

*Ethnicity and Manipur Today Manipur is not only suffering from armed movements of innumerable underground organizations but also from a complex ethnic crisis. Being.*

The historical accounts presented here were recordings from the eyes and the judgment of the Meitei Kings and Maichous Meitei scholars. Hill tribes have their own folk tales, myths and legends. Its capital was Kangla, Yumphal or Imphal present day. Ningthou Kangba 15th century BC is regarded the first and foremost king of Manipur. There were times when the country was in turmoil without rulers and long historical gaps in between BC - 44 BC. In AD, after the defeat of the Meiteis by the British in the Anglo-Manipuri war of Khongjom, the sovereignty of Manipur which it had maintained for more than three millenniums, was lost. It regained its freedom on 28 August AD. On 15 October , Manipur was unified with India. In centuries thereafter, royal spouses came also from what is now modern Assam, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh along with ancient Dravidian kingdoms, and other regions. The Japanese were beaten back before they could enter Imphal , which was one of the turning points of the overall war. Modern history[ edit ] After the war, the princely states and India moved toward independence. The Manipur Constitution Act of established a democratic form of government, with the Maharaja as the executive head. Thereafter the legislative assembly was dissolved, and Manipur became part of the Republic of India in October Over time, many more groups formed in Manipur, each with different goals, and deriving support from diverse ethnic groups in Manipur. These groups began a spree of bank robberies and attacks on police officers and government buildings. The state government appealed to the central government in New Delhi for support in combating this violence. This term designated by the Ministry of Home Affairs or a state governor refers to a territory where extraordinary laws under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act can be used. The laws allow the military to treat private and public spaces in the same manner, detain individuals up to 24 hours with unlimited renewals, to perform warrantless searches, and to shoot and kill individuals that break laws, carry weapons, or gather in groups larger than four as well as giving legal immunity to the military. Its continued application has led to numerous protests, notably the longstanding hunger strike by Irom Sharmila Chanu. In , the government lifted the disturbed status after a violent attack on a local woman. The rape of a manipuri woman, Thangjam Manorama Devi , by members of the Assam Rifles paramilitary had led to wide protests including a nude protest by the Meira Paibis women association. The mountain ranges create a moderated climate, preventing the cold winds from the north from reaching the valley and barring cyclonic storms originating from the Bay of Bengal. A tree amid Manipur hills. The state has four major river basins: The overall water balance of the state amounts to 0. After its junction with the Tuivai, the Barak River turns north, forms the border with Assam State , and then enters the Cachar Assam just above Lakhipur. The Manipur river basin has eight major rivers: All these rivers originate from the surrounding hills. These rivers are corrosive and assume turbulent form in the rainy season. Rivers draining the eastern part of the state, the Yu River Basin, include the Chamu, Khunou and other short streams. These two areas are distinct in physical features and are conspicuous in flora and fauna. The valley region has hills and mounds rising above the flat surface. The Loktak lake is an important feature of the central plain. The altitude ranges from 40 m at Jiribam to 2, m at Mt. The soil cover can be divided into two broad types, viz. The valley soils generally contain loam, small rock fragments, sand and sandy clay, and are varied. On the plains, especially flood plains and deltas, the soil is quite thick. The top soil on the steep slopes is very thin. Soil on the steep hill slopes is subject to high erosion, resulting in gullies and barren rock slopes. The normal pH value ranges from 5. Broadly, there are four types of forests: Rubber, tea, coffee, orange, and cardamom are grown in hill areas. Rice, a staple food for Manipuris, and other cash crops make up the main vegetation cover in the valley. The climate of Manipur is largely influenced by the topography of this hilly region. Lying meters above sea level, Manipur is wedged among hills on all sides. This northeastern corner of India enjoys a generally amiable climate, though the winters can be chilly. Snow sometimes falls in hilly regions due to the Western Disturbance. The state is drenched in rains from May until mid-October. It receives an average annual rainfall of 1, Rain distribution varies from millimetres The precipitation ranges from light drizzle to

heavy downpour. The normal rainfall of Manipur enriches the soil and helps in agriculture and irrigation. The South Westerly Monsoon picks up moisture from the Bay of Bengal and heads toward Manipur, hits the eastern Himalaya ranges and produces a massive amount of rain. The climate is salubrious with approximate average annual rainfall varying from millimetres

**Chapter 2 : Manipur's ethnic conflict sets India's 'Act East' policy back | Asia Times**

*The cause of ethnic conflict in Manipur is thus political ethnicity and not economic disparity. The later is only a vehicle to fight the ethnic war. This makes it very hard to find a tangible remedy short of secession.*

The minister revealed that companies of Central Paramilitary Forces CPMFs have so far been deployed to contain the ethnic violence in the state and remove the economic blockade of Manipur imposed by the United Naga Council UNC against the state government policy of creating several new districts for allegedly administrative reasons, which, however, impinge on Naga interests. The blockade has produced a humanitarian crisis for the people of Manipur denying them essential supplies for a decent living. However, the irreconcilable ethnic conflict between the Meitei and Naga communities in Manipur has disabled India from pursuing that policy. With a total population of 2. About 60 percent of the majority Meitei population inhabit about 10 percent of the total land area; the remaining about 40 percent of the ethnic communities such as the Nagas, Kukis and others inhabit about 90 percent of the total land area. This is an unequal distribution of land and population ratio between the Meiteis and the ethnic tribal people in Manipur. While the indigenous ethnic tribal communities can legally purchase and own landed property in the Valley but the Valley-based Meites are not allowed to do so in the Hills reserved for the tribals as policy. They also enjoy reservation in government jobs which the Meiteis do not have. The mainly Hindu Meitei community who dominate the Valley are in charge of state power, while the predominantly Christian Nagas, Kukis and other indigenous communities who live in the Hill areas surrounding the Valley in 90 percent of the total Hill areas have no political power except for the District Autonomous Councils with limited administrative powers. Manipur is connected to India mainly through National Highways numbers 2 and 53, which are now blockaded by the United Naga Council UNC , a Manipuri Naga political organization, which opposes the recent state government decision to bifurcate several districts in the state ostensibly for administrative reasons; a decision, which is perceived by the Nagas as an attempt to divide and rule them ahead of the impending state assembly elections in early . The blockades in force for nearly two months deprive the people in the Valley of essential supplies for a decent livelihood. They are masterminded by the UNC and cause huge hardship to the Valley residents, who are not involved in politics. The humanitarian crisis needs urgent attention. However, some Valley residents were forced respond with a counter-blockade leading to ethnic violence. The central government in New Delhi led by the Bharatiya Janata Party BJP and Manipur state government led by the Opposition Congress party have largely been inactive in containing the blockades and violence though the central government has just despatched the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs to Manipur. In , the Nagas had attempted ethnic cleansing of Kukis in the area, leading to over a thousand killings. The creation of some of the new districts is thus perceived as not in the interests of the Nagas who view it as part of a divide and rule policy by the Congress-led state government to disempower them from effectively participating in the forthcoming state assembly elections in early . The ruling BJP in New Delhi and Congress in Imphal state capital, have their own divergent political interests given the impending state assembly elections. The lack of trust between the Meiteis and Nagas, though a relatively recent phenomenon, is a serious problem. Additionally, the Nagas have felt a historical antipathy to the Kukis, further aggravating the conflict scenario in Manipur. Violent Incidents In recent violence, the Nagas killed five Meitei policemen on their way to Tengnoupal town, which was followed by a major incident in which 70 militants of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland NSCN-Issac-Muivah led Thuingaleng Muivah, attacked an India Reserve battalion outpost in Tengnoupal and decamped with a large quantity of sophisticated weapons. On December 16, the state capital Imphal observed total shutdown protesting the killing of the Meitei policemen in the earlier incident. A responsible officer of the government confirmed its nonexistence. The Naga discontent has remained and was displayed in the Manipur conflict discussed here. The discord between the Nagas and the Meiteis is not of recent origin and is not likely to go away in the near future. The government of India needs to discuss the problem in an open and public manner involving both communities. They had felt that Hindu Indians were not capable of ruling the region properly. The record of Indian rule in the Northeast has been

dismal and seems to prove the British right. The the induction of the army into the Naga areas in to tackle the insurgency led to multiple insurgencies in the region. The Naga and Meitei conflicts are interrelated and must be discussed together and not separately. They must be brought to realize their need to live together as trusting neighbors. The intellectual resources for doing this are available in the region and not in New Delhi. There is no future in fratricidal warfare, which does immense harm to the region. The dailyReport Must-reads from across Asia - directly to your inbox Asia Times is not responsible for the opinions, facts or any media content presented by contributors. In case of abuse, [click here to report](#).

**Chapter 3 : India: Ethnic Turf War In Manipur – Analysis – Eurasia Review**

*Manipur is a multi-ethnic place in which different ethnic groups have lived in harmony. In recent times the relationships between them have dramatically changed. Now, Manipur stands an example of a severely divided society.*

Kukis, Meiteis, and Nagas, are at loggerheads over the political future of Manipur. On one side, the Meiteis who live in the central low-lying plain want a country of Manipur with full sovereignty, and on the other, both Nagas and Kukis, who live in the hills surrounding the plain, are in favor of the reorganization of Manipur into three parts so that they can control certain territories outside Manipur. The Nagas call their homeland Nagalim, while the Kukis call their homeland Kukiland. If Nagalim and Kukiland are carved out of Manipur into two new states of India, Manipur will lose large part of its land. But, this will not go unchallenged since Meiteis are determined to preserve the integrity of Manipur and its territory, while the Nagas and Kukis are at loggerheads as their territorial claims overlap. In this context, the central aim of this essay is to examine how and why the three ethnic groups view Manipur so differently, and the political assertion of ethnicity into issues that produce conflict. In doing so the essay examines the significance of location and distribution of ethnic groups in sustaining and compounding politicization of ethnicity and conflict.

Introduction Manipur was formerly a princely native state during British colonial rule, in which the Meitei kings had enjoyed considerable autonomy as long as they respect the colonial interests. Manipur lost its autonomy after its merger with India in 1956, and 23 years later Manipur became one of the states of the country. It is located in the northeastern part of the country. Manipur is made up of two geographical regions: Manipur is inhabited by ethnic groups broadly classified into Meiteis, Meitei-Muslims, Nagas, and Kukis. Most Nagas and Kukis are officially recognized into 29 scheduled tribes [ii] owing to their social and economic backwardness. Hence, they enjoy the benefits of reservations in jobs, education, and welfare programs. Since Meiteis and Meitei-Muslims are considered more advanced they are not recognized as scheduled tribes, and further they are restricted by law to purchase and own real estate and other land in the hill areas while the members of scheduled tribes can buy and own land anywhere in Manipur. These conflicts have resulted in a number of flashpoints that have gained both domestic and global attentions. Manipur as seen by Meiteis, Nagas, and Kukis Manipur is a multi-ethnic place in which different ethnic groups have lived in harmony. In recent times the relationships between them have dramatically changed. Now, Manipur stands an example of a severely divided society. Ethnicity has occupied the center-stage of local politics. It finds expression into education policy, land policy, employment, cultural policy and development plans. At the outset, many Meiteis alleged that Manipur had unwillingly joined India after coercing their king. Thereafter, it was directly ruled by the central government, and the bureaucrats who came to Manipur from other parts of the country were not trusted by the local population Rammohan Subsequently, they launched a movement resisting the merger which further transformed into an armed conflict. Twenty three years after the merger Manipur became a state of India in 1987. But, it failed to end the conflict. The movement is confined largely to the Meiteis. In addition, the Meiteis wanted to promote their language, Meiteilon. It is not only the language of the Meiteis, but is used for internal communication in the state. This has become a concern in the relationship between Meiteis, on the one hand, and Nagas and Kukis, on the other. On the other hand, in order to materialize the formation of Nagalim, the Nagas wanted to detach part of Manipur, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh, and integrate to the adjacent state of Nagaland. According to them, Nagalim occupies land area of about 16,000 sq km. It also claimed that Nagalim was historically an independent country of the Naga people. The portion of Nagalim allocated to India includes Nagaland and part of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, and Manipur, while the portion allocated to Myanmar constitutes part of Kachin and Sagaing division. The movement is not so active, and also confine to Manipur where the Kukis constitute a large ethnic group. Churachandpur and Chandel districts, and part of Senapati, Tamenglong, and Ukhrul districts. The supporters of Kukiland have resorted to agitations in order draw the attention of the central government. Related to this, the Kukis also wanted the elevation of Sadar hills of Senapati district into a district. In this regard, they have resorted to strikes. The demand has been strongly opposed by the Nagas. Take, for example, for about three months August-October 1987, the Kukis blocked all

traffic along the highway that passes through Sadar hills forcing the Manipur government to conclude an agreement to elevate Sadar hills into a district, but the promise remains unfulfilled. The Nagas claimed that Sadar hills have been historically an integral part of Nagalim. They alleged that the area was given to the Kukis in order to act as a buffer between Meiteis and Nagas Shimray. Thus we understand that the three ethnic groups have widely divergent political interests. What has gone wrong? There are no easy answers. However, in developing countries like India there are some commonalities. Susan Olzak and Joane Nagel. For Brass the key factor creating ethnic consciousness is not emotional or psychological, but political, and ethnic mobilization focus on territory, resources, and power see, Basu. The territory occupy by the ethnic group is crucial to the formation of ethnic identity. Identity can be a source of pride and joy but it can also kill. Identity is a powerful ingredient in the development of nationalism and ethnic conflict. There are five distinct types of identity: Ethnic identity leads to political action, and when ethnic identity is highly salient, it is likely to be the basis for political mobilization. Gurr. The incentives that prompt political action by identity groups can be categorized into three main types: According to Paul Brass. The second set of struggle takes place between ethnic groups as a competition for rights, privileges, and resources. The third takes place between the state [nation state] and the groups that dominate it, on the one hand, and the populations that inhabit its territory on the other. The subsequent sections of the essay analyze the ethnic movements—those of Meiteis, of Kukis, [iv] and of Nagas—so as to understand how and why they view Manipur so differently, and the significance of the location and distribution of ethnic groups in sustaining and compounding the conflict. According to Milton J. The resources are demographic relative numbers ; organizational degree of mobilization and capacity to put resources to political uses ; economic control of finance, means of production or trade channels ; technological possession of modern skills ; locational control of natural resources and strategic territory ; political control or influence over the instrumentalities of the state ; and ideological the normative basis for group objectives. In addition to these objective determinants of power, the quality of inter-communal relations depends on the congruity or disparity in goals between those who control the state apparatus and the leaders of the constituent groups. If the goals are the same, the outcome is likely to be consensual. If the goals are incompatible, the consequences will be tension and conflict, and the outcome will be determined by the relative resources controlled by the parties. This introduces to a third determining factor—the conventions, rules, procedures, and structures, the institutions for conflict management. Without such institution there can be no predictability in intergroup relations and no framework for channeling group demands or for regulating outcomes. Likewise, the clustering of factors that cause conflict in Manipur is so diverse. The situation is such that the political dominance of majority Meiteis can be challenge by the Nagas or Kukis because location and distribution of ethnic groups matters. It was done in memory of 18 strikers killed in Imphal. During those days, the good-laden trucks were prevented from entering Manipur, and hence the prices of staple goods sharply risen due to their shortage. To show their distrust to state government of Manipur and Meiteis, the Nagas sought to registers private schools situated in their areas of concentration to the Nagaland Board of Secondary Education, the agency responsible for the conduct of final examination for class X in Nagaland. It was summarily rejected by the government of Manipur. In addition, the United Naga Council UNC, the apex body of Nagas, has started a campaign to sever all political ties with the state government of Manipur. The UNC maintained the Nagas have suffered social, economic, and political deprivations. Interestingly, those Nagas who have settled down in the plain region were not impressed by such campaign. It is clearly a Naga party, its membership open only to the Nagas. In the legislative assembly election held in , it tried to woo Naga electorates on the issues of protecting the land of the Nagas, expediting the political talks between the Government of India and the NSCN-IM, and establishment of an alternative administrative arrangement for the Nagas. It won from four territorial constituencies. The animosity between them is so profound that a small incident can turn into a big issue. The alleged assault of a Meitei film actress by a NSCN-IM insurgent at the town of Chandel in led to a series of strikes in Meitei-concentrated areas demanding appropriate action against the alleged culprit. The Meiteis alleges that the central government of deliberately appeases the Nagas, and hence has compromise the interests of other ethnic groups. As pressure mounted from the Meiteis, the state government of Manipur sent leaders of various political parties to Delhi to

put pressure on the central government to take action against the said insurgent. On the other side of the divide, the Nagas accused the Meiteis of blowing a small incident out of proportion. They claimed that the incident was a matter of discord between two individuals. Further, the state government of Manipur wanted to upgrade Moreh, the town located along the India-Myanmar border, into a municipality in order to accelerate infrastructure development there. The town has been a major trading center between India and Myanmar. They wanted the town to be governed by district council, not by the state government of Manipur. Interestingly, the Meiteis overwhelmingly wanted Moreh to become a municipality. Nonetheless, the Nagalim and the Kukiland are opposed to each other because of their overlapping territorial claims. If the proposed Nagalim is unacceptable to the Kukis, the proposed Kukiland is also unacceptable to the Nagas. Both sides accused each other of claiming more territories as integral parts of their ancestral homeland. Both sides claimed to be the first settlers in the disputed territories. The claims and counter-claims have reenergized the conflict since not much is available about the history of Nagas or Kukis. To my mind, they are resorting to what Anthony Cohen

The Nagas claimed that the Kukis were recent immigrants who came from Myanmar, an allegation refuted by the Kukis. It is a fact, so the question of claiming [any territory] does not arise. However, Lucy Zehol, an anthropologist at North Eastern Hill University, Shillong states, the Nagas and Kukis are recent arrivals, nearly two hundred years ago compared to Meiteis, who are the old inhabitant Zehol Ethnic violence between them occurred in the s. It was a major violent conflict based on ethnic lines which have greatly changed the social equations of Manipur.

**Chapter 4 : Population Of Manipur**

*Manipur's ethnic groups practice a variety of religions. According to census, Hinduism is the major religion in the state, closely followed by Christianity.*

Complex ethnic equations in Manipur elections The lives of Manipuris are marred by armed conflicts, terrorism, corruption and repressive forces Photograph: Satapathy If Uttar Pradesh is known for caste politics, Manipur has the distinction for ethnic politics. Manipur elections have always been the centre of attraction for political analysts due to its complex socio-political formations. This election has gained unprecedented attention from the national leaders who have frequented the region, holding huge political campaigns. The economic blockade imposed by the Naga body, the United Naga Council, in the state for more than three months has made the electoral scene warmer. The demographic composition of the state has its impact on electoral politics. Although there are three major ethnic groups, namely Meitei, Naga and Kuki, others like Muslims and Hmars have a sizeable presence in the state. The state of Manipur consists of four valleys and five hill districts. However, approximately sixty per cent of the population lives in the valleys which spread over 10 per cent of the total area of the state. On the other hand, forty per cent people occupy nearly ninety per cent of the land which is predominantly the hill region. The valley has 40 Assembly constituencies and the hill areas only Out of 60 seats, 40 are general constituencies, 1 Scheduled Caste Sekmai and remaining 19 Scheduled Tribe constituencies. Meitei is the largest ethnic community in Manipur who inhabit mostly in and around the valley area. Naga and Kuki tribes live mostly in hills. Nagas generally do not vote as a bloc as has been observed in the past elections. There are different sub-tribes among Nagas which do not have a very cordial relation between them National and regional parties are trying their best to extract support from the voters. But Manipur has complex ethnic arithmetic. Traditionally, there has been animosity between the Nagas and the Kukis. Meitei, the largest ethnic composition in the state, puts its weight on either side depending on the issue. When there was stiff opposition from the non-Naga population and when UNC realised that this goal is unachievable at the moment, they made a fresh demand of administrative autonomy within Manipur. Before the Assembly election, Ibobi Singh government created seven new districts in the state which has been vehemently opposed by the UNC. It responded with an economic blockade that paralysed normal life in the state. In the election campaigns, all parties have raised this issue. BJP, a strong contender this time, assures voters to resolve this issue if voted to power. These ILP bills, totalling three in numbers, have already been passed by the state Assembly but tribal leaders suspect that these bills are aimed at harming their interest. Meiteis broadly support the bills and always focus on the territorial integrity of Manipur. It opposes the Congress party that has ruled the state for last fifteen years and accuse it of not doing anything for the Naga community. However, Nagas generally do not vote as a bloc as has been observed in the past elections. There are different sub-tribes among Nagas which do not have a very cordial relation between them. These things are reflected in poll verdicts. Kuki community, comparatively smaller than the Meitei and Naga counterparts, also demands a separate political set up but does not go the extent of creating socio-political chaos like Nagas. It is the traditional vote bank of the Congress party; the present president of the state Congress is from this community too. Kuki National Army KNA , the armed wing of Kuki National Organisation, although involved in underground activities, has taken part in voting this time like they did in the elections. Frequent Kuki-Naga conflict in the past not only creates socio-political tension but also impacts electoral verdicts. Muslims, around 9 per cent of the total population in Manipur, are spread over eighteen constituencies. In this election, nineteen Muslim candidates are there in the fray and, interestingly, one female contestant Najima Bibi has been contesting as a PRJA candidate for the first time in this election in spite of resentment from the community leaders. All prominent parties have fielded Muslim candidates and tried to woo voters in their favour. Outside Muslim leaders, mostly from Assam, have been campaigning in favour of their candidates. In general, the Congress is the biggest beneficiary in electoral terms from this section and the BJP has not so far been able to influence much. Bihari community has also its presence in the state and takes a keen interest in the elections. They inhabit mostly in valley areas. However, it is observed that they prefer a national party to a

regional party for their own interest. In this election, their votes are likely to be split between the Congress and the BJP; that way the Congress may lose some vote from this pocket. Other issues which have been raised by political parties, include corruption, lack of development, worsening law and order situation as well as AFSPA, administrative incompetence, and political scandals. A high percentage of polling in the first phase is an indication that all stakeholders have been able to mobilise awareness among the masses in order to draw them towards the ballot boxes. He specialises on electoral politics of northeast India More Opinions.

**Chapter 5 : Ethnic Races Manipur**

*Ethnic Races/People of Manipur A compilation of all the Ethnic Races/people of Manipur.*

Conflict in Manipur The northeastern part of India is linked to the rest of the country by a narrow corridor through the hill districts of West Bengal state. Surrounded by Bhutan, Bangladesh, Burma, and the Tibetan region of China, the northeast is a strategically sensitive area. A large deployment of troops has long been stationed to guard the borders. The region is populated by diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups, including a number of indigenous tribes. The landlocked region has endured decades of neglect, widespread corruption, and a failure by successive governments to deliver economic growth and sustainable development. Two-thirds of the population lives in the valley, which is roughly 10 percent of the total area. The population of 2. It remained a princely state under British suzerainty until the end of colonial rule. However, a movement demanding an end to the old feudal system had already begun in Manipur which, in , led to the establishment of an elected legislature with the king becoming only a constitutional head of state. It was directly governed by New Delhi until January 21, , when it became a state with the right to elect its own legislative assembly. Many Manipuris believe that their right to self determination was violated in when the Manipuri king, who apparently went to Shillong to meet the governor of Assam and other Indian officials to discuss the law and order situation in the region, was instead, allegedly forced to sign the Merger Agreement. Instead, the assembly was dissolved and Manipur placed under the direct administration of New Delhi. One elderly woman, referring to the events of that year, described her outrage as follows: What happened in Manipur was a denial of rights. They tried to snatch what was left to us by our ancestors. What do you do then? If you have guns, you use guns. If you have knives, you use knives. If all you have is a spade, then that is what you will use. Later, when armed groups from other ethnic communities started their own insurgencies, the law was extended to the remaining parts of Manipur and remains in effect today. Since then many armed groups led by Meiteis were established with similar objectives. These groups began a spree of bank robberies and attacks on police officers and government buildings. There is also a history of differences between the Meiteis, Nagas, Kukis and other tribal groups. In widespread protests broke out when Meitei Manipuris feared that a peace agreement between Naga insurgents and the Indian government would lead to the truncation of Manipur. He summarized Kuki views of the situation as follows: There are many different groups in Manipur. Some want a separate state under the Indian Constitution. Others demand a sovereign nation. But the main concern of the Kuki people is that the customary law should be protected. The real issue in the hill areas is land. Some are out to grab it by force. We are caught in between the army and the Nagas. The Nagas killed over people in the s. Over villages were uprooted. The army has continued human rights abuses. The Meiteis are not eligible for these privileges. Under Manipuri law to protect indigenous tribes, they are also not allowed to settle in the hill districts. However, there is no such restriction on Nagas and Kukis settling in the valley. Despite the deployment of the Indian army, the insurgencies have continued. There are now an estimated 30 armed groups belonging to various ethnic or religious groups operating in Manipur. Since the beginning of the conflict, the armed groups have been responsible for torture, targeted killings, the indiscriminate use of bombs and landmines, abduction for ransom, and forced recruitment into combat. While Manipuris complain about the daily abuse and human rights violations by the state security forces, they are also held hostage by the stranglehold of the militants. A prevailing lawlessness has prevented private business enterprises from emerging, since traders and entrepreneurs are reluctant to share their profits with a number of different extortionists. In February , transporters went on strike, protesting against extortion demands by some militants. In , there was outrage when one group imposed a dress code for women. In July , there were protests against the abduction and recruitment of children into combat. People are caught between the state actors and the non-state actors. People think we need the militants to gain our independence. And we need the military to control the militants. The underground groups go beyond tolerance because of threats and extortion. And whenever you meet the army they are always shouting and being rude. The army has proved counterproductive because it has alienated the common man Unfortunately, the Indian government treats the

violence in Manipur as a law and order problem. But it is a political problem. There are sovereignty issues that have to be addressed for the violence to end. Through August , 54 alleged militants had been killed and arrested. The state has over 14, police. Estimates suggest that at least 50, soldiers and paramilitaries are deployed in the state. According to Manipuri activists, the extent of militarization is such that it is estimated that there is one member of the security forces for every 20 Manipuris. The security forces have not acknowledged their own failure to provide adequate security to Manipuris, which drives civilians to seek the protection of militants. Instead, the security forces have treated ordinary citizens with suspicion and subjected them to random checks, arbitrary arrest, coercive interrogation and torture. When there are protests after a human rights violation by the armed forces or other security forces, typically the Manipur government sets up a commission of inquiry. The reports are rarely made public, nor is it ever clarified whether any action was taken based on the findings. The state government also established the Manipur Human Rights Commission over ten years ago, in . The commission operates without a proper office, with skeletal administrative support, and no investigative staff all. Under section 19 of the national Human Rights Protection Act, the commission is not empowered to investigate violations by the army. But commission chairman, retired justice W. That is not surprising because we do not have the status where our autonomy is retained. Often, I just shove their letters in a drawer and forget about them. But foreigners seeking to enter Manipur require a special permit called the Protected Area Permit. It thus leaves human rights violations unnoticed and unreported. Manipuris, by and large, do not wish for the security forces to be withdrawn. They simply want human rights violations by troops to end, and for the perpetrators to be punished. People cannot sleep at night because they are scared of a knock on the door. Everyone is responsible, not just the army. These are people that snatch sons from their mothers. The brutality is beyond limit The army people are also human beings. There is no reason not to love them. When we were young the army used to make us feel safe and secure. But now they are behaving like beasts We are not saying that the UGs should not be arrested. We can no longer look upon these people as mothers. The population in is estimated to be 2. Penguin Books, , p. Sakhi, Imphal, February 26,

**Chapter 6 : Ethnicity in Manipur : experiences, issues, and perspectives /**

*Downloaded from calendrierdelascience.com at UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD on February 28, Kipgen: Politics of Ethnic Conflict in Manipur 23 Ethnic Identification, Conflict and Violence in Manipur In Manipur, the ethnic classifications of Kuki and Naga are complex and confusing.*

I can understand why the Nagas of Manipur want to secede and join Nagaland. Many political scientists have studied ethnic strife and its remedies. There are differing schools of thought. Defining the causes of ethnic strife in Manipur is easy as they do elsewhere, by just cataloguing a cocktail of poverty, misunderstanding, resentment, cultural intolerance and perceived injustices. But finding remedies is very difficult. Ethnic conflict is caused by ethnicity, which mobilises, structures and manages ethnic organisations. Further their leaders use ethnic divisive strategies to mobilise political support. The potential for ethnic conflict is almost universal because there are very few states with only one ethnic group. Democracy alone cannot ensure ethnic harmony. Instead it allows freer expression of ethnic antagonisms. In theory, in Manipur leaders of the dominant Meitei group gain office and then use state institutions to distribute economic and political benefits preferentially to the Meiteis and thus discriminate against other minority tribes. That is, the state is ineffective in addressing the concerns of their constituencies. The minority ethnic groups having endured alleged discrimination for over sixty years felt that their shared deprivation has been long enough and thus mobilised political support on ethnic lines. In reality, the cause of ethnic conflict is primordial. That is, ethnic conflict exists because there are traditions of belief and actions towards primordial objects such as biological features and especially territorial location and the concept of kinship between members of ethnic groups such as Kabuis, Tangkhuls and Nagas. This kinship makes it possible for ethnic groups to think in terms of family resemblances. The leaders of the minority ethnic groups in the state want accommodation in terms of jobs, economy, security, development, health care and so on. The more radicalised leaders became militant. Donald L Horowitz. Underground groups came into existence. This usually causes the birth of ethnonationalism. The territorial integrity of Manipur is now vigorously challenged by the diversity of 36 ethnic groups living in the state. The insurgents of these ethnic Nagas, Khasi Nagas, Zeme Nagas now and smaller units like Hmar, Paite, Gangte etc all demand regional autonomy or independence. Meiteis want an independent Kangleipak while Kukis dream of Zalemang. Nagas prefer to form Nagalim. However, in Manipur ethnic conflict preceded such a current scenario. Before the Manipur state came into existence in 1956, Athiko Daiho from Mao and a few other prominent leaders from other tribal groups formed the National Naga League in September for separate Naga inhabited areas. I have full sympathy for these organisations of ethnic groups; because that was what they thought was the best for them – a state for all the tribal groups outside of the majority Hindu Meiteis. The cause of ethnic conflict in Manipur is thus political ethnicity and not economic disparity. The latter is only a vehicle to fight the ethnic war. This makes it very hard to find a tangible remedy short of secession. Time has changed since. The tribal people became educated and the Meiteis became liberalised and were more and more willing to accommodate them. The problem is endless. Anyone in northeast India must not be deluded that India will part with Nagaland or Manipur. Three wars with Pakistan and dedicated Kashmiri militants failed to dislodge Kashmir from India. However, this is not the point of my article. My article is about suggestions as to how the different ethnic groups in Manipur could reconcile themselves. There are three possible types of ethnic conflict outcomes in Manipur: Looking at the three options, which have been in existence for a number of years and from the security-centric Indian Government, a peaceful ethnic reconciliation is the best option. The majority Meiteis and minority ethnic groups need to put their heads together and devise new mini constitutional arrangements to address specific concerns of grievances especially more local autonomy and minority rights guarantees such as quota reservations for universities, jobs, and the continuation of the application of Schedule V within a new federal structure with more political, economic, cultural or administrative autonomy within existing institutional arrangements. These arrangements will provide security and promote economic prosperity for the ethnic minorities. The Report builds on that analysis, by carefully examining and rejecting claims that cultural differences necessarily lead to social, economic and political

conflict or that inherent cultural rights should supersede political and economic ones. The UN Report makes a case for respecting diversity and building more inclusive societies by adopting policies that explicitly recognize cultural differences – multicultural policies: These are good theories but practical application is quite another kettle of fish. Because of hierarchical form of unitary government Manipur needs a body of policy makers representing all the tribal groups that can influence the state government policy-making power.

**Chapter 7 : Ethnic conflict, federalism, and democracy in India**

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The Sadar Hills area in Senapati District was to be upgraded to a full-fledged Kuki District at the earliest, after the submission of the report by the District Re-organisation Committee. The Kukis have been demanding district status for the area since the early s, with the bifurcation of the Kangpoki sub-division of the Naga majority Senapati District, to form a Kuki-dominated Sadar Hills District. The agreement was signed ahead of Union Home Minister P. The long blockade resulted in four deaths and several injuries in confrontations between blockade supporters and the Security Forces SFs. The blockade was converted into a general strike following the mowing down of three women in an accident. On August 2, on the second day of the economic blockade, three blockade supporters were rammed by an oil tanker at Kanglatongbi in Senapati District, when the driver lost control after the tanker came under attack from blockade supporters. Again, a truck driver who was critically injured by blockade supporters on NH on August 3, , succumbed to his injuries on August 2. Inclusive of Government buildings and private vehicles vandalized or destroyed, properties worth INR 2. Further, at least 20 Government offices and around 45 private vehicles were set on fire by blockade supporters. Sadar Hills is currently under Senapati District, where the Nagas constitute a majority, and the Naga organisations oppose bifurcation. The October 31 MoU comes as a blow to the Nagas led by the UNC in Manipur, as they interpret it as a policy to further divide the Naga homeland and frustrate their ultimate goal of integration of Naga areas under one administrative unit. The Nagas have made no secret of their resentment. Condemning the manner in which the GoM had executed the agreement, without the consensus and consent of the Nagas, the UNC alleged that the Government had failed to abide by the four MoUs signed with the Naga people in , , and This MoU also agreed to honor the preceding agreements of , , , which recognized the issue of land as the bone of contention between the Kukis and the Nagas. The MoU also guaranteed that no part of the Naga area would be bartered away under any circumstance. The Nagas have now declared that their ongoing economic blockade would continue until further notice and that their agitation would intensify. The bandh turned violent on November 4, when at least 10 persons, mostly woman bandh supporters, were injured while engaging in a scuffle with the SFs at Noney along National Highway in Tamenglong District. Reacting to the Naga opposition, the SHDDC, on November 3, warned that it would resume its economic blockade unless both the Central and State Governments acted on the written assurance of the MoU signed between the committee and the State Government. According to the ADC Act, , all the Hill Areas were to be divided into six autonomous Districts, with the ultimate goal of full-fledged District status. Of the six autonomous Districts, Sadar Hills remains the only one that has not been accorded a full-fledged District status. Unlike the other five districts, it still remains an ADC, under the supervision of the Senapati District administration in all matters concerning executive, legislative, judicial and financial functioning. The Kukis and the Nagas of Manipur share a bloody history of ethnic conflict, reaching deep into the British colonial era, and beyond. The blockade continued for 69 days, resulting in an unprecedented crisis in Manipur. Two protestors were killed and another 80 were injured during clashes between the protestors and the Police at Mao Bazaar area in Senapati District on May 6, The SFs also arrested at least 28 protestors during follow-up operations. The ultimate demand of the Nagas as a whole was always the integration of all Naga areas. On June 18, , 13 civilians were killed and over 50 were injured in Imphal as Police fire on demonstrators protesting the extension of the cease-fire area. The protestors feared that the truce extension was the first step towards a bifurcation of the State for merger with Nagaland. The stir left 18 persons dead, including the 13 killed in Police firing. While the Meiteis took out celebratory marches with the review of the ceasefire, the Nagas in Manipur blocked highways, enforced general strikes and took out torch rallies in protest. The Kukis were also threatened by these developments when a new Kuki body, the Kuki Nampi International, was formed on July 29, , with a view to integrating Kuki ethnic groups scattered worldwide under one umbrella and to safeguard the rights and interests of the Kukis. This was to commemorate the June 18, , incident, when 13 Meitei

civilians were killed. The economic blockade, which started from June 18, , lasted for 55 days till August. Sandwiched between the demands of the Kukis and Nagas, the Government faces a tricky situation. Granting the demands of either side is likely to create more violence and even, in the worst case, to trigger another possible ethnic clash between the two communities, as their turf wars continue unabated. Then please consider donating today to ensure that Eurasia Review can continue to be able to provide similar content. The Institute was set up on the initiative of, and is presently headed by, its President, Mr. Leave a Reply Your email address will not be published.

**Chapter 8 : Manipur - Wikipedia**

*Ethnic conversions in Manipur (India) Published on August 12, By Thangjamang Haokip. August 13, Small and backward tribes of Chandel district in Manipur like the Anals, Lamkangs and Marings were brainwashed into accepting the Naga political identity through religious proselytization, fabrication of fraudulent genealogical lineage history, economic and political enticements and.*

The momentum in communal violence has kept up in recent years. In there were 18 major riots, in which 1, persons were killed. The number of persons killed in was ; were killed in , in , and in The temple-mosque conflict in Ayodhya was a concrete manifestation of this. Even the character of these insurgencies, in terms of their objectives, ideologies, leadership, and methods, is becoming more strident and uncompromising. The growing violent activities of Sikh militants in the Terai region of Uttar Pradesh have become a matter of serious concern. The tribal situation in Manipur, Tripura, and Mizoram is also moving fast towards the boil. Indian secularism did not evolve on the pattern of European secularism, which strove to detach the spiritual from the temporal. In India, all religions were accepted on an equal footing. The state gave equal rights to all religious and ethnic groups so that they could protect and promote their educational and cultural interests, by virtue of the Indian Constitution arts. An exception was made for scheduled castes and tribes, which were brought under the umbrella of "protective discrimination," according to Part X, arts. This secular identity was not an imposition by the state on society but a recognition of a deep-rooted social reality- that erosion of this identity would mean the disintegration of India along sectarian lines. Hence, firm constitutional provisions were made to preserve secular identity. Dynamics of development The significance of linkages between the dynamics of development and ethnic conflicts has been widely recognized. Reetz, in discussing the ethnic dilemma in Pakistan, observes that: The growth of market relations at regional and national levels was the driving force behind the increasing articulation of both separate ethnic and common national interests. The development of this market, backed by the growth of industry and commerce, brought diverse regional and ethnic interests together to interact, collaborate, and compete. As a result, regional and ethnic interests have developed stakes in expanding and strengthening the national market and linking it with the network of regional interests. Capital, technology, industry and commerce, and labour have moved from one region to another, cutting across and subordinating ethnic diversities. Diverse interest groups have come into being; industrialists, traders, transporters, and workers trade unions. In the mixed economy of India, the process of development planning for target groups and regions has greatly helped various neglected and marginalized sections of society to join the national mainstream. Allocation of plan resources by the centre to the states has also bound them in a nexus of mutual bargaining and collaboration, notwithstanding the displeasure of the states over the amounts of resources transferred. But these integrative pulls have not been without disintegrative implications. One of the common causes of the politicization of ethnicity and the formation of ethnic conflict is said to be the relative and perceived sense of economic deprivation by a given ethnic group. Tambiah, looking at national and international factors behind the cause of economic deprivation, says: The present plethora of ethnic conflicts Many things have gone awry with economic development: The most illustrative aspect of this development is the lopsided and uneven growth of the national market, prosperity, and income distribution, and the sensitization of underprivileged groups to their disadvantageous placement in the national division of labour. In some cases, bouts of prosperity have resulted in inflating expectations, which national resource generation and distribution mechanism have not been able to fulfill. In others, the slow pace of building prosperity has given rise to the sense of relative deprivation. Equally pertinent here is to note that corruption and family or "ethnic nepotism"<sup>22</sup> have given impetus to alienation and conflict formation. It is illustrative in this respect that economic maldevelopment has fuelled diverse ethnic insurgencies in India. Some recent studies on communal conflicts in North India show that the prosperity of Muslim artisans has given them confidence to free themselves from exploitation by Hindu traders and moneylenders, helping precipitate such conflicts. In the Punjab, it has been a problem of prosperity combined with unequal distribution of wealth resulting from the green revolution boom. The rich Punjabi farmers, in

search of investing their surpluses for better returns, found it compelling to capture state power. Further marginalization of small and landless peasants forced them into militancy for bare survival. Even when national funds were allocated, they did not reach the targeted groups, because of the corruption of bureaucrats, politicians, and other mediators. In the absence of any serious attempt to correct these economic distortions, it may not be realistic to expect resolution of these raging ethnic conflicts. The foundations of federalism were laid down on the grounds of concern for the unity and integrity of a culturally diverse nation. In view of historical experiences of disruptive and disintegrative sectarian forces and the political context of partition prevailing at the time of independence, the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution wanted to strengthen the Union against possible disintegrative pressures. Not being a result of an agreement, no state has the right to secede from it. Though the country and the people may be divided into different states for convenience of administration, the country is one integral whole, its people a single people living under a single imperium derived from a single source. The Drafting Committee thought it was better to make [this] clear at the outset rather than leave it to speculation. In fact the Union in India was empowered to frustrate any such separatist or secessionist pressures if and when they arose. No specific provisions for religious or cultural minorities were incorporated, except that they were given equal rights. The principle of "preventive discrimination," applied in the case of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, was designed more to undo their social and economic backwardness than to help them preserve and promote their cultural distinctiveness. The Commission Constituted to Reorganise States in the Indian Federation nonetheless continued to emphasize that "it is the Union of India that is the basis of our nationality. Linguistic homogeneity provides the only rational basis for reconstituting the state, for it reflects the social and cultural pattern of living obtaining in well defined regions of the country. The process of linguistic reorganization of states initiated in 1953 has been carried forward under the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission since and was broadly completed by the end of the sixties. The federal devolution of power strengthened this expression of cultural diversity. The devolution of powers between the Union or the centre and the states was laid down in separate lists prepared for this purpose. The states can also make laws along with the centre provided the two do not clash, on subjects included in a "Concurrent List. The arrangement for distribution of powers between the Union and the states has remained generally stable. Such allocation is carried out by the Planning Commission in the area of developmental expenditure and has led to complaint by the states that the resources provided are inadequate. The states also have their own power to raise revenues. The Commission reported in 1956, but successive Finance Commissions have gradually enlarged the scope of devolution of taxes to the states. These later Commissions were appointed under articles of the Constitution to decide the distribution of taxes between the Union and the states as well as grants-in-aid to the states out of the Consolidated Fund of India. The Eighth Finance Commission raised the level of such tax revenues in favour of the states from 55 to 85 per cent. Centre-state relations, whether based on ethnicity or otherwise, have not been peaceful or tension-free, but the competition has tended to focus on securing resources and greater power. States of diverse languages and cultures have often joined together to enhance their bargaining power. In some cases the Indian federal structure even provides for such bargaining through bodies such as the Inter-State and National Development Councils. Examples of bargaining coalitions include that of four Southern Chief Ministers joining in to negotiate with the centre. Similarly, in a conclave of nine opposition parties held near Delhi under the leadership of the Andhra Telugu Desham leader, N. Rama Rao, demanded the restoration of "co-operative federalism enshrined in the Constitution. It is interesting to note that most of the ethnic conflicts are between one given ethnic group and the Union of India, as if there were no ethnic contradictions and incompatibilities between individual groups. As noted earlier, the issues involved in such conflicts are invariably mixed with questions of sharing economic resources and decision-making power. The functioning of federalism has nevertheless also had undesirable implications for the ethnic scene in India. The linguistic reorganization of the states gave impetus to various groups of specific cultural markers and ethnic identities to seek political expression and legitimacy. This was because ethnic identity was provided a territory under the scheme of reorganization. The importance of ethnic territory in ethnic conflict is very crucial, as can be gathered from recent developments in the Punjab and Kashmir and earlier events in Assam. In the Punjab and Kashmir conflicts, along with the transformation

of identities and issues, the territorial base of ethnicity is being perfected by driving out Punjabi-speaking Hindus from the Punjab and Kashmiri-speaking Hindus from Kashmir. The potential for conflict formation along ethnic identity lines has thus been encouraged. This potential has been further sharpened because linguistic reorganization in a vast and diverse country like India cannot be perfectly precise. On the periphery of the newly formed linguistic states, unassimilated linguistic minorities continued to exist. Then many other linguistic groups continued to remain in the larger Hindi-speaking states without being accommodated in the new political arrangement. The dissatisfactions of some of the unrecognized minority linguistic groups also continue to simmer. The possibility of political movements and conflict formation arising out of these problems cannot be ruled out. There are already several political parties which are ethnicity-based, and they will very willingly build their strength by exploiting the linguistic frustrations of their constituencies. The Sarkaria Commission clearly hinted at weaknesses of the linguistic reorganization of states in this respect when it said: Very often, the sub-national sentiment which is initially based on linguistic, religious or ethnic groupings, gains strength with a blend of economic issues, such as those relating to One of the most significant developments has been the rise of linguistic chauvinism, rearrangement of the boundaries of the States on linguistic basis The use of article , which provides for imposition of presidential rule in a state in the "event of the failure of constitutional machinery," has been the subject of considerable controversy and debate in this regard. Political use of this provision has been extensive, particularly by the Congress-ruled centre. It can be employed to dismiss the state government of an opposition party or to manipulate political advantages for a ruling party or a particularly favoured political leader. In such manipulative machinations, the centre-appointed governor has played a decisive role, bringing the status and integrity of the governorship into considerable disrepute. The victimized party and leaders have sought to project this abuse of power as an instance of suppression of the political rights of the dominant ethnic group in the given state. This has been an important factor behind the alienation of the Punjab, Kashmir, and Assam. The latest act of perfidy by the Congress government has come at a time when, with the knowledge and approval of Delhi, I was engaged in an effort to persuade the underground insurgents in Nagaland to give up arms and join the political process. Obviously, such efforts were not to the liking of certain sections of the political leadership in the state who have a vested interest in a violent underground movement Let me, however, sound a note of warning. The entire North-East is in a state of turmoil. Frustration because of unemployment is driving the educated youth of this region to desperation. The sense of alienation due to the overbearing presence of the army is being compounded by the lack of opportunity. And the denial to the people of their right to govern themselves in accordance with the Constitution is creating situations that will ultimately convince the people of the entire North-East, from Arunachal to Mizoram, that they have no hope of a life of peace and dignity under the present dispensation. The Sarkaria Commission blamed those in charge of the centre for this misuse and centralization of power in the Union, saying: Those in power at the centre, have been obliged to use diverse strategies and tactics which were not always sound from [a] long-term [point of view] to maintain their control over state level forces. This in turn has, it is believed, reversed the process of national integration It can even help resolve, or at least contain, some of these pressures, if the imperatives of federal devolution of power and obligations of mutual accommodation and adjustments are observed sincerely. The diffusion of Tamil militancy and separatism during the s and instances of moderation of tribal insurgencies in the North-East and Assam during the s may be recalled in this regard.

**Chapter 9 : Manipur Backgrounder**

26 Lianboi Vaiphei, "Adressing Multiculturalism for Ethnic Equations in Manipur," *Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 4, October March , Manipur Research Forum, New Delhi, p.

Hence, the population of Manipur in is forecast to be 3. So, the population of Manipur in the year as per estimated data is 3. Manipur Population â€™3. The slants are generally controlled by the Kuki, Naga, and Zomi people group. Racially, Manipuri people are exceptional; they have similar traits like Southeast Asian individuals. The Nagas are the second greatest gathering in population along with the Meetei people. Some of these live in the plain region, a vast bit of them live in the slant zone from numerous eras. Manipur has a mix of ethnic groups speaking particular languages, rehearsing Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and different religions. The population density of Manipur is persons per square kilometre. As per points of interest from Census , the state has a population of The total population growth in this decade was The number of occupants in the state outlines 0. In the year , the figure was 0. Chandel has recorded the highest decade growth rate of around The state is bordered by Nagaland , Assam , and Mizoram respectively. After the war, the Manipur Constitution Act of set up a reasonable kind of government, with the Maharaja being as the official head. In the year , Maharaja Budhachandra denoted the instrument of promotion to merge the kingdom into India. Starting there, the legislative assembly was separated and Manipur turned into a part of India in October Manipur was known as Sanaleibak. The population of the ethnic group, Meetai, comprises of around 60 percent of the total population. Other ethnic groups are Kuki, Naga etc. Manipur is well associated with Guwahati , Silchar and Kolkata by means of Air. The nearest railroad station is Dimapur.