CHAPTER - VI

The Conflict and Insurgent Outfits

The analysis which had been done in the previous chapters clearly shows that conflict is an inevitable aspect of human life emerging out of various activities around the social relationships. Since time immemorial, conflict and competition in one form or others is part and parcel of social realities. In other sense the history of human being is just starts with the conflict. In this peak of civilization of the human being or in the age of computer, conflicts exist in more than one form. It is so complex that many of the scholars agree that such conflict probably will extant in the future too. In fact, conflict has multi-faced in its nature. Therefore, it is the general perception towards the character of conflict that it happens anywhere in the world in complex way or lighter one.¹

There are many attempts to classify the conflict by different scholars and research institutions. Such classification is mostly based on the spectrum and dimensions in the conflict. Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) classified the conflict as (i) Minor; (ii) Intermediate and (iii) Major Armed Conflict. But International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Red Crescent Movement classified the conflict as (i) International Armed Conflict and (ii) Non-International Armed Conflict. Galtung² observed three types of conflict in terms of the goals: (i) The goals of all parties have (some) legitimacy; (ii) The goals of some parties are legitimate, of other not; (iii) The goals of all parties are illegitimate. Further, He (2004) classified conflict into four types (i) Micro-Conflict within and between people; (ii) Meso-Conflicts within Societies; (iii) Micro-Conflict among States and Nations and (iv) Mega-Conflict among Regions and Civilizations.³

Although there are many classifications according to the spectrum and observation, conflict by nature can change their form into different aspects. It is dynamic

which means it has source, life, development climax, anti climax and end etc. Galtung observed that a conflict has its own life cycle; almost like an organic. It appears, reaches an emotional, even violent climax, then tapers off, disappear - and often reappear. The life cycle may be divided into three phases, (i) before violence; (ii) during violence; and (iii) after violence, separated by outbreak and cease-fire. This does not imply that violence is unavoidable, or that conflict equals to violence or destruction. Jurgen shows the following diagram of conflict life.

![Figure No 1: Life Cycle of a Conflict](image)

The Conflict Early Warning System research project, have classified the stages of conflict into six phases:

- Dispute phase, (opposing claims expressed through existing institutional processes);
- Crisis phase, (opposition use existing institutional processes, but their substitution with violence is openly threatened or expected);
- Limited violence phase, (legitimacy or usefulness of institutional processes is question, and systematic and regular use of force is considered justified);
- Massive violence phase, (regular, systematic, and unrestrained use of force; institutional processes for peaceful settlement are disabled or avoided,);

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• Abatement phase, (actions leading to temporary suspension of opposition, use of violence, and expectations), and
• Settlement phase (resolution of opposing claims and establishment or re-establishment of mutually recognized institutional processes).

6.1 Role of Insurgent

Ethnic conflict is much concerned within the State or non-international State. But as explain in the above it passes through various phases. Most of the times, insurgents are generalized as actor in ethnic conflict. However, there are many people who settle outside the conflict prone areas. This ‘Diaspora People’ do not considered as conflict actor though they show their solidarity and favoritism to their origin group. The previous chapter highlighted some of the ethnic groups in Manipur that favor the arm struggle for right to self determination, identity recognition, autonomy etc. As a part of their strategies, they have shown the violent activities which expose in the various phase of conflict. The State and Central government has been giving up their response to such violent activities. Though many punitive actions have been taken up by concern government, they are still active in the state of Manipur. There are many groups who are in the peace process with government and other side appeal for ‘understanding relations’ with other ethnic army. Some are still standing for Sovereignty of the State in their motto. Some of them are also working for ethnic harmony and constructing common platform. Such different approaches made a sultry situation, in one side, in the state. Hence, in order to understand the dynamic role of insurgents, it is very important to indentify the factors that responsible for emerging ethnic insurgents in the state of Manipur.

6.2 Factors for Emerging Insurgents

There are many factors for the genesis of insurgency in the state of Manipur. The attempt to analyse the genesis of insurgency in the state of Manipur needs multifarious and multi-disciplinary approaches along with understanding the geo-political situation of the area. The region is redefined as a part of South East Asia through struggling against the
dominating concepts of South Asia.\(^5\) Therefore, geo-politically and ethnically indigenous populations of this area have a close affinity with the South East Asia people. The South East Asia region is famous for its fertile soil for germinating the series of armed revolutionary movements in the world. All the revolutionary movements which have been occurring in SEA region by largely influence the North Eastern region of India.\(^6\)

The history of the state is totally different from the rest of other state of India. To hunt the genesis of insurgency in Manipur, one has to analyze the ethno-historical background of the state critically. In the previous chapter 4 it is explained that the small kingdoms or principalities ruled by dynasty were gradually adsorbed in Meetei society ruled by Mangang Clan, which latter came known as Ningthouja. Prior to the amalgamation into Meetei society, there were many wars and fighting in between and amongst these Clan/Salai principalities. It is believed that the ethos and hangover of Salai war for self and independent rule is still imbedded with the thinking of the Meetei people. Similarly in the hills of Manipur, indigenous communities were entangled in the head hunting. The present day inter-intra community conflicts and their polity are still influenced by the past events of their ethno-history.\(^7\) During this period, most of the ethnic culture and tradition were strongly knotted and firmly founded. Even today, while opening up more and more to the outside world, these societies are returning back to their roots, their culture and their belief systems, informed by and understanding that such a return to the past could help protect and preserve the separate identity of their communities which are constantly being threatened by the inroads made by a more dominant culture. Certain traditions, however, are still surviving through the ages. The surviving cultures and traditions installed to the people of Manipur vibrant a feeling of pride. Therefore, any threaten that faced by such cultures and traditions left people of Manipur very emotional and sentimental.

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The people of Manipur have experienced many intrusions on their culture and administration in the history. It is suggested in previous chapter that Hinduism invaded Manipur around the fifteenth century A.D. and established a stronghold in the state in the eighteenth century A.D. Christianity which crept in with the British invasion got firmly entrenched in the hills areas after successfully displacing the traditional beliefs, rites and rituals of the highlanders. The British imposed their own system of administration against the indigenous systems and thereby the British failed to win the confidence of the indigenous people. As a result of which, rebellions occurred in Manipur during 20th century at regular intervals: Kuki Rebellion of 1917-19, Kabui Uprising of 1930-32, Nupilal the great women’s agitation of 1939-40, Nupa Lal, and other agitation against the water tax and road tax etc. broke out in the colonial period. This distrust to the foreigners rule has not changed even in the sixty years Indians’ independence, as a result, the Indian Government too failed in gaining respect and confidence of the people of Manipur. All the three structures of religion, colonialism and sympathetically Indian political system were imposed on people who have a long history of independence and cultural heritage. And hence, all three structures fail to get assimilated with the desired of the people of Manipur. These very mechanical impositions also invigorated to ignite the revolutionary movement and insurgency activities to safeguard people of Manipur’s culture and identities from such corrupt influences. And, hence, the revolt of legendry Neta H Irabot (1948-51), the Naga Rebellion since 1958, Kuki-Mizo Rebellion since 1996 and revolutionary movements of Meetei and emergence of newer insurgent groups are fuelling to the more.

Mentioned may also be made about that Kangla which takes a vital role in the mythological and divination world in Manipur. The Kangla is significant as ‘Cultural and the Traditional Capital’ of the Meeteis since 33 A.D., and it is the symbol of continuity of the kingship and past glory of the Meeteis. It has been at the centre of the political upheavals, of the clan and tribal rebellions, series of war with Burma especially ‘Seven years devastation (1819-1826)’ and the bloody war with British in 1891. With all these events still lingering in their heads, people of Manipur always wanted to preserve Kangla

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as a symbol of pride with it being a free and sacred zone of the entire ethnic communities of the state. However, the political frame of ‘Iron Rule’ imposed in the state is not easily changed. A mass agitation against the Assam Riffle (Indian Army take our flesh) stationed inside the Kangla Fort had shaken in 2004. Therefore, Assam Riffle shifted at Keithelmanbi, Imphal West while another ‘Indian Reserve Battalion’ install again in the name of protection and preservation. Since independence the place is occupied by Indian Army. Hence, the psychological effect of Kangla and their lost Kingdom always loom large over the mind of the people of Manipur.9

Today, the people of Manipur are well aware of the role of the Maharaja of Manipur who tried to adhere to the status quo10 when the question of merger of the state with the dominion of the Indian came up. The manner in which Manipur was merged into the Indian Union becomes one of the main factors of the insurgency movement in the state.

Mention may also be made that in the year 1950, when the then governor of Assam, Sri Prakasa and his advisor met Sardar vallabh Bhai Patel, the first home Minister of Independent India, they explained the difficulties regarding the merger of Manipur. Mr. Patel, in turn asked if there was no Brigadier of the Indian Army there?11 In other words, the Indian U nion was to use the methods as the British did to annex Manipur. India, therefore, is not seen by the Manipuri to be different in any way from the British, and perhaps they do not want to be another Colony of India. The manner in which the state of Manipur was annexed into the Indian Union and thereby giving a subordinate status added further a feeling of alienation of these people from the country of which they were being made a part. Even after the merged with the Union of India, the people of the state were not chosen their own representatives or rulers. With the coming into force of the Indian Constitution, Manipur became a part- C status. The state was, thus, virtually

11 Ibid p. 29-30.
governed by non-elected representative of the government of India i.e. Chief Commissioner. However there was ‘Advisory Council’ but the Ministers was limited power that is being mere advised to him (Chief Commissioner).

In the developmental planning processes, the state still remains backward from the rest of the country. Besides, the state is isolated from both culturally and traditionally, fostering an increasing sense of alienation among the people of Manipur. Ethnically, linguistically and culturally this part of the country is quite different from mainland India. This also has been the ideological and political basis of the insurgency movements in Manipur. Their demand is total Independence from the Indian rule. They treat the Indian Union as an alien power that has taken over their territory just like another colonial power. The invasion of Hinduism and subsequent merged with Indian Union is seen in a similar outlook of British colonialism.

During the last few decades’ demographic imbalances have occurred at an adverse situation. As a result, out of the total population the number of the people who speak Manipuri (Meeteilon) as their mother tongue has been reduced to 45 percent only while 55 percent who speak other languages are dominating. Further, it has been recorded that during 1951 and 1961, Manipur witnessed a sharp increase in the population of the trading and labor communities who came from outside the state. Interaction between the indigenous people of Manipur and the outsider of the state is only in trade and commerce. Simultaneously, all the productive resources of the state become unprofitable to the market and it can decline day by day and too weak to compete with the outsiders. Over and above all this, all the potential water resources were also exploited in a colonial manner. Thus the logic of developmental process, with the growth of population and rise in consumerism and trade and commerce, has already come under the control of these trading and exploiting communities.

Simultaneously, the number of educated youth is increasing at a faster rate than ever before. It is estimated that at the beginning of the new millennium the number of the
state’s educated unemployed youth will exceed more than 14 lakhs. Modern educated youths are either fed up or do not want to continue with traditional occupations (it may be because of the so called modern/ new educational culture). Yet, at the same time, there are no other alternative economic avenues since even in the modern job market, the primary/ agriculture sector predominate the state.

Non-fulfillment of modern amenities and lifestyle is another factor for corruption and bribe in the state. Because of decline the traditional way of life, only the government jobs are able to provide financial security. On the other side, the government keeps paying salaries to the numbers of employees without earning state revenue. As a result, the term ‘job price’ is very popular among the educated youths in the state. The competition for job is tough day by day because large number of candidates aspiring for the job. This automatically hikes the price of job. Therefore, it is only the affordable classes that enjoy the government jobs. Most of the young meritorious youths are left out and pushed down to a difficult social condition. It is also estimated that out of the total 14 lakhs educated unemployed youths in the state, hardly twenty thousand youths could manage for salaried jobs. Hence, a large chunk of educated youth will be floated as unproductive with diverted attitude. This, in turn has also caused a lot of resentment among the people of this state as it undermines their self-esteem. The result is that the state, which has once been self-sufficient, has now become totally dependent on outside forces, and it makes most of the people unhappy. The lack of employment opportunities and the existence of large percentage of unemployed educated youths have thrown up serious social crisis in Manipur. Corruption is rampant with each public post available under a price tag. It is in this context that Manipur is witnessing an increase in insurgency movement. The problems of unemployment, corruption, lack of infrastructural facilities, resource drain (colonial attitude) in exploring whatever available resources of the state

12 Directorate of Employment Exchange 2011
13 K Ibo Singh, Corruption and Conflict, unpublished article presented at national Seminar organize by dept. of Geography, Manipur University.
and bankruptcy an immature political leadership have all broken the self-esteem of the people.

Instead of trying to make a proper understanding and analyzing the pertinent problems and issues of insurgency in the state, the government resorting to strong arms tactics invoking stringent laws like the armed forces special power Act 1958 etc. there has been serious violation of human rights by the security forces, as a consequence of it. The feeling of resentment has only further fuelled the separatist tendencies in the state.

6.3 Difference between Hill and Valley Insurgents

The insurgency can be classified into different categories. In the beginning there was no categorization of it on the basis of geographical areas viz. valley insurgency and hill insurgency. In 1980s the classification was clearly done on the basis of number of staff and leading groups i.e. Meetei lead at the valley and Naga and Kuki lead at different direction of the hill areas of Manipur. When classifying insurgency their aim and objective also clearly opposed each other. The valley base insurgencies are stood up for protection and preservation of the territorial integrity and absolute sovereignty. UNLF, PLA, PREPAK, KYKL, PULF and KCP etc. are active to be mobilized against the ‘hidden agenda’ of cease fire issue between the NSCN-IM and Government of India. Though these valley based groups are different in their motives, ideology and operating system, they often unite on saving territorial integrity. KYKL particularly stand up for Meetei nationalism. They believed that if Meetei consciousness high, then other sub nationalism consciousness will attach centering on the Meetei nationalism ethos. UNLF, broader in the view, aspire for Manipuri identity and consciousness. Only a ‘Powerful Manipur’ can accommodates other different ethnic group coexistence in Manipur. In spite of such, UNLF is still seen as Meetei nationalist organization that believes in subsuming smaller communities under Meetei nation. On the other hand PLA is left oriented predilection which is only insurgency in the state Manipur guided by communist
doctrine. Besides, they mobilized to restore the loss sovereignty. PULF based on religion emerged for protection of Muslim identity in Manipur.

The concept of ‘United Manipur’ mostly comes from the Meetei. Restoration of loss sovereignty is the uncompromised aim and object of the insurgency of valley base groups. But this aim was reinterpreted by ethnic tribes that even they claim it is just Meetei chauvinist rule over other tribes. But in 1960s insurgencies in Manipur were influenced by the ethnic tribes. Meetei State Committee was under the guidance of NNC. They provide not only the training ground but also arms and financial support. The founder members of UNLF are Kalalung as Chairman from Thanagong village of Tamenglong district, Thangkhopao Singsit as Vice-Chairman from Zalengphai village of Karong and A. Somendro of Sagolband Meino Leirak as Secretary General. This is the classic example of different ethnic tribes of Manipur sharing a common platform.

Since the emergence of ethnic nationalism (emergence of NNC, NSCN) monitoring for Naga sovereignty, greater Nagaland, alternative arrangement within Manipur or six schedule etc., KNA (Kuki National Army) which is largely based in Myanmar, (now outlawed by Myanmar Government) is also becoming active in Manipur, Mizoram. KNA represent only the Kuki communities. The following table shows insurgencies groups based on ethnicity active in the North East.

Table No. 13: Insurgent groups based on ethnicity in the North East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insurgent Organization</th>
<th>Community Representation</th>
<th>Area of Operation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)</td>
<td>Tripuri</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hmar peoples’ Convention (HPC)</td>
<td>Hmar</td>
<td>Manipur, Assam, Mizoram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangleipak Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL)</td>
<td>Meetei</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuki Liberation Army (KRA)</td>
<td>Kuki</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insurgent Group</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kuki National Army (KNA)</td>
<td>Kuki</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA)</td>
<td>Kuki</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga Nationalist Council (NNC)</td>
<td>Naga</td>
<td>Nagaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)</td>
<td>Bodo</td>
<td>Assam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Liberation Force of Tripura (NLFT)</td>
<td>Tripuri</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Socialist Council of Nagaland, Issac-Muivah (NSCN-IM)</td>
<td>Naga</td>
<td>Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Socialist Council of Nagaland, Khaplang (NSCN-K)</td>
<td>Naga</td>
<td>Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peoples’ Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK)</td>
<td>Meetei</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura National Volunteers (TNV)</td>
<td>Tripuri</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF)</td>
<td>Kuki</td>
<td>Manipur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Liberation Front Of Assam (ULFA)</td>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>Assam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zomi Republican Army (ZRA)</td>
<td>Paite</td>
<td>Manipur, Mizoram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bagat Oinam

Since 1992 some insurgent groups propagate ethno-nationalism. Their aim and object are no more than around ethnic interest in a specific area. The ethnic interest which contradicts to another ethnic interest is largely responsible for competition or mess environment. Then weaker group loss to the stronger group in the clash leads to emergence of another insurgent group for protecting the ethnic interest. Every ethnic clash in Manipur produces new insurgent group and some groups attempt to ally with other insurgent group for survival, stronger or balance of power and to realize their aim and ideology.

Ibid.
6.4 Ethnic Clashes:

If we observe ethnic clashes in Manipur then we find that in every ethnic clash at least one or more new group appears. Since 1990s there are five violent clash in Manipur among them only three clashes considering as serious ethnic clash. They are Naga-Kuki 1992, Meetei – Meetei Pangal of 1993 and Thadou Kuki- Paite of 1997. Many scholars design the clashes in their own view except Naga-Kuki clash that Meetei-Meetei Pangal is rumor problem and Thadou-Paite conflict is also just misunderstanding cause among the Kuki-Chin groups. Meetei-Meetei Pangal conflict, Meetei- Kuki conflict and Kuki – Tamil conflict lasted no more then one week each. Civil society and State government got the credits for resolving the problem within a short period. Among the conflict the Kuki-Naga conflict is produced the highest casualty so far. The following table show the losses incurred by the violent clash of Kuki-Naga

Table No. 14: The losses in the Naga-Kuki Violent conflict, 1992-1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Nagas and Kukis Killed = 900</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kukis Killed = 534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagas Killed = 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Total Naga and Kuki injured persons = 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kukis = 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagas = 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Total Naga and Kuki houses set a fired = 5724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kukis = 3110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagas = 2614</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Phanjoubam Tarapot, Bleeding Manipur*\(^{17}\)

The actual losses incurred by the violent clash are much more then the above mention figures and it also does not cover the entire period of the violent conflict.

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6.4.1 Meetei-Meetei Pangal Conflict of 1993

The minority community Meetei Pangal involved in the bloody Meetei- Meetei Pangal conflict of 1993. The brutal incident, some one called communal clash, was solved within one week. Prof. Sanajaoba blamed the Central Reserved Police Force (CRPF) saying that if they were alert there would not have been such communal conflict between the Meetei and Meetei Muslim. Many scholars widely said that the clash was due to non negotiable in the small arms business. In an interview a cadre of PLA explained that the clash was intentionally planed by government. The impacts of the clash much benefited the government because it was coined as Meetei and Muslim. Then Bangladesh government expected should not to allow using their territory as training camp of underground groups when the messages of Meetei killing Muslim in Manipur reach Bangladesh. The following table shows the causality of the clash

Table No.15: The losses of Meetei -Meetei Pangal clashes of 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Total Meetei and Meetei Pangal Killed = 100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meetei killed = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meetei Pangal = 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Total Meetei and Meetei Pangal injured persons = 146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: State Government

The Thadou-Paite conflict of 1997 produces more casualty than Meetei- Meetei Pangal clash. In a broader sense, the involve two community are members of the Kuki-Chin-Mizo group and they communicate each other in the same language. It is second biggest conflict in terms of casualty. The conflict was continuing more than two year. But by the combine effort of civil organizations and state government it was solved within a month and signed memorandum of understanding. The following table shows the casualty.
Around 1995, there was a clash between the Tamil and Kuki communities for a sort period due to attempts by Kuki militants to impose heavy taxes on Tamil businesses. It is not necessary to explain why such taxes were imposed. Moreh, being already a center for such trading was adjudged the most lucrative of all places and attracted the business people in large numbers. It is also a route of trafficking small arms and ammunition and drugs from Eastern country to the northeast India and other parts of India. A Tamil in Moreh, therefore, for their defense take up arms in the region is not an uncommon sight. In the clash many Tamil were dead and injured. Such clash affected the normal business for a long time in the region. Many shops remain closed due to terrific situation of the clash.

### 6.6 Ethnic Conflict: Emergence of New Insurgency in Manipur

After the infamous Naga- Kuki war of 1992, a number of Kuki insurgencies emerged. Since independence, Kuki gave their loyalty to the MNF for ‘One Administration and Territorial Integrity’. In 1986 MNF signed historical agreement ‘Mizo Accord’ which failed to realize the above principal objectives. Only the former Lushai Hills became the full-fledged state called Mizoram. There are numbers of people who are campaigning for
‘Greater Mizoram’ or single administration of the group in theoretically and practically as part of MNF based on the kinship, cultural, language, and origin of cave theory or Shinlun. But it failed inside and outside Mizoram. Outsiders of the Lusai hills of the same group propagated the accord is just ‘betrayal’ the kinship or Kuki people. Thus, Kuki people paved the way looking for self loyalty though they were not led by unified command. Because of shy nature, they set up insurgency for those scatter Kuki-Chin groups particularly in Manipur. Therefore 1986 to 1992 was the seeding period for emerging Kukis insurgencies in Manipur. Seilen Haokip, spokesman of KNO said

“The state of the Kuki mind from 1986 to 1992 can be described as stupefied. NSCN-IM’s aggression was rather a surprised. There was no coherent thought about what steps to take following MNF’s capitulation, and so there was no organized group to face the onslaught. Each village set up its own defense force to protect themselves. After NSCN-IM signed ‘cease fire’ with the government of India in 1997, the incident of armed encounters became less frequent. The Kuki village defense forces then formed independent Organizations to prevent further aggression. Rather than come together to pursue a common goal, these organizations preferred to assert their own purposes. The condition of the Kukis seemed to go from bad to worst. NSC-IM’s onslaught had a cumulative effect on the dismal socio-political condition of the people, owing to external influences colonial days and internal discrepancies in post-independent period. However, a new dawn was imminent.”

During the ethnic conflict the security provided by the center and state government was inadequate and maladministration went rampant on the peace loving people. Therefore, the Kukis become impatient. Several villages were force to provide for their own security through self help to meet challenge of insecurity or direct threat from other villages. The rival groups particularly Naga blamed the emergence of Kuki outfit as ‘reactionary’. This was one of the major factors of conflict in the northeast. KNO set up in 1988 and its army Kuki National Army (KNA) in 1991 one year ahead of Naga Kuki conflict of 1992. This became a direct threat to the neighboring Naga villages. At that time, Kuki National Army was not strong enough to face the any aggression at any situation. Because of limited KNA cadre, villager themselves provided security as a last option. There was also lacked of communications and transports facilities each village cannot wait for order from KNO/KNA. Therefore, numbers of insurgent in accordance

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with the local connivance set up. Suspension of Operation (SoO) signer insurgencies or 11 groups out of 19 under the KNO came up mostly after the above said conflict.

It was again a conflict arise amongst the Kuki-Chin groups. The Thadou-Paite conflict in 1995 is explained earlier was an example. Where also same phenomenon of new insurgency comes up among the minority groups whose are more casualties in nature. There are two umbrella groups who have accepted suspension of operation in Manipur i.e. KNO and UPF. The members of the UPF mostly emerged after the 1995 clash. The genesis of Kuki groups lie in the aspirations of the community to protect itself from other militant groups and aftermath of Kuki-Naga and Thadou-Paite ethnic clashes in 1997-98. However most of the groups have lost their perceived aim of creating a homeland of Kukis and have been reduced to extortion groups sans any ideology. Further Kuki groups are notorious for their hydra like ability to sub divide into factions at alarming regularity. Here is the discussion for some of the groups who were emerged from the ethnic conflict.

6.6.1 Kuki National Army:

The group has come into existence to demand a Kuki state within Myanmar between the Chindwin River and the Indian border. It made no claims whatever on Indian Territories. The KNA has an estimated strength of 350 cadres and 300 assorted weapons. The activities restricted to extortion, small arms business, running drug trafficking in Chandel district in areas of Tengnoupal and pockets in Churchandpur, Chandel and Ukhrul districts. KNA has a nexus with NSCN (K) and Valley Based Insurgent Groups (VBIGs). It has been active in extortion on National Highway (NH) -39 between Pallel and Moreh. The KNA is one of the signatory groups to the Suspension of Operations.

6.6.2 Kuki Liberation Army (KLA)

It is a small insurgent group operating in the region, claims to be fighting for an independent Kuki state. There are over a dozen separate Kuki insurgent groups including KLA, with the goal of all these groups being an independent "Kukiland" state covering parts of Manipur and Burma. Very little is known about the Kuki Liberation Army's history, structure, and capabilities. But it is well known for a series of high-profile kidnappings for ransom money. Although significant enough to be banned by the Indian
government, the KLA is relatively small compared to other Kuki insurgent groups. The KLA is thought to be a splinter faction of the larger Kuki National Army (KNA), but the group's founding date and reasons for formation remain unknown.

The KLA had successfully conducted for several kidnappings, where large ransoms were paid. These apparent lack of operations against actual security personnel, suggest that the KLA is more concerned about the financial aspects of their operations than their fight for an independent state.

After prolonged operations by the Indian Army in Manipur in October 2005, the KLA was one of several Kuki insurgent groups that agreed to observe a cease-fire and pursue peaceful negotiations with both the State and Central government. Currently, it is unclear whether this stand-down will hold. In any case, the KLA is a small insurgent group even by Kuki standards, and while the outfit might continue kidnapping for ransom, the KLA cannot be considered a major security threat in the region.

6.6.3 United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF)

The United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF), formed in the late 1990s, is one of the insurgent groups that are fighting for an ethnic Kuki state within the Indian state of Manipur. The UKLF are financially supported by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (I-M), a Naga separatist group. There is sketchy data about the formation of the UKLF, although sources indicate that in the late 1990s they splintered off from a larger Kuki insurgent group, possibly the Kuki National Army (KNA), or the Kuki National Front (KNF). The UKLF receives most of their financial and military support from the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (I-M), an ethnic Naga separatist group also operating in Manipur. Despite ethnic tensions between Nagas and Kukis in Manipur, the UKLF and NSCN have forged these links due to mutual enmity towards other Kuki separatist groups, especially the KNF. The UKLF are accused of several small terrorist attacks, most notably the killing of journalist, Yambem Meghjit Singh, on October 13th 2000, after he refused to publish a UKLF press release, and the March 2002 kidnapping of a Manipuri Deputy Commissioner.
Small insurgencies in the northeastern corner of India (including Manipur) have been going on for decades, and will, no doubt, continue until the Indian government is able to pacify the region through peace talk or concession. Although the UKLF is an active militant group, their strength and numbers are small even by Kuki insurgent standards, they can be expected to have a limited impact on accelerating further conflicts in Manipur.

6.6.4 Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA)

The Kuki Revolutionary Army is another tribal terrorist organization fighting for an autonomous administrative council for the minority Christian Kuki tribe in India. They are located in the Karbi Anglong district of Assam, one of seven northeastern Indian states (seven sisters) plagued by insurgencies, ethnic and tribal fighting, and poor economic conditions. In December 1999, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM) allegedly helped in the formation of the KRA by supplying arms and training in order to counter the influence of the Kuki National Army (KNA). The KNA's objective is an independent Kukiland (comprised of territory from India and Myanmar for the Kuki tribe) which is considered as against the NSCN-IM's desire for an independent State- ‘Nagalim’ for the Naga tribe.

Since its formation, the KRA has been engaged in insurgency against the Indian government and the retaliatory kidnappings, arson attacks, and killings of various tribal groups. KRA operatives have also attacked members of their own tribe for offering support to the KNA. Due to the violence and unrest in the surrounding areas, many Kukis have migrated to the Karbi Anglong district of Assam that paves the way for anger the majority Karbi tribes. The KRA and militant Karbi groups, such as the United People's Democratic Solidarity, are fighting to try to establish territorial supremacy and control over the lucrative narcotics and ginger trades in the area. In October 2005, the KRA and seven other militant groups announced their desire to enter peace talks with the Indian government in the hope of settling the insurgency. Despite this announcement, the KRA continues to conduct armed attacks and remains a security threat in the Karbi Anglong district.
6.6.5 Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA)

The Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA) is the armed wing of the Zomi Revolutionary Organization, a nationalist-separatist group dedicated to the protection of the ethnic Paites and the re-unification of all ethnic Zomi peoples in northeast India, Bangladesh, and Burma. The Paites are one of several small hill tribes living in India's troubled northeast corner. According to the ZRA, the Paites and other tribes in the area including the Mizo, Chin, and most notably the Kukis, are all members of the ethnic Zomi group. According to the Kukis, Paites are simply sub-division of their tribe, a claim which Paites vigorously dispute. In reality, the Kukis and the Paites (as well as the Mizo, Chin, and a host of other various tribes) are all from the same ethnic background, and it is through these various claims of ethnic dominance that conflict has arisen.

The ZRA was founded in June 1997 after clashes broke out between Kukis and Paites in India's Manipur state. Ethnic Kukis had been fighting with Naga militants (another ethnic separatist group) over disputed territory. The Kukis, believing that the Paites would support their cause, reacted violently when the Paites announced they were not in fact Kukis, and would in turn fight for their own separate homeland. This dispute began a months-long conflict in Manipur, where Paites, under the ZRA, and Kukis, represented by the Kuki National Front, killed hundreds and torched villages in a series of retaliatory raids. In October 1998, the Paites and Kukis signed a peace accord, effectively ending the conflict that had caused nearly 1,000 deaths and left thousands more homeless (more detail in page 13). Although the 1998 agreement ended the Kuki-Paite conflict, the ZRA continues to operate as a protection Outfit for Paite peoples and frequently engages in small battles with other militant groups in the region. The ZRA is financially supported by extortion and "protection fees" taken from Manipur residents. In addition, the ZRA has been aided in the past by the Mizo National Front and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland; two other aligned separatist groups in northeastern India.

6.6.6 Kuki National Front (KNF)

Kuki National Front (KNF) was formed under the leadership of Ranco Thangboi Kuki on May 18, 1988 primarily to counter the NSCN-IM’s hegemony in the Kuki-inhabited
areas. The primary objective is to secure a separate State or Union Territory for the Kuki community and the unification of all scattered Kukis in such homeland- 'Kukiland'. The KNF split in 1995, with one unit identifying itself as the "presidential faction" and the other as the "military council". The former again split into KNF (Samuel faction) and KNF (Zougam faction).

KNF (Presidential faction) remains the most powerful of all the factions and has claimed to be the 'real KNF'. Thangboi Kipgen is the 'President' while L.H. Stephen is the 'Information and Publicity Secretary'. Its 'defense secretary' Hengkhotinmong alias Mangboi Kipgen was killed in an encounter with the Manipur Police at Kangchup in the Imphal West district on December 21, 2005.

The total cadre strength of the outfit (inclusive of all factions) is estimated to be between 400 and 500. KNF operates extensively in the Churachandpur district. It also operates in other Kuki inhibited areas of the Chandel, Tamenglong and Senapati districts. The KNF funds its activities primarily through extortion and collection of 'protection fees' from the civilians in its areas of operation. 'Sergeant' Max Kuki reportedly heads its financial-related matters in the Sadar Hills areas of Manipur that comes under Division I, while Division II concerning Moreh and surrounding areas of the Chandel district is under the purview of 'Sergeant' Galngam. Division III covering Imphal and surrounding areas is under the charge of one Romel Kuki.

Besides having links with several Kuki militant groups, the outfit maintains close ties with several valley-based outfits like the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) and People's Liberation Army (PLA). It is also said to have links with the Khaplang faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-K). Unspecified reports state that about 300 KNF recruits had undergone training in Kachin Independence Army (KIA) camps in Myanmar.

6.6.7 People’s United Liberation Front (PULF)

People’s United Liberation Front (PULF), founded in 1993, claims to represent the interests of the Pangal (Muslim) community in Manipur. It is one of the various Islamist extremist organizations which originated in Manipur following the May 3, 1993
communal clash between the Muslims and the dominant Meeteis in the Thoubal and Imphal (East and West) districts. While other Islamist outfits such as Islamic Liberation Front- Kanglei (ILF- K), Islamic National Front (INF) and North East Minority Front (NEMF) have been disintegrated, PULF has survived and has been bolstered following the May 30, 2007 merger of the Islamic National Front along with it.

PULF appear to save Manipuri Muslim culture and identity, although the PULF aims at establishing an independent Islamic country in India’s Northeast through the launch of an armed revolution against the Indian state by joining causes with other like-minded radical Islamist outfits, it has acted mostly as a vigilante outfit over the years. Its activities have mostly been confined to protect the ‘values’ of the Muslim community by imposing behavioral patterns on them. It has passed several strictures against the consumption of drugs and alcohol by the Muslim youths in Manipur. It has also tried imposing dress code on Muslim girls.

The outfit mostly operates in the valley districts of Imphal west, Imphal East, Bishnupur and Thoubal of Manipur. They extend their operating ground outside Manipur particularly in the Barpeta, Nagaon and Lakhimpur districts and the Barak valley areas of neighboring Assam. However, such activities have been quite limited. Extortion money forms the bulk of its source of funds. In addition, few incidents of arms smuggling involving PULF cadres have also been reported. Strategically, PULF is linked to the NSCN-IM. The latter is believed to have trained and armed the PULF cadres for money in return. Official sources also link PULF with the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).

6.7 Insurgency and Their Alliance

In the region, insurgents are united and consolidated into one for the struggle against the common enemy from time to time without success. On other side, insurgencies are directly confronted in their aim and principle to each other. And then their activities extend as victimization to the un-involved people of the entire North-east particular Manipur. Ethnically based insurgency creates the environment of chaos situation to the civil life of the people. Though civil society has been taking extensive steps for peace and
communal harmony, it is more effective through directly interfered by insurgent groups. Meetei and Meetei Pangal conflict of 1993 where valley based PLA had taken extensive steps, at the same time; there was strong warning to those rumor spreaders. The ‘Quit Notice’ to the Tangkhuls who are settled at Dimapur was front page story in the News Paper and it was very emotional to the Manipur’s Nagas. However, the problem was solved by NSCN-IM on proper time through threaten and appeals. The rumor on ‘Quit Meetei from lamka’ in Churchandpur district had been interfered and justified by the Kuki Chin insurgents operating in the district.

The aim and object of insurgents are almost similar in nature. Some of them come together on a common platform. There is Indo Burma Revolutionary Front (IBRF) which was formed in 1990 by three big insurgent group of northeast India. The members are UNLF of Manipur, ULFA of Assam and NSCN-K of Nagaland. Though the common platform has no unified command, it shows that there is a campaign for unity for freedom loving groups in the region. Indo Burmese Liberation Front (IBLF) is also another common platform of Northeast India insurgent group. Still the working of the common platform is not effective and there is no positive sign in the region. One of the basic criteria for the formation of common platform is based on the common enemy i.e. India or India government. The term ‘Mongoloid’ is another popular marker in Northeast India. United Mongoloid is another advantage criterion for unification of northeast India’s insurgent.\textsuperscript{19} NSCN-IM is also making efforts to form a United Front by coordinating the activities of the other ethnic insurgent groups. The formation of United Liberation Front of Seven Sister (ULFSS) in 1993 under the leadership of NSCN-IM seems to be a pointer in this regard.\textsuperscript{20} ULFSS remained as non-starter, NSCN-IM made another effort in 1994 by forming the Self-Defense United Front of South East Asian Himalayan Region (SDUFSEAHR) with 23 representatives from different insurgent groups operating in the

\textsuperscript{20} B. Pakem, Youth and Social Movements in North-East India, in proceedings of the North East India Political Science Association, Fourth Annual Conference, 1995.
northeast India and Burma. The following table shows the insurgent’s relation with one another in Manipur.

Table No. 17: Insurgent groups and their alliance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Insurgent</th>
<th>Alliance Insurgent group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. UNLF</td>
<td>RPF/PLA, PREPAK, NSCN-K, ULFA (Assam), Tripura People’s Democratic Front (TPDF), KNF-President, KYKL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. RPF/PLA</td>
<td>UNLF, PREPAK, KCP, NSCN-K, ULFA (Assam), TPDF, KYKL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. PREPAK</td>
<td>UNLF, RPF NSCN-K TPDF, ULFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. KYKL (Govt. report)</td>
<td>NSCN-IM and ZRA in one time, PLA, UNLF, PREPAK NSCN-K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. KCP (Govt. Report)</td>
<td>UNLF, RPF, KYKL, KNF-Military Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. NSCN-IM</td>
<td>KYKL-O in one time, PULF, UKLF, Boro Liberation of Assam, HALFM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. NSCN-K</td>
<td>UNLF, PREPAK, PLA, KYKL-T in one time, ULFA, ATTF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. KNF-PRESIDENT(Govt. Report)</td>
<td>UNLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. KNF-Military Council</td>
<td>RPF/PLA, KNA, ZRA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Phanjoubam Tarapot: Ekhoigi Ereipak, and (collection of newspaper report)

Inside Manipur, there are both alliances and confrontations in the course of promoting their aims and objectives. Alliance should be based on their ethnicity, geographical, object or common enemy etc. Manipur People Liberation Front (MPLF) was from in 1999 by the big three UNLF, PLA and PREPAK. The big three are based at Imphal valley and ethnically Meetei. But their ideology are different from each other (I have show in previous chapter). However they have same objective that is liberation from the

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Indian rule. To strengthen the revolutionary struggle RPF along with PREPAK and KCP formed the Revolutionary Joint Committee (RJC) in May 1991.

Another important and latest united platform is Cor-com (Co-ordination Committee). The organization Cor-Com conglomerate of the KCP, KYKL, PREPAK, PREPAK (Pro), RPF, UNLF and UPPK is formed their bases in the valley area against the Congress (INC) party and Congress government. The main demand is to dethrone the high corrupt political party from Manipur. Here the members are also ethnically Meetei and operating at the valley area of Manipur.

Chin-Kuki-Mizo (Chikim) group’s insurgent are also continuing Suspension of Operation (SoO) with the Indian Army. The agreement SoO provides a common platform of the 19 insurgent groups who have different objects. The basis of the making common platform is on sharing mother tongue, cave (Shilun-Chilun) origin, same feeling of victimization of discrimination by Indian rulers etc. But there is no openly work for single administration because of restriction mention in the SoO. However the agreement paves the way a network ground after the groups are fractionalized during 1990s and 2000s.

6.8 Conflict, Insurgency and Civil Society Groups

Civil society is constituted by voluntary associations, groups, and movements that are products of the free exchange of ideas in a democratic framework and that also seek to keep a permanent check on the power of the state in the interest of the citizens’ freedom. They also acquire normative dimensions as it becomes a state of affairs that is desirable for the sake of democracy and freedom. The growing importance of civil society has also brought with it a variety of constraints and pressure. In reiteration of some of the maladies that have inflicted civil society, it can be pointed out that the civil society has not been conceptualized tightly, that is why varied perspectives on its

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meaning, nature and composition have come to camouflage its very essence. Therefore, there are number of different definition about the term ‘civil society’. In the context of Manipur, the term is applied to all the groups from the local levels to national level. Even there is no difference between other terms such as pressure group, NGO, sympathizer, over ground, human right defenders etc. in their activities. Pradip Phanjoubam comments that ‘The technical earmarking of a so-called ‘civil society’ space leads to another familiar problematic situation. The conflicting parties themselves begin to contest this space by putting up their ‘civil society’ proxies, having realized how powerful these bodies can be in multiplying their agenda through precisely the “war by other means”. Again, this is a phenomenon not unfamiliar to Manipur at all. The result is not only a complication of the conflicts themselves, but also a discrediting of this very same ‘civil society’ space, ultimately tarnishing the image of the civil society movement itself.’

However one can look at the origin of civil society association in Manipur. It can be traced from Nikhil Hindu Manipuri Mahasabha though the word the ‘Hindu’ was dropped in the latter part of the colonial period. Later on the Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha became a very important political institution of Manipuri society. Lamyanba Irabot was a member who had occupied important post in the Mahasabha. Latter he institutionalized his own organization against the King and the British imperialism. His challenged against the king and British, incarnated him into the underground. During the colonial period there was no active civil organization group for both Naga and Kuki in Manipur. But neighboring areas, the Naga Hills and the Lushai hill had seen initial period for organizing civil society associations. They were much active in the eve of independence. The Kuki people in Manipur are also active as other ethnic groups in the state.

Though Manipur has her own history of civil society movement against encroachers but direct confrontation against the state aiming to promote the right to self determination was, for the first time, from All Manipur Student Union (AMSU) formed in 1965 as response to the artificial famine under democracy rule. Indo-Manipuri conflict

(low intensity war) which has its highest tense was in 1970s and 1980s; consequently AFSPA 1958 implemented in the state balanced the voice of the students. Another important civil group ‘Pan- Manipuri Youth League’ (PMYL) was the contemporary of the AMSU. The present insurgent scenario are founded by the youths of this organization in the post independence through their writing about corruption, maladministration, treatment of central government etc.\textsuperscript{27} In present day, however, the numbers of civil society rise up; among them ethnic based groups are also effectively working. As it classify Naga, Kuki and Meetei among the indigenous people of Manipur, the civil society groups are also classify corresponding to their ethnic groups. Operating civil groups increase with the rise of insurgency in Manipur. Now in Manipur there are lots of civil organizations which mostly emerged in the post 1970s. State actors blamed that all the civil organizations in Manipur are working together with insurgency groups.\textsuperscript{28} The following table shows the insurgent and their affiliate civil society organization

Table No. 18: Insurgent and their affiliate civil organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Insurgent</th>
<th>Name of civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meetei</td>
<td>PLA, UNLF, KYKL, PREPAK</td>
<td>AMUCO, AMESCO, AMWOVA, MSF, UCM, AMSU, UPF, MACHA LEIMA, Meira Paibi, EHRICON, DESAM, Human Rights Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naga</td>
<td>NSCN-IM, NSCN-K, NSCN-U, ZUP</td>
<td>UNC, ANSAM, Naga People for Human Right Manipur, Naga Mother Association Manipur, Kabui Mother Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuki</td>
<td>KNA, KNF-19 insurgent groups are under these umbrella group</td>
<td>Kuki Inpi Manipur, Kuki Students Organization, Human right groups, KSDC, SDDC, Kuki Chief Association, Khul National Union</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{Sources:} Survey of researcher

\textsuperscript{27} N Joykumar Singh,\textsuperscript{28} There are a number of articles which suggests about the relationship between the insurgent groups and civil groups. A person arrested by security person always blamed to having related to some group or civil society.
6.9 Kuki Civil Organization:

In the colonial period, a number of civil groups based at hill areas were also materialized in Manipur. Among them, the Kuki Chief Association set up in 1935. Kuki National Assembly (KNA) can be traced to this association. But officially establishment of KNA was on 24th October 1946. In the beginning of the KNA it was working on behalf of the common interest among the hills and valley. KNA declared “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 Kuki should come under the Durbar”29 Then, the nature and activities of the KNA was colored by its own ethnic consideration,30 though KNA had no big mass base.

The formation of the KNA and attainment of political independence of India in 1947, with its adoption of democratic political system and introduction of principle Universal Adult Franchise, the Kuki society was on its way of political transformation. The leaders of the Kuki National Assembly begun to enjoy their political participation: voting, contesting, election campaigning etc. It was soon recognized as political party by the election commission of India. It does not play a very active role except for the period from 1952 up to late 1960s in the State Assembly Election. After the parliamentary and territorial Assembly election the party adopted new principles and activities since commencing its constitution in October, 1969. The party switches over in its demand from a Kuki state within Indian Union to separate revenue district for the Kukis of Manipur.31

Kuki civil organization ‘Kuki Inpi Manipur’ (KIM) was also set up during the Kuki Naga clash. It is an apex civil organization of Kuki, claims on June 29, 1993 that “reviving the old institution”. KIM is authorized to bring all the Kuki Tribal groups together in all matters affecting the community as a whole. They further appeal that all

30 Ibid
organizations working for the welfare and safety of the Kuki should work only after having full understanding with Kuki Inpi Manipur. KIM is not a political party but they speak a lot on politics which could process for the benefit of the people. They operate their branches to all Kuki inhabited area of India, Burma and Bangladesh. Some groups who claims that “Kukis of Nagaland are not part of the present day Kuki movement that are taking place elsewhere”.

Among the student organizations, Kuki Student Organization (KSO) is the oldest and apex organization of Kuki students’ formed in the year 1979. It is also connected (fraternal relation) with the Kuki-Chin –Mizo group. Their main purpose is to look at Kuki tribes and other sub tribes’ student problem. It has number of student groups of different ethnic affiliating to KSO. Kuki State Demand Committee and Sader Hill District Demand Committee are quite popular.

6.10 Naga Civil Organization

All the Naga Organizations operating in Manipur are somewhat related with Naga organizations based in the Naga Hills (Nagaland). Some of them treat as ‘Branch Organization’ though some were independent from fraternal Naga Organizations of Nagaland. The civil organization set up in the Naga Hills in the 1920s, but in Manipur it came up after the formation of NSCN. It has already been explained that NSCN fractioned into two main groups, each groups has own civil society associated with these in Manipur. The main operating groups are United Naga Council (UNC), All Naga Student Association Manipur (ANSAM), Naga Women’s Union Manipur (NWUM), and Naga Peoples’ Movement Human Right (NPMHR). According to SR Tohring, UNC is an apex body of the Naga organizations in Manipur, which is working under the ‘Naga Hoho’. It was established in April 1981 and its Constitution was adopted and enacted since then. Though Naga society has number of political parties in post-independence

32 The address of the president KIM on the occasion of the first session of Kim Assembly on the 1st may 1995, department of communication, KIM 1995, p 2.
which are mostly failure in their history, these civil society groups are more dominant in public space since they come into operation.

Such ethnic based organizations of the Naga are, some scholar claimed as ‘Mouth Piece’ of the NCNC-IM. Almost their activities and campaign for their goal is identical with this comprehensible NSCN-IM. UNC, ANSAM, a flag bearer of NSCN-IM, also set up after the NSCN emerged from a fractional group of NNC. Every nook and corner of hill district of Manipur, there is having unique student organization of every ethnic groups or sub-groups. All these organizations are running as either KSA or ANSAM in the hill areas of Manipur. Many sources said that financial administrations of such organization are sponsored by mother underground organization. Therefore time and again many students’ leaders were arrested for their linkages/nexus with underground organizations by the security forces.

The history of civil society in Manipur was mostly led and staffed by Meetei confined at the Imphal Valley in the post independence. The demand for Manipur statehood was launched by Manipur Statehood Demand Committee (MSDC) which was formed by mainly socialist and communist party. After the formation of All Manipur Student Union (AMSU), the Pan Manipuri Youth League (PANMYL) was formed as a social and political organization in 1968 with a revolutionary commitment to awakening the people of Manipur from the slumber of ‘colonial rule’. In the campaign launched by NSCN-IM’s for integration of most of the hill areas of Manipur to Nagaland, the civil society groups in Manipur are dividing based on ethnic groups. While Rajkumar Bobichand suggests that most of the civil societies based at valley are for united nation of various community (broader in sense) and they have staffs from various groups. They have been also standing for peaceful co-existence of different ethnic groups and territorial integrity of Manipur. On the issue of ‘Territorial Integrity’ in 1997 and 2001, more than 10 lakhs people engaged in agitation and number of civil groups came up and was mainly led by All Manipur United Club Organization (AMUCO) which is one of the important and still existence civil society. Though people from many communities including tribal and minority people (Muslim), it has been facing number of hearty blame from other civil groups particularly the Naga civil groups. AMUCO shows their stand during the ‘June
In the uprising, one of the violent slogans of the civil groups was ‘if you (central government) give the land of Manipur to Nagaland then we can declare independent from Indian rule’. During the uprising, United Committee Manipur (UCM) was formed by all the civil societies of Manipur particularly base at Valley. The Committee is now one of the leading civil groups in Manipur for the safeguarding territory.

6.11 Initiatives of Civil Society

Civil society institutions and community-based organizations are very influential in Manipur and have often been playing significant role in the containment of conflict. Today, people have witnessed that many civil organizations attempting to restore peace and good relation among various ethnic groups. Each and every civil organization is related to one or more insurgent groups in the line of their ethnic affiliations. Therefore, the Civil Organizations are working for a particular, ethnic group and Manipur as a whole under the finger/banner of insurgents. Students and women wing have sometimes corollary in their objective with insurgent and most of time plays pro-active role. Even the Meira Paibis (women torch bearer) are also constituted in such fashion. They have been active in protesting human rights violations and unlawful arrests by the security forces, and taking action against social illness such as drug abuse and alcoholism. Besides, women’s movement or (Nupigi ihou) in Manipur has also been organizing many campaigns for peace, fraternal relation, protection of human rights and to end of rumor and internal hostility in the state. The civil organization has been organizing a series of workshops, seminars, conferences, awareness programs etc. on the theme of ‘Human Right’ for the people of Manipur generally and women in particular since 1997. There are also several ‘Human Rights Groups or Activists’ actively engaging in the public space of Manipur. Their concern is mostly focused on the civil liberties and the violation of rights.

It was people’s agitation without organized and leader against the decision of Union Government. The cease fire agreement between the Government of India and NSCN (I-M) used the term ‘without territorial limit’ which is very suspicion by the people of Manipur that such term will be affecting some portion of Manipur. In the agitation twenty-three people lost their life and a number of people became handicap. Latter it was stitched in a one voice by AMUCO and made common platform of various civil organizations known United Committee Manipur (UCM).
Most of them have been guiding to the anti-AFSPA agitation in the state since August 2004, following the death of an alleged PLA woman cadre Manorama Devi in the hands of the Assam Rifle personals.

As a part of ‘Four Point Formulas’ of UNLF to conduct plebiscite process for the resolution of the Indo-Manipur conflict, many civil societies are actively endeavor to spread the issue. They are demanding to materialize the proposal of UNLF. They organized public meeting, lecture series, street play, seminar, workshop and symposium on ‘what is plebiscite?’ Such program is conducting in most villages of Imphal valley where maximum numbers of villager can participate. Mostly the programs are delivering by university professors, experts in field, social activists, journalists and lawyers. Common people decide in the last moment of the program that what will be done in the plebiscite. If there is plebiscite hold then common people will be standing at one point because civil society campaign for the self rule against the Indian rule is much influence to common people.

Since 1980s because of NSCN-IM’s campaign for ‘Greater Nagaland’ a hostile ethnic relation emerged in the state- Manipur. On the other hand, many civil groups attempting to bring communal harmony in Manipur which are dynamic in nature. If there is a dispute among the insurgent groups then consequently antagonism arises in their respective civil groups. However, many civil groups propound ‘clarification and joint appeal’ for communal harmony in the state. During the cease fire issue of 2001, both Naga and Non Naga civil groups are very mature and versatile in their approach to calm down the agitation people. Most of the time, civil groups are forwarding to control any situation that has capacity to produce communal clash or conflict. As a part of communal harmony, the offices of tribal civil organization bring their office at Imphal.

\[35\] Four point formulas is a proposal for peace talk demand by UNLF in 2005. The proposal was rejected by the central government though it is accepted by the state government.

\[36\] I had the opportunity to participate and physically observed such programmes during my field work and the different stages of my work.

\[37\] That is why there is no case of killing by ethnic groups each other in the law court (the Supreme Court or High Courts) so far in Manipur though there is number of case regarding killed by security and Insurgents.
ATSUM, KSA open their office at Imphal and AMUCO (valley base) extended their branch at Churchandpur and Sadar Hills Area.

As part of the strategy for communal harmony, there are many effective cultural reforms undertaken by many civil organizations. Ningol Chakouba, one of the biggest festivals of Manipur, becomes inter-cultural festival day by day. The festival was once confined to Meetei community at the Valley area. And there was no provision for other community to participate at the festival. But in recent times, other community particularly hills ladies are invited for festival feast and simple gift by the brother of the valley. Another Piba Chakouba is organized by valley women inviting the hills brother and Muslim brothers by offering feast and simple gift. Such festival provokes the brotherhood and sisterhood relation between the Hills and Valley. In recent times, the tribal and Meetei Pangal are participating Ningol Chakouba and Piba Chakouba in each and every Meetei family at the valley. The festival is now spread to the other community in Manipur as well.

Another important festival of Manipur is Mera Hou Chongba where far away community or tribal people are coming for the participation. It is explained in the previous chapter that festival is organized community level. Another festival, Charismas is very important festival of Christian community or tribal people at the hills. As response to the inviting at Ningol chakouba festival, non Christian particularly valley people are invited by the Kuki and Naga. Non Christian of valley joining the festival is increasing day by day especially at those organized by civil groups at hill area. Gang-gai of Kabui tribe, Lungaini of Naga tribe and Kut festival of the Kuki Chin Mizo group are participating by the valley non tribe. Eid-ul Fitr and Eid al-Adha (Muslim festivals) are also celebrating in Manipur by Meetei Pangal or Manipuri Muslim. In the festival also both non- Muslim particularly Meetei and Kuki and Naga are participating through the invitations organized by the civil organization groups.

The people of Manipur experience frequently economic blockade on various demand. On the issue of full fledged district demand to the Sader Hills areas of Senepati
District, civil societies of Kuki Chin groups conducted Economic Blockade more than hundred days. The blockade brought a conflict situation among the ethnic groups in Manipur. However, the economic blockade was ended by the decision of long drawn debate of civil groups’ leaders of various communities at Kangpokpi area. So, it is more acceptable to civil society as a peace agent rather than proxy of insurgent.

Conflict is by nature dynamics which has various stages. Insurgency as an actor provides a violent situation at a specific stage of conflict. There are many factors responsible for emerging insurgent groups in the state of Manipur. Though they have common at beginning, they broadly diversified into two (hill and valley insurgent) after NNC signed ‘Shillong Accord’ in 1980. These two groups (even within the group) there are conflicts based on their ethno-nationalist affiliations. This conflict is also responsible for new insurgent emerge particularly for more victim groups. But the conflict did not bring any positive aspects to the involving parties. Therefore, they try to make alliance with those groups having similar objectives and fight the common enemy. They sponsor many over grounds organization or NGOs. Some times, it referred as civil society organization. These civil groups have dual activities viz. (i) pro insurgents (support the insurgents and their propaganda) and (ii) peace creates (ethnic harmony, human right defenders).

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