

## Centennial Year of Kuki Rising, 1917-2017: Reflecting the Past Hundred Years

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The year 2017 marks the centennial year of the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919. The spirit of the rising that took place during First World War, also evident in Second World War, when the Kuki people fought on the side of the Axis group, has persisted. Freedom and self-determination remain a strong aspiration of the Kukis. One hundred years on, the history of the Kukis, segmented into three parts are: a) pre-British, b) British period, and c) present-day, in post-independent India.

### a) The pre-British period

An era of self-rule marked the pre-British period. A nation in its own right, governance of Kuki country was based on traditional *Haosa kivaipo* (Chieftainship). Similar to the Greek-City states, each village was ruled by a Chief. Chieftainship, a hereditary institution, was complete with an administrative structure. The essential features comprised a two-tiered bicameral system: a) *Upa Innpi* or *Bulpite Vaipohna* (Upper House) and: b) *Haosa Inpi* or *Kho Haosa Vaipohna* (Lower House). *Semang* and *Pachong* (council of ministers and auxiliary members) assisted the Chief in the day-to-day administration. *Cha'ngloi* (Assistant), *Lhangsam* (Town Crier), *Thiempu* (High Priest and Judge), *Lawm Upa* (Minister of Youth & Cultural Affairs), *Thihpu* (Village Blacksmith) comprised other organs of the Government (For details read Lunkim 2013).

### b) The British period

The British administered Kuki country through the traditional institution of Chieftainship. However, the rights of the Chiefs were substantially reduced and house tax was imposed. In Manipur, Kuki lands were brought under civil authority, the first being the Sub-Divisional Offices opened at Tamenglong, Ukhrul and Churachandpur,<sup>1</sup> from which the present-day hill districts of Manipur have been carved out. Former Chassad and Lajang, respectively changed to Ukhrul and Tamenglong, were intended to curb Kuki hegemony over the hills. The new administrative posts achieved two major objectives: a) 'containment' of Kuki activities to prevent another rising and b) ensure Naga domination in Ukhrul and Tamenglong Sub-Divisions (Gangte, 1980;

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Gangte 2011). Furthermore, Government of India Act of 1935 divided Kuki country between British Burma and British India.

c) The present-day in post-independent India

The undying spirit of nationalism re-emerged in the wake of Second World War. Kukis joined the Indian National Army and fought the British again with the Imperial Army of Japan. 150 Kukis received INA pensions; 80 are listed in *Freedom Fighters of Manipur*.<sup>2</sup>

Defeat of the Axis powers eluded hopes of the pre-British state of independence being restored. Opposition to colonialism instilled anticipations of acknowledgement from the Government of India, especially having acquiesced in September 1949 to become part of the Indian Union, along with the state of Manipur. Therefore, the Kuki National Assembly demanded in 1946:<sup>3</sup>

Taking into consideration the various aspects of the vexing problems of the hills and the valley it is the desire of the Kuki National Assembly to announce that the Kukis should come under the Durbar provided the conditions are satisfactory, but failing to obtain satisfactory conditions, the Kukis regretfully, will have to follow the footsteps of their hill brethren in demanding for full secession.

As far back as in 1958, the then Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had laid down five fundamental principles that are to be pursued in regard to administration in tribal areas. These are:

- (1) People should develop along the lines of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture.
- (2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.
- (3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed, especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.
- (4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.
- (5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, Govt of India, dating back to 1951, contains complete Tribes Schedules of the six states in Northeast India: Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, and Tripura. In all these States the various Kuki clans are collectively recognised as ‘Any Kuki Tribes’ or ‘Kuki’ (Please see lists below). Later, exceptional to this collectivity, there was an unprecedented development regarding the State of Manipur. In the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Part C States) Order, 1951, the Schedule, Part XVI – Manipur, throughout the State’, was deleted and the substitute set in place was ‘The Constitution Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, The Schedule, Part X –

Manipur.’ This Schedule, in contrast to those preceding it, listed each Kuki clan as separate tribes, thereby inducing a state of grave internal division. The divisive impact that lasted nearly 50 years was rectified by ‘The Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II – Section I, New Delhi, January 8, 2003 (p 6), (f) in Part X. – Manipur, – ‘Any Kuki Tribes’. This Gazette restores the legitimacy of Kukis’ existence in Manipur in congruence with the status of the Kukis in the other five Northeast states.

A comprehensive listing of the Kukis is included in the various Schedules of the Constitution of India. In Manipur, The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) (Part C States) Order, 1951, The Schedule, Part XVI – Manipur, throughout the State, include 1. Any Kuki Tribe, 2. Any Lushai Tribe, 3. Any Naga Tribe.

The Kuki people in Manipur are listed in alphabetical order: Aimol, Anal, Changsan, Chiru, Chongloi, Chothe, Doungel, Guite, Gangte, Hangshing, Haokip, Hmar, Kharam, Koireng, Kolhen, Kom, Kipgen, Lamkang, Lenthang (Telien), Lhanghal, Lhangum, Lhouvum, Lhungdim, Lunkim, Maring, Mate, Milhem, Monshang, Muyon, Paite, Purum, Simte, Singsit, Sitlhou, Tarao, Touthang, Vaiphei and Zou. The ‘Any Kuki Tribes’ was reintroduced on 8 January 2003 by The Gazette of India Extraordinary, Part II – Section I, Ministry of Law and Justice, New Delhi, (f) in Part X. – Manipur, – (p. 6). The Manipur Gazette, Extraordinary, Published by Authority, Govt. of Manipur Secretariat: Law & Legislative Affairs Department in its notification on 14 April 2003, (j) in Part X. – Manipur, – (p 6) reintroduces ‘Any Kuki Tribes’.

The Kuki people are the aborigines living in more than 50% of the entire State of Manipur and also in various parts of other States. The immense loss of lives and their safety being in jeopardy caused by callous and indifferent approach of the State Government is evidenced by the plight and sufferings of the Kukis. The treatment meted out to the People of the Hill Area has dashed the hopes and aspirations of the Kukis as a damp squib. The expectation of equal and fair treatment to the Kukis by Government authorities has been proved to be a mirage. The creation of Nagaland in 1963 and the blatant disregard of Kuki interest by the persons at the helm of affairs prompted them even to join the Mizo National Front’s secessionist movement in 1965. However, when the Mizo Accord was signed in 1986 with Government of India, the accord surreptitiously excluded Kuki territory.

The promise of Pandit Nehru to the scheduled tribe people has been belied in the case of the Kukis as they have been denied the right to govern and manage their own affairs within their traditional territory, which has resulted in the gross underdevelopment of the Kuki inhabited areas of Manipur Hills, Karbi-Anglong and North-Cachar Hills of Assam and Tripura and they have been compelled to live in abject poverty contradistinctive to other tribes of Northeast India. Fair developmental programs have consistently been denied to Kuki inhabited regions by the machinery of the State Government of Manipur dominated by the majority Meitei community. The long years of neglect and sufferings of the Kuki people under the Northeast States Governments dictated by the interests of the majority communities have rendered the Kukis economically, socially and politically backward and deeply vulnerable. The right to live with dignity and equal status, freedom of expression and movement, which are cherished rights guaranteed to each citizen of the Country

have been calculatedly denied to them. In 1964 the Kuki National Assembly proposed a separate state for the Kukis within India.

Following on the footsteps of our forbears and the political demand of the Kuki National Assembly in 1964, the Kuki National Organisation and the United People's Front, two-armed umbrella organisations are currently engaged in tripartite dialogue with the Government of India and the state Government of Manipur for political settlement within the Constitutional framework. The engagement in dialogue, following thirteen years (five years with the Indian Army, eight years with GoI and GoM) of Suspension of Operations commenced on 15 June 2016 at New Delhi, the nation's capital. The objective KNO and UPF, i.e. self-determination for our people, bears testament to the spirit of self-determination that was cherished by our forbears.

### **Historical backdrop and map of Kuki country**

Expansion of the British Empire progressed westward from Bengal towards the east. The first incursion into Kuki country was in 1777 (Chakravorty 1964), when Warren Hastings was Governor General of India. Resistance began in '1845, 1847-1848, 1849-1850', and from '1850-1851 there were raids culminating in what is called the Great Kuki Invasion of 1860s' (Elly, 1978). The Chin-Lushai Conference, Fort William, 29 January 1892, resolution 4) states:

The Conference is of opinion that the boundaries of the new administrative area should be, generally speaking, the boundaries of the tract occupied by the savages newly brought under British control, but the details of those boundaries can only be settled after consultation with local officers.

In 1904, Sir Grierson (1904), Superintendent Linguistic Survey of India, delineated the boundaries of Kuki country as follows:

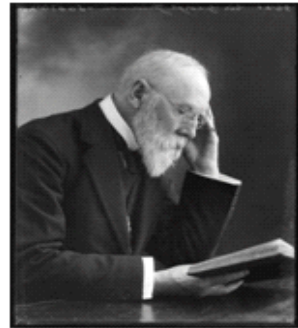
The territory inhabited by the Kuki tribes extends from the Naga Hills in the north down into the Sandoway District of Burma in the south; from Myittha River in the east, almost to the Bay of Bengal in the west. It is almost entirely filled up by hills and mountain ridges, separated by deep valleys.

A great chain of mountains suddenly rises from the plains of Eastern Bengal, about 220 miles north of Calcutta, and stretches eastward in a broadening mass of spurs and ridges, called successively the Garo, Khasia, and Naga Hills. The elevation of the highest point increases towards the east, from about 3,000 feet in the Garo Hills to 8,000 and 9,000 in the region of Manipur.

This chain merges, in the east, into the spurs, which the Himalayas shoot out from the north of Assam towards the south. From here a great mass of mountain ridges starts southwards, enclosing the alluvial valley of Manipur, and thence spreads out westwards to the south of Sylhet. It then runs almost due north and south, with cross-ridges of smaller elevation, through the districts known as the Chin Hills, the Lushai Hills, Hill Tipperah, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Farther south the mountainous region continues, through the Arakan Hill tracts, and the Arakan Yoma, until it finally sinks into the sea at Cape Negrais, the total length of the range being

some seven hundred miles. The greatest elevation is found to the north of Manipur. Thence it gradually diminishes towards the south. Where the ridge enters the north of Arakan it again rises, with summit upwards of 8,000 feet high, and here a mass of spurs is thrown off in all directions. Towards the south the western off-shoots diminish in length, leaving a track of alluvial land between them and the sea, while in the north the eastern off-shoots of the Arakan Yoma run down to the banks of the Irawaddy.

Sir George Abraham Grierson (1851-1941)



### **The Kuki rising, 1917-1919**

The Kuki rising from 1917-1919 was notably a culmination of resistance against the colonialists. A 'Minute Paper' reports, '23 principals involved, 13 in Manipur under Assam, 10 in the Somra Tract under Burma'.<sup>4</sup> The concerted offensive led by leading Kuki Chieftains was described as 'most formidable with which Assam has been faced for at least a generation' 'I therefore decided to put an end to the Kuki revolt by force of arms, break the Kuki spirit, disarm the Kukis, exact reparation and pave the way for an effective administration of their country'.<sup>5</sup>

The history of the rising is set out in 5 periods:<sup>6</sup>

- 1) April to December 1917, during which the trouble was brewing;
- 2) December 1917 to mid April 1918, during which the first attempt at the suppression of the rebellion was made;
- 3) April to October 1918, during which the Kukis raided and harried loyal tribesmen and interrupted traffic;
- 4) November 1918 to April 1919, when operations under military direction were in progress and the rebels were systematically attacked and disarmed;
- 5) The stage of punishment and reconstruction.

Colonial records categorise the cause of the Kuki rising under 'the ultimate and the proximate'.<sup>7</sup> The former cause is attributed to the 'vastness and inaccessibility of the country', and the latter to 'summons issued to the Chiefs in March 1917 to contribute recruits to serve in a labour corps destined for France, which His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur had undertaken to raise'.<sup>8</sup> The Chief of Aisan, Chengjapao, in response ordered the younger Chieftains to resist the recruitment and 'with force if necessary. Other influential chiefs were reported to have taken similar steps'.<sup>9</sup>

Historically, relation between Kuki and the Meitei people of Manipur was always cordial with mutual respect for each other's culture, identity and territory. Following defeat at the Khongjom War of 1891, the Maharaja of Manipur was obligated to fulfil demands such as 'raising the labour corps.' The native state of Manipur came under British regency from 1891 to 1908. In regard to 'raising the labour corps', 'The Kuki Chiefs, misunderstanding the situation, disobeyed the Maharaja's summons, would neither send their tribesmen nor let men of other tribes join the corps. They also refused to come to Imphal.'<sup>10</sup> This observation is a gross rationalisation because the Kukis, in their minds and in their 'inaccessible country', remained a free people. They clearly did not recognize any authority other than their Chieftains and were without obligation, neither towards the Maharaja nor the colonial rulers. By dint of the colonialists' intent, the hills were brought under the State Durbar when Manipur became a constitutional monarchy in 1908. However, separate Rules for the Administration of the Hills were framed the same year (Ray, 1990: 63). The Kuki hills were not a part of Manipur; the term Manipur was 'not used at all until the British period' (Parratt and Parratt, 2005: 14).

In October 1917, the prospect of raising a second labour corps was at risk because of the Chiefs unfaltering position against recruitment. Mr Higgins, the political Agent, therefore, was compelled to burn the village of one of the leading recalcitrant, the Chief of Mombi, before returning to the plains.<sup>11</sup> Further attempts at recruitment ceased 'with notices issued that no Chiefs would be required to contribute coolies for France, and that as regards past action those who now come in quietly would be more leniently dealt with than those who remained defiant.'<sup>12</sup> Such presumptions led to 'big gatherings of Kukis'<sup>13</sup> and 'by end of December 1917 Mr Cosgrave was sent to Imphal to take charge as Political Agent, setting Mr Higgins free to deal with the Kukis, who were now in open rebellion.'<sup>14</sup> And so began the Kuki rising of 1917-1919!

The scorched-earth tactics of burning crops and hamlets ultimately forced the Chiefs to end hostilities in 1919 (See Haokip 2019). Near starvation and homelessness, especially the women and children made the Chiefs plead clemency, rather than surrender. Warrants to arrest Chiefs were issued.<sup>15</sup> The prison terms ranged from three and four years, depending on the status of the Chief. The *Pipa*, eldest of the Chiefs, Pu Chenjapao DOUNGEL served a four-year term. Thirteen leading principals were imprisoned at Sadiya Jail in Assam, and the remaining ten at Taungyi Jail in Burma.<sup>16</sup> The leading twenty-three principals imprisoned at Sadiya Jail and later transferred to the cellular Jail of Andaman and Nicobar Islands:

1. Pu Chengjapao DOUNGEL, Chief of Aisan, as *Pipa* (Head of the Kukis), served a 4 year prison term
2. Pu Lhukhomang Haokip, alias Pache Chief of Chassad - in prison for 3 years
3. Pu Tintong Haokip, Chief of Laijang was in prison for 3 years
4. Pu Enjakhup Kholhou, Chief of Thenjang- in prison for 3 years
5. Pu Khotinthang Sitlhou, alias Kilkhong Chief of Jampi - in prison for 3 years
6. Pu Pakang Haokip, Chief of Henglep- in prison for 3 years
7. Pu Heljashon, Chief of Loiboi - in prison for 3 years

8. Pu Mangkho-on Haokip, Chief of Tingkai- in prison for 3 years
9. Pu Ngulkhup, Chief of Mombi (Lonpi) - in prison for 3 years
10. Pu Leothang, Chief of Goboh- in prison for 3 years
11. Pu Lunkholal Sithou, Chief of Chongjang- in prison for 3 years
12. Pu Semchung Haokip, Chief Ukha – in prison for 3 years

The Chiefs imprisoned at Taungyi Jail in Burma:

1. Pu Kamjahen Haokip, Chief of Phailenjang- in prison for 3 years
2. Pu Letkhotang, Chief of Khotuh- in prison for 3 years
3. Pu Semkholun Haokip, chief of Phaishat- in prison for 3 years
4. Pu Vumngul Kipgen, Chief of Tujang- in prison for 3 years
5. Pu Tukih Lupheng, Chief of Tonglhang- in prison for 3 years
6. Pu Songkhopao Haokip, Chief of Twisom- in prison for 3 years
7. Pu Holkhopao Kipgen, chief of Molvailup, - in prison for 3 years
8. Pu Letjahao Chongloi, Chief of Khomunnom- in prison for 3 years
9. Pu Kondem Baite, Chief of Sadih- in prison for 3 years
10. Pu Jalhun Haokip, Chief of Molvom- in prison for 3 years
11. Pu Tongkholun Haokip, Chief of Phailenjang- in prison for 3 years

## Conclusion

In India, the British included the bulk of Kuki territory within the boundary of Manipur, which was administered through a Political Agent and later under the Manipur Durbar. In the post-independence era, Kukis initially opposed the proposal for Manipur's merger with the Indian Union in 1949 because it would include Kuki territory. However, Kukis acquiesced to the merger in the hope that equity would characterise the new order. Thus, began our people's tryst with destiny under the reassuring promises of Indian democracy, only soon to be thoroughly disillusioned by the ills of deep-rooted majoritarian bias in an ethnically diverse and communally divisive political environment.

In Manipur, the post-independence 70 years of communally driven state Government policies and continued discriminative actions demonstrate beyond doubt that there will never be equitable development or economic progress in the existing state. 'The State exists simply to promote and to protect the ordinary happiness of human beings in this life' (Lewis, 1952: 170-171)- the Government of Manipur has utterly failed to ensure these basic qualities of life to our people. It is clear beyond doubt that perpetuation of the status quo will only exacerbate our condition, never alleviate. Furthermore, apart from political and economic deprivations, we have *not been and are not* physically secure in Manipur. Kukis have suffered immense loss of lives, as well as parts of our territory, at the hands of Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak&Muivah). The state Government's callous approach to ensure security, or sheer incapability, is palpable. 'Manipur's territorial integrity' is much hyped over, but precious little was done to prevent the NSCN (IM) Kuki genocide from 1992-1997. As the Auschwitz survivor Elie Wiesel (1928-2016), the Noble Peace laureate (1986) stated, 'Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented'. Besides, aggressive penetration into erstwhile

peaceful hill areas by Meitei militants and the Meitei dominated state Government's myriad discriminatory policies has made our condition untenable. Years of tolerance and patience have failed to bring justice. Expectations of impartial treatment time and again have proven an illusion. Our people continue to live in abject poverty, while also being subjected to constant fear psychosis.

In view of our dire predicament, restoration of self-determination – the Kuki people's pre-British status – by way of statehood under the democratic framework of India, is essential for us to exist in peace and grow according to our own genius as a people with distinct cultural ethos and in a context that does justice to history. This status is central to, and in full harmony with the spirit of unity in diversity - the bedrock of Indian nationhood.

The Constitution recognizes that situations or conditions may exist or arise, making it desirable for a given State to be sub-divided, or, for people of a particular region or area within a State being conferred more executive and legislative power or in participation in respect of a given region or area than mere usual municipal powers conferred on local authorities. There are also provisions conferring special privileges or benefits or providing protection for various classes such as castes, tribes, religions or linguistic minorities etc.

Recently states in India, such as Chattisgarh and Utrakhand, may have been created primarily for development and administrative necessity. In the case of Kuki, the overwhelming need for political and physical security can only be assured by the mechanisms of statehood. Administrative requirement, although extremely pertinent, in comparison is secondary; development will follow when there is security and political stability. Given the foresight of the Constitutional fathers who incorporated provisions to accommodate the interests and aspirations of the diverse populace of India, including minorities like the Kuki people, and the fact that new states were created on ethno-lingual lines, such as Nagaland, Mizoram, Tamil Nadu, would it not be a tremendous waste on our part not to demand statehood which is our Constitutional right?

In support of our movement for Kuki statehood, there are clear provisions for the creation of a separate state within the Union of India. Article 3 of the Indian Constitution clearly spells out the power of the Union Parliament to form new states, alter areas or boundaries or names of existing states. Article 3 of the Indian constitution states that Parliament may by law,

- (a) form a new State by separation of territory from any State or by uniting two or more states or parts of States or by uniting any territory to a part of any State;
- (b) increase the area of any State;
- (c) diminish the area of any State;
- (d) alter the boundaries of any State;
- (e) alter the name of any State;

Provided that no Bill for the purpose shall be introduced in either House of Parliament except on the recommendation of the President and unless, where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the area, boundaries or name of any of the States, the Bill



has been referred by the President to the Legislature of that State for expressing its views thereon within such period as may be specified in the reference or within such further period as the President may allow and the period so specified or allowed has expired.

Explanation I: In this article, in clauses (a) to (e), State includes a Union territory, but in the proviso, State does not include a Union territory Explanation II. The power conferred on Parliament by clause (a) includes the power to form a new State or Union territory by uniting a part of any State or Union territory to any other State or Union territory.

States can only give their views on a reference from the President within a specified period. Manipur Government has no moral authority to object to the formation of a separate Kuki State, and the Parliament has power to ignore its views.

In all previous states reorganization exercises, state boundaries have been drawn on linguistic and ethnic lines. Having embraced ethno-linguistic political compartmentalization, the Indian state cannot today deny the same treatment to Kuki people.

Other States in India, such as Chattisgarh and Utrakhand have been created primarily on grounds of development and administrative necessity. In our people's case, the overwhelming need for political and physical *security* necessitate statehood. Administrative requirement and development is secondary by comparison. Development will follow when there is physical security and political stability.

Therefore, the Kuki National Organization and the United People's Front, hereby, assert the right of the Kuki people as a distinct ethnic community and equal citizens of India and seek a tribal state to be named Zale'n-gam, Kukiland or Zogam, where they can fully enjoy their Constitutional rights, co-exist in peace and safety with their neighbours and develop in accordance with their own genius and progress in step with the rest of the nation.

Self-determination that our people seek is consistent with the United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007. For example, Article 3: Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Article 4: Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

The political aspiration of KNO and UPF is a separate state, where our people can fully enjoy their Constitutional rights, co-exist in peace and safety with their neighbours and develop in accordance with their own genius and progress in step with the rest of the nation.

Our state will comprise the ancestral lands for which our Chieftains possess *Pattas* (legal ownership titles), i.e. the Autonomous District Council of Churachandpur, Sadar Hills and Chandel, and our ancestral lands in Jiribam, bordering the state of Assam, and lands that have been included within the administrative boundaries of present-day districts Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Senapati. These areas represent a portion

of lands over which our forefathers fought the British in the Kuki Rising, 1917-1919.

#### Post-conclusion

The rising of 1917-1919 was suppressed with the leading Kuki Chieftains courting arrest, rather than surrender. WWII was an opportunity to restore the state independence enjoyed prior to the advent of the imperial power of Great Britain. Hopes were belied by victory of the Allied forces over the Axis group. Following independence of India from Britain in 1947, the Kuki National Assembly submitted a memorandum to the first Prime Minister, Jawarharlal Nehru demanding statehood for the Kukis. Having fought the British by joining the Indian National Army provided no leverage to KNA's demand, although other neighbouring communities, who were known to be pro-colonial power, were rewarded with statehood.

However, despite earlier disappointments, vesting confidence that democratic India will do justice to the Kuki people, KNO and UPF have signed a peace pact, i.e. SoO in 2008 with Government of India and Government of Manipur and are engaged in tripartite dialogue since June 2016 for political settlement within the Constitution of India.

Government has expressed seriousness about the talks. Therefore, based on Government's commitment, a honourable settlement is anticipated for the Kuki people.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Political Proceedings, Oct. 1920, No. 13: Extract from the Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner, Assam, in the Political Department Number 8856 p, September 1920

<sup>2</sup> *Freedom Fighters of Manipur*, published in 1985, Congress Centenary Year, by Freedom Fighters Cell, MPCC(1).

<sup>3</sup> Resolution of the Annual Kuki National Assembly conference, October 1946.

<sup>4</sup> Minute Paper. Secret Political Department, Government of Burma, Rangoon, 23 December 1919.

<sup>5</sup> British Library, London, Burma and Assam Frontier, L/PS/10/724, Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC). CONFIDENTIAL, File No. 4895 Field Operations, Simla, *Despatch On the Operations Against the Kuki Tribes of Assam and Burma, November 1917 to March 1919*, From Lieutenant General Sir HDU Kerry, General Officer Commanding, Burma Division, To The Chief of the General Staff, Army Headquarters, India, Simla. (Diary No. 69190) No. 1762-K.P.M., Maymyo, June 1919.

<sup>6</sup> Extract from the proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Assam in the Political Department.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> British Library, Burma and Assam Frontier, 'Kuki rising, 1917-1919', L/PS/10/724, OIOC. Political Department, From The Hon'ble Mr JE Webster, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, To The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, Shillong, the 27 June 1919, and 8 July 1919.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Extract from the proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Assam in the Political Department.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* Extract from the proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Assam in the Political Department.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> R.E. Holland, Secretary of the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, 8 December 1919, Delhi.

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