

The Zomi-Kuki Intra-Ethnic Armed
Conflict of 1997-98 in Manipur
Causes and Consequences

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Dr. Th. Siamkhum



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A brief Investigator's Note

The present research Project Work, entitled, "The Zomi-Kuki Intra-Ethnic Armed Conflict in Manipur, 1997-1998: Causes and Consequences", is an attempt to uncover and high light the man-made tragedies and sufferings of innocent men, women, aged, children and even, infants. It is also, an attempt to find out as to what really are the factors responsible for the outbreak of an armed conflict of such high magnitude on the life of every individual member of the two-warring community. The present work also aims at giving suggestions and opinions for preventive measures that could be taken for the prevention of the outbreak and recurrence of another war of this nature and magnitude.

Since there is hardly any written document to rely on, except a few articles from Wikipedia, Zogam.com etc, the investigator had to heavily rely on interview with people from the communities who are the living witnesses of the war, and who are directly or indirectly effected by the war, and giving of questionnaires to the people from both the community at war etc. The investigator, in the process of investigating was faced with different problems relating to the reluctance of effected people, in many case, to provide information sought for. Since the selected topic is a highly a sensitive topic, that most directly affected people are reluctant to provide information which makes it

more difficult to complete the work during the stipulated period.

Dr. Th. Siamkhum
Investigator

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Abstract

The Kukis and the Zomis, the two ethnic brothers who are engaged in a bloody intra-ethnic armed conflict in Manipur, from June 24th, 1997 to October 1998. They belong to one ethnological group called "Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki" They are called and referred to as Chin in Myanmar, Mizo in Mizoram and Kukis and Zomi in Manipur. The conflict started from the early 1990s, but an open armed conflict started from June 24th, 1997.

It was on the mid-night of June 24th, 1997, cadres of Kuki community based armed group, Kuki National Front, entered Saikul Paite Zomi village and shot dead 10 people and injured 5 others on the pretext of giving shelter to the NSCN(IM) cadres, which, however, was flatly refuted by the villagers. The Paite Zomis, on the following day, started retaliation by attacking the Thadou residents and localities in the town with whatever weapon they have, burnt down houses belonging to Thadou Kukis. Thereafter, the two-armed cadres of Kukis and Zomis, KNF (Kuki National Front) and the ZRA (Zomi Re-Unification Army) along with the Zomi National Volunteers (ZNV), respectively are directly involved in the conflict. According to Government record 352 people were killed and 136 people were injured, 50 Villages were destroyed, and 4670 houses were burnt down to ashes along with properties therein. Peace was finally restored in October 1998 when the Kukis Innpi, on behalf of

the Kuki Community offered an apology to the Zomis for killing 10 people and injuring 5 others by killing a cow. In response to the good gesture of the Kuki Innpi, the Zomi Council killed a pig.

The conflict is believed to have been caused by the heavy inflow of the refugees from the war-torn district of Manipur. The heavy, inflow of refugees was believed by the Zomis to have disturbed the population balance and the peaceful environment of the district. Also, lack of unity in finding common nomenclature is believed to be one of the causes of the conflict. While the Thadou speaking people projected and tried to impose Kuki as the common nomenclature for all tribes of Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki in Manipur, the Zomi led by the Paite speaking Zomis projected Zomi as the common nomenclature. Therefore, the issue of having a commonly acceptable nomenclature appears to be the major issue for which the two community of the same ethnic group fought such a bloody war. However, the most immediate cause of the conflict was the killing of 10 people and injuring 5 others in Saikul Paite village.

The conflict has a far-reaching consequences on the relation between the two ethnic brothers. There has always been a psychological war between the two community till today, 20 years after the conflict. On any issue, be it political, social or otherwise, they are persistently in the opposite camps. Those people whose houses were burnt down to ashes along with whatever they have, are still suffering from mental wound needing mental melody.

Chapter -I

Introduction

The Zomis and the Kukis, the two ethnic brothers who are engaged in a bloody intra-ethnic armed conflict in Churachandpur district of Manipur, from June the 24th, 1997 to October,1998, are one and the same group of people, belonging to one and the same Chin—Mizo/Zomi—Kuki ethnic family. As people of the same ethnic group, they share one and the same origin, the same history, culture and tradition etc. They speak different, but closely and intimately related dialects belonging to Tibeto-Burma group of languages; they belong to Mongoloid racial stock.

The Zomis and the Kukis, predominantly occupied Churachandpur district in the state of Manipur. Apart from Churachandpur district, the Kukis (Thadou-Kukis, in particular) spread over all the hill districts of the State; while they command majority in the newly created Kangpokpi district, the Kukis are in minority in the rest of the hill districts including Churachandpur district. On the other hand, the Zomis, a conglomeration of different tribes; Paite, Zou, Simte, Vaiphei, Kom, Mate, Tedim-Chin, and a section of Gangte speaking people, etc. heavily dominated Churachandpur district, forming nearly 70% of the total population of the districts. The Zomis, led by

the Paites also inhabited the extreme eastern part of the state of Mizoram in India and the North-western part of Chin-Hill of Myanmar. However, they are not, unlike the Kukis, spreading in other hill districts of the State of Manipur. They are, however, found, though in negligible number, in the state capital of Imphal Manipur.

Chapter -II

The Conflict

During the late 1980s, there was a mushroom growth of armed organisations in Manipur including hill areas. Initially, armed groups among the Kukis were formed with the aim to protect the areas they occupied in Senapati, Chandel, Ukul and Tamenglong districts. The KNF(P) (Kuki National Front, "Presidential"), the first armed group among the Kukis was formed in the late 1980s, which was followed by the formation of KNO (Kuki National Origination), another armed insurgent group of the Kukis. On the other hand, the Nagas, with the aim to protect their areas of habitation against the encroachment of the Kukis, formed Naga Lim Gourd, which played a pro-active role in protecting their occupied areas. From the early part of 1990s, and to be more precise, 1992. the two opposing armed groups; the Naga Lim Gourd and the KNF started violent activities against each other. The main problem, was between them was overlapping of claim over ownership right on land. By 1993, the two opposing armed group fought a full-scale war, and more than 900 people from the Kuki community were killed, and almost the same number of people from the Nagas were also killed. Majority of those killed from both sides are unarmed civilians who had nothing do with the war.

Tens of thousands of people from both side were made homeless, and many more were displaced. Thousand of Kukis, in particular, moved and settled down in Churachandpur district, which until then, was comparatively a peaceful district. The mass-migration of Kukis from war-torn districts of Senapati, Chandel, Ukhul and Tamenglong, into Churachandpur district of Manipur, started disturbing the population balance and the peaceful atmosphere of the district. This development in the district was much resented to by the Paites, in particular, and the Zomis in general, who commands majority in the district. They were apprehensive of the possible Kukis domination of the district, and started developing an anti-Kukis feeling which was much resented to by the Kukis, particularly, the KNF(P) This development has further strained the already strained relation between the two ethnic brothers. While the Kukis, the Thadou speaking Kukis, in particular, took the reluctance of the Paite Zomis to support their ethnic brothers in their war with the Nagas. The Kukis, to be more precise, the KNF(P) took the refusal of Paites to lend support to their ethnic brothers in the war, as a support for the Nagas.

Consequent upon, the KNF(P), which was engaged in fighting the Naga, particularly, the Naga Lim Gourds, started penetrating into Churachandpur district, which until then, was the most peaceful district in Manipur. They(KNF(P)) started collecting taxes from business establishments and individual money lenders. Demand letters were being served to individuals. including the Paites

Zomis who refused to accept Kuki nomenclature, and who claim themselves as belonging the Zomis and not Kuki. In the meantime, Naga-Kuki ethnic armed conflict continued unabated and Kuki refugees from the war-torn districts of Senapati, Tamenglong, Ukhul and Chandel continued pouring in into the district (Churachandpur). This development has created a warlike situation in the district between the Kukis and different tribes under the Zomi nomenclature; Paite, Simte, Vaiphei, a section of Gangte, Mate, Zou, Kom, etc. The fact of the matter is that the Paites and those tribes having loyalty to the Zomi nomenclature as mentioned above, were not ready to accommodate further the displaced Kukis from other districts. This has created a kind of situation that was likely to lead to an open armed confrontation between the Kukis and the Zomis. Skirmishes, incident of killings, kidnappings etc had become frequent occurrence. In the meantime, the Zomi Re-unification Organisation (ZRO), which was established earlier in 1993, formed its armed wing, Zomi Re-unification Army (ZRA) with the aim to protect those tribes under the Zomi nomenclature from the onslaught of the KNF(P).

Though there had been perpetual antagonism between the Kukis and the Zomis, led by the KNF(P), a frontal armed group of the Kukis and ZRA (Zomi Re-Unification Army) a frontal armed organisation of the Zomis, respectively. There was no, as yet, an open-armed confrontation between the Zomis and the Kukis till 1996 with the exception of isolated incidents of skirmishes.

Sequence of event leading to the conflict between the two ethnic brother:

Sequence of events leading to the actual outbreak of open armed conflict could be seen as under :-

1. Mr. SK Taitom, SDC, Churachandpur and Henglep was murdered cold-blooded by KNF(P) on march 10, 1995
2. On December 01,1995, Sema Nagas, Mr. Kiboto Sema (21) S/o Mr. S.H Kashito, both from Zunhebhuto District of Nagaland were found murder near Tuinom Cemetery. No Organisation claimed responsibility though unconfirmed sources maintain that it could be the handy work of KNF(P)
3. On the 19th February, 1996 at noon a Government Quarter Type II located at Headquarter veng occupied by two families, T. Khamzachin's and V. Chinzagin's families, respectively, was burnt down to ashes, along with property worth Rs. 64,150/-. No party, either KNF(P) nor any other Organisation claimed responsibility.
4. On the 9th April, 1996 the escort party of T. Tualkhanpau MPS, SP, Bishenpur was ambushed killing T. Tualkhanpau and 8 members of his escort party and two civilians including wife of T.Tualkhanpau. No organisation claimed responsibility for the

ambush. However, considering the site of the ambush, KNF(P) is believed to be involved in the ambush.

5. May 27, Mr. Ginhauthang and Chinkhotuan were beaten to death at Senapati for suspicion them to be Kukis whereas they are not. The two victims belong to Paite tribe from Churachandpur.
6. On the 25th July, 1996, some armed personnel attacked Mr. Naik Lianhnun Thomte, and tried to snatch his arm at Churachandpur Post Office which he was guarding. As Naik Lianhnun, instead of giving up his arm, refused to give up his arm, and had a fight with them. In the ensuing scuffle, Naik Lianhnun Thomte belonging to a Paite tribe was finally overpowered, and was shot dead. The KNF(P) was believed to be behind the killing by the Paites.
7. On the 26th July, 1996, Mr. Khama Vaiphei, a Shaktiman Driver, was beaten to death by personnel of Bihar Regiment who claimed that he (Mr. Khama) refused to stop even after he was asked to stop for checking.
8. On the 3rd September, 1996, at 2am cadres of KNF(MC) attacked ZRA cadres at Chongkhosou and killed Mr. Zamkhai and his two daughters, Baby Chongneihou (6) and Baby Nemphahoi (4) in the ensuing shoot-out 4 people were mortally injured.

9. On the 19th October, 1996, Mr. Guite Suanthang, of Mission veng, Hiangtam Lamka was shot at by Mr. Holkhosei, mortally wounding him.
10. On the 29th October, 1996, Mr. Rohlira Parte (50) MPS, SDPO, Churachandpur and his escort party was ambushed at Tualnuam on Tedim road by KNF(P) and killed Mr. Rohlira Parte and one personnel of his escort party, Pishak Singh and four members of his escort party were seriously injured.
11. It was on November 25, 1996 at 5pm cadres of KNF(P) ambushed ZRA cadres at Singngat Cemetery. There was, however, no casualty on both side.
12. On the 3rd January, 1997 cadres of KNF(P) attacked Mualdak Vaiphei (Zomi) Village within Henglep Sub-Division. Though there was no report of death, it was reported that 5 Villagers were mortally wounded and were brought to Churachandpur Civil Hospital for treatment. There was widespread condemnation of the KNF(P) for the act.
13. On the 8th January, 1997 Hauzel Travel carrying students on excursion was fired upon by cadres of KNF(P) at Salbung, which is located within the vicinity of Churachandpur town. There was, however, no report of death, but it was reported that, one student was injured.

14. On March 1, 1997 Mr. Ngulxhotuan, an Auto Rickshaws driver was kidnapped along with his Auto Rickshaws MN02/0050 by unknown persons and was found dead later on the day.
15. On the 7th March, 1997 Mr. Hausinghlun,(30) @Singa, SBI Driver was pick-up by personnel of Armed forces, accusing him of working for KNF(P) as C.I.D. He was later on found dead at Sielmat Rochung's Farm There was a gunshot mark on his body.
16. On May 6, 1997 two students from Mission Compound (old Churachandpur), Mr Chinsuanmung (19) S/o Goukxhojam and Mr Hauchinthang (20) S/o(L) Thangxhanneng, both resident of Mission Compound, were kidnapped from the village by cadres of KNF(P) and killed them cold-blooded.
17. On May 26, 1997, Mr Lunzalam Gangte(19) S/o Khamzalal, a resident of Bijang was shoot death at Churachandpur College campus. Both KNF(P) and ZRA pointed finger at each other for the murder, whereas members of the family of the deceased and public of Gangte suspected ZRA for the killing.
18. On June 4, 1997, one Doukxholam(22), believed to be a member of KNF(P) was chased by cadres of ZRA and was shot dead in a hotel where he took shelter.

19. On June 7, 1997, one Mr. Pauzamawi(40), a police constable was kidnapped and killed later on near Tuibuang Fellowship Church by allegedly cadres of KNF(P).
20. On June 14,1997, Mr. Khamsuanmung Ngaihte (23),. S/o L.Thangkhochin and P.Chinsuanthang(17), S/o Nemzakhup were kidnapped from Geljang Village, and were killed them cold-blooded.
21. On June 22, 1997, armed cadres, believed to be members of KNF(P) attacked 5 houses, of Tuithapi Village within the vicinity of Churachandpur town, thereby, injuring a woman, Mrs Niangkhannem(33) D/o Mr. Soizakham.
22. On June 24, 1997, at around mid-night the KNF(P) entered Saikul Paite Village, located in the vicinity of Churachandpur town and kidnapped 15 male members of the village. They were made to line-up, and then open fire point blank killing 10 of them and mortally injured the other five.

Out of those 10 killed, the KNF(P) and the Kukis in general, accused 5 of them to be members of NSCN(IM) which was flatly rejected and refuted by the people of the village. The villagers strongly maintained and confirmed that those killed were all ordinary member of the village, having nothing to do with either NSCN(IM) or ZRA.

The following are those killed and injured mortally at Saikul Paite village by the KNF(P)

Death persons:

1. Mr. Nangsong Hangsing (16) S/o Zelzakam Hangsing - Saikul
2. Mr. Chinkhanlian Thomte (18) S/o Nekzachin Thomte- Saikul
3. Mr. Lamzahau Tombing (25) S/o (L) Vungzalian - Saikul
4. Mr. Pauminthang Guite (30) S/o Lianzakham Guite - Saikul
5. Mr. Tualkapthang Guite (19) S/o Pausianthang Guite - Saikul
6. Mr. Kaizadam Thomte (50) S/o Dongzam Thomte - Saikul
7. Mr. Ginsuanlal Thomte (18) S/o (L) Kaizadam Thomte - Saikul
8. Mr. Lianzachin Hangsing (20) S/o Pauzanang Hangsing - Saikul
9. Mr. Khamthasang (19) S/o Kamkhopau - Saikul
10. Mr. Kamkhopau Khuptiong (48) S/o Lianzakham Khuptiong- Saikul

Injured Persons:

1. Mr. Pausuanmung (17) S/o Lalsuanthang - Saikul
2. Mr. Paukhenmung (20) S/o (L) Thuampau - Saikul
3. Mr. Tualkhanthang (27) S/o (L) Thuampau- Saikul
4. Mr. Jamkithang (30) S/o (L) Tongkhojang - Saikul
5. Mr. Pumnou (18) S/o Upa Ngaitunpum

From the early morning of the following day, (25th, June 1997), the news of the massacre spread like a wild-fire in Churachandpur town, which is dominated by the Paites. Thousands of Paites, in particular, living in the town started attacking with whatever they have, those few Kuki inhabited pockets in the town, including D.Phailian, Chengkonpang, Phaicham, etc. and those Kuki inhabited villages located in the vicinity of Churachandpur township including Singkangphai, Tuinom, etc. They also attacked, those localities inhabited by the Gangtes who affiliated themselves to Kuki nomenclature. Unspecified number of people were killed and unspecified number of people were also injured in the attack. It should be noted that, initially, the armed confrontation was between the Thadou speaking Kukis and the Paite-Zomis but in due course of the conflict, other smaller tribes like Gangtes, Vaiphei, Zou, Simte were drawn into the conflict because of frequent killing of people from these communities, mainly, due to mistaken identity. Those smaller tribes joint either side of the conflicting communities. Churachandpur town being the epicentre of the conflict, had a deserted look as all business activities and transactions were totally put at a halt. All Government Offices including Banks and other financial institutions were closed for days together. School and colleges in the town were also closed for more than a year. Sound of gun fire could be heard throughout days and nights. Each passing day, more and more people were killed and

injured as the fighting continued. Attack and counter attack between the two opposing armed group continued till the signing of cease fire agreement on the initiative of the Government in October, 1998.

In the mean time, the Zomis, on the initiative of the Paites, formed, ZNV (Zomi National Volunteer), which was earlier in June, 1997 with the aim to protect the Paites, in particular, and different tribes of Zomi, in general, from the onslaught of the KNF(P). Fighting continued throughout 1997 and early 1998s. Villagers situated deep inside the interior part of the district were also not spared. Villages belonging to both sides of the community in conflict, and many houses on both sides were burnt down to ashes resulting to the displacement of thousands of people from their ancestral homes. While maximum number of those displaced people entered into Mizoram, a sizable number of them, also crossed over Indo-Myanmar border and entered into Chin-Hills of Myanmar which is dominated by kindred tribes of both the community in conflict. They were given food and shelters by the native people of both Chin-Hills and Mizoram who share the same history, culture, language, religion, ethnicity, etc. with those refugees entering into both Mizoram and Chin-Hills of Burma. Also a large number of those displaced people, particularly Kukis entered the state of Assam where a large number of people belonging to the same ethnic group are living.

The following are some of the Villages, either totally burnt down, or partially burnt down from

both side of the two warring communities during the war from the 24th June,1997 to October,1998

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Saikul | 2. Mata |
| 3. Mission Compound | 4. Singngat |
| 5. Thalon | 6. Lungchin |
| 7. Ngalzang | 8. Takvom |
| 9. Lawibual | 10. Kalzang |
| 11. Kaihlam | 12. Chongkhozou |
| 13. Thingkeu | 14. Puaktam |
| 15. Mualdak | 16. V. Munlai |
| 17. Tuili | 18. Tuili Leibul |
| 19. Maite | 20. Lungchuang |
| 21. Mualhoihchiang | 22. Phaiba |
| 23. Tuiku Muallum | 24. Suangtamphai |
| 25. K. Tonglon | 26. Dumdephai |
| 27. Bualmual | 28. Vokbual (M) |
| 29. Vokbual (L) | 30. Kolhen |
| 31. Suangpha | 32. Dozang |
| 33. Kaimunnuam | 34. Pamzal(K.Munp) |
| 35. N. Saikot | 36. Sainoulian |
| 37. S. Kotlian | 38. Chiangpi |
| 39. Leijangphai | 40. Tumlung |
| 41. Pangsang | 42. Suangsang |
| 43. Gamhui | 44. Hiangkot |
| 45. Khotuk | 46. Naupanglon |
| 47. Suangtel | 48. Tuilakjang |
| 49. Mongken | 50. Loibual |
| 51. Kalzang | 52. Santing (1) |
| 53. Santing (2) | 54. Santing (3) |

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 55. Saichang | 56. Maumual |
| 57. Ainah | 58. Lungsai |
| 59. Leitam | 60. Kamkeilon |
| 61. Bungkot | 62. Henglep |
| 63. Misao Lhavom | 64. New Lambulane |
| 65. Mualhoi | 66. Suangpi |
| 67. Bijang | 68. Tuibuang |
| 69. Savaipaih | 70. Tallian |

A number of innocent people, including women and children who had nothing to do with. The conflict were killed or wounded as per the government record, 352 people, including woman and children were slaughtered while 136 people, including woman and children were injured in the war. Also, as per the Government's record, over 50 villages were destroyed and over 4670 dwelling homes were burnt down to ashes along with property therein. However, the actual figure of people killed and injured could be much higher than the above mentioned figure. With regards to the number of villages destroyed, the actual figure could as higher as 70 or more. Also, regarding houses burnt down, the figure could be much higher than Government records of 4670. The main focus of the present research work is, not to find out the number of people being killed on both side nor the number of people being injured among the two warring communities, nor is the subject of interest of the present researcher to decide as to who is the victor or as to who is the vanquished in the war. Rather, the subject and focus of the investigation of

the present research work is, to study and analyse the causes of the war; and try to give preventive suggestions so that conflicts and wars of this nature and of this magnitude could be avoided in future. And also, it seeks to find out ways and means for the avoidance of the possible outbreak of conflicts of this nature and of this magnitude. Also, the present researcher tries to investigate the magnitude of the conflict, and tries to find out its impact on the economic, social and political life of the two warring communities. It is also not the area of interest of the present researcher to decide as to who won the war, nor as who lost. the war. It is, therefore, because of this fact that as far as practicable mentioning of the exact figure of causality on both side is avoided in this research work. The subject of interest and investigation of the present researcher is, to highlight the futility of war, the needless suffering of the people of both sides; and find out the causes of the war, and highlight the needless economic, social and political losses. It is the primary objective of the present researcher, to find out and analyse the causes of the war for which people of both the warning communities suffered so much so that they are made to flee their ancestral homes which they love and valued so much.

Major tribes of Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic group with their populations in Manipur as per 2001 census:

Sl.No.	Name of tribes	Population
1	Thadou	182594
2	Paite	49271
3	Vaiphei	38267
4	Gangte	9442
5	Kom	14602
6	Simte	11065
7	Shute	1905
8	Zou	20567
9	Mate	No separate census is being done
Total Population		324713

Source: Indian census report 2001

As seen the above population census table, 2001 the population of Thadou speaking Kukis far exceeds the total population of all tribes within the ambit of Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic group. In other words, the population of Thadou-Kukis in Manipur is higher than the total population of all tribes included within the ambit of the Zomi nomenclature by 27475, it should also be noted that with the exception of Paite, Simte, Sukte and Vaiphei the rest of the tribes are inclusive on common nomenclature. While a section of people within a particular tribes, for example the Gangte and the Zo tribe have more loyalty to Zomi and its identity, another section of the same tribes are more inclined to accept Kuki nomenclature. It is, therefore difficult, if not impossible, to mention as to who are Kukis and as to who are the Zomis.

However it could safely be maintained that the population of Thadou-Kuki speaking people is higher than that of those people accepting the Zomi nomenclature in Manipur.

In spite of the fact that the Thadou-Kuki speaking people command majority among the ethnic tribes of Manipur under the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnological group, they are in minority in all the hill districts of Manipur including Churachandpur district except the newly Kangpokpi district. This is obviously a set-back to the Thadou-Kuki speaking people. In Churachandpur district it is the Paites who formed a single largest group. In the same way, in Ukhul district it is the Tangkhul Nagas who formed the single largest group, in Senapati district, it is the Naga who command majority, in Tamenglong district it is the Zeliangrong group of people who command majority and in Chandel district it is the different tribes of Nagas who together, formed majority. Therefore, with the exception of the newly created Kangpokpi district, there is no a single district in Manipur where the Kukis command majority.

The peace initiative:

In spite of the fact that assurance of peace and security is the top priority of modern democratic world, the Government, both at the Centre and at the State, remained a total silent spectators to the conflict, and terribly failed to provide security to the people. Even after, as per the Government record, over 50 villages were destroyed, 352 people

including innocent civilians, woman and children were killed and 136 people were injured and 4670 home were reduces to ashes, no peace initiative had been taken by the Government. The first peace initiative was taken in July, 1997, however, not by the Government of Manipur, but it was the Government of Mizoram which took peace initiative by sending a team of peace negotiators which include Pu. C. Chawngkunga, Pu H. Zathuama and Pu F. Lawmkima, who on behalf of the Government of Mizoram brought the two warring ethnic brothers to the negotiating table. Eventually a peace agreement was signed on July 8, 1997 by the KNF(P) and the ZRA, on behalf of Kukis and Zomis of Manipur, respectively. However, even before a day passed after the signing of peace agreement, the KNF(P) abrogated the agreement signed earlier on the day by attacking Mata village located on the outskirts of Churachandpur town.

Peace workers formed for bringing a peaceful resolution once again, re-affirmed the hard sought peace agreement which was earlier signs on the initiative of a team from Mizoram. After re-affirming the points agreed upon in the first peace agreement between the two warring tribes, the second peace agreement was signed on the 18th July, 1997. However, this too was abrogated once again by KNF(P) by attacking, Tallian and Savaipaih villages in which 13 houses were burn down along with properties therein.

Though, how late it was the Government of Manipur finally intervened by taking necessary step

for bringing about a peaceful resolution to the conflict. The Government, under the leadership of Chief Minister Nipamacha Singh, brought leaders of the two warring tribes to the negotiating table. Consequent upon, a memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was sign by the representatives of the Kukis and Zomis on the March 26th, 1998 for the declaration of Cease-Fire. As per the term of the MoU, a Cease-Fire was declared which got extended 3 times before the final peace accord. The Kuki Innpi Churachandpur should kill a cow and throw a feast as a signed of apology to the Zomis for killing 10 Paites and injuring 5 others at Saikul Village. The Zomi Council, as a signed of acceptance of apology tendered by the Kuki Innpi, Churachandpur, killed a pig and throw a feast of acceptance by killing a pig. Thereafter, a peace treaty was signed by the two party under the following terms and conditions :..

1. That every individual or tribes should be given the freedom to be either Kuki or Zomi or have any other identity. Force should not be used against those who make these choice.
2. Those who have during the conflict, occupied the property or houses of those who flad, should returned them to the rightful owner/
3. The Kuki and Zomi Militant group should not levy taxes on anyone other than persons of their own tribe. It includes the Government employees, the public in general, contractor and businessman.

4. This MoU is meant for all tribes, individuals and organisations and to be followed by all was signed by the followings on behalf of the Kukis and the Zomi on the 1st October, 1998.

Sd/- H.Thuamson President, PNC/Member ZC	Sd/- Albert Gengoukhup KIC President
Sd/- K. Vungzalian Chairman, ZC	Sd/- Khajalam Gangte Chief of Chiengkongpang
Sd/- Thangkhangin ZC Member	Sd/- Nggamhao Touthang Advisor, KIC
Sd/- Pakhohal Vaiphei Ex. Pre. VNO/Member KIC	Sd/- Khaipao Haokip Advisor, KIC

Witnesses:

1. W. Nipamacha Singh, Chief Minister, Manipur
2. Dr. L. Chandramani Singh, Dy. CM, Manipur
3. V. Hangkhanlian, Minister
4. T.N.Haokip, Minister (Seri)
5. T.T. Haokip, Dy. Speaker
6. N.Songchinkhup, Minister (Transport)

7. Dr. Chaltonlien Amo, Minister
8. P.Bharat Singh, Special secretary, Home
9. Sriram Taranikanti, DC/CCPur
10. H.Kulla, Meitei Society President
11. Albert Renthlei, President, Mizo People
Convention
12. L.B.Sona, Speaker, ZC
13. Paokhosei Kipgen, Social Worker

Chapter -III

Causes of the conflict:

Conflict Over Common Nomenclature:

One of the most important and the most undisputed causes of the conflict between the Zomis and Kukis in Manipur, and particularly, in Churachandpur District in 1997-1998, was absence of commonly acceptable nomenclature. The Zomis and The Kukis, as mentioned in the introductory part of the present research work are being people belonging to the one ethnic community, sharing one and the same history, culture and tradition, the same religion and religious belief and practices. Also they share one and the same linguistic group belonging to Tibeto-Burman group of languages. While the Thadou speaking Kukis and other smaller tribes including a section of Gangte speaking people, strongly maintain that they are Kuki for all intents and purposes as they are known and recorded as Kukis by the British administrators, and later on, by the Government of India after independence. However, the Paites and other smaller tribes within Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnological group, declined to accept Kuki nomenclature, maintaining that the term, Kuki is a borrowed term, borrowed from a Bengali or Assamese word, meaning savage. It is, therefore, not in anyway, indigenous term,

whatsoever. They, on the other hand, believe that all those tribes under the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic family are Zomi for all intents and purposes. They, therefore, believe that they are Zomis, not because they live in the hills or high lands, but rather, they are Zomis, because they are the decedents of Zo/Zhou/Chow. Based on this theory, they maintain that the term, Zomi, is a generic term, and not the name of a mountain or hill nor it is the name a river. Therefore, based on the two opposing theories advocated by the two opposing group, the Zomis and the Kukis led by the Paites and the Thadous, respectively, could not arrived at a compromised agreement or a consensus which has ever been haunting the two communities till today; and which has still been the core problem which finally led to an open armed conflict in 1997-1998 in Churachandpur district of Manipur.

During the British lordship, Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki group of people, living in the then Lushai Hills (Mizoram), Tripura and Manipur, are known and recorded by the term, Kuki. With India's independence, the Government of India continued to record and recognised them as Kuki in Manipur, while the same people living in Lushai Hills were recognised as Lushais, and then, Mizos in Lushai Hills, and then, Mizos in the state of Mizoram. While there had not been any problem with regards to Mizo nomenclature in Mizoram, the same group of people who were recognised as Kuki in Manipur are faced with numerous problems relating to Kuki nomenclature, particularly, after those tribes who were then, recorded as Kukis in the Constitution

were given Constitutional recognition in the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Order, 1956. Thereafter, many of those tribes recognised earlier as Kuki, decided to be outside the purview of Kuki nomenclature, including the Paites, the Hmar etc. With the passage of time, division among the tribes in question, had become more and more deepening.

It is worth-mentioning that when India was to get political independence from the British in 1947, the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki group of people living in the trans-Indo-Myanmar border area were faced with identity related crisis. There was no worth-mentioning problem as far as Lushai Hills was concerned. In Manipur, on the other hand, there was a serious identity related problem as many of the tribes under the same Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnological group failed to have one commonly acceptable nomenclature. While the Thadou speaking people, the dominant group within the same ethnic group, started developing a domineering attitude, towards other major tribes like the Paites and the Hmars, particularly. This attitudes of the Thadous was not acceptable to other tribes under the same ethnic group. The Hmar and the Paites, the two major tribes, particularly, could not accept this domineering attitude of the Thadous. They, together took the initiative to form ethno-political fourm, "Khul National Union", in 1947 as an alternative ethno-political plat-form for the unification of all tribes under Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic family in Manipur. However, this was short lived as the Thadous who command single majority, sought to impose the Thadou language as

the *liqua-franca* of the Khul National Union. In the meantime, the Mizo Union (MU), which was formed earlier in the same year, got strong support from the Hmar speaking people of Manipur. It was for these two reasons that the Khulmi National Union met its premature death, even not lasting a year.

Things continued to be fluid and fragile, and it was, particularly, over the conferment of constitutional recognition to some major tribes within Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki group like the Paites and the Hmar as Scheduled Tribes. Following the conferment of constitutional recognition to some major tribes, who until then, were clubbed together under "Any Kuki tribes", there was a growing assertion by these tribes as having a separate and distinct identity. They started declining to accept Kuki nomenclature, which sooner than later, created intra-ethnic division within the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnological family living in Manipur. In Myanmar, the same group of people were being called and referred to as Chins. Be it people of the Southern Chin Hills or Central Chin Hills or even the Northern Chin Hills, they (Chin-Mizos/Zomi-Kukis) retained "Chin" as their official nomenclature. However, as time goes on, the Northern Chins (Tedim-Chin) started asserting themselves as the decedents of Zou/Zhou/Chow, and then, opted for Zomi, near en-mass, thereby, creating a division in Chin Hills over nomenclature. In Lushai Hills, Mizoram, in spite of the presence of a sizeable number of non-Lushai speaking Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki people, Lushai language, known

by them as Duhlian language was the only commonly acceptable lingua-franca of Lushai hills. The language (Duhlian or Lushai Language), therefore, happens to be the dominant and the most favoured language of the entire Lushai Hills. When Lushai Hill District, which was created by the British administrators, for meeting their administrative convenience, was given the political autonomy under the Sixth Schedule of the constitution within the state of Assam, after independence the name Lushai Hills, was changed to Mizo Hill Autonomous District Council with the aim to accommodate the interest of all tribes within the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic group in the district. Mizo Hill Autonomous District Council was given the status of Union Territory in 1972 carrying with it the same ethnic entity, Mizo, and in 1986, following the signing of peace agreement between the Government of India and the MNF (Mizo National Front) it was given the status of full-fledged statehood with certain special provisions over ownership of land and resource therein. It could, therefore, be safely maintained that all tribes under the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki nomenclature are Chin in Chins Hills of Myanmar and Mizos in Mizoram and they are happy and contented to be Chins and Mizos for all intents and purposes, respectively.

In Manipur, however, frictions and divisions among the people of the same ethnic group continues, and it has become more and more real. This was manifested by the occurrence of Thadou Kuki-Hmar intra-ethnic armed conflict in 1960s or

lordship over land in Tipaimuk Sub-Division. With the end of armed conflicts between the two ethnic brothers, Kuki and Hmar, there has been no major conflict among the ethnic group till 1997. In 1972, a new ethnic based organisation, the Zomi National Congress (ZNC) was founded at Daizang in Churachandpur district under the Chairmanship of T.Gougin, a prominent politician among the Zo community. However the ZNC (Zomi National Congress), due to lack of support from other major communities like the Paites, the Hmar, the Thadou, etc. was not having much impact on the ethnic politics of the Zomis and the Kukis. However, from the early 1980s, the organisations received strong support from a section of Paite community headed by Thangkhingin Ngaihte who became the General Secretary of the Organisation. Advocating the term, Zomi as a generic term, derived from Zhou/Zo/Chow, who they said was their great-great grand father. They are Zomis as they are the decedents of Zhou/Zo/Chow, they contended. The ZNC, invigorated by the support of Paite speaking majority in Churachandpur district, launched a strong movement in support of Zo identity. The idea got the support of large number of people in Mizoram too who also identified themselves as Zo. Consequence upon, Zo-Reunification Organisation (ZORO) was formed which worked hand-in-hand with ZNC in Manipur. In the mean time, the Thadou-Kukis led a movement for unification of all tribes within the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic family under Kuki nomenclature. Eventually, a kind of misunderstanding started between the Thadou-

Kukis and the Paite-Zomis, which was also the time and moment when there was a misunderstanding between the Thadou-Kukis and the Nagas of Manipur over conflicting claims on land and for the control of Moreh, an International market outlet. The relation between the Nagas and the Thadou-Kukis has become more and more strained leading to an open armed conflict in 1992. Both ZORO and ZNC simultaneously launched for the unification of Zo tribes, including Thadou in Mizoram and Manipur. There was no much opposition to the movement in Mizoram, except, some political parties which opposed the movement for speculating that leaders of ZORO one day or the other, would enter into the fray of electoral politics.

In Manipur, however, things are not the same. At the time people started giving support to ZNC and its ideology, its General Secretary, Thangkhangin Ngaihte entered into electoral politics by contesting the election of Manipur Legislative Assembly in Thanlon Constituency against the PNC's (Paite National Council) support candidate T. Phungzathang who was also its President. This had adversely affected the movement for Zo Re-Unification by ZNC. People started losing faith in the leadership of Thangkhangin Ngaihte which ultimately resulted in the downfall of ZNC.

However, ZRO (Zomi Re-Unification) was formed to further the cause of Zomi in 1993. The Thadou Kukis in the meantime, were busy in fighting the Nagas, also resented the formation of ZRO for furthering the cause of Zomi in Manipur,

particularly, in Churachandpur district. It also set-up its armed wing, Zomi Re-unification Army (ZRA) to fight for the cause of Zomi, including protection of Zomis from the much expected oppression by KNF(P) by way of tax collection, kidnapping, demand for money for ransom. Sooner than later, relation between the two got worsening each passing day. Isolated violent incidents were the order of the day. These isolated violent incidents, therefore, finally resulted into a full-scale war on the 24th June, 1997 following the killing of 10 innocent people and injuring 5 others at Saikul Paite village.

It could, therefore, be established that while the inflow of thousands of Kuki refugees from the war-torn districts of Senapati, Tamenglong, Ukhul and Chandel district, and the kidnapping and killing of 10 innocent civilian and wounding 5 others are the most undisputed immediate causes of the conflict between Zomis and Kukis in Churachandpur district of Manipur. On the other hand, a contestation between the Thadou speaking Kukis and Paite speaking Zomis for common nomenclature is the remote cause of the conflict. While the Thadou Kukis wanted and strive for unification of all tribes, including the Paite Zomi under Kuki nomenclature, the Paite speaking people wanted and aspired for the unification of the same tribes under the Zomi nomenclature. This opposing aspiration of both the Thadou Kukis and the Paites Zomis, is that which resulted into an open armed conflict between the two ethnic brothers who share one and the same history, culture and tradition, religion and religious

belief, and not the least, one and common legendary tales and folklores.

Causes in a nutshell

1. Lack of unanimity over common nomenclature; Zomi and Kuki.
2. Heavy inflow of Thadou-Kuki refugees from other hill district into Churachandpur district.
3. Refusal of Paites speaking Zomi to support the Thadou-Kukis in their war with the Nagas.
4. Forcible collection of Kuki land taxes by the KNF(P)
5. Kidnapping and killing of innocent people by armed groups.
6. Finally, not the least, however, kidnapping and killing of 10 people and injuring 5 other by KNF(P) from Saikul Paite Village.

Though an open armed conflict between the two warring ethnic brothers had been resolved as a result of the above mentioned peace accord, there has been persistent misunderstanding, mutual mistrust, mutual suspicion etc between the two communities which is continuing till today, after 20 years of the armed conflict. There has been persistence conflict of interest and aspiration with regards to commonly acceptable nomenclature, different political interest in terms of demand for political autonomy. While the Zomis led by the Paites wanted to create a separate administration, separated from Manipur for all ethnic groups in habiting the hill district of Manipur, the Kukis,

particularly, the Kuki National Organisation (KNO) wanted to create a separate State in the name of Kuki. This had been refuted by the ZRO which was created for furthering the cause Zomi. This contradictory political demands by the two organisations has created a situation, that could lead to the open armed confrontation for the second time.

Chapter -IV

Consequences of the Conflict

Initially, it is learnt from realisable sources that, many people belonging to non-Thadou and non-Paite speaking people were killed because of mistaken identity. Many people from Zou and Simte communities were either killed or injured by either side of the two warring communities, thereby, drawing the victims' communities into the conflict. The conflict, consequently, had been widened and almost all tribes within the ethnic group were eventually drawn into the conflict in support of either side of the two warring communities. The conflict, which was earlier exclusively a conflict between Thadous and Paites, turned into a conflict between all those tribes within the ethnic group supporting Kuki identity and all those tribes supporting Zomi identity. Owing to the broadened nature of the conflict, the magnitude of the conflict has considerably increased. This had led to the deepening of division and fragmentation on communal line among the tribes within the Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic group in Manipur. This division has ever been deepening even till today, after 20 years of the conflict. The economic consequence of the conflict is bound to be enormous in view of the magnitude and nature of the conflict as mentioned earlier. As per the

Government record (though the actual figured is believed to be much higher), 352 people, including woman and children were killed, 136 people were injured, more than 50 Villages were uprooted and over 4670 dwelling houses were burnt down with property therein. More 13,000 thousand people were forced to flee empty handed to other safer places in neighbouring State of Mizoram and Assam. A sizable number of Them also fled to Chin Hill of Myanmar. The economic lost of the conflict, therefore, is heavy and considerable. Though there was no official figure relating to economic lost, there can be a rough estimate of the losses as the consequence of the conflict. Taking the estimated cost of per house at **Rs. 10,000** per house, the total estimate of the cost of 4,670 houses comes to **Rs. 46,700,000**. This estimate does not include the expected estimated cost of property burnt down including granaries. Therefore, the actual lost in terms of property and houses burnt down is bounced to be much higher than the about rough estimate.

During the war all economic activities were at a grinding halt, and each and every individual from both the communities was directly or indirectly affected by the war. All business establishments, small and cottage industries were all halted for almost two years. All agricultural activities in the villages which was mainly shifting cultivation could not be carried on as a result of which there was a no productions for the following year leading to inevitable famine. Since people were left empty handed; they were left to depend on roots and leafs of tree and plant for their survival. No step had been

taken by the government both at the Central and at the State to help those people who were in dire needs. On the other hand, the Government of Mizoram extended a helping hand by providing those refugees who entered the State by sheltering them in a maxshifs, schools, community halls, and by providing them with free ration for their survival. In Churachandpur township, some 40-45 percent of people are Government employees who had less problem as far as earning of livelihood is concerned. Though Government offices and educational institutions remained closed for more than a year, they still draw their salaries from Banks, which are allowed to be opened even during the height of the conflict so as to facilitate Government employee and other people having savings in the Bank to withdraw money for buying essential commodities. Self employed and wage earners are the worse effected people because of the fact that all construction works from where wage earners get their livelihood are at a standstill. People sold their properties which they valued much like televisions set, ornaments, vehicles, etc. at a throw away price to those people who are not a party to the conflict. The price of essential commodities are sky rocketed by those big businessmen though they are believed to be having sufficient stock of commodities, thereby, earning huge profits. Private money lenders who charged high rate of interest to people who are in dire need of money for their survival. It is, therefore, to be maintained that while the conflict was a curse to majority of the people from both sides, it is a boon to a small section of the

people who earned huge profit in their business during the war. It is, therefore, to establish that the conflict has a mixed impact on the people of Churachandpur township. The consequence of the conflict in rural areas in Churachandpur district was far more complex as compared to urban areas. Since all communication lines were totally cut-off from urban centre of Churachandpur, peoples of rural villages could not get supply of essential commodities resulting into manmade famine. People had to depends on roots and leafs of tree and plant which too were scarcely available, except in a deep jungle. Even after signing of peace agreement in October, 1998 for restoration of normalcy, many people from rural villages migrated to the only urban centre of Churachandpur where life was expected to be more secure than the rural areas. As a consequence of conflict there was mass migration of people from rural villages to urban centre resulting into the declined of rural population of the district. On the other hand, the population of Churachandpur town has sharply been raising, making the population imbalance a more reality.

The following sub-division wise population Census table indicates the minimal or minus growth of rural population while it indicates the sudden upsurge in the population of urban centre of Churachandpur town :-

Sub-Division wise population of
Churachandpur District; 2001 Census

Sl.	Name of Sub-Division	2001	2011	Increased	Decreased	Percentage
1	Tipaimuk Sub Division	25409	28795	3394		11.78%
2	Thanlon Sub-Division	22057	18464		3593	19.345%
3	Churachandpur North(Henglep) including	28380	30616	2236		7.30%
4	Churachandpur Sub-Division including the Town	132156	174138	41982		24.10%
5	Singnat Sub-Division	19903	22130	2227		10.06%
Source: District Census Handbook, Churachandpur (Sub-Division wise)						

The above Census table has shown a normal growth in the population of Tipaimuk sub-division which is 3394 persons, a minus-growth or decrease in the population of Thanlon sub-division by 3593 persons a marginal growth in the population of Churachandpur North (Henglep) sub-division, and upgrade in the population of Churachandpur sub-division by 41982 persons and a minimal growth in the population of Singngat sub-division by 2227 persons.

As mentioned above the conflict has tremendously effected population balance in the District. While the most effected sub-division is Thanlon Sub-Division with a record of minus 3593 persons the maximum growth is been in Tipaimuk sub-division which is increase by 3394. It is assumed that this increase in the population of Tipaimuk Sub-Division is because of the fact that it is heavily dominated by the Hmar speaking community which is not a party to the conflict. On the other hand the above table shows a minus-growth in the population of Thanlon Sub-Division: Since it is the worse effected Sub-Division in the District, there was mass-migration of people from the Sub-Division to Churachandpur town causing a sudden upsurge in the population of the Sub-Division by 41982. This is certainly a case of abnormal growth. It is the consequence of the war as people from other Sub-Division of the District moved to the urban centre seeking a safer place, and searching for a better and a more secured livelihood. Though, minimal growth in the population of other Sub-Division like Singngat and

Henglep (Churachandpur North) have been shown, they are below a normal population growth rate.

It is, therefore, to established that the conflict has disturbed population balance of the district

The mass-migration of the rural populace to urban centre as a consequence of ethnic conflict do also have positive aspect too. In the first place, those jhum cultivators who could hardly harvest sufficient food grain for the following year even after working day in and day out, could now, earn their livelihood by becoming rickshaw pullers, wage earners and by selling vegetable and other essential commodities etc. Most of them are now, economically in a better position. They now, could send their children in a better educational institutions, Many students from people who migrated to urban centre, could over-shine other students whose parents are the original inhabitants of the town, and many of them got Government job through competitive examinations like SSC, UPSC, and Public and Private sector Banks and other Financial Institutions. This would not have been the case, had they not moved into the town as a consequence of the conflict.

The second positive aspect of the impact of the war is that since a large number of rural inhabitants moved to urban centre, the areas of jhum cultivation considerably gone down which in turn help in a better and a more effective management of the ecological balance. Jhum cultivation required cutting down of trees and burning down of forest every year which led to the deforestation leading to ecological imbalance. A good number of jhum

cultivators migrated to urban centre where they could get a more secured job. It could be estimated that some 90-95% of rural populace are practicing jhum or shifting cultivation and each year thousands of acres of forest was destroyed which has an adverse impact on climatic condition, ecological balance etc. As a result of the conflict thousands of rural families moved to urban centre to save their life from the impending attack by the enemies. This leads to the decline in rural population which in turns leads to the decline in deforestation and destruction of forest.

From the above discourse on the impacts and consequences of the Kuki-Zomi conflict in Churachandpur district of Manipur, it could be established that while people of rural villages are the worse victims of the conflict, there are also certain points of positive aspects of the conflict as well which could not be over-looked.

Education sector is the one worse victims as all educational institutions, from primary schools to colleges remained closed for almost two years. As a result, thousands of students could not pursue their studies. This led to the increase in the number of dropout students thereby ruining their entire future. Apart from this many privately owned educational institutions had to be permanently closed dues to non payment of fees by the students. Even those schools and colleges which could, somehow, manage to continue, they were unable to give regular salaries to teachers engaged. This had an adverse impact on quality education in schools and colleges which has resulted in a setback to the

whole educational system in the district. As far as government institutions are concerned the regularity of both teachers and students was badly affected. Taking advantage of the disturbed situation, both students and teachers in Governments educational institutions failed to turn up regularly effecting adversely education system. The rural students, who are serious in pursuing their educations are the victims of such irregularity of teacher in rural villages.

Many of those school dropout children, out of frustration and desperation, for their future, developed mental depression. Many of them started taking of drugs and alcohol, thereby, becoming drug edicts. They consequently started doing anti-social and immoral activities. They become a burden not only to the family, but also became a burden to the society. When their parent could not effort to give money for buying drugs and other to which they are addicted, they started stealing money and materials, thereby, creating problems in the society. Therefore, the consequence of the ethnic conflict on the social front, could not be undermined. Many of them, though, wanted to stop doing anti-social activities, it become too late, as they are doing them not from their will, but they are forced to do so by the drugs they addicted to. Catching and capturing them and giving them punishment is, however, not a solution. The most needed solution could be, rehabilitation by way of setting up as many as rehabilitation centres which are to be funded by the Government. There are many rehabilitation centres setup by private individuals with the motive of getting

profits. They charged high rate of fee which poor families having such problem could not effort. The solution to the problem lies only with the Government. The Government should take the problem as its own bounden duty and setup free rehabilitation centres as many as needed. The inmates of such Government funded centres should be given training in different trades so that they would be able to earn their livelihood, at least at the subsistent level.

Another consequence of the conflict on social front is the destruction of social fabric among the people who co-inhabit the town. Though, there is no, as yet, an open armed conflict for the second time, there is no proper understanding between people of the two warring communities. Many of those who lost their near and dear ones, and many of those whose houses were burnt down along with everything they have, find it difficult to have a spirit of forgiveness which is of paramount importance for developing a spirit of peaceful co-existence and mutual love and respect. Rehabilitation in terms of financial assistance is important, but it is not the most important. What is more important for mentally and spiritually wounded people from both side of the conflict is, to enable them to develop the spirit of forgiveness ceaseless consolation by leaders of the two communities. Camps should be organised by leaders of the two communities in collaboration with different Church Organisations and speaker from both side should be engaged. The topic of such camps so organised should be (1). The importance of having the spirit of forgiveness. (2).

The futility of armed conflicts. (3) The needless suffering and killing of the people, including woman and children; and loss of properties which people procured after a long and hard working. On the other hand, it is on the part of the Government to admit their failure to provide security of life and property to the people, which is the purpose for which it is created. It is also the bounden duty of the Government to properly rehabilitate the effected people by providing monetary and other help so that the mentally wounded people could feel a kind of relief, though complete healing of wounded minds takes times.

On communalism, in-spite of the fact that a peace Agreement was signed some 20 years back, the two community are persistently having deep feeling of communalism against each other. Incidence of killing, which involve members of the two community, though may not necessarily be a case of communalism, are on many occasions, interpreted on communal lines, having the potential to cause the outbreak of second armed conflict between the two communities at war 20 years back. Even minor incidence of traffic mishap involving the two communities are look at from communal angle, having the potential to bring a conflict between them (Zomi-Kuki), Churachandpur, the only town in the district has been virtually divided into two communal camps based on area of domination and control. They are divided by a natural boundary called 'Chiengkon Lui' (Chiengkon River) which flows between the area controlled by the Thadou-Kuki's and Paite-Zomis.

The northern part of the town from the river is heavily dominated and controlled by the Thadou-Kukis, while the southern part of the town from the river, including the two main market areas, Zenhang Bazaar and New Bazaar, are dominated and controlled by the Paite speaking Zomis. When people from the southern part of the town led by the majority Paites called a shut-down of markets in the town on any issue, the northern inhabitants of the town, mainly Thadou-Kukis either opposed or did not give support to the shut-down (Band/Strike). The same is the case with the people of southern part of the town (mostly, the Paites). Whenever, the Thadou-Kukis called a strike or shut-down for any demand, the people from the south the majority of which are the Paites would not lend support to the strike, and shops and other business establishments in the two main market remain opened. This is a clear indication that, there is an undisputed existence of deep divide between the two communities, and it is an indication of the fact that, in spite of the signing of peace agreement on the insistence of the Government, the two are technically at war or there is no true reconciliation between them. The spirit of forget and forgive is that which is lacked by the people on both sides.

It has been seen in the preceding discussion on the after effect of the conflict that the two conflicting communities are still having a kind of cold war. Be it political, social or otherwise, they are constantly having an opposite stand. Unified policy and programme on political front is still a far cry. They have their own armed groups which were

working behind the screen on any political issue. Now, they however, openly declared their political goals. While on put-up a demand for the creation of Kuki State, the other raised a demands for Autonomous state within a state for all hill areas of Manipur. It should be noted two that two demand by the two armed groups, Kuki National Organisation and Zomi Re-Unification Organisation are having overlapping of claim over areas to be included. While the ZRO (Zomi Re-Unification Organisation) wanted an Autonomous state covering all the hill districts, the KNO (Kuki National Organisation) wanted to create a Kuki state the area of which covers all Non-Nagas inhabited areas, including that of the Zomis'. Since there is claim and counter claim over areas to be included in their political demand unless and until the two armed groups could come to a compromised stand on their demand, nothing tangible result is expected.

During a short period, tribal of Manipur; Nagas, Zomi and Kuki came together on a common platform in the interest of Tribals. That was, on 31st August, 2015, the Manipur cabinet unanimously passes 3 Bills which the tribal called Anti-Tribal Bills.

1. THE PROTECTION OF MANIPUR PEOPLE BILL, 2015.

(As introduced in the Manipur Legislative Assembly on 28/08/2015) (*Recommendations of the Governor of Manipur under clauses (1) and (3) of*

The Zomi-Kuki Intra-Ethnic Armed Conflict of 1997-98 in Manipur

article 207 of the Constitution of India have been obtained) **Bill no. 16 of 2015** (As introduced in the Manipur Legislative Assembly)

THE PROTECTION OF MANIPUR PEOPLE
BILL, 2015

A
BILL

To provide protection, maintenance of socio-economic and cultural balance of the Manipur People and for maintenance of peace and public order in the State of Manipur and regulation of entry into and exit from Manipur for Non Manipur persons and tenants in the interest of general and for matter connected therewith or incidental thereto. Be it enacted by the Legislature of Manipur in the Sixty-sixth year of Republic of India as follow:

Short title, extent and commencement.

1.
 - a) This Act may be called the protection of Manipur People Act, 2015
 - b) It shall extend to the whole State of Manipur.
 - c) It shall come into force on such date as the State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Definitions

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,-
 - a) “Director” means the Director of Registration of Non Manipur Persons and Tenants, appointed under sub-section (2) of section 3 of this act;
 - b) “Manipur people” means Persons of Manipur whose name are in the National Register of Citizens, 1951 Census Report 1951 and Village Directory of 1951 and their descendants who have contributed to the collective social, cultural and economic life of Manipur;
 - c) “Non-Manipur person” means a person who is not covered by Clause (b) of Section 2, and who intends to visit the State of Manipur with a Pass issued under sub-section (4) of section4;
 - d) “owner” means a persons who owns land, building, hotel, motel or any other property in the State and includes a power of attorney holder or a person duly authorized to be in charge of the same.
 - e) “Pass” means an authorized document issued by the Registration Authority under this Act;
 - f) “prescribed” means as prescribed by rule made under this Act;
 - g) “registration authority” means the registration authority for registration of Non-Manipur Persons designated under section (3) of section 4 of this Act;
 - h) “State” means the State of Manipur;
 - i) “State Government” means the State Government of Manipur; and

- j) “tenant” means a person to the State and who pays rent of hiring charges for temporary use and occupation of land, building, or other property and this definition shall continue this Act only.

Directorate of Registration of Non– Manipur Persons and Tenants

3.

- a) For the purpose of this Act, the State Government shall establish a Directorate of Registration of Non-Manipur Persons and Tenants consisting of a Director and as many officers and staff as it may consider necessary.
- b) An officer not below the rank of Class-1 Officer of the State Government shall be appointed as the Director by the State Government.
- c) The salaries and allowances and other conditions of the service of the Director, shall be as permissible under the relevant service rules and salaries and allowances of other officers and staff shall be such as prescribed by and the officials and officers of the Directorate shall be under the administrative control of the Home Department of the Government of Manipur, which shall open a special cell for the purpose.

- d) Every officer and staff of the Directorate of Registration of Non-Manipur Persons and Tenants shall be subordinate to the Director.
- e) The Director shall supervise the registration and issue of passes to the Non Manipur Persons and receipts to the owners hosting the tenants and shall have other administrative powers and functions as prescribed.

Registration of Non-Manipur persons and establishment of registration centre

4.

- a) At the commencement of this Act, every Non Manipur Person entering the State shall register himself with the registration authority designated under sub-section (3) of this section.
- b) For the purpose of sub-section (1), the State Government shall establish registration centre for Non Manipur Persons at such places as may be notified in the Official Gazette by the State Government from time to time.
- c) The State Government shall designate as many officers of the State Government as the registration authority at every registration centre for registering the Non Manipur Persons entering the state.
- d) The registration authority shall, if he is satisfied that the Non Manipur Person is a benefited

citizen of India, issue a Pass to the Non Manipur Person, in such form and in such manner as may be prescribed, specifying his place of origin and the period of stay which shall not be more than six months from the date of issue:

Provided that the period of stay may be extend from time to time by the Director:

Provided further that when a Non-Manipur person is denied to the issue of a Pass by the registration authority, he may make an application to the Director for redressed of his grievances and to enable such person to approach the Director for the purpose, a temporary Pass may be issued.

Explanation.- For the purposes of this section, a Non Manipur Person shall be deemed to be citizen of India on production of his voter's identity card issued by the Election Commission of India or ration card issued by a competent authority or such other documents as may be prescribed.

- e) The registration authority shall maintain a register containing the passes issued to the Non Manipur Persons, shall submit a report of such registration to the Director.

Compulsory Registration of Non Manipur persons and tenants

5. Every owner who lets out accommodation to a Non Manipur Person shall maintain a register in

such from as may be prescribed and enter the name and particulars of every Non Manipur Person as tenant, and particulars of such entries shall be submitted by the owner to the Director for every fortnight.

Issue of receipt to the owner

6. The Director shall enter the name and particulars of the Non Manipur Person furnished under section 5 by the owner in a register to be maintained in such form and in such manner as may be prescribed, and shall be issue a receipt to the owner in such form and in such manner as may be prescribed, to effect that the tenant has been registered by the owner of the premises.

Offence and penalty

7. Any owner who fails to furnish the names and particulars of the tenants to the Director within the period specified in section 5 shall be punishable with fine up to a minimum of two thousand rupees but not exceeding five thousand rupees.

Persons to be exempted

8. The provisions of this Act shall not apply to-
 - a) the native people of the State of Manipur

- b) persons employed in connection with affairs of the Union Government, the State Government, Public Undertaking, and persons employed by a local authority or a body established by law with the approval of the state Government, high dignitaries, students of educational institutions situated in the state or such other persons may be determined by the State Government from time to time.

Explanation.- For the purpose of this section, production of a valid card issued by the concerned authority of the employee or the educational institution or such other documentary evidence for such employment or studentship.

Protection of action taken in good faith

9. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against any officer of the State Government for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

Power to make rules

10.

1. The State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules to carry out the purpose of this Act.
2. In particular and without prejudice to the generality of foregoing powers, such rule may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely,-

- (a) the salaries and allowances and conditions of the service of the officers and staff under sub-section (3) of section 3;
 - (b) to establish registration centre for Non Manipur Person under sub-section (2) of section 4;
 - (c) form and manner of issue of pass to be issued to the Non- Manipur persons under sub-section (4) of section 4;
 - (d) form and manner of renewal of Pass issued under this Act under sub-section (4) of section 4;
 - (e) forms and manner of issue of the receipt to be issued to the owners under sections 6;
 - (f) form and manner of maintenance of the register under sub-section (5) of section 4 and section 6; and
 - (g) any other matter which is required to be, or may be prescribed.
3. Every rule made under this Act shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before the Manipur Legislative Assembly, while it is in session, for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two or more successive session, and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session of successive session aforesaid, the House agrees in making any modification in the rule or the House agrees that the rule should not be made, the rule shall, thereafter, have effect only in such modifies form or be of no effect, as the case may be, so however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

Power to remove difficulties

11. If any difficulty arises in giving effect to the previous of this Act, the State Government may, by order, make such provisions or give such directions not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act as may appear to it to be necessary or expedient for the removal of the difficulty.

Provided that no such power shall be exercised after the expiry of a period of two years from the commencement of this Act.

2. THE MANIPUR LAND REVENUE AND LAND REFORMS

(SEVENTH AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015

A BILL

To amend the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, 1960 (No. 33 of 1960) whereas 10% of the geographical area of the State of Manipur is valley area and the remaining 90% is hill areas; and whereas 60% of the population of the State resides in the valley areas and the population density in the valley areas is 730 while in the hill areas it is 61 as per the 2011 Census; and whereas there is tremendous pressure in the limited valley areas, with the increase in the population in the immediate future, there are likely to be many families without

any residential plots; and whereas under section 158 of the Manipur Land Revenue & Land Reforms Act, 1960, land belonging to a Scheduled Tribe in the valley areas cannot be sold to a non Scheduled Tribe without the prior consent of the Deputy Commissioner concerned; and whereas, it is therefore, considered necessary to regulate the sale of land to Non Manipur persons of the State so that the limited available land in the valley area are available to all the permanent residents of the State in the interest of the general public. Be it enacted by the Legislature of Manipur in the Sixty-sixth Year of the Republic of India as follows :

Short title and commencement

1. This Act may be called the Manipur Land Revenue Reformed (Seventh Amendment) Act, 2015.
2. It shall come into force from such date as the State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint.
3. After section 14 of the Principal Act, the following new section 14 A shall be inserted, namely,-

(Insertion of new section 14.A)

“14 A. Purchase of land by a Non Manipur Person.-

- (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, Non Manipur persons, firms, institutions or any other similar entities who intend to purchase any

land in the State of Manipur shall submit an application to the Deputy Commissioner of the district concerned where the land to be purchased is situated for obtaining the prior approval of the State Government before such purchase is made by him.

- (2) For the purpose of sub-section (1), an application shall be made in the prescribed form and shall contain the particulars of the said seller, classification of the land, Patta No., Dag No., area of the land, and the purpose for use of the land and such other particulars as may be prescribed.
- (3) The Deputy Commissioner on receipt of an application solicit recommendation from Local Body/ Authority/ Local Self Government and thereafter shall make an inquiry in respect of the application received under sub-section (2) in such manner as may be prescribed and shall submit the application along with the report of such inquiry and his comments to the State Government.
- (4) The State Government shall, on receipt of the application and the report under sub-section (3), process the matter for its final decision:
Provided that the State Government shall grant its approval to the said sale of land only after obtaining the approval of the State cabinet.
- (5) The State Government shall intimate the final decision on the application to the applicant”

(Insertion of new section 14.B)

14 B. Allotment of land to a Non Manipur Person.-

Allotment of land to a Non Manipur Person, Firms, Institutions or any other similar entities shall be made by the Government after obtaining prior approval of the State Cabinet.”

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The population of Manipur has reached 28.56 lakhs as per 2011 census. The population density of the 4 (four) Valley Districts has reached 730 while in the 5 (five) Hill Districts where there is restriction of purchase of land by non-scheduled Tribe is 61. Hence there is tremendous pressure on land especially in the 4 (four) Valley Districts of Manipur. The Manipur Conservation of Paddy Land and Wetland Act, 2014 has been enacted to conserve the Paddy Land and Wetland spreading in the 4 (four) Valley Districts.

There has been apprehension among the general public of Manipur that without regulation on sale of land in the very near future many families in the State may not have a roof over their heads. Hence, there is an urgent need to regulate the sale of lands to Non-Manipur persons.

Hence the Bill.

Imphal

August, 2015

Th. Debendra Singh

MEMORANDUM ON DELEGATED LEGISLATION

The proposed sub sections (2) and (3) of section 14A to be added by clause 2 of the bill in the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, 1960 seek to empower the State Government to provide in the rules the form of application to be submitted by a Non Manipuri Person, firms, institution or any other similar entities.

The delegation is not excessive and normal in character.

FINANCIAL MEMORANDUM

After enactment of this Bill, there shall be no additional financial liability to the Consolidated Fund of the State.

1. THE MANIPUR SHOPS AND ESTABLISHMENTS

(SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL, 2015

A BILL

To amend further the Manipur Shops and Establishments Act, 1972 (Manipur Act No. 4 of 1973). Be it enacted by the Legislature of Manipur in the Sixty-sixth Year of the Republic of India as follows:

Short title and commencement

1. (1) This Act may be called the Manipur Shops and Establishments (Second Amendment) Act, 2015.
(2) It shall come into force from such date as the State Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.
2. In clause (6) of section 2 of the Manipur Shops and Establishments Act, 1972 (hereinafter referred to as the Principal Act), in between the words "a person" and "wholly", the words "who is registered with, and issued a valid identity card by the Registering Officer" shall be inserted.

Addition of new section 7 A

3. After section 7 of the Principal Act, the following new section 7A shall be added, namely, —"7A.

- (1) The Registering Officer appointed under section 5A shall also be the Registering Officer for registration of employees under this Act.
- (2) Every employer shall register the names and particulars of every employee employed by him, within a week of such employment, with the Registering Officer.
- (3) An employer who fails to register an employee under sub-section (2) shall be liable to pay a fine of rupees five thousand.
- (4) The Registering Officer shall issue, in such form and in such manner as may be prescribed, an identity card to such registered employee.
- (5) The identity card issued under sub-section (2) shall be valid for a period of one year from the date of registration of the employee by the Registering Officer and shall be renewable for every one year. The employee shall surrender his identity card to the employer on cessation of his employment by the employer. The employer shall immediately furnish to the Registering Officer the name and particulars of the employees who ceased to be his employee.
- (6) The Registering Officer shall maintain a register of registered employees and identity card in such form and in such manner as may be prescribed.

Amendment of section 37

4. After clause (h) of sub-section (2) of section 37 of the Principal Act, the following new clauses (i) and (j) shall be added, namely —

- ”(i) form and manner of issue of identity card under sub-section (4) of section 7A.’
(j) form and manner of register to be maintained under sub-section (6) of section 7A.”

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The Manipur Shops and Establishments Act, 1972 provides for registration of shops/ establishments and regulation of employment and conditions of service of the employees employed in shops/ establishments.

The said Act does not provide for registration of employees employed in any shop or establishment and for issuing Identity Card. The proposed law is to provide for registration of employees by the employers and to issue identity cards to the employees to protect the interest of such employees.

Hence the Bill.

Imphal
I.Hemochandra Singh
August 28, 2015

On this issue, all Tribals people Nagas, Zomi and Kuki came together on a common platform under the name and nomenclature of Joint Action Committee (JAC) and strong protest was launched, particularly, in Churachandpur, which eventually became the epicenter of the movement. All together, 9 people were killed and over 80 people

were injured in Churachandpur the protest movement. They were said to have been shot dead by the police.

There was a kind of unity among the Tribals, people not only Zomis and Kukis but also the Nagas. For the next 6 Months or so, a kind of unity could be seen among the Tribal people. But after fighting together for the cause of the Tribal people against what they called Anti-Tribal Bills. The Kukis led by the Kuki Innpi has withdrawn its support to the movements, and consequent upon withdrawn the coffin of a young Kuki, Mr. Khaizamang Touthang, and after receiving Rs. 10Lakhs as a compensation by the family from the Government of Manipur, the mortal remains of the young Kuki boy was finally buried. A Government Job was provided to the next of skin of the family.

As seen above, the three Bills are; Protection of Manipur people Act, 2015. The Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reformed (seven amendment) Bill,2015 and The Manipur Shop and Establishments (second amendment) Bills 2015.

Since Tribal people, not only of Manipur, and for that matter, all Tribal people of North-East India, are so sensitive about their lands which they inherited from their fore-father, Tribal people of Manipur are also so serious about the lands they inherited from their fore-fathers. It is for this reason that they are apprehensive of the motive of the 3 Bills, particularly, Bill No. 1 Protection of Manipur peoples Bill which shall be extended to the whole of Manipur, including hill areas. They are also more particular about the Bill as it relates to fixing of

1951 as cut-off year for eligibility to be a resident of Manipur. They maintain that there was no proper census or census record as far as remote Tribal villages are concerned; and if the Bill become an Act, most of the people of remote Tribal villages will be excluded as there was no record to be based on for claiming their right. They are also particularly about the insertion in the Bill "who have contributed to the collective social, culture and economic life of Manipur". The Tribal people asserted that if the Bill relating to Manipur peoples become an Act, then no Tribal people will have the necessary qualification as Tribal people in general don't have such contribution as required by the Act. They are also apprehensive that the Bills are an attempt by the majority Meitei community to legally take over or purchase the land of the Tribal people (hill areas) and they (tribal people) will become minority in their own land in the same way as Tripuris, the native people of Tripura became minority in their own land. The Tribal people of Manipur are also sensitive about the wording of the introduction of the Bills which runs "Manipur, a small hill state of North-East India". The use of the word "hill state" makes them to believe that the Government is trying to turn Manipur, "a hill state". They maintained that once Manipur become a hill state, the whole geographical area of Manipur would be treated as hill, and all the people living in the state of Manipur will automatically become the hill people. The tribal people further maintain, once the Bills become an Act, all the people of Manipur will be unified under one common platform, 'hill

people' or 'Tribal people'. Consequent upon, a special protection to Tribal people under the 5th schedule of the constitution or the inclusion of their land under scheduled area, will have no meaning.

The Tribal people, irrespective of whether one is a Naga, a Kuki or a Zomi, are united on the issue of these 3 Bills. Civil Society Organizations, tribe based organizations of Tribal people of Manipur jointly created a Joint Action Committee, (JAC) to lead their fight for what they called "Justice" . The Joint Action Committee accordingly led the Tribal people in fighting for nullification of the Bills, asking the Governor and the President of India, not to give their assent.

Since all Tribal people of Manipur are united in support of the JAC, created to take the lead, the Kuki Innpi and the Zomi Council, officially declared their support to the JAC, and for that matter, the movement. For brief period of time, there was a near total unity between the Kuki Innpi and the Zomi Council. However, this unity between the two conflicting entity was short lived. Sooner than later, the Kuki Innpi, Churachandpur withdraws its support to the JAC and the movement as well. The cold war between the two opposing entity once again re-surfaced leading to a war like situation in the town. Any shutdown or strike called by the JAC, led by the Paite community is openly opposed by the Kukis, and women folk from the two communities had started confronting each other at the bridge over Chiengkongpang river that divides their areas of control. They are, once again at the brink of armed confrontation. However, armed

confrontation could be avoided as armed cadres of KNO and ZRA are not involved on the issue. The misunderstanding between the two entities, however, persists and the movement against the 3 Bills suffered a setback. The fact of the matter is, the Kukis look at the movement as a Zomi or Paite movement. The problem persists unabated, thereby, threatening the peaceful environment of the town and of the District as well.

Chapter -V

Conclusion: Suggestions for Conflict Resolution:

In order to avoid the re-occurrence of armed intra-ethnic conflict between Zomis and Kukis, it is absolutely necessary to address the core issue i.e the issue of common nomenclature. While the Thadou speaking community within Chin-Mizo/Zomi-Kuki ethnic group in Manipur sticks to Kuki as the common nomenclature for all tribes of the ethnic group in Manipur, the Paite speaking majority community of Churachandpur district, sticks to Zomi as the common nomenclature for the same people mentioned above. This conflicting claims over common nomenclature has become the major area of conflict between the two. Until and unless, it appears, a compromised agreement is reached on the issue, there seems to be unlikelihood of solving the problem confronting the two communities in question. It is, therefore, necessary that a commonly acceptable nomenclature be invented so that a lasting and enduring peaceful environment could be there among the people of the same ethnological family in Manipur. It could, therefore, be suggested that the people of the ethnic group in Manipur could be referred to as Zokus meaning, Zomis-Kukis. The present researcher projected Zokus a unified

common nomenclature by the name and style of Zokus.

The other suggestion that could be put up may include, as stated earlier, the healing process of the wounded mind and soul during the conflict. Those people who are directly affected by the conflict should be given rehabilitation for healing those wounded minds and soul. Those people who lost their near and dear ones, and those people whose houses and property were burnt down need a healing touch which may included setting up of rehabilitation camps wherein those directly affected people and those whose minds and souls are grievously would from both side of the communities involved in the conflict could be the inmate. They should be given spiritual consolation by leaders of the communities and by leaders of Church Organizations. A spirit of forgive and forget should be implanted in the minds of the concerned people. Also, what is needed is, to give a positive education on the futility of armed conflict. As far as rehabilitation in terms of money and material, is concerned it is believed that the Government had taken it as its burden and provided such rehabilitation same 15 years back. The other area of contention is overlapping of political demands, both in terms of claimed area and level, extend and nomenclature of political autonomy. Since the two groups of people occupied the same area, there is bound to be overlapping of claimed areas. In the case of Kukis, it is the KNO (Kuki National Organization) which, on behalf of Kuki people started negotiations with the Government of India

for the creation of Kuki State, and the proposed geographical area include, Churachandpur district, Kangpokpi district and some pocket of Ukhul, Tamenglong and Chandel district. On the other hand, the ZRO (Zomi Re-Organization), on behalf of the Zomis, started negotiation with the Government of India and Government of Manipur under. The unified platform of UPF (United People Front) for the creation of state within a state covering the whole hill area of the State. The demands put up by the two armed group of the two community, though may or may not be feasible, are basically overlapping or contradicting. Even if a solution to their demands are to be made there would inevitably be a confrontation between the two armed entities. It is, therefore, to be established that any political solution to their demands would required a prior consensus between the two armed group. The consensus, if at all, is to be reached, there should be prior consensus on the nomenclature of the political autonomy they demanded. For a consensus nomenclature, unless the two entities could reach a compromise stand on identity nomenclature, there seem to be no political settlement for the two separate political demands. It is, now, therefore, clear that any political solution should inevitably be proceeded by commonly acceptable identity nomenclature. It is for this matter that the investigator of the present research project work projected Zokus for a unified nomenclature.

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3. An interview with Mr. T. Tunzakam, Sahei Road, Vengnuam Churachandpur, on 03-02-2016
4. An interview with Mr. M. Zamkham Chief of Saikul Paite village and an eye witness to Saikul massacre on 16-05-2016.
5. An interview with Mr. T. Zarual, a prominent member of Singngat village on 11-01-2017.
6. An interview with Mr. IB Sona, the Ex-Chairman of Zomi Council on 07-02-2016.

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Questionnaire:

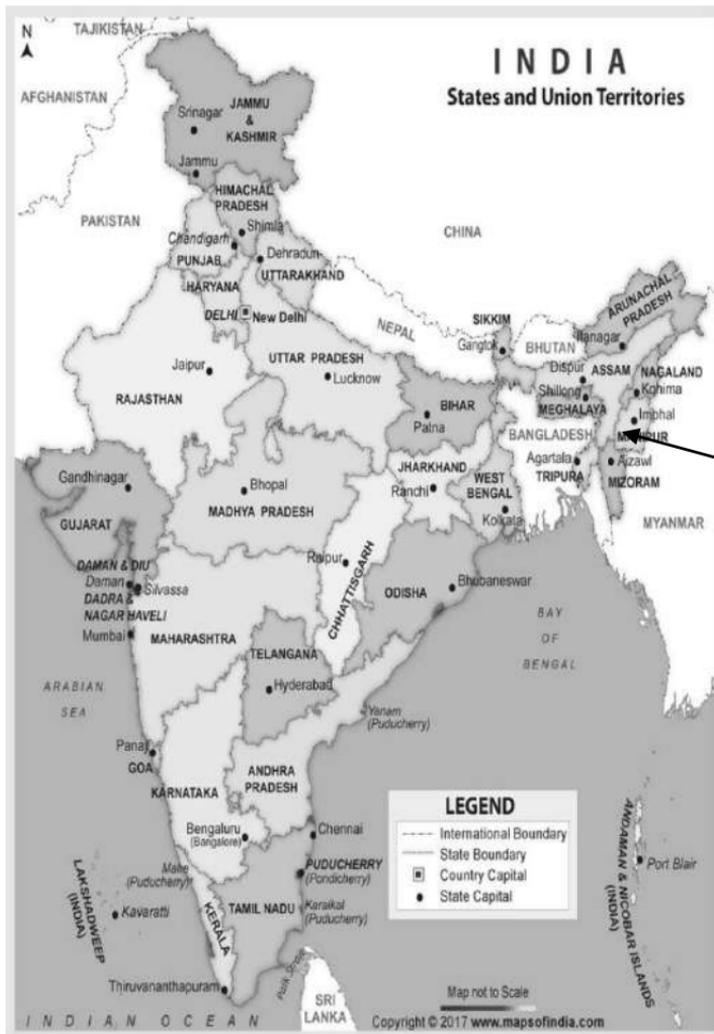
1. Who are the Kukis and who are the Zomis?
2. What reason has Kuki-Paite conflict?
3. What are the immediate and remote causes of the conflict?

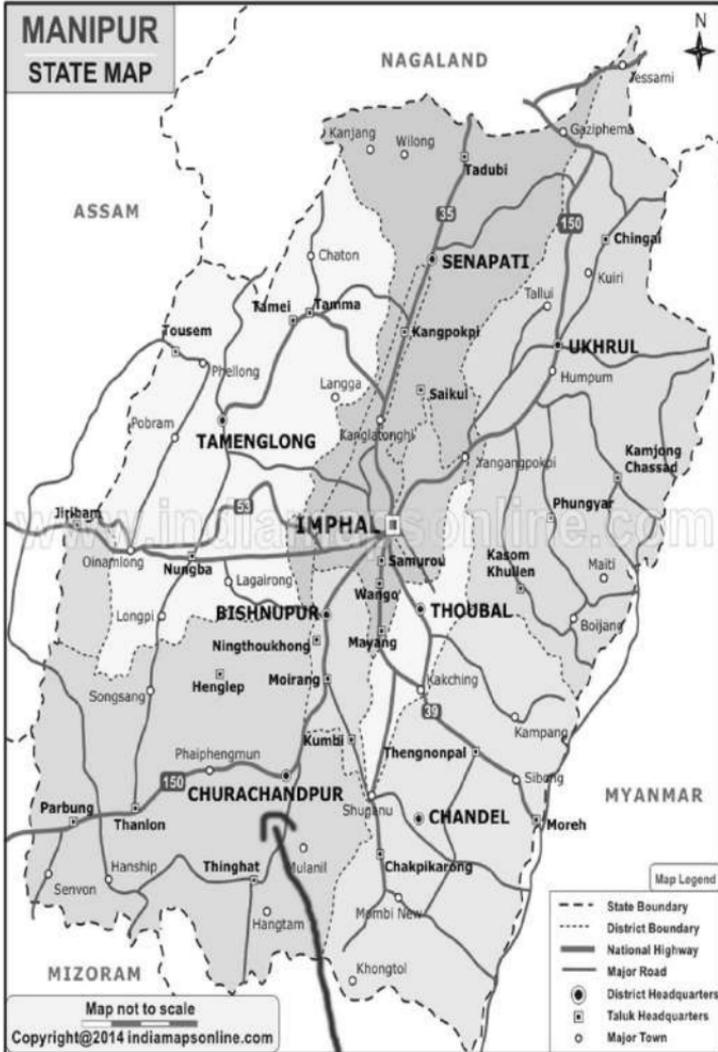
4. What is ethnic relation between the Kukis and Zomi?
5. What role has the Government of Manipur played for the resolution of the conflict?
6. The conflict between the two community has been resolved for good.
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No
 - (c) No idea
7. The two conflicting community now live in complete peace and order.
 - (a) No
 - (b) Yes
 - (c) No idea
8. Considering that there could be another conflict of this nature and of this magnitude in near future; do you think there can be measure to be taken so as to avoid recurrence of conflict between them?
 - (a) No
 - (b) Yes
 - (c) No idea.
9. The problem confronting Kukis and Zomis is over the issue of common nomenclature; there can be a solution to the problem acceptable to both side?
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No
 - (c) No idea
10. Those people from both the warring community, whose near and dear ones are either killed or mortally wounded, are now living a happy and contented life.

- (a) No
 - (b) Yes
 - (c) No idea
11. The sudden upsurge in the population of urban centre in district is caused by mass-migration of rural population to urban centre.
- (a) yes
 - (b) No
 - (c) No idea
12. Do you think that the sudden growth of the population Churachandpur urban centre is the consequence or after effect of the ethnic conflict?
- (a) Yes, I think so
 - (b) No it may not
 - (c) No idea to give
13. If the sudden upsurge in the population of Churachandpur town is not caused by the ethnic conflict or mass-migration from rural village to urban centre, then, what do you think could be the reason?
- (a) Entry of Myanmar nationals in large number
 - (b) Could be, migration from neighboring states of Mizoram and Nagaland
 - (c) There is no other reason, other than mass-migration of people from rural villages of the district.
14. Do you believe that the Zomi-Kuki intra-ethnic conflict was in reality was a conflict between the Thadou speaking Kukis and the Paites speaking Zomis of Churachandpur district of Manipur?
- (a) Yes, I truly believe.

- (b) No, it cannot be.
 - (c) I have no idea or comment.
15. Do you believe that Saikul Paite Village was giving shelter to NSCN(IM) cadres?
- (a) Yes, I do believe that it was true.
 - (b) No, I do not believe at all.
 - (c) I do not have any comment or opinion on the question.
16. Though there are misunderstanding between the Paites and the Thadous over common nomenclature; had there been no massacre of 10 people at Saikul Paite village, the intra-ethnic between Kukis and Zomis would not occurred?
- (a) Yes, I do believed so
 - (b) No, armed conflict, would anyway happen.
 - (c) No idea to offer.

The Zomi-Kuki Intra-Ethnic Armed Conflict of 1997-98 in Manipur





Churachandpur Epicentre of Conflict

The Zomi-Kuki Intra-Ethnic Armed Conflict of 1997-98 in Manipur

