CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION
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1.1 Defining Conflict

Conflict is defined as a disagreement through which the parties involved perceived a threat to their needs, interest or concerns. It is also pursuit of incompatible goals which can intensify struggle between opposing forces, especially in the absence of collaborative problem-solving mechanism. In conflict situations, resources are mobilized to force the other party to change their behavior according to one’s own wishes. Mismanaged conflict turns into violence causing mass destruction. Conflict is the actual or perceived opposition of needs, values and interests. Conflict is a concept which explains many aspects of the social life such as social disagreement, conflicts of interests, and fights between individuals, groups or organizations. In political terms, “conflict” can refer to wars, revolutions or other struggles, which may involve the use of force as in the term armed conflict. Without proper social arrangement or resolution, conflicts in social settings can result in stress or tensions among stakeholders. When an interpersonal conflict does occur, its effect is often broader than two individuals involved, and can affect many associate individuals and relationships, in more or less adverse and sometimes even way.

In socio-political perspective, conflict is the struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals (David, L., 1972, pp.232). Weber further insisted that conflict cannot be excluded from social life. Peace is nothing more than a change in the form of conflict or in the antagonistic or in the objects of the conflict, or finally in the chances selection (Ibid). A clash of interests, values, actions or directions often sparks a conflict. Conflicts refer to the existence of that clash. Psychologically, a conflict exists when a reduction of one motivating stimulates involves an increase in another, so that a new adjustment is demanded. The seven main types of conflicts are data conflict, relationship conflict, and conflict over values, conflict regarding resources, conflict about past history, conflicts about structure and psychological conflicts.
Military conflict between states may constitute war. War is defined as “a sustained struggle by armed force of a certain intensity between groups of a certain size consisting of individuals who are armed, who wear distinctive insignia and who are subjected to military discipline under responsible command” (Detter, 2000) or “War is a hostile interaction between two or more States, either in a technical or in a material sense. War in the technical sense is a formal status produces by a declaration of war. War in the material sense is generated by actual use of armed force, which must be comprehensive on the part of at least one party to the conflict (Distein, 2001).

Conflict has two meanings, viz. positive and negative. In its positive sense, conflict between two parties may bring about something very positive. For example, writer who is in direct conflict with the prevalent values in a society and thereby with some power groups in that society may produce literary works of excellence and bring positive results in the minds of the people so much so that a new, progressive social order is envisioned. However, conflict may be negative and destructive too, if the same power groups in the society annihilate that writer and thereby foreclose the possibility of any change or progress. It is to be noted that the power groups with the support of the state and the ruling party sometimes bring about ‘closure’ in developing process. In fact there is a conflict between negative meaning and positive meaning of ‘conflict’ (Choudhary, 2006). Conflict is also conceived as a manifestation of our negative attitude, thought-pattern and behavior. In fact there is a corroboration of the negative attitude by the thought-patterns and behavioral dispositions are mostly inherited uncritically from history, traditions and social orthodoxy bereft of the value of the order as a moral equal that demands many reforms and revolution and critically with regard to many human practices. At the individual level, the other as moral equal demands a critical self-perception of the agents involved in a conflict situation, conflict initiation and escalation are aided by the negative attitude and the particular behavioral disposition of individuals and groups that are oblivious of their others as moral equals and their basic human needs. The dynamics of conflict situation has incompatibility of goals, a psyche that is potential to generate, nurture and escalate conflict, and conflict behavior or set of behavior for attainment of claimed goals. Goals become incompatible also when they differ in nature from each other for various factors on the part of the parties in
conflict. The genesis of incompatibility and thereafter conflict has two sources, viz. the material and psychological.

A situation of conflict is created by the attitudes transformed into interests. Our interest that drives us towards specific goals is a necessary condition of a conflict situation. The psychological genesis of incompatibility and conflicts begins at the very act of our perception of a situation. Our perception of a situation is reflected in our behavior and our behavioral dispositions are based on how we perceive a situation and the perception of our expectation. Our expectations, emotional orientation and perception are important factors determining the nature of a conflict. Conflict is also a form of interaction that is basically oppositional in nature. It arises due to the opposition of the other and it gives a definite shape to conflict. Sometime opposition is a simple expression of difference. Recognition of difference of one’s view, actions, attitude, interest etc. from the other does not necessarily give rise to conflict in its negative sense. But conflict becomes negative when mutual opposition is not merely a matter of difference but is essentially based upon the question of possession of limited resources by both the parties and the composition that follows. Here conflict becomes negative. According to Mitchell, conflict behavior is defined as “Actions undertaken by one party in any situation of conflict aimed at opposing party with the intention of making that opponent abandon or modify its goal” (Mitchell, W., 1988).

1.2 Defining an Armed Conflict

The term ‘armed conflict’, which is used for many years, became all the rage with the advent of the term International Humanitarian Law (IHL). At the later part of nineteen forties, the United Nations Organization declared war of all forms illegitimate except the wars of defense and wars sanctioned by the UN Security Council and the laws of war existed earlier became irrelevant. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) coined the term International Humanitarian Law by mid twenty to replace the laws of war. Since then all forms of war came to be popularly known by the term ‘armed conflict’. IHL is a branch of international law which is applicable in the limes of armed conflict. IHL is applicable to both
international and non-international armed conflict situation which occur in the territory of High Contracting Parties. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) proposed a general definition of international armed conflict. In the Tadic case, the Tribunal stated that “an armed conflict exists whenever there is a resort to armed force between States”. This definition has been adopted by other international bodies since then (ICTY, 1995).

According to D. Schindler, “the existence of an armed conflict within the meaning of Article 2 common to the Geneva Conventions can always be assumed when parts of the armed forces of two States clash with each other; Any kind of use of arms between two States brings the Conventions into effect” (Schindler, D., 1979). International Humanitarian Law distinguishes two types of armed conflicts, namely, international armed conflicts, opposing two or more States, and non-international armed conflicts, between government forces and non-government armed groups, or between such groups only. IHL treaty law also establishes a distinction between non-international armed conflicts in the meaning of common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and non-international armed conflicts falling within the definition provided in Article 1 of Additional Protocol II. Legally no other type of armed conflict exists. It is nevertheless important to underline that a situation can evolve from one type of armed conflict to another, depending on the facts prevailing at a certain moment (ICRC, 2008, pp.1). The practical criteria used to establish an armed conflict situation are the intensity of the violence and need for the protection of the victims of violence (South Asia Human Rights, 2008, pp. 143).

1.2.1 International Armed Conflict (IAC)

1. International Humanitarian Law Treaties

Common Article 2 to the Geneva Conventions of 1947 states that

“In addition to the provisions which shall be implemented in peacetime, the present Convention shall apply to all the cases of declared war or of any other armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognized by one of them. The Convention shall also apply to all cases of partial or total occupation of the
territory of a High Contracting Party, even if the said occupation meets with no armed resistance”.

According to this provision, IACs are those which oppose “High Contracting Parties”, meaning States. An IAC occurs when one or more States have recourse to armed force against another State, regardless of the reasons or the intensity of this confrontation. Relevant rules of IHL may be applicable even in the absence of open hostilities. Moreover, no formal declaration of war or recognition of the situation is required. The existence of an IAC, and as a consequence, the possibility to apply International Humanitarian Law to this situation, depends on what actually happens on the ground. It is based on factual conditions. The Commentary of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 confirms that “any difference arising between two States and leading to the intervention of armed forces is an armed conflict within the meaning of Article 2, even if one of the Parties denies the existence of a state of war. It makes no difference how long the conflict lasts, or how much slaughter takes place”.

Apart from regular, inter-state armed conflicts, Additional Protocol I extends the definition of IAC to include armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination, alien occupation or racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination (wars of national liberation).

2. Jurisprudence

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) proposed a general definition of international armed conflict. In the Tadic case, the Tribunal stated that “an armed conflict exists whenever there is a resort to armed force between States”. This definition has been adopted by other international bodies since then.

3. Doctrine

The doctrine gives useful comments concerning the definition of an international armed conflict.
H.P. Gasser explains that “any use of armed force by one State against the territory of another, triggers the applicability of the Geneva Conventions between the two States. […] As soon as the armed forces of one State find themselves with wounded or surrendering members of the armed forces or civilians of another State on their hands, as soon as they detain prisoners or have actual control over a part of the territory of the enemy State, then they must comply with the relevant convention”.

The German Joint Services Regulations (ZDv) 15/2 says that “an international armed conflict exists if one party uses forces of armed against another party. […] The use of military force by individual persons or groups of persons will not suffice” (Fleck, D., 1995, pp.40).

1.2.2 Non-International Armed Conflict (NIAC)

1) IHL Treaties

Two main legal sources must be examined in order to determine what a NIAC under international humanitarian law is: a) common Article 3 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949; b) article 1 of Additional Protocol II:

a) Non-International Armed Conflicts within the Meaning of Common Article 3

Common article 3 applies to “armed conflicts not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties”. These include armed conflicts in which one or more non-governmental armed groups are involved. Depending on the situation, hostilities may occur between governmental armed forces and non-governmental armed groups or between such groups only. As the four Geneva Conventions have universally been ratified now, the requirement that the armed conflict must occur “in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties” has lost its importance in practice. Indeed, any armed conflict between governmental armed forces and armed groups or between such groups cannot but take place on the territory of one of the Parties to the Convention.
In order to distinguish an armed conflict, in the meaning of common Article 3, from less serious forms of violence, such as internal disturbances and tensions, riots or acts of banditry, the situation must reach a certain threshold of confrontation. It has been generally accepted that the lower threshold found in Article 1(2) of APII, which excludes internal disturbances and tensions from the definition of NIAC, also applies to common Article 3.

Two criteria are usually used in this regard:

First, the hostilities must reach a minimum level of intensity. This may be the case, for example, when the hostilities are of a collective character or when the government is obliged to use military force against the insurgents, instead of mere police forces (ICTY, 2005).

Second, non-governmental groups involved in the conflict must be considered as “parties to the conflict”, meaning that they possess organized armed forces. This means for example that these forces have to be under a certain command structures and have the capacity to sustain military operations (Schindler, D., 1979, pp.147).

b) Non–International Armed Conflicts in the Meaning of Article 1 of Additional Protocol II

A more restrictive definition of NIAC was adopted for the specific purpose of Additional Protocol II. This instrument applies to armed conflicts “which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol” (Additional Protocol II, art.1, para.1).

This definition is narrower than the notion of NIAC under common Article 3 in two aspects. Firstly, it introduces a requirement of territorial control, by providing that non-governmental parties must exercise such
territorial control “as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol”. Secondly, Additional Protocol II expressly applies only to armed conflicts between State armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups. Contrary to common Article 3, the Protocol does not apply to armed conflicts occurring only between non-state armed groups.

2) Jurisprudence

Case law has brought important elements for definition of an armed conflict, in particular regarding the non-international armed conflicts in the meaning of common Article 3 which is not expressly defined in the Conventions concerned.

Judgments and decisions of the ICTY throw also some light on the definition of NIAC. The ICTY thus confirmed that the definition of NIAC in the sense of common Article 3 encompasses situations where “several factions [confront] each other without involvement of the government’s armed forces”. Since that first ruling, each judgment of the ICTY has taken this definition as a starting point.

3) Doctrine

According to H.P. Gasser, it is generally admitted that “non-international armed conflicts are armed confrontations that take place within the territory of State between the government on the one hand and armed insurgent groups on the other hand. [...] Another case is the crumbling of all government authority in the country, as a result of which various fight each other in the struggle for power” (Gasser. 1993, pp.555).

D. Schinder also proposes a detailed definition: “The hostilities have to be conducted by force of arms and exhibit such intensity that, as a rule, the government is compelled to employ its armed forces against the insurgents instead of mere police forces. Secondly, as to the insurgent, the hostilities are meant to be of a collective character, [i.e.] they have to be carried out not only by single groups. In addition, the insurgents have to exhibit a minimum
of organization. Their armed forces should be under a responsible command and be capable of meeting minimal humanitarian requirements”.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) states that an International armed conflict involves the armed forces of at least two states in the conduct of armed hostilities (ICRC, 2002, pp.15). An International armed conflict can be defined as the waging of hostilities between two or more states (Petter. G., 2002, pp.619). Whereas, non–international armed conflict is a confrontation within the territory of one state between the regular armed forces and identifiable armed groups, or between armed groups. It may be defined as an armed conflict that is fought between various groups in one state, without any intervention by another state or the United State. An armed conflict is a contested incompatibility which concerns government and /or territory where the used of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of the state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths (Wallensteen & Margareta, 2001,pp.629).

A minimum of 25 battle-related deaths per year and /or per incompatibility is really an ambiguous area in the above definition. The separate elements of the definition are operationalised as follows: (Ibid).

**Use of armed conflict**: Use of arms in order to promote the parties’ general position in the conflict, resulting in deaths.

**Arms**: Any material means like that of manufactured weapons and also sticks, stones, fire, water, etc.

**25 deaths**: A minimum of 25 battle-related deaths per year and per incompatibility.

**Party**: A government of a state or any opposition organization or alliance of opposition organizations.

**Government**: The party controlling the capital of the state.

**Opposition organization**: Any non-governmental group of people having announced a name for their group and using armed force.
State: A state is an internationally recognized sovereign government controlling a specified territory or an internationally unrecognized government controlling a specified territory whose sovereignty is not disputed by another internationally recognized sovereign government previously controlling the same territory.

Incompatibility: It is stated as generally incompatible positions concerning government and/or territory, as stated by the parties.

Incompatibility concerning government: Incompatibility concerning type of political system, the replacement of the central government or the change of its composition.

Incompatibility concerning territory: Incompatibility concerning the status of a territory, e.g. the change of the state in control of a certain territory (inter-state conflict), secession or autonomy.

An armed conflict may be international or internal (national). In international armed conflict, the combatants belong to two different countries whereas in internal armed conflict the combatants belong to two same country. In case of international armed conflict there is not much contention while terming a war or war like situation between two nations as an international armed conflict as in the case of the international armed conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. However, in case of internal armed conflict, different outlooks are developed many a time. One group would like to term a secessionist armed struggle as internal armed conflict, the activists of the movement are appreciated as a force to be reckoned, with and their activity is justified as martyrs’ duty for a genuine cause of self-determination as envisaged in the Universal Declaration of Humans Rights of the United Nations. On the contrary, the other group who does not subscribe the former school of thought would definitely have termed it a law and order problem, created by insurgents and sometimes by terrorists (Ibomcha, A., 2007, pp.2). Global and local perspectives on the same situation of armed conflict and its potential movers do have drastic differences sometimes (Ibid). The other types of conflicts exist are such as wars of national liberation or armed attacks in which people struggle to exercise their right to self-determination (Verhoeven, 2000).
1.3 Media and Conflict

In general ‘media’- plural of ‘medium’, ways of conveying meaning through symbols to one another are the basic to the human civilization. Presently the word is used for “those communication instruments which deliver an identical message to a potentially unlimited audience, who don’t have to gather at one place and at one time” (Roos & Krogh, 1996). Mass media denotes a section of the media specially designed to reach a large audience. The term was coined in the 1920s with the advent of national wide radio networks, mass-circulation newspapers and magazines etc. in USA and Western countries.

Media is the most powerful tool of communication. It gives a real exposure to the mass audience what is wrong or right. Media has a constructive role to play in the society. Today News Channels and even some newspapers have been mouthpiece of some social issue, which helps us estimate the realities of life. Media has played an important role in order to focus on the social issues since centuries, it is the fact that in most era, media were not being given free and fair chances to explore the issues of society more openly than it is being given now, but we can’t deny this fact that the issues were always raised in order to provide justice to the people.

One important aspect of media until now was the virtual inbuilt limitation of one way communication. Multimedia, information super highway and many other inventions have already started to compensate for this limitation. Alongside, these have necessitated another transformation in defining media in order to address potential prospects and problems posed to the state and international community. Minimum restrictions upon new communication products, in order to see that freedom does not turn into licentiousness urgently require broad umbrella definitions of media. Traditionally, the term media can includes such different means of communication as face-to-face communication and a fax machine or the internet. Due to historical and technological developments in the traditional media sector, a few specific media means of communication became dominant. From Gutenberg’s time print media with books, newspapers and magazines was dominant in industrialized world. In the twentieth century radio and television became important media. Whatever might be the efforts to make these media forms interactive these are still dominant means of
one way communication due to technological limitations. Their audience access news, information and entertainment programmes at different places and at separate time. They are still unfortunate for the inability to reply or react using the same medium conveying the message.

Many and varied listings have been made by communications analysts. The following eight functions are usually quoted as being central (Watson and Hill, 1996, pp.42). They are as follows:-

i. Instrumental (to achieve or obtain something)

ii. Control (to get someone to behave in a particular way)

iii. Information (to find out or explain something)

iv. Expression (to express one’s feeling or put oneself over in a particular way)

v. Social contact (participating in company)

vi. Alleviation of anxiety (to sort out a problem, ease a worry about something)

vii. Stimulation (response to something of interest)

viii. Role-related (because the situation requires it)

In early, newspapers played a very important role, but when radio, television and then major invention of 20th century internet came into existence then everyone was stunned to see the dramatic results of the media. It changed the minds of the people. The word ‘Global Village’ is given to the world just because of media. Media is playing an overall active role for educating, training, guiding and entertaining the people and providing awareness to the general public. Almost everyone gets his or her information about the world, nation and local affairs from the mass media. Media’s important function includes influencing public opinion, determining the political agenda, providing a link between the government and the people, acting as a government watchdog and affecting socialization.

The mass media not only reports of public opinion surveys conducted by outside organizations but also increasingly incorporate their own polls into their news coverage. More important newspapers and televisions shape public opinion as well. A person’s perception of such matters as crime, civil rights, the economy, immigration
and welfare are affected by the manner and extent of media coverage. Studies indicate that a correlation exists between the significance people assign a problem and the frequency and amount of space or time newspapers, magazines, and television given to it. The mass media is the vehicle through which the government informs, explains, and tries to win support for its programmes and policies. From the early in the century to today’s investigative reporting, an important function of the mass media is to bring to the attention of the people evidence of corruption, abuse of power and ineffective policies and programs. The mass media, most significantly through its news, reporting, and analysis, affects what and how we learn about the politics and our own political views. Along with the family, schools and religions organizations, television also becomes part of the process by which people learn society’s value and come to understand what society expects from them.

History has shown that the media can incite people towards violence. The media shape what we see and hear about conflicts. The perspectives of those who run the media shape stories that are covered. Journalists have opinions and belief based on their experiences. Several studies confirm that the impact of media on conflict is greater than that the impact of the media on conflict prevention and peace building. Indeed, the media can play very positive roles in conflict prevention and peace building. While conflict situations pose danger for reporters, they also bring inherent difficulties and dilemmas for their media house published or broadcast in conflict zones.

It appears that the increasing on-going conflict has led greater pressure and restrictions on the media. Some journalists were forced to retired from the profession. They were killed because of their work as journalists. They either died in the line of duty were deliberately targeted for assassination because of their reporting or their affiliation with news organizations. Journalists undergo trials and tribulations in countries like Pakistan, Myanmar, China, Russia, Iran, Liberia, Zimbabwe, Colombia, Ukraine, Malaysia etc. Dozens of journalist from Myanmar, China, Russia, etc. have to live in exile to fight back against their oppressive rulers.

Several journalists have been jailed for their free expressions but those who are willing to work inside these countries must contend with the bulk of regulations and
censorship imposed in the name of national security. Despite of all these harsh regulations and censorship imposed many journalists manage to bring to light the dismal state of affairs in their respective countries. Editors were killed by unidentified gunmen and sometimes journalists were banned from exercising their professional by underground elements that even went up to the elements of closing down newspaper office. Journalists in state or country where many different underground outfits are operating and ethnically very sensitive are working.

Huge number of journalists has fled their native countries in recent years after being assaulted, threatened, leaving a deep void in professional reporting. The starkest examples are in the Horn of Africa nations of Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea where dozens of journalists have been forced to exile. Those who flee their native countries pay a high price: - facing cultural, language and legal obstacles; they struggle to find out in their profession. In the last decade and a half, media reform and media freedom have come under close scrutiny by governmental and non-governmental as well as by academic scholars. Because of the perceived importance of media freedom, western governments have invested heavily in training of media workers and in media reform in order to bring it about. In addition, a number of prominent governmental and non-governmental organizations have developed indices of press freedom, at least implicitly so as to judge the consequences of and need for media reform.

Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) which is formed by a group of foreign correspondents based on New York City which investigates attacks on journalists, research indicates that many journalists have disappeared while doing their work. Although some of them are feared dead, no bodies have been found and they are therefore not classified as “killed”. If a journalist disappeared after being held in government custody, CPJ classifies him or her as “Imprisoned” as a way to hold the government accountable for the journalist’s fate. CPJ research shows that only one in three is able to continue working as a journalist. CPJ’s data on exiled journalists include only those journalists who fled due to work-related persecution, who remained in exile for at least three months, and whose about and activities are known.
According to the Reporters San Frontiers, non-profit organization work to defend journalists and media outlets by condemning attacks on press freedom worldwide, the set of indicators for measuring the press freedom includes:

- Death of journalists (while performing their work)
- Arrests and detentions of journalists (including trials for different charges)
- Attacks on journalists and harassment of journalists (all types of violence on journalists regardless of source and character)
- Existence of legal limitation on press freedom (anti, defamation laws, laws restricting access to information and restricting the publishing of certain information)
- Censorship and banning of media
- Pressure on media, interference in, and obstruction of media activities (financial, restriction on publishing and broadcast resources, liability and damage charges, interference in editorial policy)

Worldwide, three journalists were killed in 2014 (Upto February) with motive confirmed. They are:

- Germain Kennedy Mumbere Muliwavyo, of Radio Television Muvnganto was killed on February 16, 2014 in Oicha, Democratic Republic of the Congo.
- Santiago Illidio Andrade of Bandeirantes was killed on February 10, 2014 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- Firas Mohammed Attiyah of Fallujah TV was killed on January 20, 2014 in Khalidiya, Iraq.

Three Media workers of Express TV were killed on 17 January 2014 in Karachi, Pakistan. They were Waqas Aziz Khan, Mohammad Khalid and Ashraf Arain. Two journalists were killed in 2014 (upto February) with motive unconfirmed. They were Suon Chan of Meakea Kampuchea who was killed on February 1, 2014 in Kampong Chhnang province, Cambodia and Noor Ahmad Noori of Bost who was killed on
January 23, 2014 in Lashkar Gah, Afghanistan. Since 2001, when CPJ began compiling detailed records on journalists in exile, more than 500 journalists have fled their homes. Illustrating the extraordinary dangers facing these journalists at home 454 remain in exile today, 136 journalists are in jail in 2009, 125 in 2008, 127 in 2007, 819 journalists have killed worldwide since 1992 (cpj.org, 2009). Jonathan Randal, who covered the Balkan war for the Washington Post was subpoenaed to testify before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. He challenged the subpoena. Randal in 1993 gave an informal statement when originally contacted by the prosecutors. When several with the subpoena, he objected and asked the court to hold that war correspondents have a qualified privilege not to testify about their activities or stories in war zone (Spellman, 2005). Randal argued that a public policy of encouraging reporting from war zones, including exposure of war crimes, would be undermined by failure to recognize the privilege. He claimed war zones reporting would diminish because sources would view reporters as arms of the UN or other official bodies and because the danger of physical harm to journalists and their sources would increase. It was the notion that lack of a privilege would put journalists’ live at risk that resonated within the profession.

War reporting, from its start to mid 2004, 33 journalists and other media workers had died covering the Iraq war. In Afghanistan, nine journalists were killed in 2001. Twenty journalists died in the period 1993-2002 in the Balkans.

The International Federation of Journalist (IFJ) adds there is:

.. The potential threat to the physical safety and welfare of journalists, particularly those working in areas of war and conflict, each year many journalists are targeted and subject to harassment, intimidation and worse at the hands, of one side or another in conflict zones. As non-combatants, journalists are entitled to limited protection under international law, but the work they do is potentially damaging to the public image of any side in a conflict when they are witnesses to crimes of war or violations of human rights and, as a result, journalists are frequently subject to violence and threats of violence. The possibility of such intimidation is greatly increased if it becomes the practice to subpoena journalists to give testimony on what they see in the course of their work (www.ifj.org, 2002).
The Reporters without Border Press Freedom Barometer proves that countries involved in violent conflict are dangerous places for media professionals with 37 journalists killed in Iraq since the beginning of 2006, 3 in Sri Lanka and Colombia, 2 in Afghanistan. But also the figures from countries like Mexico (7 deaths), Russia (3), the Philippines (2) and China (2) shows that the lives of journalists are threatened even in states that do not have discernible war zones. The Committee to Protect Journalists recently published details about 580 journalists that were killed in the line of duty worldwide between January 1992 and August 2006. According to these data, 71.4% were murdered, 18.4% died in crossfire or in combat related circumstances and 10% during other dangerous assignments. Print reporters face the greatest risk of death, expect in few parts of the world like the Philippines and India where radio journalists and TV reporters have a higher risk of being killed.

In times of violent conflict, the dangers journalists are exposed to are more imminent than in ordinary times. Independent, precise and professional information is particularly vital under these circumstances. 137 journalist and media staff have been killed since the beginning of the Iraq war, which is the deadliest conflict for media professionals since the Second World War. Recent conflicts in Lebanon or in Somalia have shown one more, working journalists working in conflict zones are particularly vulnerable, despite the fact that “attacks against journalists and media equipment are illegal under international humanitarian law, which protects civilian persons and objects, as long as they are not making an effective contribution to military action”. Even though media professionals working in conflict zones have the status of civilians, this status and international humanitarian law is less and less respected by some belligerents. According to the analysis carried out by CPJ, journalists working in war zones (especially local reporters) are usually not killed by an errant bullet. In fact, they are usually murdered. Crossfire in comb act is just the second- leading cause of deaths, although it is the major cause of international journalist death. Since journalists and war correspondents covering conflicts do not receive a fully safety guarantee by the belligerents, it is responsibility of media institution that sends them into conflict zones to limit the risks and to provide protection, basic guaranties and, if necessary, compensation, no matter if they are salaried or freelancers, local or international journalists.
Of all journalists working in dangerous situations, local reporters run the greatest risk of becoming victims of violence. According to the CPJ analysis, 85% of all journalists killed were not foreign correspondents working in war zones, but local journalists doing their work. They were typically murdered “not on assignment, but in their offices, on their commutes, or in their homes. Nine out of 10 murders, CPJ found, had the hallmarks of premeditation such as careful planning, groups of assailants, and gangland style executions”. A conflict zones and countries where press freedom is not sufficiently valued journalists become targets of rebel groups, militants, drug traffickers, extremists and corrupt politicians.

1.3.1 Government and Media

The media when restricted or constrained are most likely to be so by government. On the other hand, there is the free press whose primary function is perhaps to provide the people with a free flow of information. On the other hand, governments have always realized that information is power and the control of information is essential to public support for its policies and mandates. So that even if the government is not attempting to control the media, it is trying to present itself favorably in the media, and this might well include suppression of information harmful to itself.

In the present age, most democratic governments tolerate criticism of their actions. The most problematic area for a free speech principle is when this principle protects anything that suggests or advocates illegal activity. Government most strongly attempts to constrain freedom of speech when it is felt that there is a threat to ‘national security’. An example of suppression is the government of Serbia stopped television coverage of pro-democracy demonstrations in the winter of 1996-97, as of to deny they were taking place.

In the UK, the most contentious issues between government and radio of Northern Ireland, in particular, the terrorist activity that resulted from troubles. On the one hand, there was the desire of television journalists to explain what are going on, to give some understanding of the events to the British public. One of their methods is to interview people involved in the terrorist organizations, on both sides of the sectarian divide. On the other hand, the British government saw this terrorism as a threat to democratic government and something that had to be fought. In a memorable phase,
the British Prime minister described the media as providing the terrorists with “the oxygen of publicity”.

By external threats is meant threats from outside the state or country. This can involve national security but typically it involves issues relating to war and war reporting. The conflict can be summed up by two quotations taken from ‘The media and the Falklands campaign’ by Valerie Adams. From the point of view of government, Lawrence Freedom wrote in the foreword: ‘For the military commander, information is a weapon of war’. On the other hand, The Times wrote on 25 May 1982, the first indeed the paramount interest in a democracy must be to inform the public as soon as possible about what is happening on its behalf.

One way of solving the problem, from the military’s point of view, is to withhold information entirely, as with the invasion of Grenada by the US in 1983. For the first time in living memory, reporters were not informed in advance of the operation or permitted to accompany the assault troops. For two days the press was kept away and them for another two days was only permitted guided tours of the island. The media complained vociferously. One eminent American journalist said: ‘if the press isn’t there the people aren’t there’.

This distrust from the US military stems from its unfounded belief that the media contributed to the Americans losing the Vietnam War. Even when the military is releasing information, its aim will be to reveal as little as possible. This attitude was severely criticized by the media during the Falklands conflict of 1982. For one thing, the media professionals felt they could be trusted. One defence correspondent, Christopher Wain, wrote in a letter to The Times: ‘For a Defence correspondent, the rules of engagement are clear. You do not reveal British military secrets. You do not put British lives at risk. You do not put interviewees whom you know to be in possession of secret information into the position where it may be inadvertently blurted out...’ In these cases, it was the journalists struggle simply to get enough information with which to report (Barrie, D., 1998).
1.3.2 The Media in India

According to London-based International News Safety Institute (INSI), 134 journalists and media staff support were killed while on reporting assignments in 2013. Syria is in the first rank, Iraq in the second, Philippines in the third, India as fourth and Pakistan on the fifth in the list of countries as most dangerous for journalists in 2013. Most of those killed were targeted deliberately. Of these, 65 died covering armed conflicts - primarily in Syria, where 20 were killed, and Iraq, where the death total was 16 - while 51 were killed in peacetime covering issues like crime and corruption, and 18 died in accidents. After Syria and Iraq cited by the Institute as the most dangerous countries for journalists last year, came Philippines with 14 deaths, India with 13 and Pakistan with 9 (INSI report, 2014).

The INSI study "Killing the Messenger" said that the total was down from 152 deaths recorded in 2012 but there was an accompanying rise in assaults, threats and kidnapping directed at journalists which largely go unreported. The study also said that local journalists were the victims, with 123 of the dead killed while covering their own country. Of the 20 who died in Syria, 16 were Syria nationals. Most Journalists were targeted and shooting was the most common cause of death. The report showed 85 victims were shot.

Incidents of violence against and restrictions on journalists in several parts of India have been increasing over the past few years. They confronted hostility and intimidation from the army, the police, anti-social elements and militants, communal organizations in several parts of India particularly in Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Assam, Orissa, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Since 1992, 32 journalists were killed in India with motive confirmed. Some of the journalists are:-

- Sai Reddy of Deshbandhu was killed on December 6, 2013, in Bijapur District.
- Rajesh Verma of IBN 7 was killed on September 7, 2013, in Muzaffarnagar.
- Narendra Dabholkar of Sadhana was killed on August 20, 2013, in Pune.
● Dwijamani Singh of *Prime News* was killed on December 23, 2012, in Imphal.

● Rajesh Mishra of *Media Raj* was killed on March 1, 2012, in Rewa.

● Vijay Pratap Singh of *Indian Express* was killed on July 20, 2010, in Allahabad.

● Vikas Ranjan of *Hindustan* was killed on November 25, 2008, in Rosera.

● Javed Ahmed Mir of *Channel 9* was killed on August 13, 2008, in Srinagar.

● Ashok Sodhi, *Daily Excelsior* was killed on May 11, 2008, in Samba.

● Mohammed Muslimuddin of *Asomiya Pratidin* was killed on April 1, 2008, in Barpukhuri.

Till now 22 journalists are killed in India with motive unconfirmed. Some of the journalists are:

● Rakesh Sharma of *Aaj* was killed on August 23, 3013 in Etawah.

● Jitendra Singh of *Prabhat Khabar* was killed in April 27, 2013 in Jharkhand

● Nemi Chand Jain, Freelance was killed on February 12, 2013 in Chhatisgarh.

● Chaitali Santra, Freelance was killed on September 26, 2012 in South Baksara.

● Chandrika Rai of *Navbharat* and *The Hitavada* was killed on February 18, 2012 in Umaria.

Three media workers of *Dinakaran* were killed on May 7, 2007 in Tamil Nadu, India. They were M. Vinod Kumar, K. Mutharanalingam and G. Gopinath. According to CPJ report 27 journalists were killed in India since 1992 (motive confirmed), 14 journalists killed (motive unconfirmed), three media worker were killed on May 7, 2007. The intimidation of journalists in the form of physical attacks, threats and initiation of legal proceedings against them has reached a peak in Orissa. According to a special report brought out by the Free House Speech, there have been 12 physical
attacks on reporters, stringers or camerapersons in 2010 and six cases of threat and intimidation up from 3 attacks in 2009. Between 2004 and 2009, four cases of sedition were against stringers or reporters and a writer. The attacks occurred either in retaliation for reports written or while the media–persons were on reporting assignments.

In Orissa the ongoing battle between owners of mines and industrial interests provided the background to physical attacks on journalists who dared to expose the clandestine operations and their exploitation of the poor and the marginalized. As mining and industrialization related growth accelerates along the protests against these by the displaced populations, it is in the interest of the pro-development lobby to suppress all type of negative publicity. This is done by controlling the media through ownership and intimidating those who cannot be neutralized by these. The attacks on journalists are inextricably linked to the changing equation between the state and civil society, brought about by the triumvirate of aggressive industrialization, political interests and competitive media houses.

The Free House speech’s report noted that “the most widely broadcast channels and the largest circulating daily are owned by powerful people. Given this reality, reporting the depredations caused by national and international business houses that have descended on the state to exploit its ample natural resources has become a perilous task” (Hootorg, 2010).

In Jammu and Kashmir, the state government had to seek the army assistance after its efforts to control internal disorder among sections of people failed. The first thing the government did after the army intervened was to impose severe restrictions on journalists. The officials followed it up the canceling curfew passes issued to journalists and others. They also instructed the police and the CRPF not to allow any media person to move around. In some instances, cameras were seized. In protest, the media organizations suspended operations for a couple of days. Close to two decades since the militancy in Kashmir erupted, the media has gone through various phases in its fraught relationship with state agencies. In 1996, when elections were under way in Jammu and Kashmir, the multiple pressures it faced were to shut down (Viswanathan, 2010). On 21st July 2010 Indian Express senior reporter Vijay Pratap
Singh was injured in the blast outside an Uttar Pradesh minister’s house in Allahabad. He remained in critical state and died ten days later.

1.3.3 Conflict and Media in the North East India

The North Eastern Region comprises eight States. They are Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Sikkim. They present an intricate cultural and ethnic mosaic with over 200 ethnic groups with distinct languages, dialects and socio-cultural identity. The security situation in some of the North Eastern States has remained complex for quite some time because of diverse demands advocated by various militant outfits. The States of Manipur and Assam continue for the bulk of incidents of violence in the North Eastern Region. In Nagaland and Meghalaya, the violence level was higher than the previous year. In Arunachal Pradesh, barring a few incidents, there is a general atmosphere of peace. Suspensions of Operation (SoO) agreements have been entered into various groups, which have shown willingness to give up violence and seek solutions for their problems peacefully within the Indian Constitution. The groups which have entered into SoO Agreement are National Democratic Front Bodoland (NDFB)/P, United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC), Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and United People’s Front (UPF). Cease fire with all factions of National Socialist Council of Nagaland continues.

Major Militant/Insurgent groups active in the North Eastern State according to the Ministry of Home affairs report (2012-13) are as follows:

**Assam**

i) United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)

ii) National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB)

**Manipur**

i) People’s Liberation Army (PLA)

ii) United National Liberation Front (UNLF)

iii) People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK)
iv) Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP)

v) Kanglei Yayol Kanba Lup (KYKL)

vi) Manipur People’s Liberation Front (KYKL)

vii) Manipur People’s Liberation Front (MPLF)

viii) Revolutionary People’s Front (RPF)

Meghalaya

i) Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC)

ii) Garo National Liberations Army (GNLA)

Tripura

i) All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF)

ii) National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT)

Nagaland

i) The Nationalists Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak Muivah)-[NSCN(I/M)]

ii) The National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang) [NSCN (K)].
Fig. 1.1 Intensity and Presence of Insurgent Groups in North East India

(NOT TO SCALE)
Table 1.1: Conflict Situation in North Eastern States during the period 2007 to 2013 (upto 28.02.2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>1489</td>
<td>1561</td>
<td>1297</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>1025</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered</td>
<td>2875</td>
<td>4318</td>
<td>3842</td>
<td>3306</td>
<td>2746</td>
<td>3562</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Forces killed</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians killed</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Home Ministry Report 2012-13)

Table 1.2: Conflict Situation in Manipur during the years 2005-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremists arrested/killed/surrendered</td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>1097</td>
<td>1443</td>
<td>2112</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>1626</td>
<td>1677</td>
<td>1701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Forces killed</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians killed</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Home Ministry Report 2012-13)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Killed by</th>
<th>Killed at</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punarmal Agarwala</td>
<td><em>The Assam Tribune</em></td>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>Kampur Town</td>
<td>ULFA</td>
<td>Kampur</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamala Saikia</td>
<td><em>Ajir Asom</em></td>
<td>Local correspondent</td>
<td>Sibsagar</td>
<td>ULFA</td>
<td>Sibsagar</td>
<td>Aug 9, 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pabitra Narayan</td>
<td><em>The North East Times</em></td>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>Sibsagar</td>
<td>Suspected Timber Smugglers</td>
<td>Sonari Sibsagar</td>
<td>Aug 19, 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipak Swargiaryy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>Goreswar</td>
<td>Unidentified miscreants</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sept 24, 1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manik Deuri</td>
<td></td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>Goreswar</td>
<td>BLT</td>
<td>Diphu</td>
<td>April 26, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parag Kumar Das</td>
<td><em>Asomiya Pratidin</em></td>
<td>Executive Editor</td>
<td>Guwahati</td>
<td>SULFA</td>
<td>Guwahati</td>
<td>May 17, 1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panja Ali</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Local Journalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Unidentified Miscreants</td>
<td>Kasugaon, Kokrajhar</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurul Hoque</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Local Journalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Suspected mafia</td>
<td>Hojai, Nagaon</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfraid Shazad</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Photographer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Grenade explosion</td>
<td>Inside Sivsagar SP’s office</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiten Sutiyia</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Grenade explosion</td>
<td>Inside Sivsagar SP’s office</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratneswar Sarnia Shastri</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Senior journalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ULFA</td>
<td>Barpeta</td>
<td>Dec 31, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinesh Brahma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Assassin</td>
<td>Dhubri</td>
<td>March 24, 2003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Circumstances</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indranath Hakasama</td>
<td><em>Amar Assam</em></td>
<td>Local correspondent</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jan 6, 2005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prahlad Gowala</td>
<td><em>Asomiya Khobar</em></td>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jan 6, 2005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohammad Muslimuddin</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>Hojai</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodosa Narzary</td>
<td>Bodoland TV</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Suspected former BLT and BPF youth wing members</td>
<td>April 11, 2007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagajit Saikia</td>
<td><em>Amar Assam</em></td>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>Kokrajhar</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Nov 22, 2009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimala Prasad Talukdar</td>
<td><em>Swatantra Awaj</em></td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Sept 4, 2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Journalists_killed_in_Assam)
In the north eastern part of India reporting conflicts has become the greatest challenge for the journalists. There have been glaring instances of journalists being targeted, threatened, assaulted and harassed by both the separatist outfits and law enforcing machinery of the state. Physical intimidation and obstruction of journalist seeking to perform their duties is a common occurrence in India’s north east. In Assam since 1987, 23 editors, correspondents and reporters were killed in Assam. The largest state in India’s north east is also the most dangerous. Next in terms of professional hazards is Manipur, where seven journalists have been murdered till now.

On 17 October, 1999 Pradeep Behera, a senior journalist with the English daily of The Arunachal Times was assaulted by six unidentified persons armed with lethal weapons who entered his home in the state of Arunachal Pradesh. He was hospitalized, suffering from chest, leg injuries. It seems that the attack followed the publication of critical articles on social issues. On 15 July 2012, Tongam Rina, an associate editor of The Arunachal Times was gunned down and seriously injured in front of the editorial office of the newspaper. It is believed that the attempted murder was connected to her journalistic work. Mathew Marak, editor of the daily Achik Mikasal of Meghalaya received a letter on July 7, 2006 containing death threats from militant groups belonging to the separatist Achik National Volunteer Council. The militant said in their threats that Marak had written several reports against militants which prompted the threats. Three months earlier, a photo journalist, W. T. Jryne, was assaulted by unidentified gunmen in Shillong. The journalist managed to escape, but suffered injuries. Other states in the region have not seen much overt violence against journalists.

1.4 Mass Media of Manipur

1.4.1 Print Media

The history of Journalism dates back to the beginning of the art of printing. It is believed that the art of printing from a single wooden block was first started in China between the 9th and 11th century. Again, it was in China that paper was manufactured for the first time.
The origin of Manipuri journalism can be traced back to late 1910s and that too, outside the state of Manipur although it was a newspaper prototype. A pioneer hand written journal in Manipuri language *Meitei Leima* was started from Cachar in Assam brought out during 1917-18 though it did not last long (Saratchandra, 1990, pp.31).

Despite the fact that a multi-faced leader of the state, Jananeta Hijam Irabot published *Meetei Chanu* in 1922 as the pioneer in this field but many feels that it cannot be treated as the first chapter of print media journalism in the state as the said publication was not a printed one in those days. Hence, the real credit of pioneering print media journalism in Manipur should be awarded to Thongbam Gokulchandra Singh who started publishing the daily newspaper *Dainik Manipur Patrika* on 23rd March, 1933 for the first time. Therefore, printed journals and newspaper came in one another (Kamei, A., 2010).

However, all the publication in those days failed to continue successively. Framing a historical foundation of print media journalism in Manipur, an order was issued by the Manipur state Durbar granting acceptance to published *Dainik Manipur Patrika* on 6th July 1923. Accordingly, the publication work of the daily newspaper was started under the Registrar No. C’2053. Again, according to the Durbar Resolution No. 5 (R), monthly journal *Lalit Manjuri Patrika* edited by Arambam Dorendrajit Singh was also started its publication from September 1933.

During the early 1920 and till 1939 whether newspapers are large or small sized most of them are printed by typed and ink on newsprint. The newspapers produced were limited and freedom of press is also subject to continuing struggle. The government press was started in the year 1918. After the First World War (1914-18), Manipuri’s got the proper facilities of using printing machines in Manipur. However, the printing of government annual reports have been practiced outside Manipur like Calcutta and Shillong under the Supervision of the East India Company. It can be said the first journalism was started from outside Manipur during the ruling of King and therefore under the British ruled freedom of expression was far. In 1917-18 a handwritten paper known as *Meetei Leima* Magazine was published, and it can be said to be the first ever produce of Manipuri journalism and also known for the beginning of journalism in Manipur, though magazine did not last for long it was survived for a while.
During India war for Independence from 1940 a number of newspaper editors were arrested and put into jail. Mr. Kunjabihari the editor of weekly magazines Anouba Pao was the first case in the history of Manipuri to put an editor in jail. During Second World War from 1939-1945 most of the newspaper and journal could not be produced. However in the peak period of the second world war no newspaper either magazines or journal were not published nor were new publications seem to bring out. It was after the Second World War some newspapers and journals began publishing.

After the independence from the colonial rule, many printing presses came up in the state. As per a report of the All Manipur press Association, 1965-66, as many as 62 printing presses were there in Imphal and its nearby areas at that time. With the advent of more developed printing technology, journalism also got boosted in Manipur. The Manipuri weekly Ngasi was converted into a daily newspaper in January, 1948 under the editorship of Keisham Kunjabihari Singh. Jyoti, a monthly edited by Ashangbam Minaketan Singh also saw light of the day in December by the same year. The Calcutta Manipur Students Congress also started its annual publication Khonjel in the same year and it was edited by Gourahari Singh (Ibomcha, A., 2008). 1949 was another landmark year in the history of Manipuri journalism. In the month of October that year, Manipur merged into the Dominion of India. In fact, the period from 1949 to 1980 may be considered as the second phase of development of press in Manipur (Mangi, 2006).

Many mouthpiece newspapers of political parties surfaced during the nineteen fifties and seventies. Ideologue newspapers of this genre included Simanta Patrika of the Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee, Khallao of the Communist Party of India, Manipur State Council, Sanaleibak and later Ihou of the Manipur People’s Party (MPP).

Most of the newspapers publishing in Imphal now had started their publication during the nineteen seventies. Hueiyen Lanpao started even before its registration to the Registrar of Newspapers in India/Press Registrar (RNI). The newspaper got its RNI registration in 1977 but started its publication on 3rd March, 1975. It is published in Manipuri, English and Meitei Mayek. Poknapham was started on 2nd February, 1975 under the editorship of Late Shamurailatpam Gopal Sharma. The Manipur News (English) was started in 1977. The Sangai Express which is published in both Manipuri and English see light of the day in 1999.

1.4.1.1 Dialect Newspapers

The development of press can be seen apart from Manipuri language of different dialects especially in hills areas from the year 1930 through some Christian journal of Church circulation. The setting up of education institute give rise to the beginning of journalism in the hill area of the tribal community in Manipur. From 1935 to 1979, about 40 newspapers and 8 periodicals of different dialect were published from different places of Manipur. Hmasawnia a cultural paper in Hmar languages which was published annually began in 1935. The journal was first printed in Churachandpur. Inchuk Khainum (Hmar) journal also published in Churachandpur in 1950. Mairam which means torch flame in Kabui dialect, edited by Professor Gangmumei Kamei, the journal was a monthly based in social and cultural related during 1958.

The tradition of daily newspaper publication among the ethnic tribes of Manipur started with the launch of *Thuthang* in Zou dialect in 1973. It is the oldest RNI registered dialect daily of the state (Gangte, 2007). Recorded as the oldest existing dialect daily newspaper in Manipur, *Sikni-Eng* started to hit the news stand on 2nd September, 1975. *Sumkon*, the Imphal based Kuki daily was started in 1980 under the editorship of Mangjiangam Touthang. *Thinglhang Post* was launched as a Kuki weekly in 1982 and become a daily in the nineties. The popular Paite dialect, *Manipur Express* was started as a weekly in 1981 and became a daily in 1983. The first Hmar dialect daily, *Thuthar* was started in 1983 at Churachandpur. The daily, however, failed to survive long. The Mizo dialect newspaper, *Chhantu* was started in 1976 by F. Hrangzuala. The Tangkhul dialect daily, *Aja* was started in 1992, by Ms Valley Rose Hungyo is editing the daily from its commencement. The Rongmei Naga daily, *Dihcham* was launched in 1999 by Ramkung Pamei from Tamenglong District headquarters to cater the reading needs of Zeliangrong tribes in Tamenglong and elsewhere in Manipur.


### 1.4.2 Arrival of electronic media and new media in Manipur

#### 1.4.2.1 Radio in Manipur

All India Radio, Guwahati started broadcasting Manipuri programmes on May 21, 1957. All India Radio, Imphal started transmitting its programmes from 15th August, 1963 through a low power transmitter. The studio of the AIR station was equipped with a limited facility of essential equipments and there were only one playback studio and two multipurpose studios. Out of these two multipurpose studios one was installed at the office complex near the Battalion Headquarters of the First Manipur Rifles and other at the studio near Raj Bhavan. A high power transmitter was installed at Mayang Imphal on 2 November, 1971. The
coverage area has been increased with the commissioning of 50KW short wave transmitter on 20 February, 1996. With this new development AIR, Imphal covers not only the entire state but also neighboring states as some foreign countries (AIR, Imphal, 2003, pp.33). A 10KW FM transmitter started its test transmission from 2002, November and the transmission was on regular service from the next year. A new project for Captive Earth Station has been completed and commissioned on March 31, 2003 and henceforth the programmes of AIR, Imphal can be up linked through this earth station (Ibid, pp.36).

All India Radio station is the main station in Manipur while narrowcasting transmitters are also located at Churachandpur and Ukhrul. All India Radio, Imphal is located at Palace Compound, Imphal. It mainly broadcast programmes in Manipuri which is the main regional language of the State. It broadcast programmes in 6 major dialects and 18 minor dialects. It also broadcast programmes in English and Hindi.

The Regional News Unit (RNU), Imphal was commissioned on 15 August 1963. R. Constantine was the first news editor and Nabakumar Singh was the first newsreader cum translator. Initially a 15 minute news bulletin was broadcast daily at 7.30 pm on 1st January, 1964. Later, owing to increase public demand another 5 minute news bulletin at 7.30 am was introduced on 4 January, 1964. The 5 minute morning news bulletin has been extended to 10 minutes with the introduction of news analysis of the main stories of the local dailies being published from Imphal with media professionals and experts from different fields. Mid day News at 12 noon was launched on 21 January, 2009. Earlier with the completion of automation of RNU, the service of news-on-phone (NOP) was introduced. The news of AIR, Imphal can be tune online and the scripts are also available online. News bulletins are being broadcast from the station in six major dialects viz, Tangkhul, Paite, Mao, Hmar, Kabui and Thadou.

Some popular programmes of the station are Khungangi Thouram (programme on rural development), Hello Manipur (Phone-in-programme related with health), Matamgi Wapham (New Commentary), News Reel, Khonjel Nachom, Science Magazine, Anganggi Thouram (children’s programme) etc. Besides these there are varieties of programmes broadcast in English, Hindi and other dialects.
1.4.2.2 Television in Manipur

Manipur has only one television service- Doordarshan Kendra, Imphal. Manipur was brought under Doordarshan coverage during the Asian Games in 1982 with a 100 W LPT installed at the present AIR, Imphal complex. This low Power Transmitter was upgraded to HPT of 1 KW in September 1987 and shifted to the present DDK, Imphal complex at Porompat. For the first time in the history of Manipur, the people of the region watch the first ever Regional Transmission on the 30th April 1993 (Friday).

Initially the coloured Regional Transmission was only for half an hour. By the second year the duration increased upto 45 minutes and by February 1995 the Kendra originates programmes for 60 minutes five days a week. Since 4th April 2004 Kendra telecast 2 and half hours programmes from 5.30 p.m. to 8.00 p.m. seven days week. And again from the 4th October 2009 Kendra telecast programme from 3.00 P.M. to 8.00 P.M. on Saturdays and Sundays. The long awaited demand of the state was fulfilled in the year 2005 August with the origination of Manipuri News live for 15 minutes at 7pm from the Studio of DDK Imphal. From the later part 2007, News in Manipuri is being telecasted both at 5: 30 pm and 7pm.

It telecasts programmes on agriculture, children, women, youth, senior citizen, environmental programmes etc. Tribal songs and dance programmes are also being transmitted regularly for 30 minutes. Moreover from time to time Kendra telecast various appeal and messages made by State Chief Minister and other Ministers during important festivals and anniversaries. Kendra devoted 30 minutes weekly programmes based on the developmental activities in the state.

1.4.2.3 Information Service Television (ISTV) Network

The 1997s had brought a new era in Imphal city with the arrival of two cable networks namely Satellite Education and Entertainment Network (SEEN TV) and Imphal Cable Television Network (ICTV) running parallel programmes with strong local programming contents contains, bringing a new wave to Imphal city. ISTV Network which is a private cable TV operating organization was established on January 27, 2003 by clubbing both ICTV and SEEN TV. It serves in providing information, education and entertainment. The network
covers almost all the valley areas and some parts of the hills of the state. ISTV news programme is one of the most popular programme among the programme being broadcast by ISTV.

Besides ISTV, there exist some home cable networks in Manipur such as Impact TV, Image Cable TV, Hornbill Cable Network, Laizon Cable Network and Tribal Cable Network. Television and satellite connectivity is available in almost every household of urban areas in Imphal.

1.4.2.4 Cinema in Manipur

Manipuri cinema starts its history from 1936. According to the history of Manipuri cinema the initial films were mainly mythological in nature. However social films were also made during these initial years. ‘Hiyang Tannaba’ (boat race) was the first Manipuri documentary which was directed by Maharaj Kumar Priyobarta Singh in the year 1936.

“Matamgi Manipur” produced in 1972 was the first Manipuri feature film. It was a Black and white film. The film was released simultaneously at Usha Cinema and Friends Talkies in the heart of IMPHAL and Azad Cinema at Thoubal on April 9. The film even went on to win the President's award. And with this film began the journey of Manipuri cinema. The colour era came only in 1984 when the first coloured feature film “Langlen Thadoi” directed by M.A. Singh was released. Out of 28 feature films produced so far, nine films had won national awards. However, in 2000, some Manipuri groups had imposed bans on many Bollywood movies, or the films of the Hindi film industry. Soon afterwards, movie theatres in Manipur were adversely affected since they had to cease the screening of movies. The absence of Hindi films inside these theatres led to their downfall and most of the movie theatres in Manipur were transformed into shopping complexes or other commercial apartments. This paved the way for a new medium of movies, which were referred to as digital films. “Lanmei”, which was the first digital movie of Manipur, was released on 24th May, 2002 under the banner of Kangla Films Manipur. Many Manipuri films both celluloid and digital got National and International awards.
1.4.2.5 New Media of Manipur

In Manipur, e-pao.net and kanglaonline.com are the pioneering Manipuri based web-portals. They cater services like infotainment, edutainment and news. www.e-pao.net was launched on December 31, 1999. These two portals serve as a good media for the Manipuris staying in Manipur and outside the state or abroad. These website contains variety of information such photo gallery (photos of different kind), reviews (book/theatre/art/movie, review), yellow page (a list of dealers/ stockists /shop owners of Manipur), e-frenz (a friend making channel), articles and opinions on different issues, news updates, employments , weather forecast, e-pao-radio, leisure (snippets on life experiences, jokes, funny instances etc.), Manipur (a number of articles, blogs, editorials on Manipur), horoscope etc.

Recently, a plethora of web portals has come up in Manipur. ISTV News programme can be watched online. News bulletins of AIR Imphal are available on the web portal - newsonair.com. In addition to the above ventures, most daily newspapers published at Imphal have gone online recently. The Sangai Express and The Imphal Free Press have gone online from 2003 and 2007 respectively. Poknapham also has gone online from 2008. Hueiyan Lanpao daily, Ireibak daily and maximum have also gone online.

1.5 Literature Review

Literature review is a key in the research process. It is comprehensive and covers all relevant research and supporting documents in print. Literature review is essential to locate similar or related studies that have already been completed which helped the investigator to develop deepen insight into the problem and gain information on earlier studies. It is a systematic identification, location, scrutiny and summary of written materials that contain information on research and the problem.

Daneil Benett (2013) analyzed the evolution of a war and terror blogosphere between 2001 and 2011. The author identified seven areas where blogs and related online genres could provide ‘alternative’ accounts to traditional media narratives of conflict and assesses the challenges and opportunities of blogs in each area from the perspective of the working journalist in order to deepen our understanding of the changing influence of blogs on
traditional media narratives of conflict. Parallel accounts and interpretations of conflict will collaborate and compete in a war and terror blogosphere in the future, but it has been significantly influenced by the adoption of blogging by military actors since 2008. The author found that the war and terror blogosphere is no longer a relatively unmonitored online space which is having an impact on both the production of ‘alternatives’ accounts of conflict and the incorporation of these accounts into traditional journalism.

Nenad Golčevski, Johannes von Engelhardt and Hajo G Boomgaarden (2013) examined the press media coverage of war crimes and war crime judiciary during the country’s recent post war period in Serbia. Authors compared the reporting of war crimes issues in four Serbian newspapers during the period from 2004 to 2006. Five frames were identified: an injustice frame, a denial frame, a factual frame, a benefits frame, and a rejection frame. It reveals a discourse that is both ‘perpetrator centered’ and – particularly for the nationalistic press – ethnically biased.

Hemda Ben-Yehuda, Chanan Naveh and Luba Levin-Banchik (2013) discussed crisis press coverage (CPC) to examine the uniform reporting assertion raised in communication theories. Findings on all short crises in the Arab–Israel and East–West conflicts from 1945 to 2006 show that despite differences in crisis attributes some coverage similarities remained intact, particularly the use of text at the expense of photos and similar issues in the news agenda. Yet, most CPC characteristics support a positive link between crises diversity and variety in press coverage, casting doubt on the single coverage hypothesis.

Florian, Otto and Christoph, Meyer (2012) in their study “Missing the story? Changes in foreign news reporting and their implications for conflict prevention” argued that the importance of foreign correspondents has been overstated and that news agencies, social networks and citizen-journalism can fill the gap. The authors also argued that the loss of presence in foreign countries has harmed the new media’s ability to uncover evolving crises and provide in–depth and reliable background reporting which is particularly problematic for conflict prevention because decision-makers use quality news media alongside intelligence reports for identifying and prioritizing threats.
Malem Ningthouja (2011) in his book *Freedom from India A history of Manipur Nationalism (1947-2000 A.D)* found out the problem with the Indian State in Manipur in two fold, viz., the colonial idea of nation-formation and the pseudo-democratic structure and system of government. The idea of nation-formation upheld by the Indian State is undemocratic and colonial in character. Besides superimposing an overarching state-system, education, culture, economic system and so on the Indian state overestimated its armed forces as the key player in nation formation. It upholds the idea that nation can be formed in a year or a decade through annexation, a process in which the armed forces are empowered to suppress recalcitrant population and the bureaucrats to transplant official nationalism. Secondly, Indian democracy in Manipur is characterized by a State run by an alliance of the ruling agent composed of political leaders, upper bureaucrats, top ranking police and military officials and businessmen who are assisted by a class of professional groups. The native ruling class is allied with the Indian rulers who uphold Indian national idea while the genuine democratic demands of the people, which all take place against the background of economic underdevelopment and cultural and political subordination, that was expressed in the forms of boycotting, strikes and bandhs are characterized as instigated by the idea of terrorism and suppressed in brutal manner. The author also argues that the Manipur national question requires a democratic solution. The people of Manipur should be given an opportunity to either exercise their right to self-determination or remain within territorial India. A free and fair plebiscite where there is absence of military compulsions and misinformation would bring peace in the region.

Jason, Dittmer and David, A. Parr (2011) discussed the role of news media in mediating and legitimating sovereignty claims within the nation-state system. They compared the ways in which US newspapers legitimated (or undermined) sovereignty claims by Kosovo and South Ossetia during their respective conflict. It is found that despite the potential to be narrated in similar ways, the Kosovo conflict was narrated as a humanitarian intervention, while the Russian intervention in South Ossetia was narrated as an imperialist intervention linked to larger geopolitical competition.

Sudeshna Roy and Susan Dente Ross (2011) examined media commentary in terror events in three countries in which the events occurred—the US, India and Scotland and compare the media’s role in construction, ideological conception and recommended response to terrorism.
The authors studied the media commentary in each of the three countries to expose similarities and differences in editorials about the 11 September 2001 (9/11) attacks in the US, the 26 November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India and release of the Lockerbie bomber on 20 August 2009 in Scotland. The authors found that the collective (inter) national media construction of ‘terrorism’ event, spheres transcends a specific terrorist event, national boundary and time to confine and define what is, and is not, terrorism. They discursively exclude from public discourse ‘reality zones’ associated with the political, historical, social, religious, cultural and ideological positions and justifications of terrorism. They also observed localizations of the global terror discourse suggesting internal particularities and contexts within which the terror events occur.

Robert L. Handley and Amani, Ismail (2010) examined US and Israeli newspaper covering of the Palestinian–Israel and Fatah-Hamas conflicts in January 2008 to make claims about the role that national interests play in the manufacture of news. Specifically the authors studied the ‘their/our’ news dichotomy to argue that when two nation-state’ foreign policy interests and their ‘others’ converge, those shared assumptions will inform the meaning of ‘their’ news constructed by news organizations in different nations-states despite their choice of the professional or natural narratives. It suggests that ‘their’ news can become ‘ours both’.

Rupachandra (2009) studied the root cause of the entire social, political and economic crisis in Indian Government policy which has been pursuing experimentation of integrating the region to the mainstream by playing politics of Divide and Rule Policy copied from the erstwhile British colonial master. He also urged that the step-motherly treatment of the centre was the key reason for launching of armed resistance in order to regain the lost sovereignty of the state. He observed that the victims are the people of North East in general and Manipur in particular because people are sandwiched under the frozen layer of so called neo-colonialism, even the identity crisis in Manipur, the manifestation of the struggle for reinvention of reconstitution and redesigning of it. He identified three form of democracy deficit, first, democracy means little to ordinary citizens if they do not enjoy equal rights and entitlements as citizens; either because constitutional and legal arrangements fail to guarantee these rights; or because they are excluded from the public sphere due to societal inequality, lack of organization, cultures of intolerance or violence. The second crucial form of democratic deficit is the inability of citizens to hold governments and political elites
accountable for their use of power. A third type of democratic deficits is on the terrain of high politics and manifests itself in the weak horizontal accountability of over powerful and potentially tyrannical executive’s vis-à-vis the legislature or judiciary. The author also studied the emerging conflict among the hill tribals of Manipur. He found that the genesis of conflict situation is associated with the confusion of nationalism and emergence of ethnic nationalism and the root cause of this conflict is armed conflict with the centre or government of India which is a major conflict in north-east India in general and Manipur in particular and the genesis of Naga Kuki conflict is land dispute and harbouring of different political aspiration. V. Sumi and K. Timothy also give an insiders account of the ‘Nagaisation’ campaign of the NSCN (IM). He also traced the genesis of the Kuki-Naga clash to the assertion of the Kukis for having homeland of their own by carving out from the land that traditionally belongs to the Nagas.

Jasantakumar (2009) analyzed the land problem of North East in general and Manipur in particular. He found that the contradiction between ethnic nationalism and sub nationalism is also one of the root causes of the ethnic crisis in Manipur such as the Meeties launch struggle for the liberation of Manipur while the Nagas and the Kukis are fighting for Kuki homeland and Nagas for territorial expansion. He explained four points of conflict resolution as there should be middle space in between state actors and non-state actors in solving the armed conflict solution in Manipur. The government should occupy the space by providing political and economic justice to the masses or otherwise, it should be occupied by the non-state actors viz., de facto sovereignty is in their hands, good governance, rational, focused, intelligent decision makers in the public domain and the necessity of the government to change the inclusive authority model to make an end of the chronic exclusion like inequality and relational poverty, labour market exclusion, credit market exclusion, gender-related exclusion and poverty.

According to Dhanabir Laishram (2009) nationalism, sub-nationalism and ethno-nationalism means India nationalism creates the tendencies of having sub-nationalism to the people of North East and ethno-nationalism as countering such tendencies automatically making confusion of the newly emerging sub-nationalisms which are demanding with external self-determination and the current tendency of ethno-nationalism has entered an ominous stage, where the use of violence and coercion has added new dimensions to ethnic politics. He
analyzed that the people of North East are struggling against the structural injustice first, and then turn to relative deprivation based on rational choice theory without political ideology. He also suggested that both the governments, the Centre and State Government need to promote using of non-violence in any movement of the masses giving positive response reverence analysis of people’s grievances unless people will be extreme. He pointed out two angles as solution to the armed conflict in the State, one from that of the people and other from that of insurgencies which requires many steps to be taken up. He also suggested to incorporate a new provision in the amendment of the constitution in which the unit states should unite to the union voluntarily and have right to secede. He also mentioned that Gandhian means would be the only means to end ethnic hatred in the state of Manipur.

Patrick Brugger (2009) examined that humanitarian work, especially in conflict areas, has become more dangerous and every humanitarian organization is affected by security problems, constituting a threat to their staff and hampering much needed activities on behalf of the victims of armed conflicts and other situations of collective armed violence.


Maheshwari (2008) examined the web of conflicts that led to the emergence of separatist and insurgent element in the north-eastern state of Assam during the mid-fifties of the twentieth century. The author studied the series of distortions, emerging from the multi layered impact of history, demography and cross-cultured confluence, notwithstanding the economic interests, violence that eludes all initiatives to spread peace and harmony. The author also depicts the lifestyle that is drawn between the pulls and pressures of the sovereign and the subdued and makes deep inroads into the psyche of the soldiers fighting the insurgency, reflecting upon their fragmented human emotions.

Sanjib Baruah (2008) explored the new perspectives of ethnic conflict and the meaning of democracy with reference to the north east India which have experienced ethnic conflict and suffered human and material losses due to insurgency and counter-insurgency operations. The author argued that the prolonged counter-insurgency operations have eroded the
democratic fabric of the region and institutionalized authoritarian practices which result in growing dissonance between the idea of ethnic homelands and the actually existing political economy of the region that makes ethnic violence and internal displacements quite predictable. The author explored the historical roots of the region’s oldest armed conflict—the Naga Insurgency—and carries a detailed analysis of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) during different phases of its power and influence which explores the economic incorporation of the region into the global capitalist economy in the nineteenth century and the resultant conflict between global and local resource-use regimes.

Hamelink (2008) addressed the key assumptions about the role of media in conflict prevention and proposed to be deeply skeptical about these assumptions which project onto information and communication unrealistic expectations about their impact on human relations. Although there may be doubts about the media’s peacemaking potential, it can be demonstrated that news media can make matters a lot worse and can certainly contribute to the escalation of group conflicts into mass killings. This is especially so when media workers become agents for the dissemination of the ‘elimination belief’ and when media are intentionally used as weapons to incite people to commit crimes against humanity. The author also analyzed the need of ‘An International Media Alert System’ (IMAS) to monitor media contents in areas of conflict which would provide an ‘early warning’ where and when media set the climate for crimes against humanity and begin to motivate people to kill others.

Koireng Singh (2008) studied the Kuki-Naga clash which is an extension of the conflict due to claims over a territory as one’s own exclusive homelands by the ethnic armies and resistance to it. Manipur has been a witness ethnic crisis to in the later part of its post merger to India history which is closely tied to geo-political issues. It leads to severe casualties in Manipur because of the politics of contiguous homeland and due to struggle for control over land and resources by the ethnic armies of both the Kuki and the Naga. He mentioned that the genre of micro-nationalism marked by an expansionist design in the context of an ethnic competition for the access to the power and resources of the state thus provides a framework for the emergence of the Kuki-Naga clash in 1992.

Ingrid Volkmer (2008) focused on the concept of ‘media event’ which has been coined as a narrative form of mass media communication in the context of global public communication.
The author argued that a variety of event-spheres can be identified which represent discursive spheres in a global public space.

Ibomcha Sharma (2007) in his study, “Armed Conflict in Manipur: Reflection in Media” has described the different types of armed conflict. He also analyzed the conflict situation in different countries of the world, in north east India and Jammu and Kashmir. He studied the reflections of armed conflict scene in mainstream and local media. The study also found that stories of armed conflict in Manipur are not properly being highlighted by the mainstream media as compared to the local media.

Jeffrey Ross (2007) studied about the power and nuances of the media’s interaction with terrorists, their organization and their sources. He also said that terrorists use the media as a tool to gain increased coverage and communicate their message. Terrorists and their organizations have a better ability to harness the numerous tools of mass communication for their purposes. The relationship between terrorists and the news media will not subside, and in many respects, that interconnectivity will increase in years to come.

Majid (2007) examined the current journalistic challenges in Iraq necessitate, interalia, a commitment by journalists to their professional responsibility, since this will guarantee the avoidance of the danger of sliding into the implications that usually result from armed sectarian conflicts. This responsibility should be exercised to assist the victims and promote a spirit of tolerance and reconciliation through the principles of professional ethics based on balance, equity, accuracy and objectivity. He also proposes a preliminary theory or vision that could be modified or discussed in order to achieve this purpose in a country that is suffering and will continue to suffer, from merciless bloodshed.

Daoud Kuttab (2007) examined the War in Iraq has been accompanied by the highest ever number of casualties among members of the Iraqi and foreign press. He also said that the end of the Saddam Hussein regime has reopened the way for vibrant media activity; the absence of security for members of the media had a high human cost. The US led war on Iraq, which was aimed at liberating its people from authoritarian rule, has not seen any serious attempt by the western or even Arab media to focus on the German side of Iraq. Iraq civilian death tolls are treated as nothing more than statistics.
Beckar, Tudor and Nancy (2007) examined four measures of media freedom by Freedom House, Reporters Sans frontiers (RSF), International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) and the Committee to Protect journalists (CPJ) and finds considerable consistency in the measurement. The correlation of the IREX measures with those of RSF and freedom house is given that IREX tried to create a distinct concept, namely media sustainability. The comparisons are only for the 18 countries rated by RSF, Freedom house and IREX but they suggest that IREX has not been successful in getting beyond the media freedom measurement-CPJ, though its measures of attacks on the press, has gathered information that is not redundant with the RSF, Freedom House and MSI indices.

Rajendra Kshetri (2006) examined the feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction among the Meeteis after Manipur’s merger into the Indian Union. The author analyzed the current underground movement in the light of the past movement. He emphasized that the seeds of secessionists’ movements now in vogue in the state was sown in the pre-merger days and show that the Meetei movement cannot be reduced to a mono-causal explanation. The author said that during the last four decades Manipur have witnessed the emergence and growth of present ‘underground’ movement in the Imphal valley demanding separation from the mainland country, the movement has challenged the authority of the Constitution of India and boundaries of the existing states and has justified the demands in terms of the inherent rights of ethnic groups to self-determination. The author studied two movements viz. the first movement or Irabot movement which occurred in the thirties upto the early fifties and the second movement from 1960s onwards. The author found that the Meetei movement has neither attained its goal nor transformed itself into institutionalization process and become a part of the status-quo. The movement is still alive though it had its moments of ups and downs and may have maintained a low profile for quite some time. He also found that there is always an impending likelihood to re-emerge in one form or another and the potential of movement is such that they can generate imitative movements in other parts of the region and or pave way for the emergence of latter movements.

Joykumar Singh (2005) in his book Revolutionary Movements in Manipur studied the armed struggle for the liberation of Manipur from the so-called “Indian colonial rule” and establishment of a sovereign state outside the Indian Union. He said that the occurrence of armed revolutionary struggle was due to denial, by the imperialist or the pro-imperialist
government, of the peaceful means for the masses of the people to gain national aims including armed intervention to reverse popular trend towards independence. This type of revolutionary movement uses “violence against violence” and the guerilla warfare which is a form of revolutionary struggle in Manipur. He studied six well-known revolutionary parties, namely, The Meitei State Committee (MSC), United National Liberation Front (UNLF), Revolutionary Government of Manipur (RGM), Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) Eastern Region, Peoples Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), and Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP). The author analyses the character of the parties on the basis of the ideological perspectives. The Meitei State Committee was a legacy of the Communist movement launched by Hijam Irabot, and the members of the MSC were the admirers of Irabot Singh but the ideology was a mixture of nationalism and leftist slogans. The KCP is the inheritor of the tradition of MSC. The United National Liberation Front is based on the Manipuri nationalism and common cultural heritage of the Meeteis and hill tribes. The exploit of the RGM, which was an offshoot of the UNLF, shows its similarity of the ideology plank of the original Front. PLA is purely based on Marxism. PREPAK is based on Meitei ethnic nationalism. The author gave an authentic presentation of the parties, their aims, objectives and their activities, failures or achievements. The UNLF appears to be the mother of the revolutionary groups. The author also examined the role of Arambam Samarendro, the leader of the UNLF, O. Sudhirkumar of the RGM, N. Bisheshwor of the PLA, R.K Tullachandra of PREPAK and W. Tomba of the Meetei State Committee.

Gopalakrishnan and Thomas (2005) discussed the implication of insurgency in North-East India with special reference to Manipur and Nagaland and the problems of insurgency in the two states in relation to the ground realities. They have found that a particular perception has developed among the inhabitants of the two states. They also found that 86 percent of the respondents pointed out the extremists would not succeed in the long run, but they did not rule out the impact their efforts would have on the mindset of the people in general and 74 percent of the respondents opined that insurgency and other related activities were not the way in which the demands of the insurgents, some of them justified, could be achieved. It is also found that there was a general perception that unless some serious measures were not taken immediately, the future would be bleak and would be clouded in political uncertainty and insecurity which would have a cyclical impact on the youth to rebel and join the
militants. It is also found that the respondents in general believed that it was from the early 1980s that the law and order situation deteriorated to the present extent, giving a steep rise in the number of various crimes committed which attributed the increase to political uncertainty and economic stagnation. The study also revealed that lack of employment opportunities and absence of self-financing schemes as well as availability of credit has increased the levels of frustration among the youth. They became soft targets for mobilization. Absence of priority in development and ineffective implementation had left there tell tale sign in the district in the form of presence of several militant/insurgent groups. As a result, internal instability affected government management functions and slowed down economic growth.

Arnaud Mercier (2005) said that to consider the relationship between war and the media is to look at the way in which the media are involved in conflict, either as targets (war on the media) or as an auxiliary (war thanks to the media). On the basis of this distinction, he cited four major developments that today combine to make war above all a media spectacle: photography, which opened the door to manipulation through stage-management; live technologies, which raise the question of journalists’ critical distance vis-a-vis the material they broadcast and which can facilitate the process of using them; pressure on the media and media globalization, which have led to a change in the way the political and of the military authorities go about making propaganda; and finally, the fact that censorship has increasingly come into disrepute, which has prompted the authorities to think of novels ways of controlling journalists.

Sanajaoba (2005) reproduced some of the ethnographic and historical accounted of Manipur and its people in the hills and the plains written by the British. The Nineteenth Century and early and early Twentieth century Manipur have been meticulously depicted in it.

Christiane Eilders (2005) examined recent findings on the quality of war reporting, the conditions under which it takes place, the information policies of the warring parties and their effects. Focusing on German media coverage of the 1991 Gulf war, the Kosovo war and the 2003 Iraq war, he found both typical shortcomings of reporting and recent improvements, highlights information control strategies and proposes standards of war reporting.

Dimitrova (2005) offered one of the few comparative studies of the coverage of the 2003 Iraq war. They found significant differences in war framing between US and international news
websites. Foreign sites were more likely to include the responsibility frame, for instance, while the American sites were more likely to focus on military conflict.

Sean, Livingstone, and Herbert (2005) studied the cross-cultural analysis of television coverage of the 2003 Iraq war that seeks to access and understand the dimensions of objectivity in the news during war time. A total of 1,820 stories on five American networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News Channel (FNC) and on the Arab Satellite Channel Al Jazeera were included in the study. The study assessed bias on two levels; tone of individual stories and the macro-level portrait of the war offered by each network. They explored the coverage of embedded reporters to access their objectivity and compare their coverage to other types of reporters, especially “unilaterals” with whom they shared the battlefield.

Alexander Gallois (2004) examined that the war in Iraq is a perfect illustration of the growing risks faced by journalists working in conflict zones. He also argued the importance to call renewed attention to the fact that attacks against journalists and media equipment are illegal under international humanitarian law, which protects civilian person and objects, as long as they are not making an effective contribution to military action. He also found that there is nonetheless an evident need for the adoption of a new instrument, on the one hand to reaffirm those elements of humanitarian law that apply to journalists and media personnel, and thus to re-established the authority of certain basic rules that are all too often flouted, and on the other hand, to improve existing law and adapt it to the requirements of today, for instance the phenomenon of “embedded journalists”.

Hasbullah and Morisson (2004) trace the origins, causes, and course of the many dimensions of Sri Lanka’s ethnic strife with the aim of renewing and re-building the fractured island through new thinking, activism and participation.

Pfau (2004) found that embedded journalists produced more favorable coverage of the military and individual troops in the first five days of the war as compared with other reporters and coverage in other recent wars but that there were no differences in overall tone.

Ryan Michael (2004) analyzed editorials in the 10 largest US newspapers after the September 11th attacks and found that the authors had created a singular narrative of the ‘war on terror’, justifying the bombing of Afghanistan as the proper response to September 11th terrorist attacks. The framing in the editorials, again, reflected the official government line.

Gangmumei Kamei (2004) narrated the story of the Zeme, Liangmei and Rongmei people, and their struggle and the local fights against the Angamis, the Kacharis, and the Kukis. He also recorded the process of forging a unified identity among the said sub-tribes.

Phanjoubam Tarapot (2004) traced the root cause of the ethnic clashes, its historical background, and reveals the deep-hatred among some tribes. He also mentioned about the plight of the affected people and depicted how civilians are used sometimes as human shields in the ongoing fights among armed groups or between the security forces and underground cadres. The author pointed out the unhealthy relations among some communities over the attempt to divide Manipur by some tribes in the hills.

Wiemann (2004) said over the past decade, the resource-intensive nature of owing and operating newspapers or radio or television stations has been mitigated because many terrorist groups now have their own websites, which are cost effective and portable.

Jasperson and El-Kikhia (2003) compared Al Jazeera and CNN coverage of the Afghanistan war and found that the Arab channel employed more humanitarian frames than its American counterpart.

Lance Bennett (2003) observed that the US press exhibited high levels of complicity with the government in regard to the 2003 Iraq war, discussing 10 factors that ‘created a perfect propaganda storm’ in US media. Notably, the US media ignored the world opposition to the war in a generally ethnocentric and patriotic storytelling.

Brunetti and Weder (2003), using the Freedom House measures of Press freedom, replicated the finding of a negative relationship between press freedom and corruption in a cross-
sectional study and established that the direction of the relationship was from press freedom to decreases in corruption using panel data.

Grieset and Mahan (2003) said that once contact has been made, terrorists typically establish certain conditions under which they will speak; this may lead to ‘selective’ reporting if journalists want to ensure continued access or their own safety, as some reporters have been kidnapped and killed in their efforts to talk with terrorists.

Gangte (2003) gave an exploratory on the certain aspects of the socio-cultural life of the Kukis, which in the process also unfolds other aspects of the life of the Kukis on historical perspective and identity issues as compared to the Nagas.

The project for Excellence in Journalism (2002) analyzed coverage in the few months following the September 11 attacks and found FNC to be more pro administration than other networks. Rozumilowicz (2002) contended that the question of who controls the media is critical to consideration of whether it is free and independent. There must be a diffusion of control and access supported by a nation’s legal, institutional, economic and social-cultural systems, she argued. Thus, a free and independent media exist within a structure which is effectively demonopolized of the control of any concentrated social groups or forces and in which to access is both equally and effectively guaranteed.

Topoushian (2002) examined the news coverage of the 1991 Gulf war in two Arab and two North American newspapers and found that the realities of war were constructed differently for the Arab audience, in ways that seemed to reflect the country’s political involvement in the Persian Gulf.

For Price (2002), the ‘foundation requirement’ for media freedom is that government does not have a monopoly on information. Rozumilowicz (2002) similarly contended that the question of who controls the media is critical to consideration of whether it is free and independent.

Sajal Nag (2002) revealed that nationality questions in Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland has led to massive secessionist and insurgency movements. It also revealed a discourse pattern between the representatives of the Indian state and its aggrieved communities in the sense that what was considered as national movement and freedom struggle by the struggling Naga,
Mizos or Meeteis is explained always in terms of secession and insurgency by the Indian state.

Besley and Prat (2001) found that press freedom as measured by the Freedom House Index, is negatively related to corruption and to political longevity of office holders.

Sharkey (2001) said that prior to the Iraq War, however, an even more restrictive policy of press management had been in place since the US invasion of Grenada in 1983. Whereas before then reporters had allowed on the battle field but had their copy censored by military before publication, beginning with Grenada this policy of post censorship was replaced with one of pre-censorship in which the media were kept away from the battle field and reduced to covering conflicts like the Persian Gulf war in carefully managed press pods far from shooting.

Phadnis and Ganguly (2001) gave an appraisal of the dynamics of ethnic identities and movements in South Asian States in a comparative framework. They addressed the central issue of regional politics in both the inter-state and intra-state manifestations and provide an incisive analysis of ethnicity as an idea and of its application to the politics of the region. They also discussed various ethnic movements in these countries as also the constraints and compulsions within which different regimes handled such ethnic assertions.

In the past few years sufficient evidence has been accumulated to justify at least mild optimism regarding the role of media in peace development, thanks to devoted practitioners in international governmental agencies and non-profit organizations (Heiber, 2001; Spurk, 2002; Howard et. al., 2003).

Horam (2000) gave a description on the constitutional and administrative problem related issues and land questions in Manipur and other six Northeastern state of India. It highlighted the customary laws of the Northeasterners including those dealing with land-ownership which are sharply different from one another and often lead to ethnic crisis and land disputes.

Vashum (2000) highlighted the coercive power of the state with fluctuating intensity which has been in operation against the Nagas who link up their self-perception of people hood as the launching pad of a nation-state of their own. The author also discuss the exercise of the coercive power of Indian State, technically legitimized particularly under the Assam and
Manipur (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) 1958 and its subsequent amendment which has been a traumatic experience for all Nagas National movement since its inception and even before, the notion of self-determination and perception of the Nagas on the right to self-determination of the Nagas.

Christoph Plate (2000) said that experience has shown that conflict prevention is much cheaper than subsequent reconstruction. Yet neither the relief organizations nor the press seem able to break the vicious cycle of destruction, reconstruction and renewed destruction. The task of the foreign correspondents should be to report on the reasons for their vicious cycle.

Mc Quail (2000) has said that a free press should have sufficient independence to protect free and open public expression of ideas and information. It also should be diverse. Others, such as Curran (1996) and Rozumilowicz (2002) have added additional requirements about mediation of societal interests and balance between commercial and public components. None of the existent measures seem adequate to address the diversity argument of Mc Quail let alone to respond to the broader concepts of press freedom called for by Curran and Rozumilowicz.

Mc Quail (2000) said that the concept of media freedom covers both the degree of freedom enjoyed by the media and the degree of freedom and access of citizens to media content. ‘The essential norm is that media should have certain independence, sufficient to protect free and open public expression of ideas and information. The second part of the issue raises the question of diversity, a norm that opposes concentration of ownership and monopoly of control, whether on the part of the state or private media industries’.

Kim (2000) found that the major visual themes of Pulitzer prize photographs depicting international events are war, coups and political upheaval.

Fred Halliday (1999) said that every modern war has involved disputes on the media coverage of that war, disputes that, explicitly, abut on to broader concerns about the role of the media, and of war, in a democratic society.

Dichamang Pamei (1999) gave a narrative of the Kuki rebellion of 1917-1919, the adverse effect it had on the Kuki-Naga relationship and the overcoming of the strained relationship
by working together under one Christian association. It also highlights the feeling of insecurity among the Kukis.


Srivastava (1998) analyzed the collective dynamics with more to the analyses of the social conditions of a behind a structured violent behavior than to the study of collective violence per se.

Panalal Dhar (1998) gave an account of the ethnic unrest raging in India, its neighbouring countries and other parts of the world. The book unravels the different factors contributing to the unrest, ranging from religion, language etc. to demand for right to self-determination, foreign hands, etc.

Kumar (1998) discussed the myths and realities related to the demands for the formation of ethnic states in India.

M.K. Raha (1998) highlighted the past and present lifestyle of the people of seven northeastern states, namely Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh.

Richard Jenkins (1997) studied power relations and social categorizations alongside group formation as necessary and inter-related aspects of the process of ethnic identification. He pointed out the failure to take serious account of the local cultural content of ethnic identity as a major weakness in the established views.

Pakem (1997) examined the social base of the insurgents in the region of Northeastern India.

David Miller and Bill Rolston (1996) in their book *War and works: The Northern Ireland media reader* studied together the best commentaries on media coverage of the Irish conflict over the last twenty-five years.

Jayasellan (1996) reflected on the impact of the missionary movement in Manipur on the ethnicity and politics of the Manipur hills.
Kamei (1996) gave an account of the inter-culture and state formation and the dilemma of identity crisis in Manipur. He found some useful insights on ethnicity and state formation in Northeastern India and emergence of Naga Nationality.

Andrew Steed (1996) have shown what began as informed agreements between individual editors and serviceman was formalized with the outbreak of the First World War by the setting up of a press corps, whose role was to provide newspaper coverage for the home audience.

Curran (1996) differentiated between a classical liberal perspective on media freedom and the radical democratic perspective. The former focused on the freedom of the media to publish or broadcast. The latter focused on how mass communication can ‘mediate in an equitable way conflict and competition between social groups in society’. Within the classical liberal perspective, he continued, is a ‘strand’ that argues that the media should seek to redress the imbalances in society.

Ian Stewart (1996) assumed that some of the ways in which war has been presented on film, focusing in particular on the cinematic codes and conventions. He concerned greatly with the form in which warfare has been presented.

John Allen (1996) argued the available technologies for the production and distribution of information and images. Access to and control of these technologies is the crucial factor in determining the dynamics of the military-media relationship. He suggested that, while the technology available as a result of the current information explosion is new, the fears and worries of governments, media institutions and military are certainly not.

Sean Mc Knight (1996) studied about the media coverage of events leading up to the Gulf war of 1991. He argued that the exaggeration of Iraq’s military capabilities that typified the media coverage resulted from the instable demand of the media for information—even inaccurate information—combined with a fundamental and widespread misunderstanding of modern military operations and not a concerted allied propaganda campaign.

Stephen Badsey (1996) studied the current state of military-media related and examines in depth the role played by a consideration of the accompanying media coverage of armed conflict in the planning and execution of a military operation.
Susan Carruther (1996) focused on that particularly elusive enemy—the terrorist. Drawing on example from Britain’s colonial past and on more recent examples in the Northern Ireland. She has shown how successive British governments and their governments and their agencies have sought in times of undeclared war to ensure that the media convey illegitimacy of terrorist opponents’ methods and motives.

Verghese (1996) made an extensive study of the Northeastern region of India in connection with the problems of ethnicity, governance, insurgency and development that have marked its evolution. The issues of ethnic identity and political evolution leading to state formation and creation of sub-state structures were traced and emergent cultural problems were also analyzed. He also exposed a number of problems faced by the region and suggested possible reforms or line of solutions.

Agarwal (1996) highlighted the tension between the dominant discourses and the ever intensifying various forms of local movements. The author also throws some light on the dark areas of Indian nation-building vis-à-vis identifying the areas of strength and weakness.

Hudson (1996) described the ethnology of the tribes inhabiting the hills which constitute a major portion of the state of Manipur. He mentioned that the Nagas and Kukis occupy definite areas in the hills of Manipur. The Naga tribes in Manipur with whom he was concerned with: i) the Tangkhuls; ii) the Mao, and Maram; iii) the Koyla, Khoirao or Mayangkhang group; iv) the Kabui; and v) Koireng, Chiru, Maring and some other smaller tribes. As described by him, the Tangkhuls inhabit the hills immediately to the east and northeast of the Manipur valley. The Koyla, Khoirao or Mayangkhang group inhibits the hills situated in the south of Mao and Maram. The Kabuis inhabit the hills to the west and northwest of the valley. The Koireng, Chiru, Maring and some other smaller tribes were found in the hills bordering the valley. He also described their habits, social customs, occupations, weapons, ornaments and dress, their physical and general characteristics including domestic life, popular beliefs and folk tales.

Haokip (1995) traced the seeds of Kuki-Naga conflict to the 16 Points Agreement between Government of India and the Nagas at the time of granting of statehood to Nagaland in 1963. He also contended that the Kuki-Naga conflict is not so recent as “the Moreh conflict or the so called refusal to pay tax”. In support of his argument, he cited the memorandum submitted
to the Chief Minister of Manipur, dated 4 July 1987 by the Consultative Committee of Kuki Leaders. He also implicitly expressed his desire of realizing their aspiration for a Zalengam or Kuki Gam, which translates as the Kuki Nation. The author also spelled out KNO/KNA’s aspiration for a Zalengam or Kukigam and highlights the casualties inflicted to the Kukis by the NSCN (IM) since 1992.

Naorem Sanajoaba (1994) provided a comprehensive account of all the micro-ethnos and tribes and most of the accounts have been prepared by the scholars belonging to the same ethnos. The database is essentially the primary source.

Breunig (1994) viewed press freedom as one type of communication. Others were freedom of speech, freedom of opinion and information freedom. Breunig (1994) examined the relationship between legal protection of communication freedom as written into the constitutions and related documents of nations of the world and another measure of press freedom, namely offenses against communication freedom. He gathered data on offenses against communication freedom through a content analysis of the Bulletins of the International Journalism Institute in Prague between 1st January 1988 and 9th October 1991. He found a disconnection between the two sources of information. States that guarantee communication freedom in their legal documents did not necessary provide for more freedom.

Newhagen (1994) said some studies show coverage of the Persian Gulf war in 1991 to be largely supportive to the U.S. mission there, (Kellner, 1992), especially CNN.

Bruenig (1994) viewed press freedom as one type of communication. Others were freedom of speech, freedom of opinion and information freedom.

David Miller (1994) in his book *Don’t Mention the War: Northern Ireland, propaganda and the media* studies the propaganda and misinformation which did so much to distort and impoverish media reporting of the northern Ireland conflict.

Weimann and Winn (1994) said that many terrorist groups are very sensitive to the timing of news stories and audience dynamics, and structure their actions accordingly.
As pointed out by Mc Quail (1994), media effects theories start with the phase of the 1920’s when the media seemed all-powerful, continue with the first empirical tests that showed only limited and moderate effects, and evolve into studies that have discovered powerful effects.

Gopalkrishnan (1993) made an attempt to highlight the geo-political processes operating in the Northeastern landscape. The author saw how these processes relate to one another not merely at the level of macro-phenomena but also at the micro-levels.

Anderson (1993) put forward that ‘nation’ itself an imagined community and nations are represented as spaces in which members of the nation have a strong bond with each other, a bond that triumphs whatever differences of class, gender or religion may divide people within the nation from one another. And yet this bond can only be imagined; it can never be actually known because the collectivity that forms the nation is too large to allow any one person to know more than a few of this fellow nationals.

David Brown (1993) gave a coherent interpretation of the nature of ethnic consciousness and causes of ethnic tensions in Myanmar, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia. Ethnic consciousness is defined in terms of a psychological and political ideology that is influenced by the policy and attitude of the state. The idea is developed through an examination of the influence that theoretical ideas such as neo-patrimonialism, corporatism, ethno-cracy, internal colonialism and clash have had upon the various regimes in the countries.

Hamid, Gerbner, Herbert Schiller (1992) in their book *The Triumph of the Image: The Media’s war in the Persian Gulf – A Global perspective* studied the triumph of image over reality and reason which assembled from many countries throughout Europe, Asia and the Middle East- II.

Hagen (1992) focused on what she described as media democratization. She proposed altering the top-down, ‘one-way flow’ of messages from contemporary mass media to the public by increasing citizen participation.

Gangmumei Kamei (1991) predicted that there will be a more intense struggle for the control of the natural resources of the tribal areas between the indigenous tribals on the one hand and the state or monopoly, both tribal and non-tribal capitalist interests on the other in North East India.
Clayton R. (1990) in his book *Hollywood Goes to War* studies how politics, propaganda and profits were combined to create the drama, imagery and fantasy that was American film during world war.

Entman (1989) argued that news becomes slanted not because of partisan bias on the part of reporters but rather because Western rules of objectivity lead the press to be beholden to elite, government sources.

Weinberg and Davis (1989) said alternatively if resources and minimal threats to security permit terrorist groups have formed their own radio and television stations and newspaper. They said that journalists sometimes face blackmail and intimidation as they attempt to gain access to terrorists.

Atwater (1987) and Jenkins (2003) studied the importance of newspapers, radio and television during ongoing campaigns and in the context of terrorist incidents which is a subject of constant debate.

Naorem Sanajaoba (1987) mentioned that insurgency or national liberation movement is a by-product of national oppression, subjugation, dominance, racism and apartheid mentality. Insurgency thrives where the ‘Equality of Nations’ and ‘National Rights’-the *sine qua non* of contemporary multi-national federation do not find adequate and legitimate political expression in the constitutional apparatus and inter or intra-national relationship seminally associated with the functioning of the apparatus. He also explained that the genesis of insurgency in Manipur could be examined by way of an objective appreciation of the historical facts, perspective and after a close study of the basis parameters of contemporary multi-national federation.

Zamir Niazi (1987) studied a broad view of the struggle for freedom of the press in Pakistan. He studied the dramatic confrontation between the press and the government in pre-independence era. He also studied the persecution of newspapers and punitive actions taken against dissenting journalists.

Hachten (1987) argued that definitions of media freedom should include other concepts, such as the role of media in nation building, economic development, overcoming illiteracy and poverty, and building political consciousness.
Covering a war is always a challenge for journalists trying to present as truthful and impartial accounts of events as possible, due to, for example, lack of access to battle zones, propaganda efforts of all parties involved in a war and money and time pressures (Hallin, 1986; Knightley, 2001; Nord and Strömbäck, 2004; Tumber and Palmer, 2004).

Picard (1985) among others, distinguished between negative press freedom (the absence of legal controls, such as censorship) and positive press freedom (the ability of individuals to use the media).

Weaver (1985) attempted to replicate the findings of Weaver (1977) but concluded instead that increases in economic productivity in developing countries may have negative effects on press freedom rather than positive ones. For these analyses, Weaver and his colleagues used the then relatively new measure’s developed by Freedom House, a non-governmental organization based in Washington, DC.

Muhammad Jabir (1984) defined professional values or media ethics as a term referring to the clear principles of professional conduct in media institutions, as well as the most effective and appropriate methods. Professional values are exemplified by commitment to objectivity in the presentation of news, the technological medium most appropriate to the performance of communication assignments of a special nature and the setting of good standards for televised serials.

Hallin (1984) debunked the myth that the press had an oppositional bias against the Vietnam War by showing that coverage did not become negative until it was apparent the United States was stuck in a quagmire. He argued that the press is rarely if ever oppositional but rather an instrument of the status quo.

Bassiouni (1983) and Jenkins (2003) have commented on the difficulties with the media’s coverage of terrorism.

Nari Rustomji (1983) analyzed the causes underlying the growing unrest in the vitally strategic northeastern borderlands of India. He proposed that the pace of change must be adjusted to the community’s capacity to absorb it, and without being detrimental to essential values for a community’s healthy development.
Giffard (1982) explained that past literature suggests developing nations are consistently depicted as the location of criminal activities, the recipient of disaster relief and aid, more prone to internal conflicts and crisis, and more likely to be the setting of armed conflict.

Asoso Yonuo (1981) provided some account of Kuki migration in the so-called Naga territory.

Nirmal Nibedon (1981) said that the ethnic and nativistic factors are shaping the fiery and explosive politics of the seven units across the Brahmaputra River. There is much behind the rising tide of ethnic assertion that India will have to grasp and grapple. He also said that the ethnic groups of “the yellow race” in the turbulent North-East too will have to ultimately decide how much of that national identity they can absorb so as to build a strong society, a new, integrated and rejuvenated India. He retraced and recaptured some of the fiery events leading to the ethnic holocaust-events and—developments that might pose a challenge to India for a long time to come. He also mentioned that there has been an uncanny continuity in the events of this region and that continuity of a decade or two later may be able to unfold a coherent picture that has been blurred by a spillover of day-to-day events in the front-page columns of newspapers.

Constantine (1981) dealt with the questions of identity and ethnic crisis more specifically in the hills of Manipur.

Tatu Vanhanen (1981) tried to find out the aspects of politics in India affected by ethnic nepotism and the way it shaped the democratic institutions of the country. He tried to give a universal explanation for the emergence of ethnic interest conflicts in all ethnically divided societies with India as an example. The book theorized that it might be possible to mitigate ethnic conflicts by reforming political structures better adapted to the nature of ethnic nepotism.

Mhiesezokho Zinyu (1979) gives a glimpse of the armed Naga movement under Phizo in Nagaland.

Pyle (1979) said that war correspondents typically practiced patriotic journalism. For example, the most famous correspondent of World War II, Ernie Pyle described being a “member of the team” while covering the U.S. army.
Rao (1978) explained social movements in terms of relative deprivation and the reference the group theories. He rejected the theories of strain and revitalization as explanations of social movements.

Schudson (1978) and Gans (1979) mentioned about the relationship between objectivity and credibility, one might be inclined to assure confidence in media declines during war as the press abandons its neutrality. In fact, the opposite is true as polls showed after the 11th September attacks and during the Iraq war.

Weaver (1977) identifies three components of press freedom: the relative absence of government’s restraints on the media, the relative absence of non-government restraints and the existence of conditions to ensure the dissemination of diverse ideas and opinions to large audience.

Schramm and Roberts (1977) identified three factors-the audience factor, message factor (mass media) and situation (environment) for the analysis of mass communication effects.

Weaver (1977) used the Lowenstein (1970) and Kent (1972) classification of press freedom and found that increases in economic productivity leads to less stress in the political system, and this decreased political stress leads to increased press freedom.

Schrke and Garner (1975) explored the relationship between patterns of internal conflict and co-operation. They interrogated the significance of the ethnic factors in determining foreign investment or non-involvement in a domestic ethnic conflict and also examine whether those factors suggest particular forms of external response.

Nam and Oh (1973), using Nixon’s (1965) Press Freedom Index, found that freedom of the Press is a function of subsystem autonomy in the overall political system. In other words, in political systems in which the various players have freedom of activity, the press operates accordingly.

Oommen (1972) viewed social movements as institutionalized collective action that is guided by ideology and supported by an organizational structure. According to the author, the tension in a movement is between mobilization and institutionalization. He used the Weberian notion of rationalization in his study of social movements.
Shaw and Mc Combs (1972) said that any understanding of the connections between the different types of violence and the media must be embedded in broader discussions of the power of the media, especially in conflict situations.

Kent (1972) analyzed the PICA (Press Independence and Critical Ability) measures and found them to measure a single dimension of press freedom.

The early empirical work on press freedom treated press independence as the dependent or outcome variable predicted by political and social factors Stevens (1971), in fact, states these relationships as a series of prepositions about the determinations of press freedom.

Lowenstein (1970) argued that ‘A completely free press is one in which newspapers, periodicals, news agencies, books, radio and television have absolute independence and critical ability, except for minimal libel and obscenity laws. The press has no concentrated ownership, marginal economic units or organized self-regulation.

Lowenstein (1970), working at the University of Missouri’s Freedom of Information Centre, developed a measure of Press Independence and Critical Ability (PICA), based on 23 separate indicators, including restraints on media through legal and extra-legal controls, ownership of news agencies or their resources, self-voices. The rating was by judges throughout the world who received a survey from the Freedom of Information Centre. The resultant classification of the media was found to match closely those of Nixon’s earlier surveys.

Dennis Macquail (1969) identifies three main stages in the history of mass communication research. The initial phase started from turn of 20th century to the outbreak of the Second World War. During this phase, Mass media were attributed with considerable power to shape opinion and beliefs. In the second phase, from 1940s to early 1960s, mass media were believed to be largely important and reinforce existing beliefs. And in the current stage the question of media effects is one where new thinking and new evidences of Mass communication. The second phase, extending from about 1940 to the early 1960s, is strongly shaped by growth of Mass communication in the United States and the application of empirical method to specific questions about the effects and effectiveness of mass communication.
Nixon (1965), using a panel to rank press freedom in Nixon (1965) press freedom measures, found that additional variables such as life expectancy, population and education were also related to press freedom. Empirical research on press freedom goes back to at least the early 1960s.

Gillmor (1962) found little evidence that the religious tradition of a country was associated with press freedom using IPI measures.

Nixon (1960) found that per capita national income, proportion of adults that are literate and level of daily newspaper circulation were positively related to level of press freedom, as measured by two International Press Institute (IPI, 2004a, 2004b) classifications of media systems around the world.

The diffusion of innovations research established the importance of communication in the modernization process at the local level. In the dominant paradigm, communication was visualized as the important link through which extraneous ideas entered the local communities. Daniel Lerner’s The Passing of the traditional Society (1958) illustrates the major ideas under the mass media and modernization approach (Daniel, 1958).

Seibert (1956) said the concept of press freedom is a contentious one in the literature of mass communication. Early definitions of the concept reflected past Second World War geopolitical construction and focused primarily on freedom from government control.

The concept of press freedom is a contentious one in the literature of mass communication. Early definitions of the concept reflected post-second World war geopolitical construction and focused primarily on freedom from government control (Seibert 1956).

The First World War can be considered to be a watershed in mass communication theory and research. Harold Laswell (1927) came up with an innovative conceptualization of mass media effects. His model of communication was strongly influenced by Freudian theory and was in direct contradiction to liberation philosophy (Davis and Baran; 1981).

The diffusion of innovations theory has important theoretical links with communication effects research. The emphasis was on communication effects the ability of media messages and opinion leaders to create knowledge of new practices and ideas and persuade the target to
adopt the exogenously introduced innovations. As recently as the turn of the present century, there was disagreement on the question whether ideas were independently developed in different cultures, or whether an idea was invented in one culture and borrowed by or diffused in different cultures. Evidence indicated that in most culture there was a predominance of borrowed or diffused elements over those that developed from within a particular culture (Linton, 1936, Kroeber, 1944). The history of the 20th century will prominently chronicle the relationship between war and mass media. One obvious outcome of the relationship is the exploitation of media for the war promotion and war propaganda (eg. The effective use of early mass communication channels by the Allies in World War I and pernicious exploitation of mass media by NS-Germany). It is not surprising to find a close relation between media and violence in each conflict of the last decade. Several analyses even attribute an investigate role to the media in inciting violence (Thompson, 1999; Des Forges, 1999; Kirschke, 1996).

After World War I, the first analyses and interpretations of mass communication assumed a very powerful influence of early media during the war (Lippmann, 1922; Laswell, 1928; Bernays, 1928).

1.6 Armed conflict in Manipur

The history of Manipur is little known to other Indians and world. Manipur has a recorded history of its own dating back to 33 A.D, when Nongda Lairen Pakhangba ascended the throne of Manipur (Jhalajit, 1965, pp.34). Loyamba, one of the wisest and ablest kings of Manipur ascended the throne in 1074 A.D. He wrote the ‘Loiyumba Sinlon’, the first written constitution of Manipur, its compiler scholar extraordinary Oinam Bhogeshwar Singh writes, “The book (Loiyumba Sinlon) deals with the Rules and Regulations governing the customs, duties, etiquettes etc, of the officers and common people among the Meeteis from the fifth century” (Ibungohal Singh, 1985. pp.65). According to Prof. Sanajaoba Naoriya, an eminent scholar of NE, the sovereignty of Manipur was honoured by the British crown even after its defeat in the Anglo-Manipur War, 1891 (Sanajaoba, 1998, pp.254). When all the powerful historical kingdoms in the Indian Subcontinent fell flat like, a house of cards and easily annexed to the British Empire even without a grumble, such events did not happen in the
case of Manipur (Ibid). The British gobbed up all the powerful Indian kingdoms except Manipur, which it honoured for its valor. The Government of India following hectic debates about Manipur in the British Parliament proclaimed.

“It is further notified that the Majesty the Queen, Empress of India, has been pleased to forgo her right to annex. Her Indian Dominions the territories of the Manipur State; and has graciously assented to the reestablishment of Native Rule under such conditions as the Governor-General in Council may consider desirable ……”

In the words of Barrister M.M. Ghose, Manipur was, already an Asiatic Sovereign, which had its native rule. The external sovereignty partly eroded as the Britishers deputed a political agent exercised considerable power; a historian clearly defines its political status: “It is quite evident that the duty of the Political Agent in Manipur was like that of an Ambassador”. Sometimes ambassadors could be more powerful considering the international or bilateral relations. What is important to historians is not how strong and influential was the Political Agent but is how far its master, the British Crown honors the native rule by Meetei kings (Sanajaoba, 1998, pp.255).

The supposed friendship and collaboration with the imperial power was broken when the Empire intervened in native politics, thereby resulting in the Anglo-Manipuri War of 1891 (Lokendra, 2007, pp.348). Manipur lost her sovereignty in 1891 after the Khongjom war. Since then, Manipur was ruled by British and kept under “British paramountcy” for 56 years. The paramountcy was lapsed in 1947 when they left Manipur.

The constitution making process began in the same year by constituting assembly consisting of the representatives of different communities of Manipur. Thereafter, the Manipur Constitution Act 1947 was created as the supreme law for the governance of Manipur (Dilipkumar, 2012, pp.100). The Manipur State Constitution Act empowers the Maharaja in Council to administer the state thereby installing a `constitutional monarchy’ following the model of the British Crown, subject to numerous checks and balances. Article 3 of the Act provides, “Government of the State by His Highness, the Maharaja: The territories for the time being and hereafter vested in the Maharaja are governed by and in the name of the
Maharaja. All rights, authority and jurisdiction which appertain or are incidental to the Government of such territories are provision of this Act (MSC Act, 1947).

Elections of Manipur state assembly was held under the Manipur Constitution Act in two phases in valley on the 11th and 30th June and in hills on 26th and 27th July 1948. The 62 members of the Legislative Assembly of Manipur was only the first of its kind in the state to be elected on adult franchise in Asian (Ibid). A popular council of Ministers comprising of one nominated Chief Minister, four ministers from the valley and two ministers from the hills, were sworn in and took office with effect from 26th November 1948 (Ibochouba, 1993). The popular Government (Council of minister) was abolished after ten months by the signing of controversial merger agreement between the maharaja of Manipur and representatives of dominion of India on 21st September 1949. The agreement was signed by the Maharaja under duress without consulting the council of minister. Even though, Maharaja informed the then governor of Assam, Shri Prakash that he (the king became only the constitutional head of the state. So consultation with the council of minister would be required before signing the agreement, he was force to sign the agreement (Anandamohan, 2005, pp.33). The government of India assured that they will take complete responsibility in the matter of meeting whatever objections may be raised by the people of the state. The negotiation must be completed before the king (Your Highness) leaves Shillong (Ibid, pp.36-37).

When the British rule in India was on the verge of ending, Manipur had agreed to hand over its defense, currency and foreign affairs to India on August 11, 1947. Then Manipur merged into the Dominion of India on 15th October, 1949 under the Manipur Merger Agreement. Manipur entered the agreement full of hopes, aspiration and wishes. But nothing came out of the expectations (Rajendra Kshetri, 2006, pp.3). But she became a Part C State of India from 26th January, 1950. Instead of ratifying the Agreement by the State Legislative Assembly which was established under the provisions of the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947; the legislative body had to be dissolved as an immediate consequence of the Agreement, to pave way for another set up of governance. Some of the elite class was not happy with the way Manipur got merged with India and Legitimacy of the Agreement under which the state came into the Union of India, is being questioned even now in regional as well as in the international forum.
Ever since then, Manipur remains a neglected area and even exists only as a geographical name to be found in the school text books of all India curriculums. Such a state of affairs came as a shock to the people which came first from the hills people. This neglect is the immediate cause of many movements that have emerged in the Imphal valley in the post-independence period. Notable, perhaps the most significant among them is the emergence of ‘underground’ movements known as Irabot Movement (Ibid, pp.4). The merger was not a smooth sailing business and later on, it becomes a curious object of controversy. Since the people of Manipur had a history of independence, a constitutional monarchy precede by governments under rule of law and had experienced as to how to meet the challenge of the mighty British crown at the peak of its power and had also taken up armed struggle three years after the world war II which had its operational theatre itself (Sanajaoba, 1998, pp.259).

There have been many movements in Manipur in the pre - independence period. Many of the current movements have their historical roots in the pre-independence movements such as the great Kuki War (1917-1919), Jadongnang Movement (1930-1932), Nupa-Lal (Men’s war), Thoubal War (1931) and Nupi-Lan (Women’s War, First in 1904 and second in 1939) etc. After the merger agreement, Manipur have witnessed the emergence and growth of recent ‘underground’ movement both in hills and valley. Demanding separation from Indian rule, the movement has challenged the authority of the Constitution of India. The boundaries of the existing states and has justified these demands in terms of the inherent rights of ethnic groups to self-determination. The movement has been considered as nothing more than a “law and order” problem. Most of the mainland scholar explain that the separation movement is the cause of economic problem, unemployment problem etc.

Ever since 1948, the insurgency movements in Manipur have created a high degree of political, social and economic instability. The origin of insurgency movement is not a recent phenomenon but it is deep rooted in the post-Independent era of India. There has been a section of population in the state which has been nursing the idea of secession from India for the past four and a half decades. More particularly after 1978, some of the extreme wings of the state asserted that Manipur was “forcibly” merged with India (Tarapot, 1994, pp.4).

The decades that followed Manipur’s merger into India and her subsequent becoming of a Part C State was followed by the emergence of a number of underground organizations.
Comrade Hijam Irabot who was an elected member of the state legislature, had to go underground against the possible formation of a proposed Purvanchal Pradesh (or colonised structure of India) which will include Manipur (Tarapot, 2005, pp.175). This was the first insurgency movement in the history of Manipur. His movement was popularly known as Communist Irabot era (1948-1951). During 1948 the Communists under Hijam Irabot wanted to liberate Manipur from feudalism and semi-colonialism of the Manipur Kings. Their main objectives were installation of popular responsible government, revision of land revenue and rights to self-determination. This movement did not succeed because the punitive action of the government was very strong. Irabot was demised suddenly. After that front ranking members were arrested and some were surrendered to government of India.

The strikes against the government troops were under the name “Red Guard Army” arm wing of Manipur Communist Party (MCP). Another underground group called Manipur Revolutionary Nationalist Party (MRNP) also surfaced in 1953. It demanded the restoration of independent status of Manipur. The MRNP also went into oblivion soon following arrests of the party leaders and tightening of security measures across the state (Tarapot, 2004, pp.176).

Meetei State Committee (MSC)

The 1960s witnesses the emergence of an ‘underground’ movement in the Manipur valley. The Government’s rehabilitation policy was dissatisfied by the cadres of Manipur Communist Party (MCP). So, some un-arrested cadres were waiting to materialize for another arms revolution. Consequently, the law and order of Manipur became worse day by day on the political issue and it also exposed to populace that “Arm Conflict” was unresolved by any means. While, Government of India believed such problem must be solved by mere creating employment. But it could not be happened, so as a result, some revolutionary ex-cadre of MCP formed Meetei State Committee (MSC) after a gap of one decade of MCP revolution. In an official statement, the Government of Manipur observed the situation as quite normal. But, for some Meetei criminals, who in collaboration with Naga underground, constituted themselves into the so-called Meetei State Committee for sabotage. It includes unsuccessful instigation of Manipuri youth to bear arms against the Government like their Naga and Mizo counterparts, for the avowed aim of the Committee to set up an autonomous
Meetei State in their independent Nagaland (Administrative Report of Manipur, 1967-68). It is also observed that although the Meetei State committee was established by 20/30 persons it became the centre of attraction to the youths of Manipur (Prajatantra, 25 Jan, 1996). R. Constantine projected the leaders and other members of this organisation as a ‘disoriented left wing elements’ (Constantine R., 1981, pp.89). He further said that “mere desperados did not produce much affect on the political scene.

Different views appeared about the year of formation of MSC. The Northeast Imphal valley, the poorest area had the traditions of self-rule or survive without the support of government where Meetei State Committee was formed in 1964 (Mangi, 1996). An official record mentioned that MSC, a militant organisation which was formed under the initiative of some ex-members of the Communist Party. However, in a press release issued by Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), it is mentioned that MSC was formed by seven members on 7th January, 1967 at the hill of Thangal Surung and officially it came into existence on 12th January, 1967 (Hueiyen Lanpao, 14th september, 1994).

MSC was established with the basic aim and objective to establish Manipur as an independent State. Another aim of the organisation was to join hands with other revolutionary groups of the other sister states of North-Eastern region of India for having a separate political identity of these areas and they wanted to fix the boundary line of the proposed state between Brahmaputra and Ningthee rivers (Joykumar, 2005, pp.59). The arrest of Wangkheimayum Tomba, leader of the organisation by the police brought the end of the revolutionary activities of the Meetei State Committee. It is recorded that MSC had been virtually smashed in the year 1970-71 and finally became extinct in the year 1971-72 (Administrative Report of Manipur 1972-73, pp.4).

**United National Liberation Front (UNLF)**

The birth of the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) as a revolutionary organisation was a great landmark in the history of the revolutionary movement of Manipur. The emergence of this organisation gave a new social outlook and political concept, which is quite different from the earlier thought process, to the people particularly the younger generation. The establishment of this organisation was an eye opener and their relationship with other people. There were some confusion about the fixation of the year and date of the
establishment of this organisation. After the merger agreement, the step-mother treatment of the centre was severely criticized by some educated youths of Manipur. With this view in their minds they formed the “United National Liberation Front” (UNLF) under the leadership of Arambam Samarendra as Secretary General, Kalalung as Chairman and Thangkhapao Singsit as Vice Chairman to achieve what they called the “right to national self determination” and fight for an independent Manipur on 24 November 1964 (Jasantakumar, 2009, pp.78). This was the powerful underground organisation set up after the death of Hijam Irabot with an avowed aim to liberate Manipur and other Indo Burma (Myanmar) region (the north eastern part of India and north western part of Myanmar). They followed the socialistic pattern of society (Ibid). They started propaganda war or guerrilla war from 1991.

The outfit was set up with the aim to establish an independent socialist Manipur. Since the emergence of UNLF, after a long time to organize for ‘how to run a revolutionary party in the state for common ground of the hills and the valley’ open a new chapter of insurgency. In the beginning, the outfit believed that propaganda movement or democratic movement must be prior task before taking arms revolution. So, for first time during 1964 to 1967, they campaign mass awareness to the theme ‘Manipur was forcefully annexed by India’ as a propaganda war. The organization’s branches spread across Manipur due to support by mass youth volunteer. The incredible success of the outfit’s democratic movement is that they got foreign aids. Then, UNLF came to know that such people’s and foreign aids are possible for another movement for arms revolution.

On the other side Pan-Manipuri Youth League (PANMYL) was working very effectively on this political line as an over ground frontal organisation of the UNLF. But Central committee of the UNLF in a booklet circulated in Imphal valley on the occasion of 27th anniversary of its existence, declared the launching of an armed struggle on 24th November 1991 for achieving an independent Manipur (Sangai Express, 3 Feb, 2005). The armed wing of the outfit called Manipur People’s Army (MPA) was formed on 9th February 2009. Though MPA was formed in the latter part, UNLF already stepped open war against the Indian army. After a long rap, the outfit declared its open waging war against the Indian Army in 1990s.

Sanayaima, Chairman of UNLF reacted to the Republic Day Speech of the Governor, S.S. Sidhu in 2005. The proscribed UNLF said that in order to find a lasting solution to the Indo-
Manipur conflict, the root cause should be first understood and spelt out a four point proposal for the Government of India to ponder over. In a statement issued to press on Feb.3, 2005, Chairman of the outfit, Sanayaima said that the main root of conflict is the independence of Manipur. “As such it is necessary to seek the mandate of the people by holding a plebiscite under the United Nations”. To make the plebiscite free and fair, UNLF proposed that the services of the UN peace keeping force be utilized and added, “to enable the plebiscite to be held within the time frame given by the UN, the cadres of UNLF will deposit their arms with the UN Peace keeping Force. Similarly, the Indian Government should withdraw its regular army and paramilitary forces from Manipur”. (*The Sangai Express*, Feb.3, 2005).

In September 2006, the UNLF forwarded a four point formula to start plebiscite process for resolution of the Indo-Manipur conflict. These include:

i) A plebiscite under United Nations (UN) supervision to elicit the opinion of the people of the State on the core issue of restoration of Manipur’s independence.

ii) Deployment of a UN peace–keeping force in Manipur to ensure that the process is free and fair.

iii) Surrender of arms by the UNLF to the UN force, matched by the withdrawal of Indian troops and

iv) Handing over of political power by the UN in accordance with the results of the plebiscite.

The proposal was rejected by both the State and the Central Government. Currently, the outfit is led by Rajkumar Meghen alias Sanayaima as chairman. On November 31, 2010 Rajkumar Meghen alias Sanayaima, chairman of UNLF, was arrested from Motihari in East Champaran district of Bihar. Now he is at Guwahati jail. He had earlier gone missing after being reportedly arrested in Bangladesh in September 2010.

**CONSOCOM and RGM**

In 1968, the UNLF Chief Samarendra and his right hand man Sudhirkumar fell out and outcome was the formation of a splinter group called Consolidation Committee (CONSOCOM). Two factors can be attributed for the split namely personality clash between
Samarendra and Sudhir Kumar and difference of opinions in matters relating to organizational policy and programmes. Sudhir Kumar dissented against Samarendra’s policy programmes for which he was charged with instigating youth cadres against the existing leadership and placed under ‘political isolation’ (Rajendra, 2006, pp.120). Sudhir Kumar lead group wanted immediate revolution but Samarendra denied.

**People’s Liberation Army (PLA)**

The establishment of the People’s Liberation Army as an armed revolutionary organisation was also another significant development in the historical process of the armed revolutionary movements not only in Manipur but also in the North-Eastern Region of the Indian Union. This revolutionary organisation was established on the 25th September, 1978 at Nongpok Sekmai. It is a revolutionary organization based on Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. A year after its inception, the PLA founder N. Bisheswar announced the dissolution of the ten years old RGM. The announcement was made on 25th February 1979.

The biggest asset of this organisation was its ideology. It strongly emphasized for the establishment of a classless society based on the principle of Marxism. This ideological aspect was a distinctive departure from the ideological concept of the previous revolutionary organisations. At the same time, the main objective of the organisation was to establish a distinctive separate political identity of the entire states of North-Eastern Region outside the Indian Union. Therefore, the operational areas of PLA had covered all the states of this region. In his speech of 25th September, 1979 the leader of the party N. Bisheshwor Singh said that the aim of the organisation was to carry out important objectives. The first one was “to organise revolutionary front in the group level, covering the area of Manipur (Kangleipak), Nagaland, Mizoram, Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh” (Ibid, pp.22). He said that the sole objective of this organisation was to launch a movement of the similar type of ‘Navhang Uprising’, a famous historic revolutionary uprising in the Chinese revolution led by Chou-En-Lai, in this region. He coined the PLA movement as the “Second Nachang Uprising” (Ibid). Thus the banner of this objective and principle the People’s Liberation Army (Eastern Unit) was established.

Insurgents of Manipur were resurrected with the return to Imphal valley of this China trained group led by Bisheswar in the middle of 1978. Thus, the leaders and volunteers of People’s
Liberation Army began to campaign their activities very successfully. PLA formed its political wing called Revolutionary People’s Front (RPF) on 25 February, 1979.

Presently, Irengbam Chaoren functions as the president of the RPF. The cadres are organised into four military divisions—West areas of the Valley, Eastern areas of Valley, the Hill area and the Imphal area. PLA have mounted several attacks targeting on security forces. Although some years ago, the outfit adhered to adopt a policy of non-target to the state to the state forces, but can attack state forces for self-defence have been reported. In 1990, the PLA established a campaign called ‘Staforce’ for enforcing restrictions on the sale of alcohol and drugs, curb political corruption, and control immoral behaviour. In September 2007, the outfit imposed a ban on betel leaf consumption in the state as part of its anti-tobacco campaign. Besides, the PLA has been active in the valley districts of the state, but recently PLA cadres have also been arrested from Assam, Nagaland, Delhi and Meghalaya. The outfit, unlike most outfits operating in the valley area of Manipur, has refused to enter negotiations with the Indian government. The outfit has several camps in Bangladesh and Myanmar.

**People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK)**

The People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak, popularly known as PREPAK was also another revolutionary organisation, which is still actively indulged in the armed movement for the establishment of a distinctive and separate political identity of Manipur outside the Indian Union. The People Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) was founded on 19th October, 1977 at Koubru hill in the North-Western side of Imphal under the leadership of R.K Tulachandra. The outfit was a well integrated group as long as Tulachandra was as its helm (Tarapot, 2005).

PREPAK was established as an armed revolutionary organisation in order to give freedom to those people who are not to enjoy the basic human rights in their respective countries (PREPAK, pp.1). It gave a valuable contribution to the growth of the political and social consciousness on the issue of the establishment of a separate and distinctive identity of the people of Manipur, which they called it ‘Kangleipak’. The main objective of this organisation was to establish an independent and classless society (communism) in Manipur by crushing the class and neo-colonialism of Indian Government (Manifesto, PREPAK, pp.1).
PREPAK classified the class enemies in two different categories. The groups in the first category are: (a) Bourgeois Politicians, (b) Bureaucratic officers, (c) Big business, (d) Contractor class and money lender class, (e) the thieves and criminal who played the role of spy of the enemy, and (f) ecclesiastical group. The group in the second category are: (a) The big business group who comes from outside Manipur, and (b) imperialistic force of Indian government (Ibid).

Differences of opinion erupted after Tulachandra was arrested on 16th February, 1980. The state government thereafter initiated a peace move to have a dialogue with the party. Tulachandra, in a tape recorded speech broadcast from AIR, Imphal, appealed to the members of the party to observe cease-fire for a period of one month with effect from 14th March, 1980. Then two distinct groups came up within the PREPAK, one led by Tulachandra in jail and the other led by Maipak Sharma. Afterwards, Sharma in collaboration with some old members of the Meitei State Committee formed a new organization called the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) in a convention held at Heirok, Thoubal District on 15th May, 1980 (Mangi, 1996). The untimely death of R.K. Tullachandra alias Loyataba was a turning point in the history of the revolutionary activities of People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak. It marked the end of a phase of the PREPAK under the leadership of R.K. Tullachandra and beginning of another organizational set-up under a new leadership. Therefore, the 12 November, 1986 closed the chapter of the contribution under the leadership of R.K Tullachandra.

**Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP)**

Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) was also another important revolutionary organisation which operates mainly in the valley areas of Manipur. They also launched the armed movement with an objective to establish the political jurisdiction of Indian Union. According to an official pamphlet of the party, the Kangleipak Communist Party was established in the year 1980 after having a meeting of all the different cadres of the party for two days, i.e., May 14th and 15th, 1980 at Thembou village, situated at the hill in Kangpokpi area by some members (NPARA, KCP). On the other hand, according to an official report, i.e., ‘A report on Special Convention of Kangleipak Communist Party, August 13th, 1994’ the organisation was established on 20th August, 1979 at Mapao village (Labango, 1997). It is also recorded
that the Kangleipak Communist Party was established under the leadership of Yendrembam Ibohanbi alias Baji on the 14th April, 1980 (Anouba, December, 1996). Therefore, it is not very clear about the actual date of the revolutionary organisation in Manipur.

The basic objective of the party was to establish an independent Manipur which they called ‘Kangleipak’ by removing all the political parties, all the political agents, Indian imperialist force which was regarded by them as the greatest enemy of people. Their motto was to have a sovereign independent Manipur based on national cause and national politics. They claimed that Kangleipak Communist Party stands for the people of Manipur (Kangleipak), for the people of the South East Asia and for the workers and peasants and for those persons who strongly desire to establish independent state based on classless society (NPARA, KCP).

They also made an appeal to all the revolutionary organization in the state to stop all kinds of internal conflicts and clashes, which was going on among themselves and asked them to join under the roof of an umbrella for the complete removal of their common enemy. They also strongly emphasized that they would give proper attention and protection to the practices of different cultures and traditions of the people of hills areas of this place including the Muslim community. At the beginning their area of operation was confined only in the eastern side of the Imphal valley. It was on the 1st July, 1995 that an exchange of fire took place between KCP and CRPF at Heituppokpi at Andro near Nongmaiching Hill (Baruni Hill). In this encounter the CRPF personnel killed the founder leader Yendrabam Ibohanbi. The untimely death of Ibohanbi was indeed, a great setback in the whole revolutionary process of KCP. On the other hand it also brought a new chapter in the revolutionary activities without his leadership. This day is regarded by KCP as an important day for the organisation and still they remember it as a ‘Black Day’ (Labango, 1997). Thus with the death of Ibohanbi an important phase of revolutionary activities of the organisation was over and it marked the beginning of a new phase under a different leadership.

Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL)

The Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL) was formed in Bangladesh in January 1994 by a combination of breakaway groups of UNLF, PREPAK and KCP with the aim to unite the revolutionary organizations operating in Manipur and fight together in the struggle for independence (Tarapot, 2005, pp.184) Later, the UNLF, RPF and PREPAK which have been
separately fighting for an independent Manipur for over three decades, formed a common
front called the Manipur People’s Liberation Front (MPLF) in 1999 (now with six
organisations) with an aim to accelerate the progress of liberation struggle. The outfit
underwent a split in 1996 into two factions- Namoijam Oken led KYKL-O and Achou
Toijamba-led KYKL-T. Both factions, however, reunited in 2002. It mostly operates in the
valley districts of Imphal East, Imphal West, Bishnupur and Thoubal. Like every militant
outfit operating in Manipur, extortion remains the primary source of income for the KYKL.

With the aim in rebuilding a vice free Manipuri society, the outfit has launched operations
against drug trade, corruption in public offices and all activities that the outfit considers as
signs of decadence. In 2001, the outfit started Operation New Kangleipak (Kangleipak being
the ancient name for Manipur), a high profile campaign to clean up the educational system in
Manipur. KYKL is mostly known for the diktats issued by its information and publicity
wing. Such diktats have ranged from imposing certain dress code on women to banning
chewing of tobacco. Although such diktats have been greatly dissented, the fear of reprisal
has made people fall in line. On several occasions, the outfit abducts students indulging in
malpractices during examinations and officials in the education department to punish them
by shooting at their legs.

People’s United Liberation Front (PULF)

People’s United Liberation Front (PULF) has also been founded to protect the interests of
the ‘Pangals’. People’s United Liberation Front (PULF) is active in the Muslim dominated
pocket of the state, Lilong. There are official evidences of some of the outfits having their
training or base camps in neighboring countries particularly in upper Myanmar, Sylhet region
of Bangladesh etc.

Underground organizations of the Kukis

The late 1980s show emergence of the Kuki militants for the first time in the history of Kuki.
Prior to this, the Kukis never have their own militants. However, it was restricted only to the
former Lushai hills after the Mizo Peace Accord in 1960. Many Kuki people who are outside
the Lushai hills are betrayed by this Mizo Accord. Earlier the Kukis of Manipur joined the
Mizo National Front (MNF) in ‘Greater Mizoram campaign’. Then many Kuki militant
outfits have been formed. There are more than half a dozen organisations such as Kuki National Army (KNA), Kuki National Front (KNF), Kuki Front Council (KFC), Kuki Defence Force (KDF), Kuki Independent Army (KIA), and Chin-Kuki Revolutionary Force (CKRF). Most of these organisations are supposedly fighting for Kuki Home—Land. While the KNO and KNA are demanding an autonomous state for the Kukis in Sagaing division of Myanmar, the KNF and KDF want a Kukis homeland comprising the whole of Chandel district, the south western part of Ukhrul district, the Sadar Hills area of Senapati district, the south eastern part of Tamenglong district, parts of Churachandpur and parts of the valley including Imphal, Bishnupur and Thoubal district and Kuki inhabited areas in Nagaland and Assam.

Apart from Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA) and Kuki National Army (KNA), other outfits are not much active. These Kuki militant outfits have signed Suspension of Operation (SoO) with Government of India under the banner of United Peoples' Front (UPF) and Kuki National Organisation (KNO). The groups under KNO are Kuki National Front (Military Council), Kuki National Front (Zogam), United Socialist Revolutionary Army (Old Kuki), United Komrem Revolutionary Army (UKRA), Zomi Reunification Front (ZRF), Zou Defence Volunteer (ZDV-KNO), Hmar National Army (HNA), Kuki Revolutionary Army (Unification), Kuki Liberation Army (KLA-KNO) and Kuki National Army (KNA). The groups under UPF include Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA), Kuki National Front (KNF), United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF), Kuki Liberation Army (KLA-UPF), Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA), Kuki National Front (S), Hmar Peoples’ Conference/ Democratic (HPC-D) and Zou Defence Volunteers (ZDV-UPF) (www.cdpsindia.org).

Some of the underground organizations are discussed under:

**The Kuki National Assembly (KNA)**

The Kuki National Army (KNA) is the armed wing of the Kuki National Organisation (KNO) in 1988. It operated in the ancestral territory known as Zale’ń-gam of the Kuki tribes. The Zale’ń-gam comprises the contiguous region in Northeast India, Northwest Myanmar, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh. Mr. Henglen, President of KNO (with its armed wing called Kuki National Army) claims his organization was formed on 5th August 1987 (*The Hindu*, 9th April, 1993). Thus, the Kuki National Army was
established in 1987. It is primarily based at the Myanmar border (Tarapot, 2004, pp.171). Kuki National Army (KNA) aims at achieving an independent sovereign Kukis state by carving out the Kuki-populated areas of Myanmar and some portions of Thoubal, Ukhrul and Chandel district of Manipur where Kukis have settled over the past decades.

The primary objective of the KNA is to unite all the Kuki-inhabited areas, specifically in the Kabaw valley of Myanmar and the Kuki inhabited areas in the hill districts of Manipur under two Kuki states: one within Myanmar i.e. ‘Eastern Zale’n-gam’ and the other within India, ‘Western Zale’n-gam.’ The outfit has, however, tried to fulfil its objectives within the framework of the Indian constitution. Brigadier Vipin Haokip was the first Chief of Army Staff of the KNA. Following his death, Colonel S Robert became the Chief of Army Staff in January 2005. The outfit reportedly has access to modern weapons like automatic rifles and mortars. Its area of operation is limited to the hill districts of Manipur and neighbouring areas in Assam, where it mostly carries on its extortion activities. On occasions, it has clashed with the NSCN-IM cadres in Manipur. KNA, over the years, has avoided confrontation with the security forces and has, instead, petitioned the Union Government for fulfilling its objectives. In August 2005, it entered into a formal cessation of hostilities agreement with the security forces. The agreement was, however, rebuffed by the Manipur state government which said that its police force would continue its operation against the Kuki militants. In 2007, however, the state government agreed to respect the agreement. At present, KNA is under a Suspension of Operation (SoO) agreement with the government (www.cdpsindia.org).

**Kuki National Front (KNF)**

The Kuki National Front (KNF) according to its chairman Nehlun as an organization “was established on 18 May, 1988 in Molnoi. The objective of KNF is Kukiland in Manipur. The resolution of KNF stated that it is “resolved that 3½ districts of Manipur shall be made as Kukiland and 4½ districts be left for the Manipur so that there shall not be disharmonies between old, new and modern Kuki and other neighbours” (*The Freedom*, 17th Jan, 1993). The Kuki National Front (KNF) spilt into two factions-one group known as Kuki National Front-president (KNF-P), and Kuki National Front-military Council (KNF-MC). Both the factions have a common aim of fighting for a ‘separate state for the Kukis to be known as ‘Kikiland’ (Ibid). The Kuki National Front (KNF) and Kuki Defence Force (KDF) want a
Kuki homeland comprising the whole of Chandel district, the south western part of Ukhrul district, the Sardar hills area of Senapati district, the south eastern part of Tamenglong district, parts of Churachandpur District and parts of the valley including Imphal, Bishnupur, and Thoubal district, and Kuki inhabited areas in Nagaland and Assam (Tarapot, 2004, pp.171).

The main area of operation of KNF is the Churachandpur district of Manipur. It also operates in other Kuki inhabited areas of the Chandel, Tamenglong and Senapati districts. It has links with the other Kuki militant outfits, with the valley-based outfits of Manipur like UNLF and PLA. It also has ties with the NSCN-K. In August 22, 2008, KNF (all its factions) and other Kuki militant outfits signed the Suspension of Operations (SoO) agreement with the central government in New Delhi. They are at ceasefire since then and its cadres are staying in the designated camps. In March 2010, the Union Home Secretary, G.K.Pillai met the leaders of the KNF in Manipur.

**Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA)**

The Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA) was formed on 29th December 2000 at C. Aison village in Saikul of Manipur’s Senapati district, by a group of disgruntled cadres of the Kuki National Front (KNF)’s Military Council faction. K Hangsing formed the Reorganization and Confederation of Kukis (ROCK) with an armed wing called Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA) along with colleagues of about 30. Its aim and objectives are: firstly, Sovereignty for Kukiland or Kukigam, which comprises Kuki inhabited area of India, Myanmar, and Bangladesh; Secondly, to unite the scattered Kukis in North-East India (India), Chin hills (Myanmar), Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bangladesh), etc; thirdly, to revive their old independent status they had enjoyed earlier, which is to free the Kukis from imperialism and colonialism of Indian Government; and fourthly, it is for the preservation of cultural identity of the Kukis (Tohring, 2010, pp. 47).

The KRA chairman Thangkeng Hangshing was killed by cadres of a rival militant outfit in his brother’s house in the Srinivaspuri locality in national capital New Delhi on 11 November 2007. The other office bearers of the outfit include its Publicity Secretary Zet Kuki and Information Secretary D.T. Haokip. The main area of operation of the outfit is in the Saikul and Kangpokpi sub-division of the Senapati district, Chalwa area in the Tamenglong district,
Chandel and Churachandpur district. Some cadres of the outfit are also based in the Karbi Anglong district of Assam. Source of income for the outfit has been extortion targeting civilians, businessmen and vehicles passing through the area. Demand notes are often sent to the government offices and their dishonouring has led to abduction of officials in the past (www.cdpsindia.org).

The National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM) was instrumental in training and arming the KRA cadres. The KRA has strategic linkages with the United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF), the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and the Dima Halim Daogah (DHD). On the other hand, the KRA cadres have engaged in internecine clashes with the rival Kuki National Army (KNA) cadres. On 12 January 2005, a combined team of the UKLF and KRA cadres had killed the KNA chief Vipin Haokip at Diyang in the Churachandpur district. On August 1, 2005 KRA, along with other 17 Kuki militant outfits, signed Suspension of Operation (SoO) agreements with the government. The agreement has been extended up to August 22, 2010, at a meeting held on August 18, 2009 (Ibid).

**United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF)**

S.S. Haokip formed the United Kuki Liberation Front in January, 2000. Its aims and objective are: Kuki re-unification and for the peace and harmony of the Kukis and Nagas. This organization seems to be formed to bring an end to the Naga-Kuki violent conflict and bring lasting peace and harmony in the relations. It was the first Kuki underground organization to take initiatives in bringing peace and harmony between the Nagas and the Kukis by entering into an alliance with NSCN (IM). When SS. Haokip parted from conventional path of this period and entered alliance with NSCN (IM), many Kukis and Nagas applauded the founder and the Organization, as the Naga-Kukis violent ethnic conflict was dragging on, affecting both the ethnies. Later on NSCN (IM) and other Kuki militants also signed agreements for ceasefire and to end the Naga–Kuki Conflict.

Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA) and KLA were formed in 1990 and 1991 respectively. These organizations are fighting for a separate Kuki homeland to be carved out from the Kuki inhabited areas of Myanmar and some portions of Thoubal, Ukhrul and Chandel district of the state (Ibid). Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA) aims at maintaining a separate identity of the Zomis comprising of Paite, Simte, Vaiphei and Tiddim Chin tribes while Hmar
Revolutionary Army (HRA) wants to protect from the aggressive nature of the Kukis, Mizos and other Hmar outfit fighting for a Hmar autonomous district council to be carved out of Hmar inhabited areas of Mizoram, Manipur and Cachar district of Assam.

**Underground organizations of the Nagas**

The Naga Hills District Tribal Council, which was established under the chairmanship of Charles Pawsy in 1945 with the objective to construct the war demolish. And it was changed into the Naga National Council (NNC) in 1946. At the beginning, the NNC, was not against Indian Union. From April, 1953 onwards the Government of India resorted to mass arrests and torture of the Naga National Council (NNC) members and the Naga people. As a result, A.Z. Phizo and other members of the NNC were forced to go underground and they declared the “Naga Federal Republic” on the March 22, 1956 and organized the “Naga Home Guard” to defend the Sovereignty of Nagaland (NPMHR, pp.7). Then, Guerilla-war began between the government of India and the Nagas led by Naga Federal Republic. For the Nagas, the period between 1953 and 1958 is remembered as one phase of reign of terrors (Tohring, 2010, pp.37). The Nagas experienced a reign of terror, as many innocent villages, church leaders, became victims of the armed forces. The security forces uprooted and burned down many villages and churches and rendered thousands homeless. These atrocities of the security forces were brought to the notice of the government of India (NPMHR, pp.7).

The outcome of peace initiatives of 1970s was that on 10th and 11th November, 1975 the Shillong Accord was signed between the Government of India represented by L.P. Singh, Governor of Nagaland and six members of Naga underground organization (Shillong Accord, 1975). However, the Nagas out rightly rejected the Shillong Accord. A group of NNC faction and Federal Government also condemned the Shillong Accord. The refusal of this peace accord led to the emergence of the National Socialist Council (NSCN) in 31 January 1980. Issac Chisi Swu, S.S. Khaplang and Thuingaleng Muivah were the Executive Chairman, Vice-Chairman and General Secretary of the Council respectively. It however spilt up again into two factions in 1988: National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Issak-Muivah) led jointly by Isaac Chisi Swu and Thuingaleng Muivah and NSCN-K led by S.S. Khaplang. The former is more concerned with Manipur. Now, NSCN-IM is more dominating authority in the history of Naga insurgency.
A new militant outfit called the United Naga People’s Council (UNPC) is formed and a formal announcement was made on May 19, 2008 before the media at an unspecified place in the Senapati district. It reportedly consists of cadres of a splinter group from NSCN-IM in Manipur. The ‘president’ of the group, S.S. Max, said that the group aims at restoring peaceful co-existence amongst the people living in both hills and valley and to safeguard the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Manipur. He said the new splinter group had no enmity with the ‘revolutionary movements’ waged by the NSCN-IM, NSCN-K and NNC. He also said the outfit is led by two ‘colonels’, one ‘major’, two ‘captains’, two ‘full junior full lieutenants’, three ‘second lieutenants’ and 20 trained cadres of the NSCN-IM, who had defected in April 2008 and had formed the UNPC in the state on April 30 (www.cdpsindia.org).

In the peace talks the Government of India recognized the ‘Unique History and Situation of the Nagas’ (The Nagas, 17th July, 2005). This was the first time in history that the leader or the government of India has recognized the uniqueness of Naga history. The then Prime Minister of India, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that ‘the Naga political history has its own unique that requires proper understanding towards bringing political settlement’. Mr. Th. Muivah, General Secretary, NSCN (IM) also made a public announcement at Dimapur Airport on 14th December, 2004 that, ‘the Naga political settlement will be made on the basis of the uniqueness of the Naga history’ (Concerned Senior Citizens’ Forum, 2005, pp.2). In a Memorandum submitted to the Honourable Prime Minister of India, Dr Manmohan Singh by the Naga Members of Parliament and Member of Legislative Assembly from Manipur reads: “At outset, we the undersigned democratically elected Naga leaders, wish to express our deep appreciation to the Government of India (GOI) for acknowledging the “Unique History and Situation of the Nagas”, and progress of the talks in the right direction (Memorandum to Prime Minister by Naga Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assembly, May 27th, 2005). However fractional cadres of NSCN-IM and NSCN-K have been targeting each other in factional fights since their split. The main aim and object of the two factions are the same, i.e., to liberate Naga areas of India and Myanmar in order to form a separate and independent Nagaland and to maintain a separate identity of the Nagas. At present, both the factions of NSCN are undergoing peace talk with the government of India (Tarapot, 2005).
Fig. 1.2 Operating Area of Insurgent Groups in Manipur

(NOT TO SCALE)
Insurgent groups in Manipur may be classified into hill (mostly tribals) and valley based on geographical areas. While the former demand for tribal state to preserve their tribal cultures from outside influence. Latter based their demands for independence from historical perspective claiming that Manipur a princely state. The insurgency group in Manipur can be again broadly classified into two groups such as major and minor groups. They are as follows:

**Major groups**

1. HPC (Hmar People’s Convention, also known as HRF-Hmar Revolutionary Front).
2. KNF (Kuki National Front)
3. NSCN (I-M)-National Socialist Council of Nagaland(I-M) and NSCN (K)-Khaplang
4. PLA (People’s Liberation Army)
5. PREPAK (People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak)
6. UNLF (United National Liberation Front)

**Others Groups**

1. CKRF (Chin Kuki Revolutionary Front)
2. HPC (D)-(Hmar People’s Convention-Democratic)
3. IKL (Iripak Kanba Lup)
4. INF (Islamic National Front)
5. IPRA (Indigenous People’s Revolutionary Alliance)
6. IRF (Islamic Revolutionary Front)
7. KCP (Kangleipak Communist Party)
8. KDF (Kuki Defence Force)
9. KIA (Kuki Independent Army)
10. KIF (Kuki International Force)
11. KKK (Kangleipak kanba Kanglup)
12. KLF (Kuki Liberation Front)
13. KLO (Kuki Liberation Organisation)
14. KNA (Kuki National Army)
15. KNF (P) - (Kuki National Front)
16. KVN (Kuki National Volunteers)
17. KRF (Kuki Revolutionary Front)
18. KRPC (Kom Rem People’s Convention)
19. KSF (Kuki Security Force)
20. KYKL (O)- Kanglei Yawol Kanba Lup (Oken)
21. KYKL(T)-Kanglei Yawol Kanba Lup(Toijamba)
22. MLTA (Manipur Liberation Tiger Army)
23. MPA (Manipur People’s Army)
24. MPLF (Manipur People’s Liberation Army) Unified platform of UNLF, PLA and PPREPAK
25. PRA (People’s Republican Army)
26. PULF (People’s United Liberation Front)
27. RPF (Revolutionary People’s Front)
28. UKLF (United Kuki Liberation Front)
29. ZRA (Zomi Revolutionary Army)
30. ZRV (Zomi Revolutionary Volunteers)
Table 1.4: Operating Areas of Some Insurgents Groups of Manipur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insurgent groups</th>
<th>Operating Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNLF, PLA/RPF, PREPAK, KCP, KYKL(Both factions), PULF</td>
<td>Valley and hill districts of Manipur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KLA</td>
<td>Small portion of Senapati Ukhrul and Thoubal districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNA</td>
<td>Churachandpur district, Chandel district, Ukhrul districts, Thoubal district in Manipur, NC Hills in Karbi Anglong of Assam and Eastern Zale’n-gam(within Burma) and Western Zale’n-gam (within India) and Bangladesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNF</td>
<td>Chandel district, Ukhrul district, Senapati district, Tamenglong, Churachandpur district, Imphal district, Bishnupur district and Thoubal district in Manipur and some areas in Nagaland and Assam, Myanmar and Bangladesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KRA</td>
<td>Kuki inhabited area of India, Myanmar and Bangladesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSCN –K</td>
<td>Senapati, Tamenglong, Ukhrul, Chandel districts of Manipur, Nagaland and some parts of Myanmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSCN-IM</td>
<td>Some parts of Manipur hills, Naga inhabited districts of Assam, Two districts of Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UKLF</td>
<td>Chandel district and Churachandpur district of Manipur and Myanmar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZRA</td>
<td>Churachandpur town, Cachar district in Assam, Mizoram and Chimnuai and Laitui in Chin state of Myanmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPC-D</td>
<td>Hills district of Manipur, Mizoram and Myanmar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (AFSPA) was enforced in the whole of Manipur in 1980. This was to counter the insurgency situation that became very pronounced in the late seventies. There has been armed conflict between armed-opposition groups and security forces of India to meet their needs. Armed-opposition groups have been fighting to restore Manipur’s sovereignty and independence from India. Most of the ethnic armed
groups from Kuki-Chin-Mizo groups of people have now suspended their fights with the security forces of India. Factions of National Socialists Council of Nagaland who have been fighting for independence of the Nagas are under different cease fire agreements with the Government of India. Some of the Kuki armed groups are also now on ceasefire with the Government of India under a Suspension of Operations agreement between the Government and Kuki armed groups.

The right to life of the people of Manipur has been taken away legally in the name of counter-insurgency operations. Thousands of people have been victims either at the hands of the Indian Security Forces or of the Manipur insurgents. Apart from Manipur-India Conflict, there exists ethnic conflict among different ethnic groups of Manipur. Such violent conflicts between the Naga and Kukis tribes of hills of Manipur and among Meetei and Meetei Pangal (Muslim) in the valley in the early nineties resulted in number of deaths or injuries. Other ethnic conflict includes the ethnic relation between the Nagas and Meeteis of Manipur regarding the formation of 'Greater Nagaland'. The structural violence had activated secondary violence of armed conflict, human rights violations, enter ethnic enmity, worst level of corruption, organized crimes of armed groups indulge in killing, kidnapping, extortion etc.

People of Manipur have been living in the midst of a conflict zone since the last three decades. The curtain riser of the armed conflict was the establishment of armed opposition groups in the state with an objective to exercise right to self determination of the people of Manipur and of the North East India in later part of 1970s. The armed opposition groups started heavy engagement in hostility with security forces in the early part of the 1980s in Manipur. On the other hand, the army and security personnel also tried to detect the movement of the members of organizations by stepping up their patrolling activities, many police outposts were opened in sensitive areas and regular checking were conducted and they did not spare even the women, girls and children. Thus, the common people began to face a serious insecurity in their life (Joykumar, 2005, pp.85-86). A brief survey of Manipur political history since 1891 shows Manipuri national question has not been a settle issue. Manipur has been a conflict ridden state for than half a century in search for a true political and legal status of the state. The conflict between the insurgents and state will continue as both party stands on their own position firmly. Such rigidity of their stand or position result
in violation of human rights and the ultimate casualties of such violation are innocent people of the state (Dilipkumar, 2012).

1.7 Journalists in Armed conflict in Manipur

The press and the media have been under pressure from both state and non-state actors. In initial days, there was no threat as such from the non-state actors, as they have their own medium like leaflets; but in recent times due to intensive operations they began eying the media (Arun, 2008). The Home Department of the Government of Manipur in India’s North East had imposed a series of restrictions on the publications by media establishment in the conflict ridden state of Manipur on 2nd August 2007 with subsequent notification on 14th August 2007. The government order had restricted all media establishment in Manipur from publishing any information related to the national liberation groups of Manipur, currently launching armed movement for the Self Determination, inherent rights, justice and dignity. Manipur government have imposed restrictions on both print and electronic media in the state from publishing news items, reports or statements which directly or indirectly supported unlawful activities, by a Government ordered on 28th May, 2011 by the state special secretary (Home) A K Sinha (www.newsreporter.in).

On 4th October 1998, the Chief Secretary of the Government of Manipur, issued a list of Do’s and Don’ts for the press in Manipur. It was in response to a Union Home Ministry directive on 10 July, 1998 asking it to take action against seditious publication (Poknapham, 5 october, 1998, pp.4). It prohibited publication of press releases by underground organizations such as objective references about their cadres and “boycott” calls for Independence Day or Republic Day of India. The following are the do’s and don’ts (Ibid).

Do’s

i. Check the veracity of news items which cast aspersions on the character and reputation of persons/organizations.

ii. Understand the compulsions and constraints under which persons / organizations being written about operations.
iii. Inform and seek help of Security Force officials before entering scene of operations/encounters. It is for your safety and well being.

iv. Display your identity card prominently while entering restricted area / area where operation is being conducted.

v. Be patient in case of delay and abide by local restrictions as it involves risk to personal safety.

vi. Accuracy and Fairness: The Press shall eschew publication of inaccurate, baseless, graceless, misleading or distorted material. Unidentified rumors and surmises should not be set forth as facts.

vii. Pre-publication Verifications: On receipt of a report or article of public interest and benefit containing imputations or comments against a citizen, the editor should check with due care and attention its factual accuracy apart from other authentic sources with the person or the organization concerned to elicit his/her or its version, comments or reaction and publish the same with due amendments in the report where necessary, in the event of lack or absence of response, a footnote to that effect should be appended to the report.

viii. Right of Reply: The newspaper should promptly and with due prominence publish either in full or with due editing, at the instance of the person affected or feeling aggrieved or concerned by the impugned publication, a contradiction, reply, clarification or rejoinder sent to the editor in the form of a letter or note. If the editor doubts the truth or factual accuracy of the contradiction/reply/clarification or rejoinder, he shall be at liberty to add separately at the end a brief editorial comment doubting its veracity, but only when his doubt is reasonably founded on unimpeachable documentary or other evidential material in his/her possession. This is a concession which has to be availed of sparingly with due discretion and caution in appropriate cases.
ix. Covering Communal Clashes: Proper verification must be done before publishing reports regarding communal clashes or disputes. The report should not vitiate the situation. Instead it should aim at soothing the rifled feelings.

x. Respect Confidence: If information is received from a source confidentially, the confidence should be respected.

**Don’ts**

i. Newspapers should not publish UG releases giving ‘Revolutionary Salutes’ obituaries praising their cadres and covering ceremonies/ processions related to UGs killed or alive.

ii. Newspapers should not give prominence to the press releases given by UG groups/ anti national/anti-social elements.

iii. Newspapers should not publish ‘Boycott Calls’ for our national events like Independence Day or Republic Day.

iv. Newspapers should not publish sensational news without verification. Such news are often sponsored by anti national/social elements and may be false or highly exaggerated.

v. Newspaper should not get offended when checked by soldiers on duty. They are just performing their duty.

vi. Newspapers should not take photographs within defence establishments without obtaining permission.

vii. Eschew Obscenity/ Vulgarity: Newspapers/ Journalists shall not publish anything which is obscene, vulgar or offensive to public good taste.

viii. Eschew Suggestive Guilt: Newspapers should not name or identify the family or relatives or associates of persons convicted or accused of a crime when they are totally innocent and reference to them is not relevant to the matter reported.
ix. Newspapers should not publish the following class of items which may be held to attract provisions of Sec.95 of Cr.Pc.:  

a) All items directly attributed to terrorists and terrorist related organizations considered to be subversive,

b) Obituary notices which contain names of known terrorists and terrorist related organizations,

c) Publication of threats of any sort by terrorist organization to any person of class or persons,

d) Publication of any code of behaviour or social decree by terrorist or terrorist related organizations.

e) Publication of any justification of killing made by terrorist,

f) Publication of any justification of killing made by terrorists,

The Order also elaborated a number of actions to be taken against publication of seditious matters as approved by the State Cabinet on 25 May, 1993. They are as follows:

a. For publication of blatant anti-national, seditious, communal materials, etc. action under the relevant provisions of the IPC may be taken by the police. The Publicity Department may simultaneously recommend to the Registrar of Newspapers of India for cancellation/suspension of their registration.

b. For publication which does not fall within the provisions of the IPC but are nevertheless mischievously anti-national, seditious, communal etc. the Publicity Department may also recommend such cases for cancellation/suspension of their registration.

c. The newspapers/journals which have indulged in the aforementioned things also violate the State advertisement Policy. Such publications may be blacklisted, and Government advertisement may not be given to them.
AMWJU: Local Code of Conduct

All Manipur Working Journalist Union (AMWJU) is an apex professional body of the journalists of Manipur. It was formed on 16 September, 1974 by various journalists of the state who sought to deal with all kinds of disturbance faced by the media persons. It is affiliated to the Indian Federation of Working Journalists (IFWJ).

In 2003 an organization of editors of local newspapers called Editors’ Forum, Manipur was formed. It acts in tandem with the AMWJU. Editors’ Committee, Manipur was formed during a meeting of editors of 17 local media houses on August 28, 2013. It was formed in view of pressures from different quarters posing threat to media houses of Manipur. The committee has been formed specifically to look into matters relating to editorial rights.

The Editors Guild, Manipur was formed merging Editors Forum, Manipur and Editors Committee together. Editors’ Guild was formed during a meeting on December 7, 2013 by 28 editors of media houses both from the hills and valley districts of Manipur. To meet the various pressure faced by the media houses of the state is the objective of the Editors Guild, Manipur.

The objectives of the AMWJU, as approved by its Special General Body Meeting on 1 May, 1998 are as follows (Sangeeta, 2004, pp.83):

- To encourage and promote study and research in the field of Journalism,
- To encourage the setting up of journalism institutions to provide training and research in various fields of Journalism,
- To establish and maintain a library catering to the needs of various organizations and students of Journalism,
- To award scholarship and prizes to deserving students of Journalism,
- To inculcate sense of nationalism among the people through various means of publications like journals, newspapers, magazines, books etc.,
- To uphold the dignity and freedom of the press in all aspects of functioning,
To promote and maintain the highest standards of professional conduct and integrity and to raise the status of members of the profession and Journalism,

To strive for the betterment of working conditions of journalists; especially salary, tenure of office and conditions of service and for prevention of socially unrelated automation,

To institute an employment and emergency help fund and journalists’ benefit fund for the members of the All Manipur Working Journalists Union,

To safeguard and promote the interests of journalists in all circumstances including securing employment, prevention and protection from harassment including threat in the course of journalistic duty.

To safeguard freedom of the press and to escape different forms of pressure, the Manipur Working Journalists Union (AMWJU) adopted Code of Conduct (local adjustment) on 7th October 2001 by the special general body meeting and amended on 19th June 2005. The local code of conduct: are as follows:

(a) No claim made by unidentified sources/person(s) over the telephone would be entertained. In the event of identification, the editors would decide.

(b) No press conference called by any individual or organization without official invitation would be accepted.

(c) All press releases by any organization (s) have to be duly signed with the organisation’s seal on the letterhead.

(d) All press releases by any organization (s) must be issued before 8 pm for morning dailies, 3 pm for eveningings, and 4 pm for cable news channels.

(e) In the event of conflict/controversies between two or more parties, the views of all parties concerned would be given equal coverage.

(f) If the arguments and counter-arguments become harmful to the state and could claim human lives, the AMWJU reserved the right to censor the news.
(g) In the event of an organization or individual wanting to withdraw a press release before it is printed, the same organization or individual who signed the press release must approach the editor concerned.

(h) If any individual/ organisation has a grievance (except petty or small matters that may be resolved by the editors) against any newspaper, the concerned individual/ organisation should first approach the AMWJU to address the problem.

(i) All newspapers media persons will follow the norms of journalistic conduct as laid down by the Press Council of India (PCI).

(j) Editors are advised to refrain from sensationalizing any news report or indulging in sensationalism.

(k) Editors will bear the responsibility for mistakes or omissions appearing in their newspapers.

(l) All editors have the right to censor/ delete partly or as a whole any news report or press release or interview or press conference which could create communal tension or lead to group clashes.

(m) In case of violation of the code of conduct laid down by the AMWJU by any report/ newspaper, the AMWJU will initiate punitive action against the reporter/ newspaper.

(n) It is the prerogative of an editor to publish or not to publish a news report or press release.

(o) A newspaper report should not be contradicted by another newspaper in the form of a rejoinder, advertisement or news report. If the need does arise, the version of the newspaper concerned should be taken by the other newspaper before any such publication.

(p) Press releases of any organization should be made available to all offices of the press/newspaper/ media organization by the organization on its own. No press/ newspaper/ media organization should be given the responsibility of distributing a press release/s.
Editors will not entertain any diktat from any quarter to publish a news report or press release.

One of the serious difficulties faced by the media reporting conflict is in deciding what exactly is objective reporting in representing developing, often emergent, situations. One easy way out has been to make the media an open space where all the conflicting parties can say whatever they want and then leave it up to the reading public, presumably intelligent and discerning, to judge for themselves where rationality ends and madness begins (or vice versa) in each of the points of views expressed (Pradip, 2010). The tragedy of the media and so many other liberal institutions, in places such as Manipur, torn by bitter and deadly conflict is precisely that they are liberal institutions meant to function in a liberal paradigm. When these liberal institutions are pitted against an illiberal environment, trouble can only be expected (Ibid).

In such a situation in Manipur where armed conflict goes on between the central paramilitary forces, Army and the Manipur Police Commandos on one side and the various rebel groups on another, and also several armed factions fighting one another, the significance of media becomes doubly greater. All of them want and try to force the media to act as if the media were their notice boards. They use the common tactics of intimidating the media houses-print or electronic (private) to shut down until the media oblige to publish as the armed groups wish. Each one of the many armed groups operating in the state tries to use the media as their only weapon of propaganda within the state. They have no other means except to depend on the media. Likewise, all other civil society organisations, institutions, unions, associations, political parties and all sections of the people seek media's help as and when they need them (Ningomba, 2008).

The print and electronic media of Manipur sometimes get to face Catch-22 situations and have no other option but to cease publication/telecast for days together to protest certain actions taken by an armed group or the government on the press or a section of the press thought to be unjust, undemocratic or in violation of the freedom of the press as enshrined in the Constitution of India and guarded by the Press Council of India. Very often, the Imphal-based press close down due to various factors. Sometimes, the press on its own decide to cease work in protest against unbearable pressures and intimidations from certain
underground group or the press is forced to close down under the threat of certain underground groups. As Manipur remains embroiled in armed conflict between the state and the non-state forces, no one in any profession is safe, especially who are in the media, a profession which, is intrinsically connected to the situation, its all the more hazardous (Ibid).

The print and electronic media of Manipur is covering the armed conflict situation in the state to a significant extent even though they faced time and again, professional hazards for shouldering the responsibility. Reporting conflicts here has become the greatest challenge for the journalists. They are performing their duty in a condition of great stress and strain. There have been glaring instances of journalists being targeted by separatist outfits, threatened, assaulted and harassed by the law enforcing machinery of the state. They are in between the devil and deep sea in the war of attrition and varied perception of the role of media by the state administration, the security forces and the non-state actors (Ibomcha, 2007).

The reflection of the rising violence in the state in the newspapers had its peril. The public has become so used to reading about conflict related news that newspapers that carry less news on violence are considered to be a lesser newspapers than others. This means that news related to development or other issue based reports are given lesser importance in difference to the wishes of the reading public. There is a need for positive stories and reporting to bring about a better society (Arun, 2008).

The conflict makes headlines almost every day - a killing, an arrest, a clarification. In fact, reporting on incidents related to militants and militancy in Manipur is becoming increasingly difficult and dangerous for journalists. Ironically, it is the growth and changing awareness of the media as a powerful platform that is threatening the freedom and sanctity of the independent media in Manipur. From 1993 till date, as many as seven journalists have been shot dead in Manipur. There have been attempts on the lives of others and cases of physical and mental harassment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.no</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Perpetrator</th>
<th>Journalist killed</th>
<th>Narration of the incident</th>
<th>Action taken</th>
<th>Case Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>June 30, 1993</td>
<td>Unidentified gunmen</td>
<td>R.K. Sanatomba, Editor of Manipuri daily <em>Kangla Lampang</em></td>
<td>Shot dead at his own gate</td>
<td>FIR lodged</td>
<td>No action taken or arrests made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>October 11, 1999</td>
<td>Hmar Revolutionary Army (HRA) Cadres</td>
<td>A.Lalrohlu Hmar, Editor of <em>Hmar daily Shan</em></td>
<td>HRA cadres gunned down</td>
<td>FIR lodged</td>
<td>Ex-gratia of one lakh rupees given by state government, and widow pension given by AMWJU to widow. No further action taken or arrests made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>April 27, 2001</td>
<td>Unidentified gunmen</td>
<td>Khupkholian Simte, Editor of <em>Simte magazine Lenkai</em></td>
<td>Killed by unknown persons</td>
<td>FIR lodged</td>
<td>No action taken or arrests made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>August 20, 2000</td>
<td>Unidentified gunmen</td>
<td>Thounaojam Brajamani Singh, Editor of English daily, <em>Manipur News</em> &amp; president of the Manipur State Journalists Association</td>
<td>Two unidentified gunmen shot dead. Prior to his death, he had received a number of anonymous death threats. In an editorial published the day before the murder, he had urged the people who had made the threats to either stop or identify themselves</td>
<td>FIR lodged</td>
<td>No action taken or arrests made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Attack Location</td>
<td>Name &amp; Position</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Police Action</td>
<td>Status</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Oct 14, 2002</td>
<td>unnamed gunmen</td>
<td>Yambem Megha, special correspondent of <em>North East Vision</em></td>
<td>Three armed men abducted from his house and killed</td>
<td>FIR Lodged</td>
<td>No action taken or arrest made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>November 17, 2008</td>
<td>unnamed gunmen</td>
<td>Konsam Rishikanta, Junior sub-editor of <em>Imphal Free Press</em></td>
<td>Blindfolded, gagged and shot dead by unknown gunmen</td>
<td>CBI inquiry instituted</td>
<td>No charge sheet framed yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>December 23, 2012</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Thangjam Dwijamani @ Nanao, correspondent Guwahati-based channel Prime Time</td>
<td>Killed in police firing during an indefinite general strike imposed by various organization protesting against the alleged molestation of a film actress by a self-styled Lt.Col of the underground NSCN-IM at the musical event in Chandel on Dec 18, 2012.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Memorandum by AMWJU to PCI, 2013)
Some of the incidents are as follows:-

On December 23, 2012 Thangjam Dwijamani @ Nanao was killed in the police firing during an indefinite general strike imposed by various organizations protesting against the alleged molestation of a film actress by a self-styled Lt.Col. of NSCN-IM at a musical event on December 18, 2012.

On November 17th, 2008, Konsam Rishikanta, a junior sub-editor at the English language newspaper *Imphal Free Press* was blindfolded, gagged and shot dead by unknown gunmen.


In October 1999, Hmar Revolutionary Army (HRA) cadres gunned down the editor of a Hmar language newspaper *Shan*, A Lalrohlu Hmar.

On June 30th, 1993, unidentified gunmen shot dead the editor of *Kangla Lanpung* R. K. Sanatomba at his own gate.

Khupkholian Simte, editor of *Lenlai* magazine, was killed.

On December 29th, 2010, the Editor of *Sanaleibak* daily, Ahongsangbam Mobi was arrested by Manipur Police Commandos on the charge of being an extortionist of KCP (Tabungba Group). He was released on January 5, 2011, on bail with a security bond of Rs.50,000.

On July 31st, 2007, a gift-wrapped Nokia mobile handset package containing a grenade and marked to the editor of *The Sangai Express*, the largest selling English daily in Manipur, was delivered to the office of the newspaper. The reason for the “gift”? One of two factions of a major underground insurgent outfit operating in the state wanted the statement of the other party dropped from publication.

On December 20th, 2006, unidentified gunmen unsuccessfully tried to kill the editor and publisher of the evening newspaper *Kangla Pao*, Paonam Labango Mangang, in front of his office in Imphal.
In April 2006, a faction of the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) held six Imphal-based newspaper editors hostage through the night and forced them to publish a statement about the outfit’s “raising day” celebration which the editors had previously ignored. The KCP faction also clamped a three-month ban on the *Imphal Free Press* for misquoting an earlier statement.

On September 7th, 2005, the proscribed group KYKL imposed a ban on two local dailies *Matamgi Yakairol* and *Mannaba* and cable network ISTV for allegedly not “properly” reporting on the abduction of Manipur University Students Union president Ashok Kumar Singh.

On June 14th, 2005, the Manipur Hill Journalists Union suspended publication of all Churachandpur-based newspapers from June 16th to 19th, 2005, in protest against “interference” and “pressure” from several armed opposition groups. In February 2006, an attempt was made on the life of Ratan Luwangcha when he was general secretary of the All-Manipur Working Journalists Union (AMWJU) and bureau chief of the largest selling vernacular daily *Poknapham*. Ratan was grievously wounded.

On February 23rd, 2005, ESPN/Star Sports correspondent Obed Longvah was assaulted by unidentified armed persons at Litan in Ukhrul district of Manipur.

On October 14th, 2002, three armed men abducted and killed *North East Vision* special correspondent Yambem Megha, in Imphal.

On October 8th, 2002, two Manipur-based correspondents -- Iboyaima Laithangbam of *The Hindu* and Y Arun of *Eastern Panorama* - were kidnapped for two days as they were proceeding from Imphal to Moreh, by the United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF) that was dissatisfied with inadequate coverage of its statements.

In August 2000, unidentified persons blew up part of the Pan Manipur Youth League (PMYL) office. The PMYL published the monthly magazine *Chingkei Hunba* and was preparing to re-launch the popular monthly newsmagazine *Lamyanba* as a daily newspaper.

In 2000, Bijoy Koijam, now sitting MLA of Manipur, escaped an attempt on his life when he was working as a freelance photographer for United News of India (UNI).
Almost every day there are threats over the phone, etc, from the proscribed outfits in Manipur. In most cases, media persons respond with dharnas, suspension of publication, blank editorials, and demands to the government for a safe atmosphere to work in. Each time, the threat is withdrawn but working conditions for journalists remain the same as most outfits believe it is their moral right and duty to pressurize newspapers into carrying their press releases the way they want them carried.

The journalist who have become victims of the professional hazards in the armed conflict situation were not given due redressal for the crimes committed against them. The perpetrators of the crimes escaped with impunity in most of the case. Yet, new cases of threats to the safety and security of the journalists continue to pop up time and again inside the state (Ibomcha, 2007).

Fig. 1.3 Sit in protest on 22 July 2010 against threat to journalist Singlianmang Guite at Imphal

Fig. 1.4 Rally for unconditional release of Editor Sanaleibak on 4th January 2011 at Imphal
Fig. 1.5 Rally on 7th January 2012 at Imphal against threat to media persons

Fig.1.6 Media in Conflict Situation of Manipur