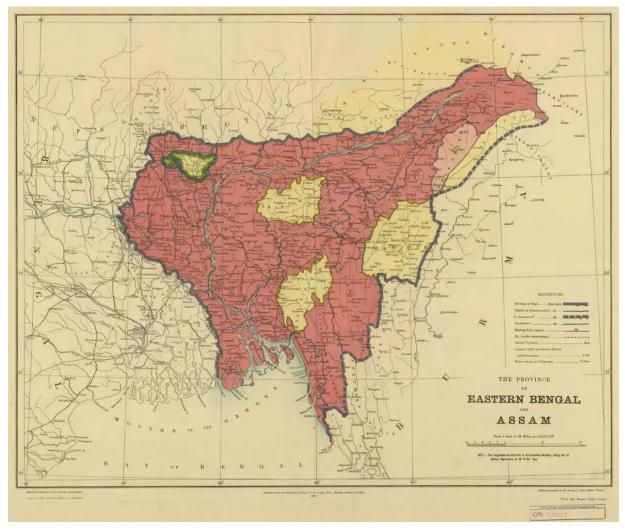


Violence in Manipur

Context:

• Six people were killed as fresh violence erupted between the warring ethnic communities of Kukis and Meitei in Manipur's Jiribam district on 7th September, forcing the government to call in Army choppers for surveillance and deploy security forces in massive combing operations with drone detection systems in hand.

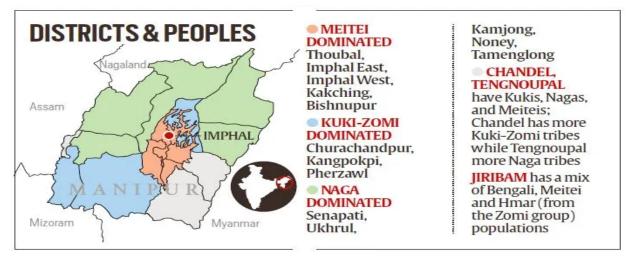
1. What is the history of Manipur?



- Royal chronicles, Cheitharol Kumbaba, document the history of Manipuri kings of Ningthouja dynasty to 33 AD, one of the longest-ruling dynasties of India.
- The kings and people of Manipur followed an indigenous faith known as Sanamahism until the 18th century.
- At the very beginning of the 18th century, some scholars say in 1704, king Charairongba converted to Hinduism along with his family.
- Meidingu Pamheiba (named Garib Nawaz by Muslims) was the son of king Charairongba, who is known for his conquest of the Burmese capital.
- In the year 1891 Manipur became a Princely State under British Rule after the Anglo-Manipur war.
- In 1947, Maharaja Budhachandra signed a Treaty of Accession merging Manipur into India.
- Manipur became a Union Territory in 1956 and in the year 1972 it was granted the status of full fledged state.

2. What is the history of ethnic conflicts in Manipur?

• Manipur is no stranger to violent protests, but the ongoing violence between the **Kuki-Zomi tribals and the largely Hindu Meiteis is the first time in three decades** that the state has witnessed **direct clashes between two ethnic groups.**





Events	Analysis
During British era	 The Kangleipak kingdom, then a British protectorate, was repeatedly raided by Naga tribes who came down from the northern hills. The British political agent in Manipur is believed to have brought the Kuki-Zomi from the Kuki-Chin hills of Burma to protect the valley from plunder by acting as a buffer between the Meiteis and the Nagas. The Kukis, like the Nagas, were fierce headhunting warriors — and the Maharaja gave them land along the ridges, where they could act as a shield for the Imphal valley below.
Kuki-Meitei divide	 Ethnic tensions between the hill communities and the Meiteis have existed from the time of the erstwhile kingdom, but the friction started escalating with the advent of the Naga national movement in the 1950s, and the call for an independent Naga nation. The Naga insurgency was countered by the rise of insurgent groups among the Meiteis and Kuki-Zomi.
Movement for 'Kukiland'	 In the 1990s, as the NSCN-IM pushed harder for self-determination, the Kuki-Zomi groups began to militarize, and the Kukis launched their own movement for 'Kukiland'. Even though the Kukis had started out as protectors of the Meitei people, the Kukiland demand created a rift between the communities.



Naga-Kuki • During the Naga-Kuki clashes of 1993, NSCNclashes of 1993 IM cadres allegedly went from village to village in areas they claimed as belonging to Nagas, emptying them of Kuki residents. Many Kukis fled to Churachandpur, a district dominated by the Kuki-Zomi people. Meitei The Naga and Kuki movements fuelled Meitei nationalism nationalism, and numerous groups sprung up in the valley. demographic Concerns over change shrinking of traditional Meitei areas started to surface in the 1970s. The **Meitei population feared** the possible creation of Greater Nagalim would lead to shrinking of Manipur's geographical area. Arunachal **Pradesh** Assar Nz aland Meghalaya Manip'.r Nagalim **Tripura** Mizoram



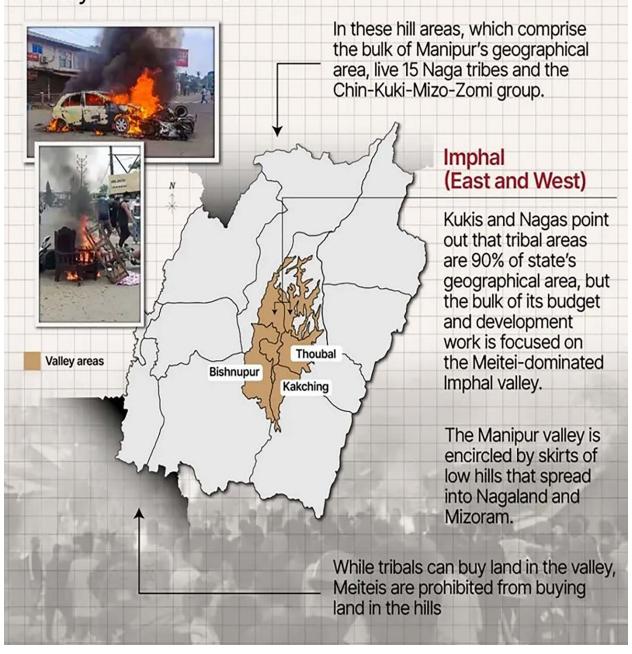
	 There were some demands for Scheduled Tribe status for Meiteis. The Meiteis contend that in a state where the government is the largest employer and there are very few other opportunities, reservation for STs in jobs amounts to an unfair advantage.
Extension of Ceasefire	• In 2001, the Indian government's decision to extend its ceasefire with the IM to states other than Nagaland led to widespread violence in Manipur.
Demand for an Inner Line Permit (ILP)	• In 2015, as the Meiteis of the valley protested demanding ILP in Imphal city, equally intense protests were seen in Churachandpur countering the demand, and protesting the introduction of laws by then Chief Minister Okram Ibobi Singh, one of which said the state would determine who was a Manipuri and who was not.

3. What are some of the historical factors responsible for violence in Manipur?



Manipur's ethnic faultlines: Kuki-Meitei divide & recent unrest

There are 16 districts in Manipur, but the state is commonly thought of as divided into 'valley' and 'hill' districts.



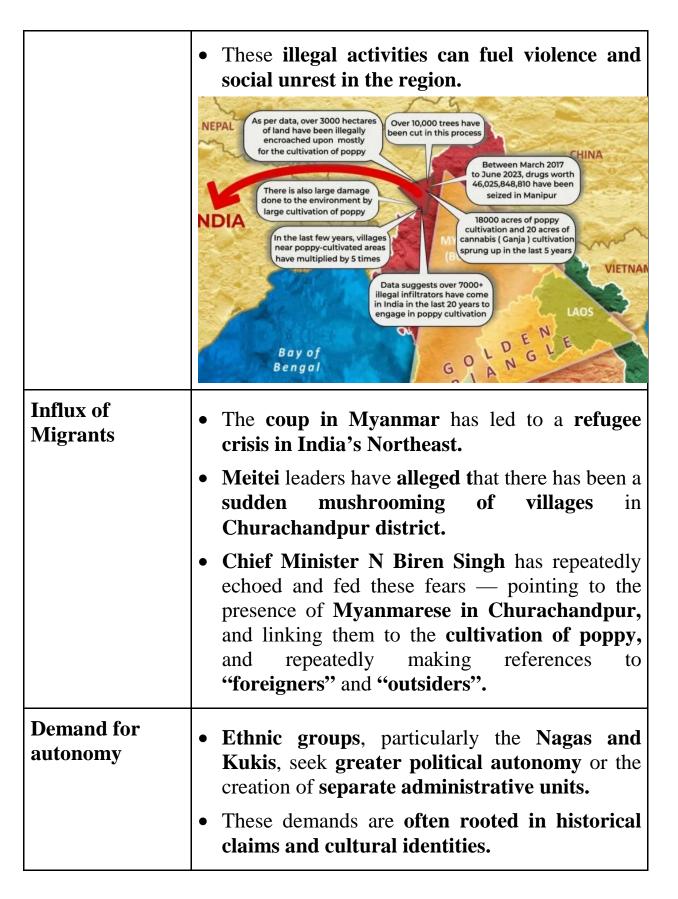


Factors	Analysis
Historical conflict	• Historical ethnic conflicts and tensions between Kukis(Hill tribe) and Meiteis in Manipur have contributed to the unrest, as both communities compete for political representation, resources, and cultural recognition.
The Ethnic Fault lines	 Meiteis comprise a little more than half of the population while the tribals, Kukis and Nagas, are nearly 40% of which 25% are Kukis and 15% are Nagas. Most of the Meiteis live in the Imphal valley while the tribals live in the hill districts. The Meiteis are more educated and also better represented in business and politics of the state than Kukis and Nagas.
Meitei dominance	 Demographic dominance: Meiteis form 52% of the population of Manipur and predominantly reside in valley areas which are 10% of the total land of the state. Political dominance: Meitei dominate the political establishment in Manipur with 40 out of the 60 Assembly constituencies. People from the hill areas claim that despite hill districts of Manipur comprising 89% of the geographical area, there were only 20 MLAs from these areas in the Manipur Assembly.

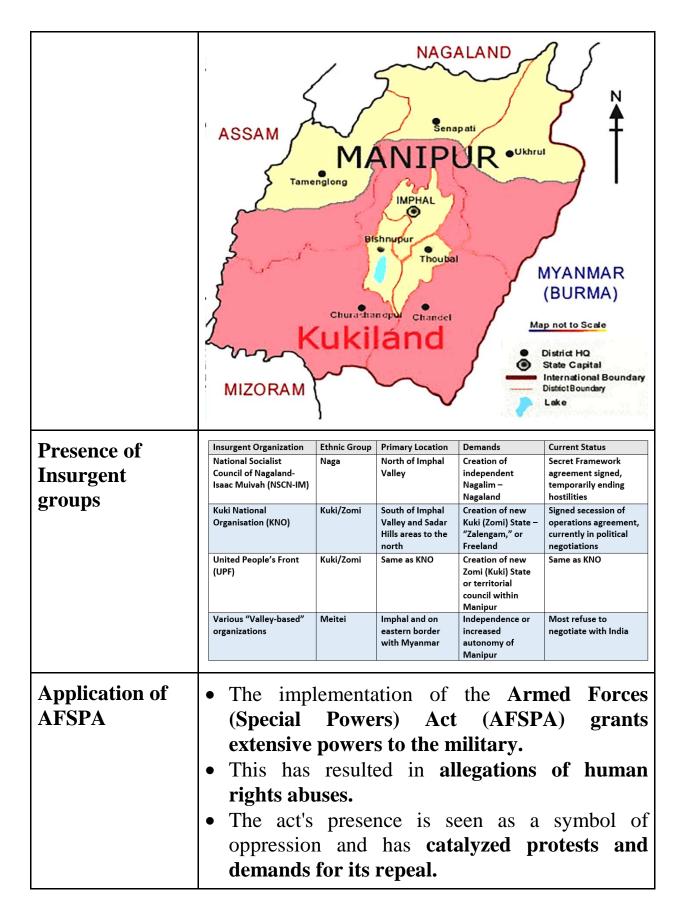


Land issues	 Meiteis are limited to only around 10% of the land in the state, as the rest of the state is classified as tribal areas. They live in the small patch of plain area in the state, the Imphal Valley, while the Kuki(tribals) reside in the protected Hill Areas, exclusively reserved for them. Being classified as non-tribals, Meitei people
	 can't buy land in over 90% of the state. According to STDCM(Scheduled Tribes Demand Committee of Manipur) Meiteis have been gradually marginalized in their ancestral land as they cannot buy land in tribal /hill areas of Manipur and are confined to 10% of the land.
	 While the tribals can buy land in Imphal Valley, thereby further reducing the land availability. The Hill Areas in Manipur comprising 90% of the total land in Manipur are declared by the government under the provisions of Article 371C of the Constitution.
Issues in Delimitation Process	• In 2020, as the Centre began the first delimitation process in the state since 1973, the Meitei community alleged that the Census figures used in the exercise did not accurately reflect the population break-up.
Drug trafficking and cross- border crime	• The proximity to the Golden Triangle and porous international borders make Manipur vulnerable to drug trafficking and other cross-border criminal activities.

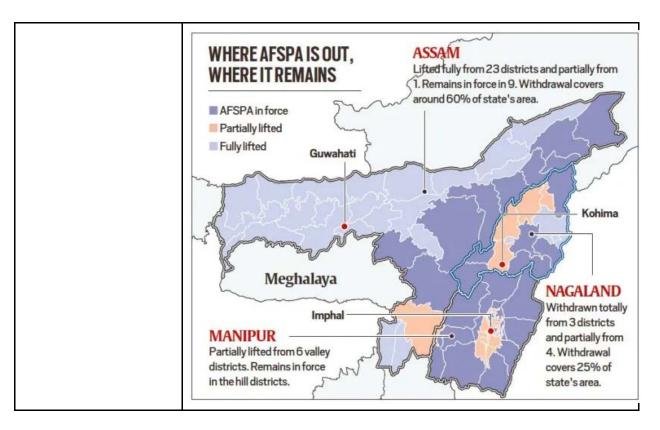








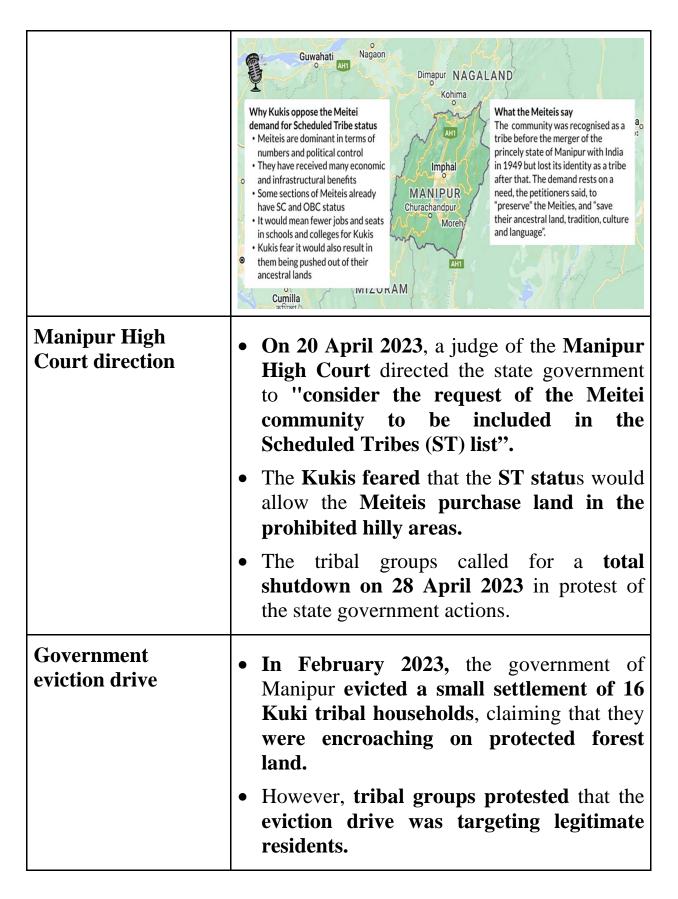




4. What are some immediate factors which triggered Manipur violence?

Factors	Analysis
Meitei Community's Demands for ST Status	 Since 2012, there has been a constant demand led by the Scheduled Tribes Demand Committee of Manipur (STDCM) for granting the Scheduled Tribe (ST) status to the Meitei community. The Meitei Tribe Union had filed a petition before the Manipur High Court and had argued that the Meitei community was once recognised as a "tribe" before the merger of the princely state of Manipur with the Union of India in 1949 and that it lost its identity as a tribe after the merger.







Suspension of **Operation** agreements

- The SoO agreement with Kuki was signed in 2008 as a ceasefire agreement between the Indian government and various Kuki militant groups operating the Manipur northeastern of states and Nagaland.
- Under the agreement, the Kuki militant groups agreed to stop carrying out violent activities and come to designated camps to be monitored by security forces.
- In return, the **Indian government agreed to** suspend its operations against the Kuki groups.
- On March 10,2023 **Manipur** the government decided to withdraw from the Suspension of Operations (SoO) agreement with two militant groups, Kuki Army (KNA) **National** and Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA), alleging their involvement in inciting agitation among forest encroachers.

National Democratic Front of Boroland (NDFB) under the leadership of B Saoraigwra, President has agreed to abjure violence, come overground and join the peace process by being a signatory to the proposed comprehensive Memorandum of Settlement with Bodo organisations. Towards this objective, Government of India, Government of Assam and NDFB entered into a tripartite SoO agreement on January B Saoraighra esident, ND-

Tripartite Suspension of Operations (SoO) Agreement

Ashutoshi Agnihotri Commissioner & Secretary Home & Political, Government of Assam

> Satyendra Garg Joint Secretary (NE), MHA 16.01.2020 Government of India

President, NDFB

5. Why is the administration not able to control Manipur violence?

Reasons	Analysis
Position of Hon'ble Chief Minister of Manipur	 The Meiteis community wants CM Biren Singh to continue while the Kukis want CM Biren Singh to resign. Thus have created a serious law and order crisis in the state.
Imposition of President's rule(A356)	 In order to restore normalcy there is need to impose President's Rule (Article 356) in the state as the present Manipur government has been able to control violence and does not enjoy the confidence of all Manipuris. Ruling party feels that the resignation of C.M. Biren Singh or imposition of President's Rule would be seen as admission of guilt that its government was not able to handle the situation
Complex ethnic dynamics	 Manipur's diverse ethnic landscape, with multiple tribes and communities, makes it difficult to address the grievances of all at one table. The ongoing conflicts between Meiteis, Nagas, Kukis, and other tribes make it challenging to find a solution that satisfies everyone.



Lack of coordination among forces

- There are instances of lack of coordination among various forces deployed in Manipur like Assam Rifles, Indian Army, CRPF, State police.
- This has led to multiple standoffs between Assam Rifles and Manipur police.



Armed men disguise in police uniforms

- There have been instances of men in uniform, firing at Central security forces deployed in buffer zones using automatic weapons, preceded by blockade and protest by women-led groups.
- As per the officials, police uniforms are readily available in the state while weapons looted from police armories are being sold in black market.

Lack of development

• Manipur, faces significant developmental challenges, including poor infrastructure, limited access to resources, and high unemployment.



	• These factors exacerbate existing tensions and make it harder to resolve unrest.
Influence of external factors	• Military coup in Myanmar and subsequent crackdown have led to an influx of refugees who have further influenced the unrest in Manipur.
	• External factors add another layer of complexity to the situation in Manipur.
	• There is a possibility that the recent coup in Bangladesh may further exacerbate the situation in Manipur.

6. What is the role of surrounding countries in Manipur unrest?

Country	Role
Myanmar	 Many communities in Manipur, such as the Kukis, Nagas, and other tribal groups, share ethnic, cultural, and linguistic ties with similar groups in Myanmar, particularly in the Chin State and Sagaing Region.
	• The Chin and Kuki-Zo people are among the large number of refugees who have arrived, escaping brutality and persecution at the hands of the Myanmar military.
	• The lack of effective control by the Myanmar government and the ongoing conflict in Myanmar provide the insurgent groups with spaces to regroup, train, and launch operations against Indian security forces.



- The India-Myanmar border is a significant route for drug trafficking, particularly heroin and synthetic drugs like methamphetamine.
- In August 2023, **Home minister of India** stated that the **situation in Myanmar had added** to the ongoing **conflict in Manipur** and announced that the **porous border between Manipur** and **Myanmar would be fenced** and the free movement regime (**FMR**) would be suspended.

Bangladesh

- There are historical and cultural connections between certain Manipur communities and those in Bangladesh, especially those of Bengali descent.
- In the past, some insurgent groups from Northeast India, including Manipur-based insurgent organizations like the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) and the People's Liberation Army (PLA), have used Bangladeshi territory as a base for training, regrouping, and launching operations.
- The **presence of Bangladeshi migrants** in the Northeast, including Manipur, has been a contentious issue.
- Local communities sometimes view these migrants as competing for jobs and resources, adding to existing social tensions.
- Bangladesh Ex Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina recently revealed that several Western nations, including the United States and Britain, are reportedly conspiring to create a Christian state by annexing parts of Bangladesh, Myanmar, and India.





7. Enlist main tribes involved in the Manipur conflict?

• Manipur is a multi-ethnic state located at the easternmost part of India.

- The hills are inhabited mainly by the tribals with a total population of 11, 67,422 of which, there are 33 recognised tribes (in Manipur) which either fall under the Nagas or the Kukis, the two different conglomerates of Manipur tribals.
- The two communities are differentiated mainly from their distinctive dialects, costumes, cultures and traditions.
- The Meitei people, also known as the Manipuri people, are an ethnic group in Manipur, India that have been considered for inclusion in the Scheduled Tribes (ST) list, but have been rejected.
- Based on the available information, the Meitei community "does not appear to possess tribal characteristics".
- It noted that historically, the term **Meiteis** had been used to describe the **non-tribal population in the Manipur valley.**

Tribes	Description
Kuki tribe	• The Kuki people are an ethnic group in the Northeastern Indian states of Manipur, Nagaland, Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram, as well as in the neighboring countries of Bangladesh and Myanmar.
	• They form one of the largest hill tribe communities in this region.
	• In Northeast India, they are present in all states except Arunachal Pradesh.
	• The Chin people of Myanmar and the Mizo people of Mizoram are kindred tribes of the Kukis and collectively they are termed as "Zo" people.
	• In 2023, a consensus seems to have developed among the Kuki tribes of Manipur to use the compound term Kuki-Zo to refer to themselves.

- The Kuki tribe has faced many challenges and conflicts in their history, such as the Kuki Rebellion (1917-1919) against British rule, the Kuki-Naga clashes (1960s-1990s) over land and identity issues, and the Kuki-Zomi ethnic violence (1997-1998) that resulted in displacement and loss of lives.
- Christianity is the predominant religion among the Kuki people, with some significant minorities following animism or other faiths such as Judaism or Islam.
- Dominic Sominthang Haokip and Hatchinghoi Haokip, siblings from the Kuki community of Churachandpur district, created history by clearing the prestigious Civil Services Exam 2023 conducted by the UPSC.
- While Dominic secured the 994 rank in the CSE exam in his very first attempt, his elder sister Hatchinghoi, secured the 898 rank.





Naga

- Nagas are a hill people who are estimated to number about 2.5 million (1.8 million in Nagaland, 0.6 million in Manipur and 0.1 million in Arunachal states) and living in the remote and mountainous country between the Indian state of Assam and Burma.
- Nagas traditionally are **tribally organized**, with a strong warrior tradition.
- Their villages are **sited on hilltops** and they make frequent armed raids on the plains below.
- The Naga tribes practice terraced and slash-andburn agriculture.
- They are known for both their **fishing methods and** woven and carved goods.
- One of the main cultural events of the **Naga people** is the **genna**, a religious ceremony occurring 11 times throughout the year.3

Chothe

- They are **settled in Chandel and Bishnupur** districts and **speak a Kuki-Chin dialect.**
- Their main occupations are cultivation, livestock rearing, blacksmith and weaving.
- They are divided into seven clans.



Hmar

- They belong to the **Kuki-Chin-Mizo group** concentrated mainly in **Churachandpur district**.
- Agriculture and weaving are their main occupations.
- Hmars built their villages on hill -tops & houses constructed on wooden planks.
- They adopted **Christianity from 1910.**
- Hmar have their village administration consisting of Lal (Chief), Khawnbawlupa (chief minister), Khonbols (ministers).



Kom

- Koms are settled in Churachandpur, Tengnoupal and Senapati districts.
- They speak languages similar to that of Koireng,
 Aimol and Chiru and closely related to the Hmar.
- Christianity is its main religion.
- Some major festivals of Koms are Seling, Hlungphun, Belam and Lamkut.



Aimol

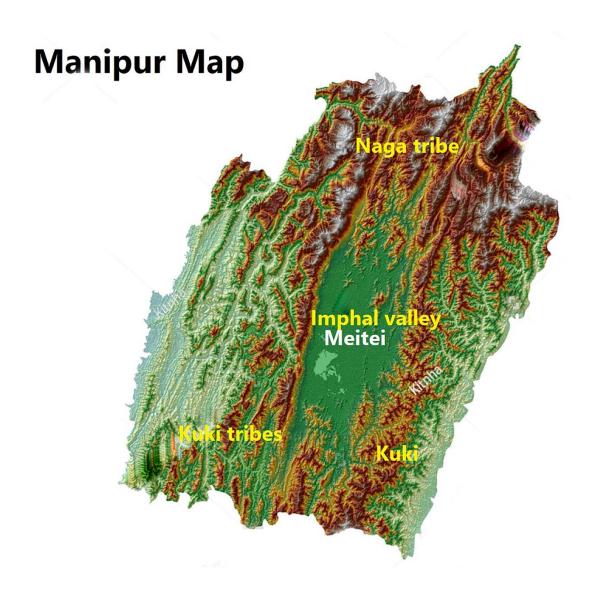
- Aimol is listed under the Kuki tribes found living both in Assam and Manipur.
- They speak Aimol language, classified under **Kuki-Chin-Mizo language**.
- They are based in parts of **Chandel district**, Senapati district and **around Loktak Lake** in Bishnupur district.
- They practice slash and burn agriculture and are primarily Christians.





Meitei Community

- The Meitei people are the predominant ethnic group of Manipur State speaking the Meitei language.
- The Meitei ethnic group represents about 53% of Manipur's population.
- The Meiteis primarily settled in the Imphal Valley region in modern-day Manipur, though a sizable population has settled in the other Indian states of Assam, Tripura, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram.
- Majority of the Meitei community follows Hinduism.



8. What are the implications of the Manipur violence?

Implications	Analysis
Loss of Human life	 According to government figures, as of 3 May 2024, 221 people have been killed in the violence and 60,000 people have been displaced. Other details of the violence include: Over 1,000 injuries, 32 people reported missing, 4,786 houses burned, and 386 religious structures vandalized.
	• Mass burial of 87 tribals in the hill district of Churachandpur, Manipur.
Violence against women	 Incidents of sexual violence have garnered both national and international attention, bringing to light the harrowing reality faced by women in Manipur. Meitei mobs have repeatedly targeted women as a means of control of the rival faction, including burning homes and subjecting them to assaults, and even forcing women to strip under threats of violence or shooting them in the face, causing disfigurement.



- In a shocking charge, the CBI has alleged that personnel from the Manipur Police allegedly drove the two women to a mob of around 1,000 people, which stripped and paraded them before they were gang-raped, in an incident that shook the nation.
- The 26-second clip showed **two Kuki tribal** women paraded naked by a mob of men who were groping their genitals and assaulting them.



Economic Development

- Violence and instability have markedly impeded infrastructure projects.
- Exports of handwoven textiles, medicines and food items have fallen by nearly 80 per cent.
- Economic stagnation fuels a cycle of poverty and further unrest, as disenfranchised youth are often recruited by insurgent groups.
- Ex: Helena Kshetri has seen her fruit sales wiped out since an ethnic conflict engulfed the northeast Indian state of Manipur in early May.



	• Her sales have crashed from 30,000-40,000 rupees (\$360-\$480) per day to barely 4,000 rupees (\$48).
Social Fabric	 The constant conflicts have strained intercommunity relations, leading to societal fragmentation and mistrust. The displacement of communities due to violence further destabilizes the region. It creates humanitarian crises and exacerbates social tensions.
Growth of militancy	• Prolonged unrest could provide fertile ground for militant groups to expand their influence and recruit more people, leading to a rise in extremist activities and further destabilizing the region.
Tension with neighboring countries	The unrest in Manipur could have implications on India's relations with neighboring countries like Myanmar, Bangladesh, and China. CHINA BANGLADESH BANGLADESH TRIPURA MIZORAM MYANMAR



Challenges to India's Act East Policy

• The unrest in Manipur could impact India's Act East Policy, which aims to boost economic and strategic ties with Southeast Asia.



Internal displacement

- As per the report published by the Genevabased Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) Manipur violence accounted for 97% of displacements in South Asia in 2023.
- It is the highest number of displacements triggered by conflict and violence in India since 2018.

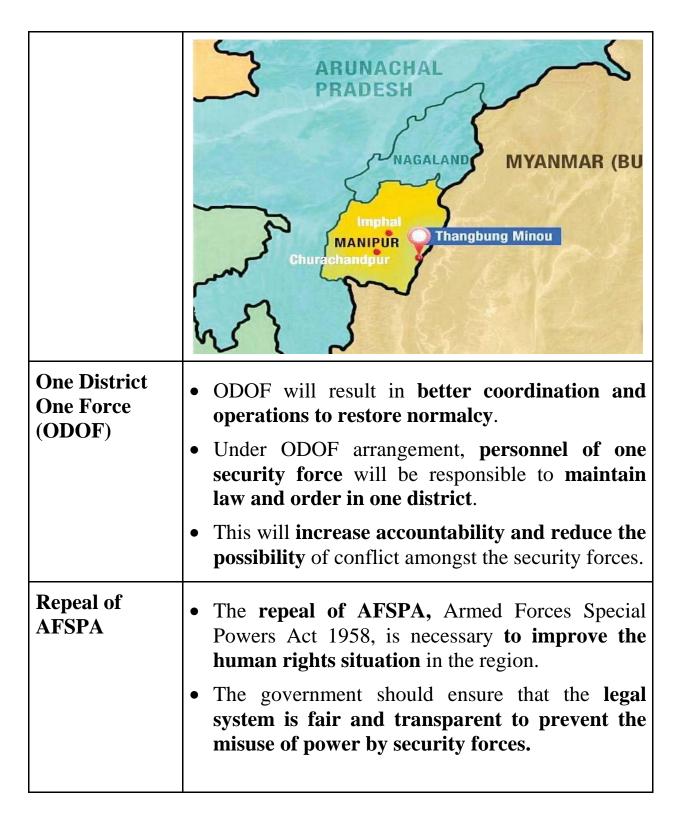


9. What steps should be taken to normalize the situation in Manipur?

Steps	Analysis
Rehabilitation of victim	 It is important to identify the victims and rehabilitate them and those in rehabilitation camps, with the help of the Govt and the civil society. The government should foster the participation
	of the civil society of the region in the decision- making process to instill a sense of ownership and belonging.
Disarming of the Civil Society	• A huge quantity of weapons and ammunition are still being held by the warring communities in the conflict-driven state of Manipur.
	• The entire civil society needs to be disarmed on priority.

Prevent Fake News	Discourage International/national media from bias reporting by exposing fake news being pedaled.	
Inclusive dialogue	Engage all stakeholders, including various ethnic groups, in a dialogue to understand their grievances and find common ground. The Mizoram Accord of 1986 between the Government of India and the Mizo National Front (MNF) serves as an example of successful engagement with all stakeholders.	
Transparency and Fairness	In order to remove the trust deficit, the government should ensure that the legal system is fair and transparent to prevent the misuse of power by security forces.	
Evaluation of Criteria for declaring a community as SC/ST.	 There is need to evaluate the criteria for ST status for all, as per present status, in line with recommendations given by Committees like: The Lokur Committee (1965) which recommended 5 criteria for identification, namely, primitive traits, distinct culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large, and backwardness. 	
Surveillance of the International Border	• The Government should increase surveillance along the Myanmar Border to keep check on infiltration.	







10. What is the relevance of the topic for UPSC CSE?

- For Prelims: Meitei Tribe, Kuki Tribe, Naga Tribe, 6th schedule, Line Permit (ILP), Lokur Committee 1965, Bhuria Commission, Xaxa Committee, Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA).
- For Mains: Issues related to North-East region, Ethnic conflicts, Demand for 6th Schedule and issues related to ILPs, Issues related to Reservation.

Some previous years prelims questions.

Q1. Consider the following pairs: (2018)

	Tradition	State
1.	Chapchar Kut festival	Mizoram
2.	Khongjom Parba ballad	Manipur
3.	Thang-Ta dance	Sikkim
Whi	ich of the pairs given above is/	are correct?
(a)	1 only	
(b)	1 and 2 only	

- 3 only (c)
- (d) 2 and 3 only

Ans: (b)

Some previous years mains questions.

Q1. If a particular area is brought under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India, which one of the following statements best reflects the consequence of it? (2022)

Some questions from this year and previous years interview transcripts.

Board Lt gen Raj shukla sir:

- What are the causes of the Manipur crisis?
- As in charge of Law and order issues, how would you tackle the Manipur issue?
- Should we have a CM from a different community(3 rd community)in charge of the peace process in Manipur to solve the issue?

Board Suman Sharma mam:

- What's happening in Manipur, other factors apart from HC directive?
- Can Meitei buy land in hilly areas?

Board Suman Sharma mam:

- What's the root cause of Manipur conflict
- Why do you think ethnic conflicts occur?
- Is relative deprivation an issue of actual development or perception management?
- How would you ensure resolution in the long term?

Board Dinesh Dasa sir:

- Are you aware of the latest agreement in Manipur between various stakeholders?
- There are a lot of cases of insurgency in the North East.

- Government has banned many organisations. What is the use of banning these organizations?
- What are the actions taken by State and Police in Tripura to improve the security situation

Board BB Swain sir:

- What was the reason for the Manipur crisis and as an outsider what more should be done to resolve it?
- What is the current status of HC order on Meiteis?
- Why is there still violence after the stay order?
- What is the ratio of the Meitei population and legislators?

Some questions for QUIZ.

- Q1. Consider the following States:
 - 1. Assam
 - 2. Manipur
 - 3. Meghalaya
 - 4. Tripura
 - 5. Mizoram

How many of the above states are part of the Sixth schedule?

- (a) Only two
- (b) Only three
- (c) Only four
- (d) All five

Ans: (c)

Some questions for POLL.

- Q1. Do you think that the current government is unable to curb Manipur violence?
 - (a) YES
 - (b) NO
 - (c) Can't say.

- Q2. Do you think AFSPA should be revoked?
 - (a) YES
 - (b) NO
 - (c) Can't say.