

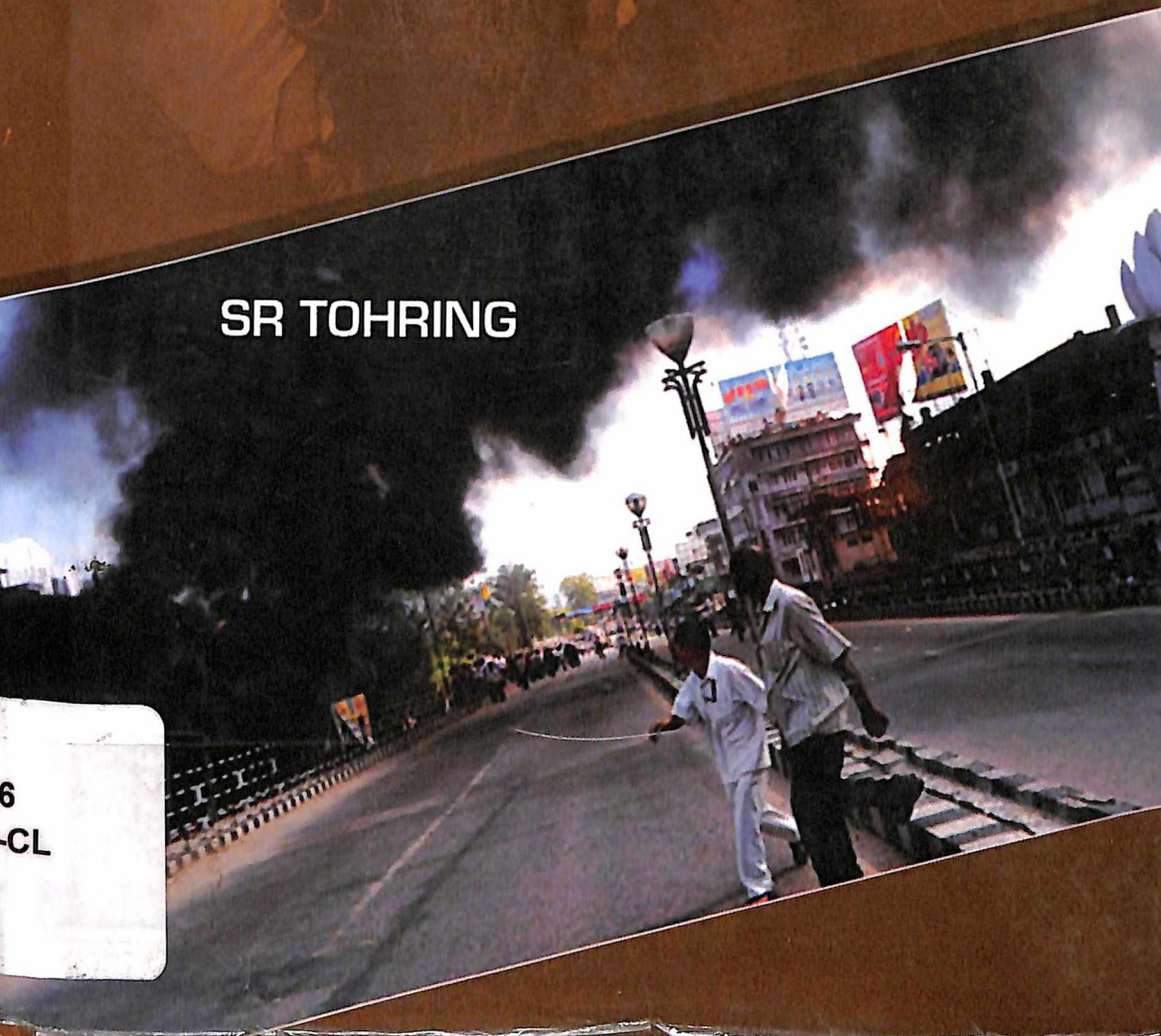
A MITTAL PUBLICATION

# Violence and Identity in North-East India

Naga-Kuki Conflict

SR TOHRING

6  
-CL



**VIOLENCE  
AND  
IDENTITY  
IN  
NORTH-EAST INDIA**  
Naga-Kuki Conflict



SR TOHRING



**MITTAL PUBLICATIONS**  
NEW DELHI (INDIA)

No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner and the publisher.

**First Published 2010**

© SR Tohring

*All rights reserved*

ISBN 81-8324-344-4

Call No.....303.65416  
Acc. No.....7779

Published and printed by Krishan Mittal for Mittal Publications  
4594/9, Daryaganj, New Delhi - 110002, India.  
**Phone:** 23250398, 25351493 **Telefax:** 91-11-25351521  
**e-mail :** mittalp@ndf.vsnl.net.in / info@mittalbooks.com  
**Website :** www.mittalbooks.com

# CONTENTS

---

---

<i>Introduction</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xxiii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xxv
<b>1. ETHNIC IDENTITIES</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Explanations of the Terms 'Identity' and 'Ethnic'	1
1.2 Definitions of Ethnic Identity	2
1.3 Approaches of Ethnic Identity	4
1.4 Ethnic Identities of the Nagas and the Kukis	5
1.4.1 The Term 'Naga'	6
1.4.2 The Term 'Kuki'	8
1.4.3 Classification of the Nagas and the Kukis as Separate Ethnic Entities	9
1.4.4 Ethnic Identity of the Nagas	11
1.4.5 Ethnic Identity of the Kukis	15
1.4.6 Comparison between the Nagas and the Kukis	23
<b>2 ETHNIC MOVEMENTS</b>	<b>29</b>
2.1 The Naga Movement	31
2.1.1 Underground Organizations of the Nagas	37
2.1.2 Civil Organizations of the Nagas	40
2.2 The Kuki Movement	43
2.2.1 Civil Organizations of the Kukis	43
2.2.2 Underground Organizations of the Kukis	46
<b>3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS, 1826-1990</b>	<b>53</b>
3.1 A Brief Review of their Historical Background of the Ethnies	53

3.2	Political Relationship of the Nagas and the Kukis	57
3.2.1	Relations on the Eve of British Rule	57
3.2.2	Relations during the British Era	60
3.2.3	Relations on the Eve and after India's Independence	62
3.2.4	Relations in their Civil Movements in Post-Independent Era	66
3.2.5	Relations in Underground Movements after India's Independence	68
3.3	The Naga-Kuki Relations in the Religious Sphere	71
3.3.1	Animism and the Naga-Kuki Relations	72
3.3.2	Christianity and the Naga-Kuki Relations	74
3.4	The Economic Ties between the Nagas and the Kukis	81
<b>4.</b>	<b>ETHNIC CONFLICT OF 1990S</b>	<b>91</b>
4.1	Usage of the Terms: 'Ethnic Cleansing', 'Genocide', 'Communal Clash', 'Ethnic Conflict'	92
4.2	Views on the Naga-Kuki Violent Ethnic Conflict	96
4.2.1	The Government's View	96
4.2.2	The Meeteis' View	98
4.2.3	The All Tribal Students' Union Manipur (ATSUM)	99
4.2.4	The Nagas' View	100
4.2.5	The Kukis' View	101
4.3	The Causes of the Naga-Kuki Violent Ethnic Conflict	103
4.3.1	Government	104
4.3.2	Ethnic Identity	107
4.3.3	Ethnic Movement	109
4.3.4	Land	110
4.3.5	Taxation	113
4.3.6	Control of Moreh Town and National Highway 39 (Pallel-Moreh)	116
4.3.7	The State of Manipur's Response	118

<b>5. CHANGING NATURE—1990S</b>	<b>129</b>
5.1 Events Leading to the Naga-Kuki Violent Conflict	129
5.2 Naga-Kuki Clashes	132
5.3 Proliferation of the Naga-Kuki Violence	135
5.4 Nature of the Naga-Kuki Violent Conflict	143
5.5 Role and Position of Armed Forces	154
<b>6. THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION AND RESTORATION OF NORMALCY</b>	<b>167</b>
6.1 A Brief Review of the Early Events and Early Peace Initiatives	168
6.2 Government's Role in the Peace Process	169
6.3 Role of Committee for the Restoration of Normalcy (CRN)	174
6.4 Role of the Tribal Communities for Peace	179
6.4.1 Role of All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM)	179
6.4.2 Role of the Tribal Leaders	181
6.4.3 Role of Tribal's Politicians, Lawyers and Students	182
6.4.4 All Tribal Women's Association of Manipur	184
6.4.5 The Naga Women's Union of Manipur and the Kuki Women's Organization	184
6.4.6 Regional Peace Initiatives	185
6.5 The Church's Role in the Peace Process	188
6.6 Militants' Role in Achieving Peace	191
<b>7. CONCLUSION</b>	<b>197</b>
<i>Bibliography</i>	207
<i>Index</i>	217

## INTRODUCTION

---

---

Ethnicity, as we know it today, emerged after the Second World War, though the term ethnicity existed prior to the II World War. Soon, the study on the ethnicity gained momentum, particularly since the 1960s. Dennes L. Thompson says: "the term ethnicity has replaced the terms like Nationality, National grouping and Minority."<sup>1</sup> In India, there are many ethnic entities; some have launched ethnic movements with an armed wing, while others launched ethnic movements which do not involve armed clashes. Of course, there are also ethnic entities with no movements. In ethnic movements with or without arms the North-East region of India is one of the most conspicuous regions. Yet "rarely do North-Eastern issues make it to the front page, quite unlike the treatment given by the national press to similar unrests in other parts of the country. Verily, the region is geographically and even otherwise at the periphery of the National consciousness."<sup>2</sup> As a result of this apathy, the knowledge about North-East region is poor among the population of the rest of the country. This is one reason why the ethnic movements like that of the Nagas is least known, despite, it being christened as the longest movement. The ethnic clashes in North-East after India's independence are, at times, worse than any of the bloody clashes in the rest of the country in terms of brutality, heavy toll on innocent human lives, properties, and span of conflicts but mostly they went unnoticed. This apathy could be seen in Naga-Kuki violent ethnic conflict which will be discussed in the main chapters. Pranay Sharma complains in a newspaper in regard to indifference on Naga-Kuki violent conflict.

"The spate of killings of innocent Kukis and Nagas by insurgents in Manipur reveals the absence of a comprehensive government policy for the regions and shows how removed the North-East is from the National Consciousness. Since last October, when ethnic clashes between Kukis and Nagas first broke out, over 1,000 people have been killed, but precious little had been done by the Union Government to bring the situation under control. Neither has the opposition exerted pressure on the center to tackle the turmoil in

The major movements in the North-East till date are:

1. The Nagas movement;
2. The Assamese movement;
3. The Bodos movement;
4. The Damasas movement;
5. The Karbis movement;
6. The Meeteis movement;
7. The Kukis movement;
8. The Hmars movement; and
9. The Khasis movement.

There are several other movements but the preceding ones mentioned are some of the major movements. Since years, these movements in North-East forge alliances to fight jointly against the Indian government to achieve their goals. In recent years, alliances and unity have become prominent features for the ethnic movements in North-East India. According to B. Pakem, on 22 May, 1990 Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front of the NSCN (K), ULFA, and UNLF was formed. In late 1993, the United Liberation Front of the Seven Sisters (ULFSS) was formed under the leadership of the NSCN-IM, and on November 30, 1994 Self-Defense United Front of South-East Himalaya Region (SDUFSEHR) with 23 representatives was formed under the leadership of NSCN-IM.<sup>6</sup> In 1994, The North-East Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Forum was established after the International Year of Indigenous Peoples in 1993. It was reported in a newspaper: "Extraneous agencies seem to be working in tandem with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland to forge alliance between all the secessionist and separatist ethnic movements through the apparently innocuous mobilization of "indigenous peoples" in the North-East. A common feature that has been discerned is the plea for right to self-determination for all indigenous and tribal people. The inspiration evidently having come from the U.N draft declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People."<sup>7</sup>

The U.N. defines the indigenous peoples as descendants of people who inhabited the present territory of a country, wholly or partially, at a time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived from other parts of the world, overcame them, by conquest, settlement, or other means, and reduced to non-dominant or colonial condition. The U.N. seeks to provide right to self-determination to the indigenous people so as to enable them to determine their own



political status and institutions. India along with some other countries including the USA is opposed to this, as this right will legitimize secession, encourage terrorism and lead to disintegration of States<sup>8</sup> For the North-East, "the North-east Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Forum in its convention at Guwahati in September, 1994 welcomed the U.N. draft declaration, including their right to self determination."<sup>9</sup> At the 12th session of the United Nations Working Group of Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) in Geneva, held from July 25 to 29, 1994 five prominent tribal leaders of India, authorized to present their case by the various tribal organizations in the country, said that the right of self-determination was now considered a fundamental human right without which no other human rights could be enjoyed.<sup>10</sup>

Before we go deep into the study, I would like to introduce the Nagas and the Kukis. The Nagas are found both in India and Myanmar. In Myanmar, they are settled in Sagaing division and Kachin state and in India, according to the List of Schedule Tribes of India, they are in the states of Nagaland, Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Mizoram. In these states except Manipur, they are recognized as 'Any Naga tribes'. In the state of Manipur, according to *Tribes In Manipur At A Glance*,<sup>11</sup> all the tribes could be divided into Naga Group of tribes, Chin-Kuki-Mizo Groups of tribes and Intermediate Group of tribes. However, in reality most of the tribes of the intermediate group are Nagas. Therefore, in Manipur, there are nineteen (19) Naga tribes. According to Naga Hoho, the total geographical areas occupied by the Nagas is 1,00,000 sq.km.<sup>12</sup> This total geographical area of the Nagas includes the areas of Nagas in India and Myanmar. In India, according to Wetshokhrolo Lasuh, Naga-inhabited states in India are: Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, and Nagaland. There are eight districts within Nagaland state, viz., Phek, Mokokchung, Kohima, Tuesang, Wokha, Mon, Zunheboto, and Dimapur. In Manipur, Naga-inhabited districts are: Tamenglong, Senapati, Chandel, and Ukhrul. In Arunachal Pradesh, Naga-inhabited districts are Chanflang and Tirap. In Assam, Naga-inhabited districts are Haflong and Diphu.<sup>13</sup> These areas are the claim of Nagas for sovereignty. The total population of the Nagas in both countries is estimated as 3.5 millions.

The Naga tribes both in India and Myanmar are:

- |               |           |           |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1. Anal       | 2. Angami | 3. Ao     |
| 4. Chakhesang | 5. Chang  | 6. Cheril |
| 7. Chirr      | 8. Chiru  | 9. Chothe |

- |                             |                |                         |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| 10. Hemi                    | 11. Hewa       | 12. Htangan             |
| 13. Inpui                   | 14. Konyak     | 15. Khiamnungam         |
| 16. Kharam Khaklak/Hkaklak  | 17. Koireng    | 18. Kayo                |
| 19. Khaklak/Hkaklak         | 20. Kengu      | 21. Lamkang             |
| 22. Liangmai                | 23. Laihe      | 24. Lainung             |
| 25. Lotha                   | 26. Maram      | 27. Mao                 |
| 28. Maring                  | 29. Moyon      | 30. Monsang             |
| 31. Macharay/Makury/Makhori | 32. Malang     | 33. Nokho/Noko          |
| 34. Nokte                   | 35. Nolang     | 36. Namshik             |
| 37. Pakang                  | 38. Phellongri | 39. Phom                |
| 40. Phochuri                | 41. Phango     | 42. Phankem             |
| 43. Pangmi                  | 44. Pangu      | 45. Para                |
| 46. Poumai                  | 47. Rangpan    | 48. Rasit               |
| 49. Rekho                   | 50. Rengma     | 51. Rongmei             |
| 52. Sangtam                 | 53. Saplo      | 54. Shangphuri          |
| 55. Singpho                 | 56. Sira       | 57. Somi                |
| 58. Sumi                    | 59. Tarao      | 60. Tangkhul            |
| 61. Thangal                 | 62. Tangsa     | 63. Tikhir              |
| 64. Wanchao                 | 65. Yimchunger | 66. Zeme. <sup>14</sup> |

Thus, the total number of Naga tribes is sixty-six (66). However, besides, the above mentioned Naga tribes, there are many unrecognized Naga tribes, which are not listed above. Out of these sixty-six (66) Naga tribes listed above, there are about thirty-six (36) Naga tribes in India:

- |                 |              |              |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Anal         | 2. Angami    | 3. Ao        |
| 4. Chakhesang   | 5. Chang     | 6. Chiru     |
| 7. Chothe       | 8. Hewa      | 9. Inpui     |
| 10. Khiamnungam | 11. Konyak   | 12. Koireng  |
| 13. Lamkang     | 14. Liangmai | 15. Lotha    |
| 16. Maram       | 17. Mao      | 18. Maring   |
| 19. Moyon       | 20. Monsang  | 21. Phom     |
| 22. Phochuri    | 23. Poumai   | 24. Rengma   |
| 25. Rongmei     | 26. Sangtam  | 27. Singpho  |
| 28. Sumi        | 29. Tarao    | 30. Tangkhul |
| 31. Thangal     | 32. Tangsa   | 33. Tikhir   |



of the Nagas" and the ban on NSCN was lifted on 26th November, 2002.

The Kukis are found in three countries namely Bangladesh, Myanmar, and India. In Bangladesh, the Kukis are settled in the Chittagong Hill tracts. In Myanmar, the Kukis are found in Sagaing division and Kachin state. In India, according to the Indian Government list of Schedule Tribes; they are in the states of Manipur, Nagaland, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Tripura. According to P.S. Haokip, the total population of the Kukis in two countries i.e., India and Bangladesh is approximately 17.5 lakhs. In the List of Scheduled Tribes, the Government of India recognized the Kukis in different states of North-East India namely, Tripura, Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, except Manipur as 'Any Kuki tribe'. In the state of Manipur, they are recognized under two heads, namely, 'Thadou tribe' and 'Any Kuki Tribe'.

In the state of Manipur, the Kukis are found in all the nine districts but their population more concentrated in the five Hill Districts. They form the second largest population in all the Hill districts. In Nagaland, they are found in three out of eight districts viz., Kohima District, Dimapur District, and Phek District. In Assam, Kukis are concentrated in Karbi Anglong District and North Cachar Hills District. There are Kukis in Tripura and Mizoram too.

In the state of Assam, 'Any Kuki Tribe' includes: Biате, Biете, Changsan, Chongloi, Donggel, Gamalkhou, Gangte, Guite, Hanneng, Haokip, Haupt, Haolai, Hengna, Hongsungh, Hrangkhwal, Rangkhoh, Jongbe, Khawchung, Khawathlang, Khothalong, Khelma, Kholhou, Kipgen, Kuki, Lenthang, Lhangum, Lhougum, Lhoujem, Lhouvum, Lupheng, Mangjei, Misao, Riang, Sairhem, Selnam, Singson, Sitlhou, Sukte, Thadu, Thangngeu, Uibuh, and Vaiphel.<sup>17</sup>

In the state of Mizoram 'Any Kuki tribe (s)' includes: Biате or Biете, Changsan, Chengloi, Dounghel, Gamalkhou, Gangte, Guite, Hanneng, Haokip or Haupt, Haolai, Hengna, Hongsungh, Hrangkhwal or Rangkhoh, Jongbe, Khawchung, Khawathlang, Khothalong, Khelma, Kholhou, Eipgen, Kuki, Lenthang, Lhangum, Lhoujem, Lhouvum, Lupheng, Mangjel, Missao, Riang, Sairhem, Selnam, Singson, Sitlhou, Sukte, Thadao, Thangeu, Uibuh, and Vaiphei.<sup>18</sup>

In Meghalaya, 'Any Kuki Tribe' includes: Biате, Biете, Chongloi, Changsan, Dounghel, Gamalkhou, Gangte, Guite, Hanneng, Haokip, Haupt, Haolai, Hengna, Hongsungh, Hrangkhwal, Rangkhoh, Jongbe, Khawchung, Khawathlang, Khothalong, Khelma, Kholhou, Kipgen, Kuki, Lenthang, Lhangum, Lhoujem, Lhouvum, Lupheng, Mangjel,

Misao, Riang, Sairhem, Selnam, Singson, Sittlou, Sukte, Thado, Thangngeu, Uibuh, and Vaiphei.<sup>19</sup>

In Tripura, 'Any Kuki Tribe' includes the following sub-tribes: Balte, Belalhut, Chhalya, Fun, Hajango, Jangtei, Khareng, Khepong, Kunte, Laifang, Lentei, Mizel, Namte, Paitu, Paite, Rangchan, Rangkhole, and Thangluya.<sup>20</sup>

In Nagaland, it is mentioned as 'Any Kuki Tribe'. This includes all the clans of Kuki. In Manipur 'Thadou Tribe' includes clans like Thadou, Haokip, Kipgen, etc.; and 'Any Kuki tribes' of Manipur includes sub-tribes/clans like Lunkim, Lenthang, Thangeo, Changsang, Thangum, Khulhlu, Gumhlu, Khumthang, Hlanghau, Lupheng, Mate, Lhungdim, Chongthu, Doungei, Haolei, Taothang, Dimgel, Chongloi, and Hangsin, etc.

The Kukis are indigenous peoples of North-East India, Myanmar and Bangladesh. In India, they have civil organizations since the British rule to represent the interests of their people. Since late 1980s, Kukis armed wings have appeared. The demands of these armed wings range from statehood within the framework of the nation state of India to sovereignty. Some of the Kuki militants have signed ceasefire agreement with the government of India. The detailed discussions on these will be found in the main chapters.

The focus of this work is on the Nagas' and the Kukis' ethnic identities and their mutual relations. I have looked into their ethnic identities and war and peace relations with a historical perspective. The area covered by this work includes the India's North-Eastern states; particularly Manipur, Nagaland, and Assam, where these ethnic identities are settled.

This book has six main chapters. The first chapter is on the *Ethnic Identities*. The analysis in this chapter begins with definitions of ethnic identity and the discussion goes on to the various approaches to the ethnic identity, viz., Primordialist/Essentialist, Instrumentalist, and Constructivist. It is done in order to understand approaches to ethnic identity in general and put the case study in the appropriate theoretical frameworks. I have also discussed how the ethnic identities of the Nagas and the Kukis came into being, which were relatively unknown to them, and to the outside world. Today, the Nagas and the Kukis have established separate ethnic entities.

The second chapter is on the *Ethnic Movements*. In this chapter, I have discussed underground or armed wings as well as civil organizations. All the organizations whether armed or civil stand for

ethnies and their interests. The difference between civil organizations and armed wings is that the former used non-violent methods to achieve their goals and are considered legitimate while the latter are regarded as illegitimate as they follow violent path and their goals are generally unconstitutional. As a result of this, the government of India and the armed wings entered peace talks which are still going on.

The third chapter is on the *Historical Background, Political, Religious and Socio-Economic Relations, 1826-1990*. This chapter is about various aspects of their relationships, particularly, political, religious, and economic. The discourses in this chapter begin with their origins, migration, British colonial policy, and the role of native rulers. With this background, this study examines the relationship between the Nagas and the Kukis. The two ethnic groups' relationship is looked at from two different angles i.e., the perspectives of violence and the peace.

The fourth chapter is on *Ethnic Conflict of 1990s*. This chapter is about the Naga-Kuki violent conflict that took place in 1992 and went on for a decade. This study explores various definitions of the terms like 'ethnic cleansing', 'genocide', 'communal clash', and 'ethnic conflict' as employed for the Naga-Kuki conflict by various intellectuals. I have also looked into different views on the violent ethnic conflict including the concerned ethnic groups and the government. This chapter is also a detailed discussion on some of the causes of the violent ethnic conflict of the Nagas and the Kukis. In it, I traced the past relations to the issues that sparked the violence between them in 1992, in Manipur state. The causes encompass not only the relationship of two ethnic groups, but also the role of the government and its agencies, and the condition of Manipur state, that led to the outburst of Naga-Kuki violent conflict.

The fifth chapter is on *The Changing Nature, 1956s*. In this chapter, I have analysed how the conflict spread to other areas and why it spread to other areas. I have also narrated some of the incidents of violence that took place during the Naga-Kuki conflict to show the severity, brutality, and barbarism of the violent conflict between the Nagas and the Kukis. Furthermore, I have selected some incidents to show how human rights were violated by those who were sent to quell the violence and protect the civilians.

The sixth chapter is on *The Process of Transformation and Restoration of Normalcy*. This chapter is a discussion on the peace process during and after the conflict for the restoration of normalcy

between these two ethnies viz., the Nagas and the Kukis. I have discussed the role of the Government of India, different non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Churches, and various individuals, etc. I mentioned how the violence between these two communities has now come to an end. For this, there are many, who are still working on confidence building measures between the two groups and trying to bring about peace in the region.

### Sources

The sources for this study include the primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include both unpublished and published sources. Furthermore, I conducted interviews, held discussions with knowledgeable individuals, and collected the written views from the leaders, and those who have vast knowledge about them. Secondary sources on the relations between the Nagas and the Kukis are limited but most of the available sources, which were within my reach, have been explored. However, the most important question deals with the historical interpretation of these sources. In this context, I have tried my best to apply the relevant historical methods to constitute balanced and contextualised readings of my sources.

### NOTES

1. Dennes L.Thompson and Hans Vermeulen, eds, *Ethnicity, Politics and Development*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado, U.S.A., 1986, p.1.
2. Prasun Sonwalkar, 'Another Flash in N-E', *The Pioneer*, 15th August, 1994.
3. Pranay Sharma, 'Centre's Apathy Fuelling Kuki-Naga Clashes', *The Telegraph*, 20th September, 1993.
4. See B. Pakem, ed., *Insurgency in North-East India*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1997, p. 2.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
6. B. Pakem, ed., *Insurgency in North-East India*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 4-5.
7. Rabijit Choudhuri, 'Indigenous People being brought together in North-East', *The Statesman*, 6th March 1995.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. Wasbir Hussain, 'N-E Tribals Unite for Self-determination', *The Telegraph*, 6th August 1994.
11. *Tribes In Manipur At A Glance*, published by the Directorate for Development of Tribals and Backward Classes: Government of Manipur, 1981.
12. *White Paper on the Naga Integration*, Published by Hekhevi Achumi, Secretary (Finance), Naga Hoho, Nagaland, 2002, p. 64.

13. Wetshokhrolo Lasuh, ed., *The Naga Chronicle*, Regency Publication, New Delhi, 2002, p. 20.
14. *White Paper on Naga Integration*, Published by Hekhevi Achumi, Secretary (Finance), Naga Hoho, Nagaland, 2002, pp. 68-69.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
16. Rabijit Choudhuri, 'Indigenous people being brought together in North-East', *The Statesman*, 6 March, 1995.
17. S.S. Shashi, ed., 'The Tribal World in Transition', *Encyclopedia of Indian Tribes*, Vol. 1, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 21-22.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 38.



## ABBREVIATIONS

---

AIPP	Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact
ATSUM	All Tribal Students' Union Manipur
ANSAM	All Naga Students' Association Manipur
ABCC	Angami Baptist Council of Churches
AMCO	All Manipur Christian Organization
CBCNEI	Council of Baptist Churches in North-East India
CHIKIM	Chin-Kuki-Mizo
CK RF	Chin-Kuki Revolutionary Force
CRN	Committee for the Restoration of Normalcy
FNG	Federal Government of Nagaland
GPRN	Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland
GWM	Good Will Mission
HPC (D)	Hmar People Council (Democracy)
KBA	Kuki Baptist Association
KCA	Kuki Christian Association
KBC	Kuki Baptist Convention
KSO	Kuki Student Organization
KCO	Kuki Christian Organization
KPFHR	Kuki People Forum for Human Rights
KNA	Kuki National Assembly
KNAD	Kuki National Assembly Democratic
KIM	Kuki Inpi Manipur
KTU	Kuki Tribal Union
KUC	Kuki Union Committee
KNO	Kuki National Organization
KNA	Kuki National Army
KNF	Kuki National Front

KCF	Kuki Commando Force
KFC	Kuki Federal Council
KFC	Kuki Front Council
KDF	Kuki Defence Force
KIA	Kuki Independent Army
KNF	Kuki National Front
KNF-P	Kuki National Front – President
KNF-MC	Kuki National Front—Military Council
KRA	Kuki Revolutionary Army
KNC	Kuki National Council
KNANEI	Kuki National Assembly North-East India
MBC	Manipur Baptist Convention
MNF	Mizo National Front
NHDTCC	Naga Hills District Tribal Council
NNC	Naga National Council
NNC-A	Naga Nationalist Council-Adino
NEITPF	North-East Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Forum
NSCN	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
NSCN-IM	National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Issak Muivah
NBCC	Nagaland Baptist Church Council
NSCN-K	National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Kaplang
NNL	Naga National League
NPMHR	Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights
NSF	Naga Students Federation
NECCC	North-East Congress Coordination Committee
TTC	Thadou Tribe Council
UKLF	United Kuki Liberation Front
UNC	United Naga Council
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization
UNWGIP	United Nations Working Group of Indigenous Populations
VVD	Volunteer for Village Development

## LIST OF TABLES

---

4.1	Expenditure on Maintenance of Police (1990-91—2000-01) – Manipur	120
5.1	The Populations of the Affected Naga and Kuki Villages	136
5.2	The Uprooted Naga Villages, June-September 16, 1992	136
5.3	Affected Naga Villages as on 24th August, 1992	137
5.4	District-wise Distribution of the Naga-Kuki Populations	142
5.5	The Losses in the Naga-Kuki Violent Conflict 1992-1999	145
5.6	Fraternal Green Cross—Volunteers for Village Development (VVD) Records, 1992-1995	146
5.7	Kuki Inpi Manipur's Record, 1992-1996	147
5.8	The Kukis Killed since 1992 to 1996	148
5.9	Nagas Killed or Tortured by Indian Security Forces	157
5.10	List of the Kukis Killed by Security Forces	160

## ETHNIC IDENTITIES

---

A study on the ethnic identity is gaining momentum in the intellectual circles over the world. One of the main reasons is the increase in the ethnic identity problems across the world. However, this does not mean that all the ethnic identities are creating problems. At any given time only a small percentage of ethnies are politically mobilized. Of all ethnies disputes, only a small percentage results in collective violence and even fewer in civil war. Most of the world's ethnies are not fighting each other or other state within which they reside. Of the some 1600 major cultural groupings, less than 300 have recently mobilized in politicized protest or rebellion and only some 30-40 wars are ongoing in a particular year.<sup>1</sup> It is a fact that in today's world, ethnic identities are increasing in numbers. Yet, the ancient existence of ethnic groups could not be dismissed. The Structural-functionalist anticipation that ethnic identities will disappear with the increase in modernization, industrialization, and urbanization has not happened. On the contrary, more and more ethnic groups are emerging with an increase in modernization, industrialization and urbanization. Accordingly, it is anticipated that there will be increase in ethnic identities and problems associated with it. This leads one to believe that the study on the ethnic identity will also be on the rise. In this chapter, I will discuss the approaches and the definitions of ethnic identity. This will include the discourses on the ethnic identities of the Nagas and the Kukis.

### 1.1 Explanations of the Terms 'Identity' and 'Ethnic'

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines 'Identity' as:

- (a) The quality or condition of being a specified person or thing;
- (b) Individuality, personality;

2. Identification or the result of it;
3. The state of being the same in substance, nature, qualities, etc., absolute sameness;<sup>2</sup>

According to C. Larka: "Identity in general is understood as a set of external features and internal traits which, negatively, distinguish an individual, or group of people from others and positively, render uniqueness through specific characteristics. This is the reason why even identical twins with plenty of similarities are two different individuals and so too are two different socio-ethnic groups."<sup>3</sup> These two definitions show us that 'identity' is something that shows uniqueness of a person or group etc., and distinguish it from others.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines 'Ethnic' in four ways:

1. (a) (Of social group) having a common national or cultural tradition;
- (b) (Of clothes, music, etc.) characteristic of or influenced by the traditions of a particular people or culture, one regarded as exotic;
2. Denoting origin by birth or descent rather than nationality (ethnic Turks);
3. Relating to race or culture (ethnic group; ethnic origins);
4. (Archaic) pagan, heathen.<sup>4</sup>

An adjective word 'ethnic' has been used much longer than the noun 'ethnicity'. The former was used in the context of heathen or non-Israelites but since mid-19th century secular connotation has also come into being. In this study the term 'ethnic' is employed synonymously with common culture, common language, common religion, similarity in mindset, similarity of social and political organizations, distinctive geographical boundary, same origin, same race, same way of life, common decent, common history and common aspiration to be achieved, etc., of the people or a group and an ethnic group is distinctive from others. Thus, 'Ethnic Identity' can be defined in this backdrop.

## **1.2 Definitions of Ethnic Identity**

M.N. Karna defines ethnic identity as: "subjective and symbolic use of certain elements of culture by a group of people to differentiate themselves from other groups."<sup>5</sup> C. Larka observes: "ethnic identity is a much stronger term than tribal identity, because, the former refers to their own perception of identity, while the latter refers to

the term attributed to them from outside. The question of retaining one's identity is, therefore, related with ethnic identity. The components of such identity are common origin, common language, and similarity of social and political organizations, common religion (belief system), and a distinct geographical boundary. All these further define common aspirations to be achieved. These serve as the sources of strength and unity of a particular ethnic group."<sup>6</sup> Paul Brass opines, "A nation therefore may be seen as a particular type of ethnic community or an ethnic community politicized, with recognized group rights in the political system."<sup>7</sup> These writers define ethnic identity as a stronger or greater term than tribal identity and compares to nation's identity. Secondly, ethnic identity as subjective and objective or symbolic use by the members of a group to categorize themselves as distinct group and differentiate themselves from others. Thus, ethnic identity is an identity of ethnic group united by common origin, common way of life, common culture, common language, common religion, similarity in mindset, similarity of social and political organizations, distinctive geographical boundary, common decent, common history, and common aspirations to be achieved, etc. Further, it has features to distinguish and differentiate from others and 'they' and 'we' are the features of ethnic identity. Therefore, it is subjective and an objective markers which unite the members of a group and differentiate themselves from others. And many scholars advocated that ethnicity is synonymous with nation-state and ethnic identity with national identity.

In the assertion of ethnic identity by an ethnic group C. Larka clarifies: "an ethnic or cultural group does not become aware of its identity unless it is challenged by those who are non-members. It becomes problematic when its very existence is threatened by other more superior and powerful cultural groups."<sup>8</sup> Shalina Mehta explains: "various religious, culture, and linguistic diversities occupying the Indian sub-continent are specified communities to which every member subscribes with a sense of belonging. They have their respective histories and many other intra-community commonalities. The sense of belonging, which keeps the members of these communities together irrespective of their geographical placements, is termed as 'core Identity'. However, members of these communities may not assert or even express these inherent associations ordinarily. It is only under situation of stress and on threat to their ethnic identity that they may express themselves

collectively."<sup>9</sup> These observations show that the members of ethnic group assert their identity when there is threat. Besides this, ethnic groups also assert their identity when there is profound ethnic consciousness and nationalism, and want to achieve certain goals, which results from awareness brought by modern education and interaction with other advanced groups etc.

### **1.3 Approaches of Ethnic Identity**

There are debates among the scholars working on the ethnic identity. The three general approaches to ethnic identity are: firstly, 'Primordialism', also called 'Essentialism', is very popular among non-scholarly circles, but has very few proponents in the scholarly world. In academic world, Clifford Geertz (1973) and Walker Connor (1994) popularized the term 'Primordialism'.<sup>10</sup> According to the primordial theory 'ethnic identity' is an inherent aspect; it existed since the beginning and it is not a recent or modern phenomenon. Further, the elements or cultural elements that constitute 'ethnic identity' are inbuilt and intrinsic. The second approach is called 'Instrumentalism' or 'Situationalism' or 'Circumstantialism' or 'Interactionalism'. It came to attack 'Primordialists' view in the late 1960s and 1970s. Frederick Barth (1969) and Nathan Glazer, and Daniel P. Moynihan (1975) popularized the theory of instrumentalism. According to instrumentalists view 'ethnic identity' is a product of 'interaction'. The elite for the attainment of their interests uses this ethnic identity. The instrumentalists view emphasizes on ethnic boundary and the process of recruitment but not on the cultural stuff that the boundary enclosed and also consciousness of the group in relation to others.<sup>11</sup> Thus, for instrumentalists, ethnic group is formed by interaction; ethnic group is an interest group, and ethnic identity is an instrument to achieve its interest.

The third view is 'Constructivism'. Constructivists opposed ethnic identity as an inbuilt aspect advocated by Primordialists and as an instrument to achieve their interest as believed by Instrumentalists. It focuses on the consciousness, ideology, abstract, subjective and imaginary aspects, etc. For the Constructivist, "ethnic identities are socially constructed, opposed inherent affective quality of ethnic relations, and the Constructivist emphasis on the metaphor and rhetorical power of kinship. The emotional power of kinship and home is so transferred to the larger group of people."<sup>12</sup> The central claim of constructivism is that the formation of ethnic or national identities is a modern phenomenon.

Identities in pre modern times tended on the whole to be face-to-face and operated on a small scale. Ordinarily people rarely interacted beyond their local environments and identities were considerably flexible. Extra local communities did not include 'the people'; such larger communities consisted primarily of the ecclesiastical elite and the court-based aristocracy and nobility. Modernity changed the meaning of identities by bringing the masses into a larger, extra local, framework of consciousness. It made identities and communities wider and more institutionalized.<sup>13</sup> Further, the constructivist emphasis is on the construction of group categories by the knowledge-elite, its promotion by centers of power, and its effects on 'the people'.<sup>14</sup>

Much scholarly disputation has centered upon whether ethnicity is primordial or instrumental.<sup>15</sup> In addition to this is constructivism, which came into sight in recent years. Primordial ethnicity is seen as closely tied to kinship and descent, rigidly bound, enduring, emotionally charged. Instrumental (situational) ethnicity is thought to be ambiguous, changeable, driven by considerations of advantage or disadvantage in the pursuit of immediate interests. Indeed, it has long been recognized that ethnic boundaries are often permeable and changeable because of territorial intermingling, continuous variations in cultural traits, inter ethnic interactions, intra ethnic diversity, and state interventions. But the inclusive reality is that ethnies are both primordial and circumstantial—some are fluid, others rigid; some endure over centuries, others are short lived.<sup>16</sup> Further, there exist explorations of common inherent elements and construction of common symbols to add to their known inherent traits of the ethnic groups. Moreover, in recent years, some ethnies appeared and some ethnies have disappeared—either absorbed by dominant ethnies or extinct. Thus, the three theories need serious attention in the study of ethnic identity.

#### **1.4 Ethnic Identities of the Nagas and the Kukis**

The Nagas and the Kukis are maintaining their separate identities. When one looks at both the Nagas and the Kukis, they share many similarities. These similarities existed right from the time the theories of their origins started. The Nagas, according to H. Horam, at first lived in stone caves or in the womb of the earth.<sup>17</sup> S.P. Vaiphei concludes, "They (Chin-Kukis-Mizo) came out from a cave or Khul or Khur or sinlung."<sup>18</sup> According to T.C. Hodson, the Naga, Kuki, and Meetei descended from a common ancestor.<sup>19</sup> Thus,



the theories of cave as their origin are similar between the Nagas and the Kukis. Further, they all pointed the location of the cave to the southwestern China. The folktales and folksongs on their migrations also mentioned the same names of some of the places, countries, rivers and mountains they crossed, but there are variations in how they reached their present habitation, and the time scale in occupying their present settlements. Both these communities are linguistically grouped under Tibeto-Burman of Sino-Tibetan family and are racially classified as the Mongoloid race. In their political organization, the Kukis are distinguished by hereditary chief whereas the Nagas are democratic in nature, but among the Naga tribes like Sema and Konyak tribes, there is a similarity with the Kuki political organization. In the sphere of religion, both the communities were animists but today they profess Christianity (except a few in each). There are many other similar traits between them, which are not dealt here. Despite such similarities both safeguard their ethnic identities as distinct. The question is: why and how is this done? To understand it, one has to begin with the appellations of 'Naga' and 'Kuki'.

#### **1.4.1 The Term 'Naga'**

The existence of the term 'Naga' has been traced generally to Ptolemy of 2nd century A.D. The first mention of the Nagas as a people inhabiting their present land was made by Claudius Ptolemy, the Greek philosopher and historian in 150 A.D. Claudius Ptolemy mentioned in his book *Geographia*, the Nagas as Nagalagoi (the realm of the naked, Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia*, Vol.II (II), page 18).<sup>20</sup> The Royal Chronicles of Manipur also mentioned the Naga country and the people.<sup>21</sup> Since the 13th century, Buranji of Assam mentioned the word 'Noga' or 'Naga', whatever the pronunciation or derivation or meaning of the term 'Naga', the word 'Naga' existed for the peoples occupying a land between and outside Assam kingdom and the Manipuri Kingdom since the first A.D.

It is interesting to note that in the Royal Chronicle of Manipur some of the present day Kukis' sub-tribes/clans are mentioned as Nagas. For instance, 'Yaraba conquered Naga villages of Hawkip Chingshang', and 'Koirembe conquered the village of Khongjai Nagas and brought one captive'. The period referred to is approximately 747 A.D. and 1507-08 respectively.<sup>22</sup> Hawkip or Haokip is a clan of Thadou Kuki/Kuki and Khongjai is synonymous to the term Kuki or sub-tribes of Kuki. These sorts are also

mentioned in the subsequent pages of the Royal Chronicle of Manipur. If one follows the writings in the Royal Chronicle of Manipur, the word Naga was also used for the present day Kuki clans/sub-tribes.

On the origin of the term Naga, M. Horam clarifies, "whosoever first called the Nagas by that name and whatever the word may mean, the Nagas themselves knew each other by the name of the tribe to which they belonged. Even the present tribal names, like Angami, Ao, Lotha, Sema and Tangkhul, seem to have been coined by outsiders, most probably by the British Administrators."<sup>23</sup> He further states: "The present awareness of being one people was understandably absent among the Nagas till very recently."<sup>24</sup> Gangmumei Kabui observes: "The Naga tribes call themselves by their tribal names. In the early period, the name Naga was not known. But it was the outsiders like the Assamese, Bengali, and Ahom with whom they had very wide contact, gave this name to the tribes."<sup>25</sup> According to *Uniqueness of Naga History*, the word Naga was derived from the word 'Na' 'Ka' given by Burmese. It says, "the meaning of the word 'Naga' a translation of Burmese word 'na' 'ka' ('na' means ear, and 'ka' means holes according to Burmese). In this way, the word 'Naga' emerged".<sup>26</sup> This means that the term Naga is given by the Burmese. The above discussions mean that, the name 'Naga' and the present tribal names were given by the outsiders. Further, the awareness as Nagas among them came very recently.

Therefore, the name 'Naga' was not coined by them but was given by outsiders. Despite, the existence of the word Naga since second century A.D. the tribes of Naga knew each other by the names of the tribes. The popularity and the regular use of the term 'Naga' as an appellation for the various tribes came only during the British rule; even then their tribal names are still retained and used under the common appellation –'Naga', which is also believed to be given by outsiders. It is a fact that the word Naga has also become a unifying pole for the members of the group. According to T.S. Gangte: "the term Naga has assumed the centripetal force which unites heterogeneous tribal groups that converge the Naga axis, while at the same time maintaining their separate identity zealously. Establishment of the Naga National Council, the ascendancy of Angami Zapu Phizo in the political limelight of the Nagas which took them to the path of secessionist movement in the fifties and the subsequent creation of Nagaland State in 1962;

gained momentum to propound that the term Naga was not a tribe, but a nation."<sup>27</sup>

#### **1.4.2 The Term 'Kuki'**

According to P.S. Haokip, record dating back to 33 A.D., during which Nongba Lairen Pakhangba, the Meetei kings existed, refer to two Kuki Chiefs namely Kuki Ahongba and Kuki Achouba. Cheitharol Kumaba (Royal Chronicles of Meetei kings) notes, in the year 186 sakabda (A.D. 264) Meidungu Taothingmang, a Kuki, became king."<sup>28</sup> This means that the term Kuki existed since first century A.D.

Contrary to this, Reid says: "The first reference was made to the 'Kukis' in 1777 A.D., when these tribesmen attacked the British subjects in Chittagong when Warren Hastings was the Governor General of Bengal."<sup>29</sup> William Shaw writes, "The origin of this word (Kuki) is not known, but it first appears in Bengal, Rawlins writing of the "Cucis or mountaineers of Tipra" in *Asiatick Research* (11, xii.) in 1792."<sup>30</sup> These two quotes show that the term Kuki came to be appeared or used by the British rulers since the later half of 18th century.

Soppit writes that "the designation "Kuki" is unknown to the tribes now so called by the plain people. The designation 'Kuki' is never used by the tribes themselves, though many of them answer when addressed, from knowing it to be the Bengali or plain's term for their people. The address they made to the so-called Kukis are:

1. Rangkhoh
2. Bete
3. Jansen
4. Tadoi.

These terms are used by the villagers, and are their tribal designation in their own respective dialects."<sup>31</sup>

Today, the term Kuki stands for an ethnic group. The term Kuki refers to an ethnic entity that spreads out in contiguous regions in North-East India, North-west Burma (Myanmar), and the Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh.<sup>32</sup>

Thus, the terms 'Naga' and 'Kuki' were given by outsiders and they have no aborigine's origin. The concerned people or to whom they christened the terms were not aware or did not know them, though they understood the terms when addressed to them, since they had their own appellations. The terms 'Naga' and 'Kuki' were

prevalent but not very popular till the advent of the British rule. The British administrators, ethnographers, and political agents, etc., in contacting with these tribes came to use these terms for them not only in their daily discourses, but also in their records and other things. In course of time, they popularized them. Not only the outsiders called them by these terms or suffixing/ prefixing these terms with theirs in course of time but also the tribes themselves came to accept the terms as their own. There was an acceptance of the terms by both the outsiders and the natives as their appellations. Thus, the terms 'Naga' and 'Kuki' came to be known as their ethnic identities.

### ***1.4.3 Classification of the Nagas and the Kukis as Separate Ethnic Entities***

The type of contact between the colonizers and the concerned ethnies i.e., the Nagas and the Kukis varied. While the British rulers came into contact with the Kukis since 18th century in Chittagong, with the Nagas they came into contact only in 1832, which was after the conclusion of the Treaty of Yandabo in 1832.

As stated earlier, the term 'Naga', in the Royal Chronicle of Manipur, is also prefixed or suffixed to the present day Kuki clans/ sub-tribes. In the beginning of British rule, the terms 'Naga' and 'Kuki' were loosely used; sometimes the word 'Naga' was loosely applied to the Kuki clans/sub-tribes and the 'Kuki' to the Naga clans/ tribes. It seems even in the 1881 census, both the Nagas and the Kukis were clubbed together, but thereafter they were grouped separately.

However, this came to be changed later on, particularly with the progress of British rule in North-East India. The British administrators, ethnographers, linguists and political agents distinguished the Nagas and the Kukis by using their own criteria. G.A. Grierson classified the Nagas and the Kukis under two heads as being distinct from the linguistic point of view. Besides language, he also underscores three distinguishing grounds on the basis of their ethnicity: firstly, the Kukis who are closely related to the Chin and Lushais are migrating or shifting their village sites every 4 or 5 years and never undertakes permanent irrigation and terraced rice cultivation by means of irrigation. Their cattle are invariably 'Methan'. Nagas, on the other hand have almost invariably permanent village sites, permanent irrigation and terrace rice fields, and they keep ordinary Indian cattle. Secondly, the Kukis have hereditary Chiefs who are greatly respected. While the Nagas live

in domestic communities and headman, if any, have little or no influence in the village. Thirdly, the Kukis wear their hair long and cover the head with a 'pagri'. The Nagas have their hair short and used no head covering accepting occasionally during festivals or war-period.<sup>33</sup>

There are many more of them, who classified these two groups as distinct by using their invented criteria or borrowed criteria. These classifications made sharp cleavages between these two. During the colonial period, the terms 'Naga' and 'Kuki' came to be legitimate appellations for the tribes to whom they applied. The classification of the Nagas and the Kukis under two heads and the differentiation between these two by using certain yardsticks was the invention of the colonial rulers. The colonial rulers used these terms in their daily discourse, revenue records, census, etc. Many of the yardsticks they used to classify the two are not only ambiguous but also fallacious.

The Government of India followed the same classifications adopted by its British predecessor. The classification between these two communities continues even today; in fact, it has become more widened in its scope. Today, the terms 'Naga' and 'Kuki' have become generic terms, which cover various tribes, sub-tribes, clans, etc. This was accentuated by the dawn of ethnic consciousness amongst them. Today, safeguarding one's ethnic identity has become the task of utmost importance for them. Many writers and scholars of post-Independent India used yardsticks, borrowed from the colonial period or their inventions, to differentiate them as distinct groups. Consequently, the gulf between them became more and more widened, and ultimately this has led them to believe that they are totally different from each other, which means that they overlooked their similarities in terms of origin, race, religion, language, and social and political organizations, etc. Of course, this does not mean that they are entirely homogeneous groups. They have myriads of differences, which mark them as distinct. The point which this study would like to make in this regard is that the two ethnies i.e., the Nagas and the Kukis, have certain inherent elements or traits to unite them under one ethnic group. Secondly, they also have inherent uniqueness to constitute their own distinct ethnic entities. The emphasis of ethnic studies on them was inclined more towards inherent distinctiveness and mostly dismissive of their striking similarities, which are also inborn. Today, the Nagas and the Kukis are firmly established as separate ethnic entities based on their

inherent elements of distinctiveness and differentiation, yet the innate elements signifying similarities cannot be simply brushed aside.

#### **1.4.4 Ethnic Identity of the Nagas**

An appellation 'Naga' has become an ethnic identity of the Nagas and the elements that constituted such an ethnic identity of the Nagas are indeed many. In the *Uniqueness of Naga History*, the following are the common characteristics of the Nagas, which are very distinct from many other societies, have been described.

- 1. Feeling of Nagaism or being a Naga**—This is the highest degree of Naga identity where every individual Naga meets together under the banner of the word 'Naga', the people having pierced ear-holes derived from Burmese word.
- 2. Village democratic principles**—except that of the Sumis and Konyaks, every Naga village is ruled by the nominated village councilors/elders who represent every clan or a group of families. Under this principle, all the general decisions are taken by consensus exhibiting the real democratic spirit.
- 3. Self-rule village administration**—The entire Naga society is a village-based society where every village is self-contained and maintains its autonomy..
- 4. Uniqueness of their identity**—The Naga society means the village society, a clan based and a kind of watertight society having the highest degree of social cohesion is drawn from the village fold. They first owe allegiance to the family, the village, the tribe and lastly to the 'Naga community as being a Naga. This integrated networking system of ethnic loyalty is neither not found in any other society nor is as strong as the Nagas. This is the most unique feature of the Naga society and culture, which is missing amongst many other tribal communities in the world.
- 5. Village Brigade system**—For the purpose of defence, they maintain a full unit of trained young personnel in form of an army brigade (morung system) sentry system in the village which is still prevailing..
- 6. Bounded authority and functions**—Under village authority system, they perform well-established powers

and functions. The village government is vested with supreme power as well as authority over all matters pertaining to village administration of justice. The lawbreakers are then punished according to the merit of the case.

7. **Red tea**—Serving a very simple tea known as *Pikaja*, (red tea) without adding sugar and milk is a common practice.
8. **Rice beer**—A country made liquor is consumed by every Naga tribe especially the men folk. Bamboo cup and mithun's horn are commonly used while serving rice beer.
9. **Cultural dress**—Every Naga tribe has different traditional dresses and garments. Their traditional shawls and dresses are so distinct that speak their ethnic colourful identity. In this way, a given cultural dress signifies a particular tribe. Even within the same tribe, they wear different cultural shawls signifying a particular clan demonstrating their status in society.
10. **Meat sharing practice**—Nagas are heavy meat eaters. Their social structure is determined by this practice; especially among the Aos. One will not find any social gathering without meat.
11. **Gift**—Giving of customary gifts/presents is a common practice adopted since early centuries and institutionalized during the British administration in Naga territory. This practice is still very common in their society today. Customary gifts are honored more than ordinary gifts. Normally, such gifts are not supposed to be refused to whom they are given.
12. **Use of Humor**—Nagas are generally humorous. On any occasion/gathering in either level, of formal or informal, their discussion and debate is characterized by the use of humor.
13. **Hospitality**—Nagas are hospitable by nature and by birth. They respect even a stranger, honor them and protect them. However, once they are mistreated, they take revenge.
14. **Openness of mind**—Unlike many other races, Nagas are in general open-minded people.
15. **Simplicity and honesty**—Nagas are generally very simple and honest.

16. **Respect of the seniors**—Irrespective of gender, status, qualification or position in society, they show respect to the seniors. Seniors are well recognized in the Naga society.
17. **Guarding of women**—Generally, women move first and the men folk follow them while walking either in the street or in the path. A man walking ahead of womenfolk is considered a shame.
18. **Shaking of head**—As a sign of agreement/acceptance of the points or discussion at hand, they shake head through which a consensus opinion can be drawn. This is found mainly amongst the elderly people and the youngsters follow them.
19. **Observance of festivals**—Nagaland is a land of festivals. Ceremonies, dances, ritual practices during festivals are very common in Naga society. In fact, the richness of Naga culture is well demonstrated through such practices.
20. **Belief and practice system**—Traditional knowledge based on social practices and belief system is very common in their society.
21. **Patriarchal system of family structure**—Naga society is a male dominated/male ruled patriarchal society. No matriarchal system of family is noticed. The children maintain the clan title of the father. Women do not inherit landed properties and they do not fully participate in decision-making levels.
22. **Care for dead**—The death of a person is highly respected. The entire village population gathers and observes mourning of the deceased.
23. **Way of living**—The way of living pattern irrespective of tribe is common such as: domestic activities, construction of house, living standard and style, dressing, and simplicity in nature. These are highly appreciable and recordable features.
24. **We feeling**—There is a strong sense of 'we feeling' among the Nagas irrespective of tribes. Feeling of togetherness is one of the best characteristics of any community.
25. **Farming system**—Terrace farming system and shifting cultivation are common practices. These are their main occupations, which are still traditionally oriented.



26. **Rearing system of domestic animals**—They live in the mist of domestic animals, rear them in the home yard. This practice is also highly traditional and customary oriented.
27. **Used of log drum**—This is used for various purposes such as, signals when war breaks out or enemies' attack, jubilation etc., by beating the log drum in unison.
28. **Traditional institutions (dormitory system)**—A kind of bachelors' training centre. This is a famous traditional rural institution, which is sadly disappearing today after the inception of Christianity.
29. **Ear holes**—Piercing of ears irrespective of men and women is a common practice indicating the meaning of the word 'Naga' a translation of Burmese word 'na' 'ka' ('na' means ear, and 'ka' means holes according to Burmese). In this way, the word 'Naga' emerged. This has become their common identity today in terms of their social development.
30. **Tattooing**—Practice of tattooing was common practice among the Nagas especially prior to the advent of Christianity. This practice was not only a part of body decoration but used to secure a distinct identity firstly; by the Naga women to distort their natural beauty, so that they are saved from the Burmese captors, who used to snatch Naga women while living elsewhere in Burma.
31. **Accent**—Their tone of voice is very distinctive whether they speak Nagamese or other languages.
32. **Body structure**—Short stature, flat nose, small eyes, and Mongolian color.
33. **Un-written Customary Laws**—Naga society is a custom bound society where customary laws are supreme than other law.
34. **System of clan exogamy and tribal endogamy marriage** is a common practice. Inter-tribal marriage within the Naga society has become a common practice today.<sup>34</sup>

Besides, the Nagas have unique history and well-defined territory, which is contiguous and compact. If one looks at the ethnic identity of the Nagas, it is well founded as the outsiders, as well as the Nagas themselves accept it. Also, the progress of the Nagas' movement for sovereignty further strengthens it.

According to Kaka D. Iralu: "before 1946, the identity did not have a political or institutionalized form. Our "allotted period" as mentioned in Acts 17:26 came into reality in 1946 when through popular consensus we established ourselves into a nation with a political identity under the institution of the Naga National Council."<sup>35</sup>

However, many sub-ethnic identities are emerging within the Naga identity. For example, Zelianrong and Tenyimi. There are many more who are speculating and desirous to form such sub-ethnic identities. The histories of others have shown that such sub-ethnic identities result in both positive and negative aspects. If communitarian spirits of these sub-ethnic identities are for the development of the Nagas as a whole and play the role of integration then there may be no problem. However, if these sub-ethnic identities have plethora of communitarian spirits for them alone rather than for the entire Nagas as a community then the Naga ethnic identity will be shattered from within itself and also outside forces could easily play a game of divide and rule among the Nagas.

#### ***1.4.5 Ethnic Identity of the Kukis***

It has been discussed earlier as to why and how the term 'Kuki' came to be accepted as the name of a group. The characteristics of the Kukis, according to P. Misao are:

1. Kukis are strictly patriarchal; women had no position in the society.
2. The wealth was measured in terms of their possession of animals.
3. The Kukis lived on the hill-top or slopes and the ground is elevated with bamboo splits or planks. The edges of the two roofs of the house do not touch the ground. There is invariably a veranda; the one side elevated above the ground is for entry inside the house and the other half of the ground is for pounding and whisking paddy.
4. The folk songs are sung in rhythm and movement of dance is slow but steady.
5. Serious manner, the knowledge of pedigrees, the duty of revenge, the taste for treacherous method of warfare, the clannish feeling, the want of power of combination and continued effort, arrogance in victory are the common traits.

6. The men wear a loin-cloth somewhat like a 'Dhoti' and have one or more clothes to wrap around themselves over one shoulder or both. They also wear a cloth as a 'Pugri' about a yard or just a little longer. It is tied round the head with the ends, or one sticking up in front. The women wear a loin-cloth, which is wrapped round their waists and reaches a little over half-way down their thighs. Attached to the cloth, sometimes separately, is a string which is passed round the waist and which holds it up. In addition, they wear a breast cloth, which is wrapped tight round the torso, the outer corner being tucked in at the top at a spot between the left breast and the armpit. Sometimes an additional wrapper is used thrown over the shoulder thus completing their wardrobe. Although the method of fastening seems inadequate, strenuous action does not seem to make their clothes work loose, or fall off.<sup>36</sup>

To add to the above mentioned traits of the Kukis, some additional features are also found:

1. Marriage: The Kukis practiced cross-cousin marriage i.e., marriage between father's sister's daughter/paternal aunt's daughter and mother's brother's son/maternal uncle's son.
2. The Kukis practiced both Joint and Nuclear family systems: The peculiar joint family system is called 'Inherent Joint Family'—the family of the eldest son of the Kuki parents called UPA, which must necessarily have a joint family comprising his parents, unmarried brothers and sisters, and sometimes with married brothers, who have yet to establish themselves. The younger brother of UPA forms the nuclear family of his own. This family ultimately becomes UPA when his first son is married and lives with him.
3. The institution of 'Sawm' as the dormitory of the able bodied youngmen of the village as the primary means of initiation, and education plays a significant role among the Kukis, and it is the manifestation of the style of life they lead.
4. 'Luongman' or Corpse Price is another peculiar system of the Kukis. This is the price for a woman when she dies, and also for her sons. The price is claimed by her father,

or elder/younger sons, in father's absence, as a token of love and affection between the uterine kinsmen.

5. Chieftainship: It is associated with 'UPA' or senior man. 'UPAs are the only persons who can become Chiefs. The Chief post is not elected but hereditary and is passed on from father to his eldest son. The Chief is vested with powers and authority over his subjects, sometimes, the Chief abuses his power and turns into a despot.
6. Inheritance: the eldest son of the parents inherits the property and looks after his parents and younger ones.
7. Concept of territory: The village is the highest political unit among the Kukis, and the Chief of the villages and his Council of Ministers which function within a territorial jurisdiction wielding its political authority, and prerogatives over the villagers in absolute terms are the supreme political power.
8. Village: It is an independent political unit among the Kukis, and the Chief of the village and his Council of Ministers are the political leaders. It is also an important administrative unit.<sup>37</sup>

These are some of the important traits of the Kukis. There are also many other important traits of Kukis, which are not mentioned here.

When one looks at the history of the term 'Kuki' as an ethnic identity, one unearths the present problems to the colonial period. In the colonial period, ethnographers, administrators and the political agents, etc., used the term 'Kuki' for them (Kukis). The Kukis also used it by suffixing or prefixing to their personal and clan names. But a group of them came to denounce it and another group of the Kukis supports it. The one who denounce it are called 'Pro-Thadou' group and the other who advocate the term Kuki are called 'Pro-Kuki'. The contention between these two opposing constellations will be discussed based mainly on three issues: 1. Scheduled tribe recognition, 2. Language, and 3. Church.

Before the three issues are discussed, let's have a glimpse on the notions of the 'Pro-Thadou' and the 'Pro-Kuki' groups. "The main contention of the 'Thadou' protagonist is that 'Kuki' being the nomenclature denoting other ethnic groups of Kuki who do not speak 'Thadou language' as well should not be misused, by calling it as 'Kuki language'. The scope and coverage of the nomenclature

'Kuki' must on no account be made narrow and limited. In the event of the 'Thadou' language being called 'Kuki language', the term 'Kuki' automatically excludes other ethnic groups of erstwhile 'Kuki' and would, therefore, relegate the nomenclature to the level of group appellations, which constitute the term 'Kuki'. The 'Thadou', which is a personal name, must not be treated synonymous to the term 'Kuki' which is a political nomenclature having a far larger meaning and wider scope than the term 'Thadou'.<sup>38</sup>

The contention of the pro- Kuki group is that the term 'Kuki' is a canopy for the various sub-tribes and clans, and the term Thadou is a personal name meant for the descendants of the Thadou alone. In other words it is a clan name like other clans under the term Kuki. Further, in the genealogy tree, Thadou is the younger brother of DOUNGEL and the elder brother of Chongloi, Hangsing and Touthang,<sup>39</sup> Thus, Thadou is not the eldest in their pedigree and the term 'Thadou' could not be used for an appellation of all the clans/sub-tribes under the term 'Kuki'.

Whatever the contention of both the groups, if one looks at the problem, it began with the colonial writers. Prior to the colonial era, the term Kuki appeared but it was the name used by outsiders to address them, each one of them was known by their clan or sub-tribe name. The all encompassing term for them gradually developed during the colonial period. One of the earliest ethnographers as well as administrators who wrote on the Kukis, particularly on North Cachar, was Lt. R. Stewart's *A slight Notice of the Grammar of the Thadou*. This is also an earliest work on the Thadou and was published in 1857 in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XXIV. In this, it was written, "Kuki is unknown and they have no title embracing their whole race, but they call one another by the names of their different clans. They all speak the same language but with a slight modification in the dialects, and it is called among them Thadou-pao, from the name of one of their principal clans."<sup>40</sup> This work has both positive and negative consequences; one consequence was that it gave an upper hand to the term 'Thadou' against the term 'Kuki'. This also came to be the standpoint of pro-Thadou group against the pro-Kuki group.

The problem was accentuated by William Shaw's book. In 1929, William Shaw published a book—*Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, which mentioned that the Kuki groups like: Gangte, Vaiphei, Hmar, Kom, Chiru, Changsan, Lunkim, Hlangam, and Lenthang are under the wing of Thadous. This was a major point of dissention

on the part of the non-Thadous.<sup>41</sup> Many other clans of Kukis also rejected this Thadou dominance. In the genealogical tree of the Kukis, even taking Shaw's genealogy of the Kukis, DOUNGEL clan is an elder brother/clan of the Thadou. It is obvious that other clans will not accept this disparity of the clans, though the Thadou, today, may be more advanced or more in numbers, whatever may be the case, it is unacceptable to other Kuki clans. This was a reason why William Shaw's book was condemned in 1942 in Mongan village in June and in Thanlon village in August.<sup>42</sup> A.K. Ray describe further: "Not only the term 'Thadou' but also the term 'Kuki' was denounced by a large number of Chiefs. In the Khuga Valley Chiefs Conference held on 28.6.1947, the term 'Kuki', was denounced on the ground that it was not their forefather's name. It is a foreign term, they believed, denoting bad meaning. It was also mentioned in the same meeting that the different non-Naga tribes of Manipur should not be branded as Kukis. In the same tone, the term Thadou was also denounced and equality of all the tribes was pleaded in the meeting. In Thanlon, south Manipur, Area Chiefs' Conference was held, where members of the village authority each from 48 villages were present, three proposed national names were put to vote. The result was as follows: Khul-111 votes, Mizo-32 votes, Kukis 14 votes."<sup>43</sup> Thus, in 1947, Chiefs of Kukis discarded the terms 'Thadou' and 'Kuki'.

When such situations were prevailing within the Kuki group, the Indian Government Scheduled Tribes List came out in 1950, and therein, recognized Kuki as a tribe in many states of North-East India. This means that the word 'Kuki' covers various clans/sub-tribes of the Kukis. The Indian Government recognized Kuki as a tribe in the states such as: Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Assam. In the state of Manipur, however, the 'Thadou tribe' and 'Any Kuki Tribes' are recognized since 2001. The reason is that Thadou protested against the Scheduled Tribe List of 1950 recognizing Kuki as a tribe, thus, in the modification list of 1956, the word 'Kuki' was deleted and 'Thadou' inserted. After 1956, various clans of the Kukis formed groups and came forward for recognitions. The largest constellation of Kuki clans for recognition was 'Khongsai'. The term 'Khongsai' covered various clans viz., Lunkim, Lenthang, Thangeo, Changsang, Thangum, Khulhlu, Gumhlu, Khumthang, Hlanghau, Lumpheng, Mate, Lungdim, etc. The second largest group covered clans like Chongthu, DOUNGEL, Haolei, Taothang, Dimgel etc. The third group had Chongloi and Hangsin. These Tribe Recognition Movements of different Kuki

clans came to a halt with the insertion of 'Any Kuki Tribe'.<sup>44</sup> The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 2002, in Part X- Manipur- after entry 29, inserted: 30. Poumai Naga, 31. Tarao, 32. Kharam and 33. Any Kuki tribes." Thus, these four tribes, which included 'Any Kuki tribe' are recognized by the Government of India since 2002. This recognition, for the present, has sufficed the aspirations of the Kukis movements for Schedule Tribe recognition.

However, the Kuki National Assembly of North-East India (KNANEI) has staunchly opposed this. It submitted a memorandum to the Chief Minister of Manipur in this regard. In this memorandum, it was stated: "we came to learn that your Cabinet has already passed and recommended for inclusion of 'Any Kuki tribe(s)' in the Scheduled Tribe List of Manipur State. In this connection, the Kuki National Assembly of North-East India (KNANEI), which is a front partner in your ministry has put forward a very strong and serious objection about the matter, and has taken up an unanimous Resolution that "Any Kuki Tribe" cannot be made, vide its Resolution No. 2 of the 12th General Assembly of KNANEI held on 20-3-1991 at Tuiaphai village Churachandpur District Manipur."<sup>45</sup> Despite this objection raised by KNANEI, "Any Kuki tribe" stands recognized by the Government of India. This has also brought consonance with other states of North-East India like: Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Nagaland.

The second contention between the Pro-Thadou and Pro-Kuki is Language: according to the Pro-Kuki group, the language should be christened as Kuki language and according to the Pro-Thadou it should be called as Thadou language. This language issue began with the Holy Bible translation in 1960s i.e., after the scuffle between these two clusters over Scheduled Tribe List of Manipur. In 1947, a Kuki New Testament Bible was printed, which was translated by Ngulhao Thomsong. During this period, there was no such mêlée. But when the Old Testament Bible was translated, the politics of the usages of the terms-'Kuki' and 'Thadou' aggravated. As a result of this fight the opponents jailed Dr. T. Lunkim the translator of Holy Bible for months.

One could understand their brawl from the following quotes: "The conflict between Thadou language and Kuki language started when the 'Holy Bible' was printed in 1960s and the language was named Kuki. This dispute continued for some years in the Court. One party claims that the language in which the Holy Bible was

written should be Thadou and the other party claimed that it should be Kuki. There is a Kuki Literature Society and a Thadou Literature Society. The Kuki Literature Society has been engaged in the production of textbooks for primary education. Every textbook of the Kuki Literature Society is one and the same as the Thadou people use. As the speakers of the language are divided into two, each side likes to retain their language. The Thadou group alleges that the language cannot be Kuki but it shall be Thadou as there can be no Kuki language.<sup>46</sup> The argument is that Kuki is a generic name meant for a nomenclature for various tribes whether they like it or not. It is argued by the Thadou supporters that Kuki has no language. Kuki supporters on the other hand suggested that Thadou is not a tribe but a name of an ancestor, and Thadou cannot include all Thadou speakers because all the Thadou speakers are not juniors to the Thadou ancestor.<sup>47</sup> The Government of Manipur had even recognized the language of the Thadou as Thadou/Kuki as a medium of instruction at primary level of education. Because of the dispute the order of the government in this regard had been modified by deleting the word Thadou and oblique but retains the word Kuki. At Text-book preparation upto class V grades is in the name of Kuki. Vernacular papers at a higher level is going to be made and accepted under the name of Thadou but not under Kuki.<sup>48</sup>

The above quotes imply that the name for the language is contested between the Pro-Thadou group and Pro-Kuki group. This aggravated their conflict over ethnic identity. One should not fail to understand or see the Government's stance over Pro-Thadou and Pro-Kuki fights; its position has never been firmed or solved their problem as an authority of the state. But its policies or orders, in fact, intensified their conflict as the state stand is never clear and never looked into their historical background and it always oscillate between the two opposing groups. This could be seen from Schedule Tribes List: inserting one term then deleting it and replacing it by the other term when one group or other group pressurizes it and it has become a habitual way of doing things by the government with regards to the Kukis. While such an identity crisis was going on, the general masses of the Kukis were voiceless, and they accepted whatever was thrust on them. This is the case of the Kukis, particularly in the state of Manipur but it has also affected other parts where Kukis resides because they speak the same language and use the same Holy Bible, though they are known and recognized as Kuki tribe/Kukis.



The third point is the establishment of separate Kukis Baptist Associations. The Kukis are found in different denominations of Christianity. The Kuki Baptist Associations/Churches in different states of North-East used the term 'Kuki', even if they split from the parent church. This is not the case in Manipur though they are under an apex convention of the state called Manipur Baptist Convention, which is under an apex Council of Baptist Churches in North-East India (CBCNEI). The Kuki Christian Organization (KCO) was formed in 1943, which consisted of the Thadous.<sup>49</sup> In 1947, the problem erupted between the Nagas and the Kukis in the North-western Baptist Association, which was one of three Baptist Associations in Manipur viz., North-Eastern Baptist Association, Sadar Hill Baptist Association, and North-Western Baptist Association. In 1947, the North-West Baptist Association had its split and the case between the Kukis and the Nagas could not be settled by the Standard Committee of the Associations nor by the Missionaries even in the succeeding 3 years. So, since 1948, the Kukis and the Nagas of Tamenglong area started to have separate Association of their own.<sup>50</sup> In 1949, the Kuki Baptist had its formal fellowship first at Tujangwaichong Baptist Church and the people decided to have their own separate Association, thus, they came to form their separate Association called Kuki Christian Association. It was recognized by the MBC as MBA No.5 and CBCNEI also gave it recognition.<sup>51</sup> This led to the formation of Kuki Christian Association in 1950 and the name was changed to Kuki Baptist Association (KBA).

However, there was infighting in K.B.A., due to the problem of the usage of the term 'Kuki', which led to the formation of Kuki Baptist Churches of North-East in 1955. The Manipur Baptist Convention (MBC) issue: "Another Kuki Baptist Association was also formed by the Kuki Baptist Churches of North-East, Manipur in 1955 ... though they were requested to reconsider the case of forming a separate Association and remain in the parent Association. After sometime, the Association was recognized as Manipur Baptist Association (MBA) No. 6, and CBCNEI also recognized it.... The Kuki Baptist Convention (KBC) was formed at Tutangwaichong on the 16th March, 1958 with the amalgamation of the Kuki Baptist Association (MBC No. 5) and North-East Kuki Baptist Association (MBC No. 6) having its Headquarters at Motbung and a Bible School at Phaicham Centre.<sup>52</sup> Thus, in 1958, both the Associations namely, Kuki Baptist Association and Kuki Baptist Churches of North-East were

amalgamated under the name of Kuki Baptist Convention. This did not remedy the crisis, in fact, it intensified with the emergence of the issue whether the Holy Bible, translated into their language, should be called Thadou or Kuki. The Kuki Baptist Convention and Kuki Baptist Association or Thadou Baptist Association came to be identified as separated bodies and they are both affiliated to the MBC. This did not end the polarization of the Kuki Baptists. When the Scheduled Tribe recognition movements were headed by different clans/sub-tribes of the Kukis, and also MBC and the CBCNEI had abolished the number wise Association, and permitted the naming of associations after their tribe's name. The Chongthu Baptist Association thus came to be established in 1971. In this Association, clans/sub-tribes like Chongthu, DOUNGEL and Touthang etc., are found. Today, they have: Kuki Baptist Convention, Kuki Baptist Association or Thadou Baptist Association, and Chongthu Baptist Association.

Thus, the scuffle over the terms Thadou and Kuki has been continuing for the past many decades and it has created uncertainty to their ethnic identity unlike the case of the Nagas. Not only that, it has also done much irreparable damage to them. To settle their dispute urgently is the need of the hour, so that their future generations have undisputed identity. Lastly, one thing that needs to be remembered is that despite all these fracas on the terms, the term 'Kuki' still remains a popular term for the people both outside and within their tribes. The term 'Kuki' is also used in the names of their organizations both civil and underground such as: Kuki National Assembly (KNA), Kuki Inpi, Kuki Students' Organization (KSO), Kuki People Forum for Human Rights (KPFHR), Kuki National Organization (KNO), Kuki National Army (KNA), Kuki Commando Force (KCF), Kuki Defence Force (KDF), Kuki Front Council (KFC), Kuki Independent Army (KIA), Chin-Kuki Revolutionary Force (CKRF), Kuki National Front (KNF), Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA), and United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF), etc.

#### **1.4.6 Comparison between the Nagas and the Kukis**

There is a difference between the Nagas and the Kukis in using the terms: for the Nagas, the term 'Naga' has successfully become an appellation of their ethnic identity but for the Kukis, it is shrouded in uncertainty with problems persisting despite its establishment. Unlike the Nagas, Kukis have a problem in using the term 'Kuki' as an appellation of their identity due to the

opposition from within, but the term 'Kuki' still retains its popularity, and the government recognition of 'Any Kuki Tribe' in Manipur has solved the problem to some extent. T.S. Gangte notes some important contrasting factors between the Nagas and the Kukis: "Every Naga tribe occupies compact, well-knit, well-demarcated and well defined areas contiguous to the other tribes. Their physical proximity makes it possible for regular social intercourse among themselves. Thus, while maintaining their identity separately, social mobility and fusion are possible among them. They are also not very much subjected to outside influence to entertain variegated opinions. Unlike the Nagas, the Kukis are scattered all over the hill areas of Manipur...resulting from nomadic habit... the Kukis have been greatly influenced by the people with whom they have come into contact through time and space in their approach to their ethnic identity. Second factor is the tribal institutions: While the form of government among the Nagas was democratic in nature, the Kukis had the autocratic form or despotism. The Nagas did not find strange the changing circumstances as they were under democratic form of Government. But for the Kukis who have been under despotism could not adjust. This led to direct conflict and variegated opinions on the question of common identity. Thirdly, language factor has a great role to play. Exemplary to their political wisdom, and as witness to the process of assimilation, the Nagas are able to evolve, at the height of linguistic diversity, a common language called Nagamese, a pidgin Assameses, at the National level. In contrast, the Kuki tribes while using their respective dialects or one of the dialects of the tribes can communicate among themselves."<sup>53</sup> Thus, there are remarkable differences between the Nagas and the Kukis.

### NOTES

1. Neil, J. Smetser, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 7, Cambridge University Press, U.K., 2001, p. 4809.
2. Della Thompson, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Ninth Edition, Oxford University Press, 1995.
3. C. Larka, 'Christianity and Tribal Identity', *Religion and Society*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, June 1989, p. 31.
4. Della Thompson, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, Ninth Edition, Oxford University Press, 1995.
5. M.N.Karna, 'Ethnic Identity and Socio-Economic Process in North-Eastern India', in K. Aggarwal, ed., *Dynamics of Identity and Inter-group Relations in North-East India*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study Rashtrapati Nivas.

- Shimla, 1999, p. 29.
6. C. Larka, 'Christianity and Tribal Identity', *Religion and Society*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, June 1989, p. 32.
  7. Paul Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1991, p. 20.
  8. C. Larka, 'Christianity and Tribal Identity', *Religion and Society*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, June 1989, p. 32.
  9. Shalina Mehta, 'Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society', *The Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. 42, No. 3, July- September, Lucknow, India, 1989, p. 265.
  10. Neil, J. Smetser, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 7, Cambridge University Press, U.K., 2001, p. 4810.
  11. Cora Govers and Hans Vermeulen, eds., *The Politics of Ethnic Consciousness*, Houndmills, MacMillan Press, 1997, pp. 4-5.
  12. *Ibid.*, p.12.
  13. Neil, J. Smetser, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Vol.7, Cambridge University Press, U.K., 2001, p. 4811.
  14. *Ibid.*, p. 4812.
  15. *Ibid.*, p. 4806.
  16. *Ibid.*, p. 4806.
  17. H. Horam, *The Naga Polity*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1975, p. 30.
  18. S.P. Vaiphei, *In Search of Identity*, Kuki-Chin Baptist, Imphal, 1986, p. 26.
  19. See T.C. Hodson, *The Meteis*, London, 1908.
  20. *White Paper on Naga Integration*, Published by Hekhevi Achumi, Secretary (Finance), Naga Hoho, Nagaland, 2002, p. 5.
  21. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
  22. See L. Joychandra Singh, ed., *The Lost Kingdom* (Royal Chronicle of Manipur), Prajatantra Publishing House, Imphal, 1995, pp. 1-4.
  23. Horam, *Naga Polity*, B.R Publishing House Corporation, Delhi, 1975, p. 24.
  24. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
  25. Gangmumei Kabui, 'Genesis of the Ethnoses of Manipur', in Naorem Sanajaoba, ed., *Manipur Past and Present*, Vol. III, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1995, p. 24.
  26. *Uniqueness of Naga History*, Concerned Senior Citizens' Forum, Mokokchung, Nagaland, 2005, pp. 23-30.
  27. T.S. Gangte, *The Kukis of Manipur: A Historical Analysis*, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993, p. 232.
  28. P.S. Haokip, *NSCN (IM) Massacre of over 900 innocent Kukis Uprooting over 350 Kuki villages wrongly termed as "Kuki and Naga Public Clashes*

50. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
53. T.S. Gangte, *The Kukis of Manipur: A Historical Analysis*, Gian Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 227-231.

\* I disagree with the writers who say that the Anal was an old Kuki elsewhere and then joined the Naga Identity. To the author the term old Kuki is misnomer and the affinities, if any, are to be looked from broader perspective i.e., the Nagas and the Kukis than between the Kukis and the Anals or Lamkangs or Moyons or Monsangs, etc.

## Other Books of Your Interest

- ▷ Anal : A Transborder Tribe of Manipur  
\* Gangmumei Kabui; foreword, B.K. Roy Burman Rs. 70
- ▷ A Dictionary in English, Bengali and Manipuri Rs. 300
- ▷ Discovery of North-East India—Geography, Sharma & History, Culture, Religion, Politics, Sociology, Science, Education and Economy (11 vols.) \* S.K. Usha Sharma Rs. 11000 (set)
- ▷ Documents on North-east India—An Exhaustive Survey  
\* S.K. Sharma Rs. 9000 (set of 11 vols.)
- ▷ Election Politics in Manipur \* A.P.K. Singh Rs. 1500
- ▷ Ethnic Tensions in Indian Society \* P.N. Rastogi Rs. 210
- ▷ Gazetteer of Naga Hills and Manipur \* B.C. Allen Rs. 495
- ▷ Global Peace and Anti-Nuclear Movements \* Badruddin Rs. 495
- ▷ Global Poverty Terrorism and Peace \* Himanshu Bourai Rs. 695
- ▷ From Phizo to Muivah —The Naga National Question in North East India \* A. Lanunungsang Ao Rs. 500
- ▷ International Conflicts and Peace Making Process  
\* Satish Chandra & Mala Chandra Rs. 895
- ▷ Manipur : Treaties and Documents (1110-1971)  
\* Naorem Sanajaoba (Ed.) Rs. 550 (Vol. 1)
- ▷ Mao Naga Tribe of Manipur \* L.M. Maheo Rs. 295
- ▷ Naga Population and Integration Movement—Documentation  
\* U.A. Shimray Rs. 595
- ▷ The North East Frontier of India  
\* A. Mackenzie Prefactory Intn.by B.K. Roy Burman Rs. 360
- ▷ Nuclear Policy and National Security \* A. Chand Rs. 395
- ▷ Peace and Development in Northeast—A Virtuous Spiral  
\* P.L. Sanjeev Reddy & P.C. Shekar Reddy Rs. 1295
- ▷ Problem of Communalism in India \* Ravindra Kumar Rs. 100
- ▷ The Sarvodaya Movement-Gandhian Approach to Peace and Non-violence \* S. Narayanasamy Rs. 450
- ▷ Social Movements and Violence \* Joseph Thomas Rs. 695
- ▷ Social Movements in Manipur \* N. Joykumar Singh Rs. 350
- ▷ Socio-Cultural and Religious Life of Mao Naga Tribe  
\* M. Daniel Rs. 300
- ▷ Socio-Political Movements in India \* Ranjit Kumar De Rs. 595
- ▷ The Unrest Axle—Ethno-Social Movements in Eastern India  
\* Gautam Kumar Bera Rs. 550
- ▷ Unquiet Valley \* N. Lokendra Singh Rs. 375
- ▷ Wars, Proxy-Wars and Terrorism—Post Independent India  
\* Peter Wilson Prabhakar Rs. 450
- ▷ Wounded Land—Politics and Identity in Modern Manipur  
\* John Parratt Rs. 550



# Mittal Publications

4594/9, Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110 002 (INDIA)  
Tel.: 23250398, 25351493 Telefax: 91-11-25351521

E-mail : info@mittalbooks.com, Website: www.mittalbooks.com

ISBN 81-8324-



9 788183 1243