

It obviously worked on the minds of some people on the justifiability of the jhuming being continued and the jhuming exercises had shrunk considerably in the state. The tribes having education and initiative adapted to it but some could not adjust. The modern agriculture needs less lands but more inputs, the jhuming needs more lands which tends to decline in fertility if cultivated for many seasons. The jhum cycle widens when there are plenty of lands available and it shrinks when lands continuously become scarce. Traditionally, a Reang was not worried about the lands. When he came under the new economic dispensation, he suddenly
realizes that lands are not abundant. His mental agony is diverted to a sense of isolation and despondency.

The story of a traditional Reang is not different from the similar tribes in other areas. The Reangs like other uninitiated tribes are the users of all their homegrown commodities and they have the special inclination to use things which are their own products. The rice produced in the fields are consumed by them. Hence, the modernism in any form comes to them as ominous signs. There is more and more economic interactions and the usual subsistence level economy (from the jhum cultivation) is not sufficient for them. They know no alternative mode of cultivation and feel isolated in their own lands.

The modern trend is towards the private use of lands which militates against their lifelong beliefs in the community use of lands. When the private use is encouraged, the land as a commodity acquires value in terms of money. Previously, the yield from land was nearly static forcing a farmer to lead a meagre life, now the values are measured in terms of marketability of the product where the fertility of a plot of land decides its price. In a backward and traditional tribal society, the money was not used as a medium of bargain.
They shared among themselves, the meagre resources they generated. They are gradually exposed to the outside world. Now the natural resources are to be shared with others and the resources are to be purchased at the competitive prices. Traditionally, all settlements left a large space for the domesticated animals but the new trends tend to disturb the cohabitation of man and animal in one place.

The meats of pigs and fowls are their favourites. As the forest was nearby, they did not worry about the fuels, they could, at any time, go to the forest for bringing in their necessities. The forest provided herbal remedies when they suffered from diseases. The animals grazed in open spaces adjacent to the forest. The streams flowed near the forest and the fishes were caught which they ate as delicacies. The resources were used with great pleasure by them during the time of any festivity. The role played by the land and other natural resources including forest products, bamboos and canes and the Reangs' dependence on them through ages could be accepted as vital facts for the tribe.

It is the Reang Choudhuri who lamented “We, the Bru, unlike the Mizo who earn money and buy their needs, love to do our traditional tenure of the land by maintaining shifting cultivation. We are accustomed to enjoy the jungle fruits, wild roots and plants. We
offer sacrifices to goddess of paddy, river deities and others who give us blessing. Deities give us the land is the source of our life and identity”.

There is a symbiotic relationship between the mode of cultivation and the socio political system of a tribe. If one is disturbed, the other too suffered. The Reangs anger against the deprivation of lands is thus reflected in the political tensions between the ruling mandarins at Aizwal and the Reangs living in the far away hamlets. They suffer from the threat of disintegration. Their ageold belief in religiosity is disturbed, many came under the threat of losing their hold on religious practices. The shrine in the corner of the hamlet is now replaced by a church established on a permanent plot.

The changes are coming very fast for which they are not ready. As for instance, the Christianity which has nearly universal adherents in Mizoram and the leadership in the state are more used to the terms and idioms of the cultures close to the religion want the spread of it in the far flung areas of the state. The administrations established in the state try to throw out the typical religio-social background of the tribe. The phenomena of land alienation, deforestation, oppressive and exploitative nature of land use, all combined together disturbed the Reangs. There was a subtle attempt
to universalize the entry of the Christianity among the Reangs, sometimes, the efforts to mizo-isation of the tribe was encouraged. The attempt was made to integrate the tribe in the greater tribal setting, of course, on the terms of the majority tribe.

The Christianised Reangs follow the same culture as their non Christian brethren. The embracement of Christianity and the non conformism do not make much difference so far as the attitude of the majority tribe towards them. They are not opposed to the Christianity as many consider it as the ‘new light’ but the ethnic roots are more pronounced in them. The land was holy to them but now, lands change hands. A big industrial enterprise is good enough to destroy the general fabric of a tribal culture.

A small tribe follows a pattern of culture and religion. They worship deities not in fixed places. But the lands which they lost had many of such shrines and idols. An animistic culture follows certain taboos, omens, mannerism and many other beliefs.

The roads are extended to the interior and a large number of wage earning workers are engaged for the construction. Those who live in the deep interior cannot get advantage of earning some hard cash and the outside workers take the advantage. Large numbers of the Reangs are too deeply attached to the traditional farming and they are not comfortable with the new mode of earning. They are
used to extracting the natural resources only. But the modern ways of development are too alluring to be ignored. But such ways of wage earning for an ordinary Reang is a new phenomenon and it is not available to them as an alternative mode of earning for their livelihood.

The products in their jhum fields like rice, cotton (Karpas), sesamum (Til), Chilli, pumpkin do not give them food and usable items for the whole year. The Mizo households and Mizo lands need workers at the cheap wages and the Reangs fit into that category. They are forced to take loans from the persons, who engage them, and often, they are under compulsion, have to pay higher interests. Most of them cannot repay the loans in time and in some cases, are unable to return. The consequence of non repayment is generally severe and they have to sacrifice their agricultural yields to the giver of the loan. The effects are felt in the long run. They become economically poorer. They cannot retrieve their economic solvency at any time.

A tribe may survive if they have some small scale industries to work with and they produce at their homes, something which can be marketed. No such tools are with them. The sub-divisional and the district level government offices offer loans, seeds and some other
facilities but an ordinary person cannot avail such facilities easily because of the ignorance of rules.

The electricity has not reached in most of the Reang villages located away from the district headquarters. These villages are negotiable only by foot. They suffer illness in silence as the medicines are not available to them and the poor people cannot purchase these costly life saving drugs. The Christianity comes to the tribal home in the form of service and some Reangs are the beneficiaries no doubt. The religion does not assure them to get any job in government offices. The majority tribes push them out from the queue in no time. The Reangs stand in the rear in matters of preference for the government jobs. The Mizo organization, the Mizo Zirawl Pawi (MZP) decreed that the Mizos get preference over others.

It is known from the above that for the Reangs, the jhum cultivation is the only occupation and the yields from the jhuming can sustain their livelihood for at best five months and the rest of the year, they struggle economically. Their frustration increase when they do not know what would be the sources of income next day.

There is a clear sign of growing elitism in the tribal areas. The people at the grassroots do not know how to survive in the ruthless competition to grab political and economic powers at the top. The
economic deprivations bring in a sense of insecurity and their minds revolt against the state system.

When the struggle of a major group is in operation, the ethnic aspirations of a minor group remain dormant. The Reang problem was not discussed when the Mizo problem remained the main focus in the territory.

After the independence, the Government of India chalked out so much of programmes for the amelioration of the economic conditions of smaller tribes but it is seen that the decision makers at the top hardly appreciate the people who live in the periphery. The result is that, there is hunger perpetuated, illiteracy remained almost universal and the ignorance of the world outside continued.

The Reangs are thus fighting with the odds which can only be removed if the society is modernized. The demography and the tribal equations in the state of Mizoram work against them. The obvious expansive postures of the tribes had already shrunk their areas of operation. The near static economic and political conditions brought them into a ‘squeezed state’ from which they cannot easily extricate themselves. The population is increasing but there are no avenues for subsistence.
Socio Cultural and Religious condition of the Reangs

It was the great colonial enterprise that brought the then Lushei territories under a civilian government. The history of the territory tells a continuous tale of warfare which was discussed earlier. The tea garden manager, Winchester was killed along with his wife, his small daughter, Mary was carried away. Mary Winchester, who was rescued on January 21, 1872, later said in her letter to Vanchhunga, ‘my father’s blood was the price paid for you, Lushai Christians.’

This incident opened up this area to the canvas of civilization. The missionaries, J.H. Lorrain and F.W. Savidge as part of the Arthington Aborigines Mission arrived in the hills on January 11, 1894 facing great hardships on the way. The missionary, Rev D.E. Jones put his feet on the soil of the Lushei Hills on August 31, 1897. At present, the Presbyterian Church is very active in the hills. The missionaries from Wales, Watkins Roberts arrived in the first decade of the twentieth century (1910) and worked among the Hmar tribe. The Hmars retained special respect for the first Christian missionary in their territory.

It is mentioned earlier that the Reangs were affected by the long association with the Hinduism practiced among the Tripuris. Ethnically, the Reangs maintain a close relationship with the
Tripuris with whom they lived for centuries. The Mizo lady Vanlaltlani in her book “A Study of Religious Identity among the Bru of Mizoram” writes that the Tripuris, whatever might have been their origin, to whom the Reangs are sub-tribes and the Reangs once lived in Mizoram and a great portion of the western area was under their jurisdiction. The Reangs of Mizoram are affected by the rituals and conventions which came to them imperceptively.

Some Reangs have fair knowledge of the names of the great Indian epics like the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The Hindu Gods and Goddesses are familiar to them. This happened because the Bengali Hindus have greater cultural affects on them and Bengali religious functions attract the attention of the smaller ethnic groups. Even the observance of the daily rituals performed by the Bengali Hindus influence them.

It is said earlier that the Reangs of Mizoram celebrate ‘Buisu’ in the Bengali month, Chaitra-Baisakha (April) and it coincides with the Bengali-Assamese New Year which generally falls on April 14/15. The general festive moods in this occasion brought them near to popular Hinduism. The Reangs do complain against interferences in the festivities. There is a subtle attempt to divert them to another type of festival calling it ‘Christo Buisu’ meaning ‘festival of Christ’ in order to refashion it as a Christian festival in contrast to Buisu.
festival which is considered as anti-Christian. The Christian Reangs often face the adverse reactions from the church fathers who consider Buisu festival unethical, unchristian and immoral.

These views are often taken by the western missionaries and the Christian Reangs want to observe it (Buisu) in the same fashion as their non-Christian brethren. The Buisu is, after all, their cultural symbol which is very dear to them and they recognize it as their ethnic identity.

The religion and the philosophy a little removed concepts but the rituals affected them. The Mizos and the Bengalis are the two groups capable of influencing their cultural beliefs and practices on them. They meet and interact with them in all places. We notice that the change of a political system affects the people. The situation after the independence brought them closer to Christianity. Its effects are felt and there is a subtle pressure on their religious and cultural practices.

The Reangs respond to the arrival of the new faith in an ambiguous way and usual religious and the cultural practices are still followed. Through the Christianity, a monotheistic belief is preached but many of the Reangs could not give up their beliefs in polytheistic religious practices. Sometimes, a relationship is sought to be made between the Christianity and their indigenous beliefs.
The martyrdom of Jesus Christ is equated with the sacrifices of evil spirits in the rituals. Many sacrifice animals at the time of festivities. The smaller tribes like the Reangs try to maintain ‘peaceful coexistence’ with the majority tribe in the state of Mizoram. But in the actual circumstances, the environment for conflict becomes inevitable.59

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>37.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race Ethnic Origin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the above factors</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>47.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No difference with the Mizos</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4
Reasons for Unequal Treatment

Source: Field Survey.

The table shows that out of 150 (non-Christian) respondents, 6 (04 percent) say that it is culture, 56 (37.33 percent) say that it is religion, 3 (02 percent) say that it is ethnic origin and 71 (47.33 percent) say that all these factors, culture, ethnic origin and religion are collectively responsible for the differential treatment by the Mizos. 12 (08 percent) have no idea about it. 2 (01.33 percent) say that there is no difference between the Mizos and the Reangs. Here, we find that the majority of the respondents realize that there is a
difference between the Mizos and the Reangs because of religion, culture and ethnic origin. It reveals that ethnic factor makes them separate but no single factor can be cited as the determining factor in the conflict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic origin / Race</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All these above factors (without religion)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No difference with the Mizos</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey.

The table shows that out of 150 (Christian) respondents, 36 (24 percent) say that it is culture, 75 (50 percent) say that it is ethnic origin and 9 (06 percent) say that both culture and ethnic origin are responsible for differential treatment by the Mizos to the Reangs. It is found that no respondent says that religion is the dividing factor. It is noted that many of them are converted to Christianity but that does not help them to get equal treatment in political and economic
matters. 27 (18 percent) have no idea about it. 3 (02 percent) feel that there is no difference between them.

Some missionaries sent the messages to the ordinary Reangs that if they adopt Christianity, they would go to heaven. Some of the Reangs feel that the conversion to Christianity benefitted them. They are now disciplined church goers, have some education and they are free from superstitious beliefs.

Table: 4.6
Reasons Behind the Change of Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Their Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Mizos wanted them to embrace Christianity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>03.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enable them to get better facilities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>03.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to marital relationship with the Mizos</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipating better relationship with the ethnic Mizo</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictated by their own conscience</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As their parent are Christians</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey.

From this table, it reveals that out of 150 (Christian) respondents, 68 (45.33 percent) say that they changed their religion
on their own will and they have great faith in Christianity. In fact, some missionaries created good impressions in the minds of the Reangs in course of their evangelical activities. 5 (03.33 percent) confess that some Mizo gentlemen influenced them to take Christianity. 5 (03.33 percent) think that the conversion to Christianity would give them facilities in social and educational spheres as Mizoram people are mostly Christian in religion. Such facilities would improve their conditions. 3 (02 percent) say that the Christianity came to them as their wives or husbands are the Mizos. 26 (17.33 percent) disclose that their parents are already Christians and they became Christians by birth. It reveals that the serious evangelical activities had started from the time Mizoram acquired the status of a separate territorial unit in 1978. 16 (10.66 percent) cannot say clearly what prompted them to become Christians by abandoning their ancestral faith. 27 (18 percent) say that in order to live peacefully in the state, they took the new religion. They envisaged a larger cooperation with the majority tribe through the religious bond.

The Christianity now came as a harbinger of modern ideas. The Pope, as the Head of the Catholic Church in the middle age opposed and rejected anything that went against their own religious beliefs. The great upsurge of science and liberal ideas in the post
medieval age did not find much favour with the Popes. But the very same Christian Church began to condemn the superstitious beliefs, magical effects and many animistic beliefs held by the tribes at the time of embracement. The Church tells them to forget the old beliefs. A nature worshipper has reverence for blue sky, big trees, rocks and stones, streams, ravines and rivers, wild animals, plants, herbs and aquatics. The list is endless. But there are other practices followed by a tribe, all cannot be held as superstitions. The traditional wear of a tribe, the musical instruments they use and worship of forefathers cannot be called superstitions. A dhoti clad Bengali Christian and their totally non western names and surnames maintained are only their love of culture.

A Hmar evangelist Pulamte from North Cachar Hills went to Serampore in West Bengal in the early nineties where there is a theological university and he was surprised to see how the Christian converts there maintain their indigenous culture. In the context of the tribal converts, this cultural conflict between the demands of the new religion and the old culture continues. Many wholesome values are also taught by the missionaries, like the prohibition of drinking habit in a convert, the inculcation of the habit of cleanliness and the eagerness for education. These go along with the new religion.
There is an interesting mixing of new religion and indigenous culture. This is revealed in the socio cultural and religious functions. Generally, the organized religion takes way many of the cultural traits which the people follow. This happened in case of other tribes. The Reang Christian too are facing the same problem of leaving their traditional culture. Such ignorance and lack of respect for the indigenous cultures are pronounced by the missionaries.

It is known from the above that the Reangs are the new converts to the Christianity and they are not ready to abandon their cultural practices altogether and this is evident in their indigenous festivals, dances, songs, culture of drinking of their homemade rice beer which are still part of their culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Their Response</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Their Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, in every year</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not every year but sometimes they observe it</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>02.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey.

The table shows that out of 150 (Christian) respondents, 53 (35.33 percent) say that they perform Buisu festival in every year as
it is a part and parcel of their culture. 93 (62 percent) say that they do not observe it in every year but sometimes or occasionally they observe this festival. The new religion does not encourage their adherence to the past cultural practices, but they cannot forget their traditions and cultures altogether and they try to enjoy again and again those dances and songs. They consider these songs and dances represent their cultural identity. 4 (02.66 percent) have no idea about it.

Religious change through Christianity discouraged and looked down upon the practice of drinking homemade rice-beer or any other strong drinks. The Reangs consider the country made liquor as their social custom and the use of drinks is nearly a social compulsion. Their reaction is one of repulsion even though the Christianity prohibits it. The abandonment is a painful exercise for them. Their ladies prepare the homemade beers of different colours and tastes. Taking rice beer is compulsory of all their occasional functions and ceremonies of private and public purposes. The Reangs have their indigenous method of rice beer preparation and of the different qualities of their rice beer such as ‘chawhkhamtui’, ‘jawr’, ‘Goba’, ‘Arauh’, ‘Barendi’, ‘Lspirit’ of which ‘Arauh’ is the most common one used in all occasions. Drinks are served when ‘choudhuri’ court tries the case. It is also offered to special people.
when they are consulted. It is compulsory as element of sacrifice is offered to the deities. In a tribal society far removed from the modernity, the liquor forms a part of social relationship, nobody ignores it in his senses. It is affirmed for all occasions of sacrifices and ceremonies, there is a prescribed quality of drinks to be provided by the performer and failure to such requirements could annul ceremonies or the itself.

They learn better health care from the missionaries. There is a remarkable increase in literacy in many hill districts. The Mizos, themselves are the great beneficiaries. But there is no appreciable changes occurred among the Reangs but personal cleanliness and health care improved. The clothes they wear now also bear the stamp of imitation of the dresses put on by the Mizos. A Reang home now looks better with the new kinds of dresses and clothes, utensils and other household commodities and the use of soap.

A Reang village is not affected much by the larger changes occurred in matters of electricity and paved roads. Some households are fortunate enough to have rice-grinding machines, tailoring machines, pipe connected water tank, public health facilities and electricity facilities. But among the people in general, the value system of the Reangs suffered, their traditional practices of earning their livelihood, their capacity to hard work is not noticeable now.
The changes came to them took away many of the practices like hunting wild animals and birds which was a great sport for them in the earlier days. It was a part of their economy and recreation. These now stand discredited because the Christianity forbids these as bad practices.

The Mizos have developed a clear religio-cultural ethos already through their century old association with the Christianity. The Reangs are new to the religion and they cannot forshake their cultural values and they would be happy to combine religion with culture. A religion when enters into a society with certain cultural ethos, the adherents not only modify their own attitudes and beliefs, they use the religion in their own way. An outsider recognizes a human group with their behaviour and the capacity to combine religion with culture. It is a difficult task to draw a clear cut division between their political, economic, religious and social goals as the society is ‘fused’ as described by F. W. Riggs.61

There are much discussion on the adoption of a religious belief and practice by a group of people and the effects of it. It is believed that hoards of people entered India in different times of history and how these disparate groups had accepted the religious ethos of the country and got assimilated. Each group retained its individuality in its own ways. The Christianity came to the lives of
the tribes of the north eastern part of the country as the rear guard actions of the colonial rule. It is just the opposite way the hoards of outsiders came to India and accepted the indigenous faith in the past. The Reangs are one of the numerous tribes came under the influence of the Christianity. They unknowingly modified many of their customs and also consciously resisted many of the prescriptions imposed on them. Inspite of the new religious ‘standards’ before them, the culture of the Reangs can be identified.

Table: 4.8
Reangs Desire to Revert to the Traditional Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Their response</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No (But want to preserve their cultural identity along with Christianity)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>85.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea about religion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>01.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confused</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>01.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey

From this table, it reveals that out of 150 (Christian) respondents, 128 (85.33 percent) do not want to leave Christianity but at the same time, they want to preserve their own cultural identity. 18 (12 percent) say that they want to come back to their indigenous religion. After the conversion, their position has not
changed so they want to come back to their own indigenous faith. 2 (01.33 percent) have no idea about religion and another 2 (01.33 percent) are confused whether the new faith or their old faith would bring better solutions to their problems.

Steps of the Government to eradicate the habit of drinking among the Reangs and the Reangs response on it

Mizoram is a progressive state now and the government is determined to eradicate the evils emanating from excessive drinking which is current among the tribal people. As the Christianity is almost universally practiced in the state, the efforts of the Church, in this regard, is quite evident. The Government promulgated the Liquor Prohibition Act, 1995 to check the habits of drinking. Among the Reangs, there was an adverse response to such act and many elders among them resisted it on the ground that it was against their tribal customs. They were not ready to quit the ageold custom followed by them. The drinking is considered harmful to health and morality as many evils emerge from its continuance in the society. All right thinking people throughout the world declared it as a social evil and the Christianity in Mizoram only echoed it. It was considered unethical by them. But the tribal custom, everywhere, had weakness for drinking. In Mizoram, the efforts are made to
prohibit drinking altogether and a great amount of success is achieved in the drive. The Church deserves praise in this regard.

A group’s ethnic identity cannot be associated with the passion for drinking. The prohibition of drinking is a moral question, not associated with the religious injunctions, it is independent of it. A tribe habituated for generations to the custom of drinking, considers it as a principal mode of leisure which they could not give up so easily.

Drinking is a social habit and a perfected religious practice can easily go without it. It requires proper education. The Mizos have better education and they can identify the roots of the social evil but taking a stringent legal and administrative measure, the evil cannot be challenged. It should not be paused as an imposition on a people as suspecting as the Reangs. The Reangs put the tag on the practice of drinking with their culture and religion. A majority action, however well meaning it might be, face the adverse responses from the smaller tribes, sometimes considering the habit as their ethnic possession for survival.
The table shows that out of 150 (Christian) respondents, 4 (02.66 percent) maintain a note of affirmation of their material and moral conditions improved substantially after the conversion. 77 (51.33 percent) find in the conversion some sort of mental peace and spiritual attainment which they like. Some 69 (46 percent) are of the opinion that they are not better off after the conversion.

The Christian missionaries visit the houses of the converts and their organized nature influence the new converts. For them, these missionaries are the agents of change. Some of the Reangs considered the Mizo version of the Christianity as the true form of the religion. The cultural intermingling became common and some of them took it as the superior culture. It is true that a superior culture and their protagonists leave an impression on the smaller tribes and it moves downward among those tribes slowly.

Table 4.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Their Views</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>02.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental peace they received after the change of religion</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>51.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No improvement at all</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey
Table 4.10
Preference to wear Mizo Dress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Their Response</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>79.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>03.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey.

The table shows that out of 300 respondents, 51 (17 percent) are in favour of wearing Mizo dress. Because it is the way of fashion in modern days. The current styles influence minor tribes and this is conspicuous in dress and food. 238 (79.33 percent) are not in favour of wearing Mizo dress and they like their own indigenous dress. They feel that in order to preserve their cultural identity, it is necessary to wear the Reang traditional dress in Mizoram. 11 (03.66 percent) have no idea about it.

One good effect is that after the conversion of Christianity, many Reang children took to first lessons of education and they are learning new habits. The missionary schools are established in some Reang inhabited areas and the teaching is upto the upper primary level. The small Reang children came under the influence of the Mizo teachers and saw the Mizo children studying along with them. It was an educative social interaction for them. The modern education gave some Reang children new values. But they could
easily understand the wide gap between the Mizo children and their own. The educated Reangs could see the wide world through their own eyes. They could understand the necessity of education in their own society. They aspired for jobs with better education at their command. The creation of Mizoram as a state in the Indian Union has one salutary effect that this hilly state is now criss crossed with roads though the Reang villages are not much affected by such facilities. But some of the Reang villages are benefited by the improvement in communication. The comparisons in the standards of development are now more marked. The changes came silently and involuntarily, not consciously adopted by them.

The Presbyterian Church of Mizoram ran 28 primary and middle level schools, 126 missionaries were working among the Reangs (Rev Remthanga, 23.11.1998). The Baptist Church of Mizoram had 25 workers among the Reangs and 20 primary level schools (Rev Zochhawna, 12.5.1999). The Lairam Baptist Church had 8 workers and ran 6 primary level schools (Rev Th Vanlalzawva). The Church of Jesus Christ had 15 workers and 6 primary level schools in the Reang villages (Rev. H. Lalsangliana, 11.5.1999). As the ethnic tensions appeared between the Mizos and the Reangs during the nineties of the last century, the churches withdrew their staff and the missionaries. Presbyterian Church closed 22 schools
and 58 numbers of workers, the Baptist Church closed 7 schools and its 7 workers and the Jesus Christ Church closed 4 schools from the Reang inhabited areas.62

It is said earlier that the Reang children receive their first education in the Mizo language in the Roman script. The teachers who provide education to the Reang children do not use the kau Bru, the language of the Reangs. Even outside their classroom, they often use the Mizo language. The Reangs have fair knowledge of the Mizo tongue. The Mizo is the language of communication in Mizoram and the non Mizos are to learn it. Though the first light of knowledge came to the Reangs through the Mizo tongue, it helped the development of the self awareness among them. They are now aware of the social unity.

Table : 4.11
Mental Complex and Superior Culture, the Reang feelings towards the Mizos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different feelings</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having inferiority complex</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>73.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No inferiority complex</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No concrete answer</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>06.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey
From this table, it is observed that out of 300 respondents, 220 (73.33 percent) feel inferior in front of the Mizos. The reason is that the Mizos in Mizoram feel, they are the major ethnic group and consider other minor ethnic groups not equal to them. 49 (16.33 percent) do not feel inferior in the face of the Mizos. The reason is that they have some sort of education and they feel that in a democratic country, all have equal rights to preserve their cultural identity. 12 (04 percent) prefer to remain silent on the question. 19 (06.33 percent) do not understand this.

When a tribal group really wants to assert, they activate their cultural wings first. They know it well that the cultural unity begets political unity. The Mizo language, in present shape and contents is far superior to other languages in the state. This process started long ago. The Mizo political assertions closely follow their cultural resurgence. The literature took shape along with other art forms. The language should not pause as a barrier between the two tribal groups as English did not pause as a barrier in our self assertions. The availability of the Mizo text books helped the Reangs to understand themselves better.

Political Condition of the Reangs

Every tribal group aspire for the recognition of their existence in the state. Before the attainment of the statehood on February 20,
1987, there was a continuous struggle for two decades starting from 1966 had traumatic experiences for the Mizos, the Reangs and other tribes living in the hills. These two decades of long uncertainty had taught them many lessons, they eagerly wanted a political settlement.

Mizoram emerged as the 23rd state of the Indian Union. Before the achievement of the statehood, there was an utter state of backwardness in the then district of Lushei Hill and the Government in the state (Assam) mishandled the situation totally and the communication system was in extremely bad shape resulting in the inability to bring in essential commodities to the district at the time of the crisis. The situation became grave during the Moutam of 1965-66, a famine due to the invasion of rats in the wide fields of agriculture. The rats did not spare the Reangs from hunger. With all other people in the district, they too suffered and they supported the movement of the Mizo National Front (MNF).

After the attainment of statehood, the process of economic recovery started and there is a visible sign of development in the state. The economic development saw the dominance of the ruling group having control over all aspects of the society. The travails of the Reangs, however, continued with increasing deprivation in all fronts. Their belief was that the attainment of statehood would
benefit them in equal measures but it did not happen. The new situation did not usher in a new era for the Reangs. Politically, they remained under represented in the Assembly. Only one member from Reang community has been nominated twice for representation in the Assembly. The insurgency situation for two decades had damaged their records altogether and many of them lost all papers for citizenship not to be retrieved. The officials refused to prepare the papers afresh and many hapless people walked in the corridors of the administration to get justice in this regard. But they did not get justice and some of them were declared outsiders without valid records. They were resentful of the officials’ apathy towards their basic right to live.

The three main components of development, water, electricity and sanitation were given primacy in the Mizo villages. The Reangs came to know about the development in Mizo villages. The Mizo villages got the benefits of the welfare measures of the Government. On seeing the development occurring all around, the Reangs thought of the creation of their own welfare association. Accordingly, Bru (Reang) Students Association was formed in 1994. Their main aim was to appeal to the Government to establish Reang hostels at Aizwal in order to help the Reang students to get the better chances available for higher and better education in Mizoram,
to establish at least one Government school, a health centre, electricity and a road in each Reang village.

It is mentioned that although the Reang villages are contiguous in some areas, these are included in different constituencies and the result of such distribution pattern of the Reang voters, not a single person from the Reang community could be elected for representation to the state Legislative Assembly. So the Reang (Bru) Students Association demanded to unite the entire Reang (Bru) villages and to build a composite area for the sake of enabling a ‘constituency’ for them. But the Government rejected the demands raised by the Reangs.

Mizoram is justifiably proud of its record of literacy rate which stands only next to that of Kerala and it is said earlier that the Reangs living away from the bright focus of education, are hardly having any educated person in their fold. When the new century ushered in, the Reangs could boast of only one post graduate and fifteen graduates among them. Their population, roughly estimated, was 85,000 in the state at the time of their exodus. The general level of literacy was not above 10 percent (according to Bru (Reang) Students’ Association). The number of the Reang inhabited villages was 112 but some of them did not have any opportunity for even the primary education. The children who were fortunate enough to
cross that limit, they could enroll in the middle schools. The lack of education keeps them far behind the Mizos in matters of social awareness and political participation. It is seen that whatever the small education, some of the children received, it helped them in social awareness.

The spectre of backwardness was obvious in the Reang areas and they saw the activities of the other tribal groups like the Lai and the Poi who entered Mizoram from Myanmar in the past and established themselves in the southern part of Mizoram. Some insurgent groups, mostly based in Manipur had their operations in the state of Mizoram and sometimes, they challenged the Central Reserve Police Forces (CRPF) stationed in the state. The Mizoram Police were also confronted and ambushed.

The Reang elders saw such turmoils where some ethnic groups struggled and how the political agitations were carried out by some outfits for autonomy. It was an education for them. It was also felt that for a small political gain, the agitations were necessary. It was a lesson, they kept in mind in their future course of actions. In the face of utter backwardness, the organization of a political platform to articulate their demands to the state government was their first priority.
Of late, there is a genuine urge to study the problems in tribal societies. A government committed to the social and political peace, must bring down the levels of imbalances in the tribal groups. Such genuineness of attitude eludes the tribal societies. The conflicts arise when the imbalance increases disturbing peace. The Reangs saw that the other tribal groups effectively regrouped politically to get their rights. They feel encouraged to organize themselves on the same line. The condition of backwardness and the political weakness hurt them. For them, the political organization is meant for raising political consciousness among them. They know, it would lead to the achievement of the political identity for them within the state of Mizoram.

No state is homogeneous ethnically and this fact is true for Mizoram also but the question is how the political adjustments are made and here lies the better political wisdom. Our consciousness about it is not raised before an 'insurgent situation' develops.

After much deliberations and confabulations, the elite amongst the Mizoram Reangs entered into an agreement among themselves to form a political party and it was named 'the Reang Democratic Convention Party' (RDCP) on June 15, 1990. The party chalked out a programme for the overall development of the Reang ethnic group, their culture, language, economy and political status.
They vowed to work within the state of Mizoram. They sought equal status with all other ethnic groups of the state. The formation of a political party was considered as a step towards the political emancipation for them. The idea of self reliance was in their minds.

After the attainment of the statehood, many new departments were formed, Forest, Rural Development, Land Revenue and Land Settlement which had activities over the whole state. With the liberal grants received, the State Government was in great hurry to implement several schemes which affected the lives of the tribal populations in the periphery and it is already mentioned that this development process disturbed the Reangs’ ageold settlements in the tracts. The Forest Department declared a large chunk of lands as the reserve forest area called the Dampa Tiger Wild Life Sanctuary which covers 500 sq km of the Mamit district. The Reangs lived in the tract for a long time and they were ordered to be displaced. It was an unheard of command from the Government which was resented by the Reangs living there and they considered it a forced displacement from their hearths and homes.63

A century ago, the Mizos too embraced a new faith totally alien to their history, culture and way of life. As said earlier that the religion gave them a new direction in life and their attitudes changed very widely. It was a great change and a part of the Mizo
population began to think that they were the descendants of the old Israelites. But the Mizos did not have any other tribal groups to confront with for the political space in the hills after the British occupation. Infact, there were many tribes closely related to each other in dialects and cultures lived in a vast unadministered area. The British occupation was a boon to them. There emerged the Mizo nationalism and that is the direct result of the colonial occupation. The word Mizo is the indication of it.

The churches of Mizoram generally impose a ‘cultural behavioral’ standard with which the non Christian Reangs could not adjust. The Mizo Students Association (Mizo Zirawl Pawi) is also hostile to any kind of independent political assertions the Reangs make in defence of their interests. The state is also not sympathetic to their causes as almost all officers belong to the Mizo community and the Reang representation in administration is almost nil.

Table 4.12
Reangs desire to form a Political Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Their views</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>77.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confused</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>04.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey.
The table shows that out of 300 respondents, 232 (77.33 percent) say that they want to form their own political party in Mizoram. They feel that in Mizoram, no political representative is drawn from the Reang community. 27 (09 percent) remark that they do not want to form their own political party because they have no faith on the political leaders. Another 27 (09 percent) have no idea about it. 14 (04.66 percent) are confused and cannot decide whether a political party is good or bad for them. They feel that in Mizoram, it is very difficult to form a political party for a minor ethnic group like the Reangs.

Table 4.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons Behind the Formation of a Political Party</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To protect the cultural identity and all round development</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>38.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To contest election and participate in governmental activities</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>02.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enable them to raise their autonomy demands.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All the above reasons</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>24.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enable oneself to acquire money through easy means</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>03.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They do not know the valid reason</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>01.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No idea</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>09.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey.
The table shows that out of 232 respondents, 89 (38.36 percent) say that they want to form their own political party in order to protect their cultural identity and they feel that through the political party their all round development is assured. 6 (02.58 percent) confess that their own political party will help them to participate in the governmental affairs and have a share in the decision making. 46 (19.82 percent) feel that their own political party will enable them to get their much desired autonomy in Mizoram. 56 (24.13 percent) pin great hope in their political party for the protection of cultural identity, participation in governmental affairs and to achieve their demand of autonomy. 8 (03.44 percent) think that the political party will give them economic relief. 4 (01.72 percent) could not say anything as they are confused. They know all the reasons for the formation of their own political party but they are confused which one is the most appropriate reason behind the formation of their own political party. 23 (09.91 percent) refrain from giving any opinion as they do not have any idea.

The Reangs react to the inroads into their culture and demand the protection from the State Government. A political party acts as a shelter for their social, economic and political aspirations. To articulate any political demand, a political party is necessary. It is a
contrivance, every ethnic group aspire for the protection of their culture, identity, language, customs and heritages.

When their political organization was duly formed, they felt the need for the convention to be held and the Party (RDCP) held its General Assembly at Dampa Rengpui on October 3-6, 1990 in which more than 550 delegates took part. Out of 550, 205 delegates came from Tripura state. Some members who played roles in public life, Sawibunga, V. Lalnunzira, Chawnzika, Romawia, Sangkhar Reang, an MLA of Tripura and Kripa Mohan Reang, a retired pilot from Tripura, took part in the general assembly.

The Reang candidates contested in the District Council election held in the Lai Autonomous District Council on April, 1992 as the RDCP candidates. Chandra Mohan and Maturai contested the MDC (Member of the District Council) election in the Lai Autonomous District Council and Chandra Mohan was successfully elected as an MDC. A Reang, Chawngzika contested the Parliamentary election as an RDCP candidate and received 4545 votes. Gradually, the party asserted itself and entered into the village council elections. In 1990, the RDCP contested and captured the powers in the village councils in the following villages, Tuipuibari, Bukvannei and Dampa Rengpui in the district of Aizwal.
The Reang Democratic Convention Party (RDCP) in a Press Release issued on July 15, 1993 articulated their demand for a separate Autonomous District Council for the Reang (Bru) people. Under the provisions in the articles, 244 (2) and 275 (1), the autonomous district councils were formed in the several states of Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. There are 3 autonomous district councils in Mizoram, namely the Chakma, the Mara and the Lai Autonomous District Council. The RDCP, after the success in the village council elections, wanted to extend their links outside the state where their compatriots reside in large number. The National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) was an underground outfit active in the state of Tripura. Secretly, a meeting was held with the top leaders of the NLFT at Tuipuibari in the early part of October, 1992. This was an attempt to extend their horizon of contacts. This meeting was having an aim in itself, they wanted the autonomous council for themselves. The Bru Students Association and the Bru Welfare Committee were formed and these bodies worked as the subsidiaries of their political goals spearheaded by RDCP.

A Conference was held at Putlungasih in Lunglei District of Mizoram on December 21 and 24, 1994 in which the members of
RDCP, Bru Students Association and Bru Welfare Committee attended and they jointly decided to form a larger association of the Reang people calling it the Bru National Union (BNU). The elite of the Reang tribal society were given the top positions in the new association and a committee was formed with the following office bearers,

1) President - A. Sawibunga, B.A.
2) Vice President - Lalrinthanga, B.Sc, B.Ed
3) General Secretary - Romawia Bru.
4) Assistant Secretary - A. J. Vanlalhruaia.
5) Treasurer - Upa T. Lalsanga
6) Finance Secretary - Asiha
7) Secretary I/C (Information and Publicity) - Bruna Msha alias Lalrinfela.
8) Organizing Secretary - Zoramthanga.

It seems that the activities transcended the borders of the social sphere and the resolutions adopted showed their political agenda clearly. Some of the office bearers of the Bru National Union (BNU) were the government employees and the pamphlets issued by them included their demand for the autonomous district council.
and to bring the Reang areas under the Sixth Schedule provisions of the constitution. The BNU declared it as an NGO for the welfare of the Reang people. Their Vice President, Lalrinthanga was an Inspector in the Weights and Measures Department, Government of Mizoram and the Treasurer, Upa T. Lalsanga was a forest guard. There was lack of qualified persons in the community and the persons in the government services were only available to lead the community. The Union wanted unity among the people by bringing all the Reang people under the same umbrella. In 1995, the General Secretary of BNU, Romawia reiterated the demand for an autonomous district council.

The Reangs’ urge for the autonomous council gradually gathered momentum and the agitation to achieve this objective continued. After the exit of Laldenga, Lalthanhawla became the Chief Minister of Mizoram. He belonged to the Congres Party and the Reangs expected a solution to the impasse. A memorandum was submitted to the Chief Minister on May 29, 1997 for the early formation of the district council. For the Reangs, the formation of the council carried an utmost importance as they apprehended gradual erosion of their culture and language. The superior Mizo language was silently replacing their mother tongue, subordinating their own status as a distinct tribal group. The Mizo dominated administration
at Aizwal had no difficulty in according the council status to the Lai, the Mara and the Chakma ethnic groups. When the demands proliferated, the Mizo bodies like the Mizo Zirawl Pawi (MZP) asserted that no further grant of an autonomous body should be given and urged the Government not to proceed on the issue.

On the other hand, Lalrinthanga, the leader of the BNU, the Reangs feel cheated as other ethnic groups achieved the status. Actually, the Reangs were the late starters in the movement for the council status when the Mizo youths were awakened up against the further extension of the council status to any other ethnic group. The situation became grave for the Reang people. No agitation could achieve anything without a strong forum and leadership. These efforts to form association to fight for the demand came much later amongst the Reangs.

The years, 1995-97 was a period of great upheaval for the Reangs when they openly demanded ADC and they faced aggressive opposition from the Mizo youth groups who needed more spaces for their expansion. Their interests clashed with those of the Reangs in the western part of the state. The possibility of violence remains unless there is a political will to solve the problem.

Next to the Mizo population in the state, the Reangs are the second largest ethnic group according to the Bru National Union.
They were unfortunately placed under a stressful existence in the new political situation in the region. The isolation left the trait of simplicity in tact in the tribe not knowing the nuances of the urban culture. On the other hand, they were frequently used by the political leaders. In the context of the political environment where they live, they were used as vote banks by the cunning leaders.

There was a continuous pressure from the Church for the conversion. The indigenous faith of the Reangs was thoroughly unorganised to face the efforts of the various denominations of the church. The freedom of religion in Mizoram takes a different colour as the Christianity nearly claimed adherents from the whole population. It meant that Christianity became a factor in all socio-political discussions. The Government like the administrators during the colonial times backs the evangelical activities of the church. The animism practiced by the Reangs are on the way out and the Reangs are now responding to the call of the Gospel. Among the protestant churches, the Presbyterian Church is predominant and it has many adherents in the state. The Gospel of the Jesus Christ is the Gospel for the state and nothing else can come into the state to challenge the march of the Gospel. But the essential fight of the Reangs is not against any religious principles though they are not ready to give up their customs and usages long pursued.
The elders of the Reang community veered round to the view that the Government of Mizoram was not interested in the political solution and they continuously ignored the demands of the Reang people. Some ruling elite held the view that there was no abject poverty and deprivations, it was only a ploy to gain some political grounds.

A fact the Reang elders cited was about the general apathy the leaders showed after winning the elections as if it was their rights only. They expressed helplessness and they veered round the idea that the only solution lies in the autonomous council of their own for the sake of their own welfare. To them, the real welfare would not come to them without their own autonomous council. Here emerged a centre-periphery syndrome of worst kind where the centre could not appreciate the problems of the periphery.

Table 4.14
Reangs desire for ADC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Their opinion</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Their percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some sort of autonomy</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Idea</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confused</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field Survey
The table shows that out of 300 respondents, 249 (83 percent) think that the ADC will solve their problems and their ethnic identities will be preserved. The powers will have the constitutional guarantees and the Sixth Schedule provisions will be enforced for the betterment of the lot of the people. 5 (01.66 percent) consider that only some sort of autonomy (not ADC but a kind of special autonomy granted to them, short of ADC) will be sufficient to preserve their ethnic identities. They are of the view that it is not possible to get the ADC in Mizoram because the Government of Mizoram will not grant it for them. 11 (03.66 percent) declare that they do not want ADC as they are illiterates and even if it is granted, they will not reap any benefit out of it. 32 (10.66 percent) feel that they have no idea about ADC. 3 (01 percent) are confused. The reason they attribute is the overall Mizo domination in the state. They are not concerned about ADC, its good or bad effects are immaterial for them.

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27. Ibid, pp. 3,4.


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