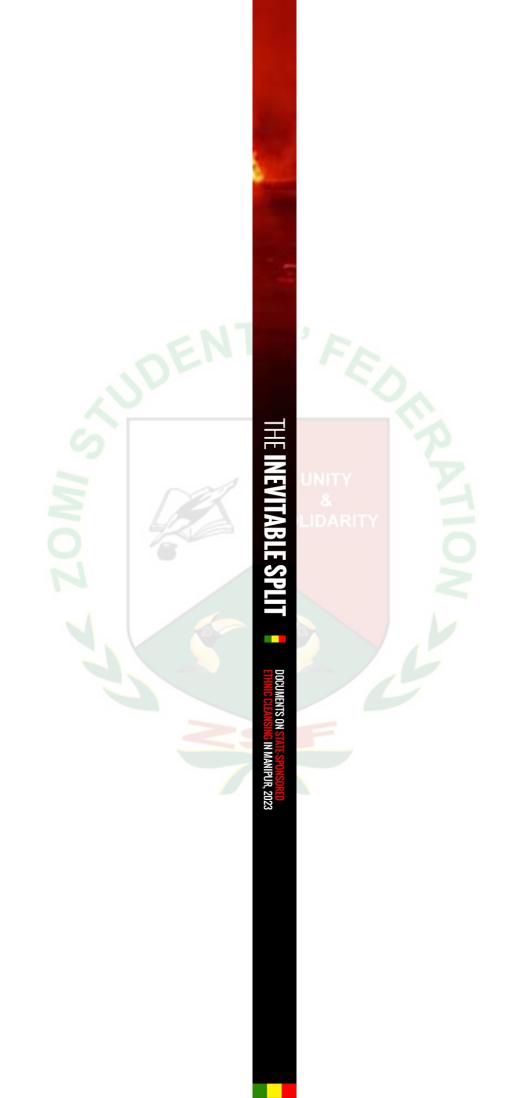
THE INE VIA BLE CONTRACTOR DOCUMENTS ON STATE-SPONSORED IN MANIPUR, 2023

VOL

Compiled & Published : Zomi Students' Federation (ZSF), Lamka & Kuki Students' Organisation (KSO)







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THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (VOL. I)

(Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

SOLIDARITY

Compiled & Published by Zomi Students' Federation (ZSF), Lamka and Kuki Students' Organisation (KSO)

THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (VOL. I) (Documents on State-Sponsored

Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

May, 2023

Compiled & Published by Zomi Students' Federation (ZSF), Lamka and Kuki Students' Organisation (KSO)

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PREFACE

This document entitled "THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (document on State-sponsored ethnic cleansing in Manipur, 2023)" Vol-I, presented in the form of six chapters, is an elaborate description of the events leading up to the dehumanizing ethnic cleansing pogrom carried out starting from the evening of 3rd May 2023.

Besides highlighting the number and nature of unbelievable crimes against humanity perpetrated by armed Meitei radicals and local militias (especially the Arambai Tenggol and Meitei Leepun), and that too assisted by the State police forces, particularly the State Commando, the document also highlights how this recent pogrom is a culmination of systematic exploitation of the tribals in Manipur for ages. This exploitation is firmly rooted in the perpetual majoritarian agendas of the dominant Meiteis.

The document also addresses how the ground realities of the pogrom have been manipulated and projected through a surge of fake news, whereby the dehumanizing crimes have been rationalized through false propagandas and narratives. These fake news and false narratives were allowed to influence the national public and media, through the shutdown of "internet/data services including broadband" that applied to everyone except those media houses in Imphal that supported the State and Meitei narratives only.

The concluding chapter highlights the long-drawn aspirations of the tribals which can be summarized simply as "Separation Only Solution (SOS)". It argues that since there already exist a vertical split between the Hills and Valley dwellers emotional, and now physical and geographical - Separate Administration is inevitable. The separation has occurred at all levels, not by choice, but by imposition from the Meitei and their State government. It highlights that Separate Administration is the only way to ensure a level playing field for the flourishing of all communities in peace, harmony and a healthy competition.

By disclosing the ground realities of the pogrom, it makes a clarion humanitarian call to hear the tribal minority voice. If a majority dominant community can get away with a State-sponsored ethnic cleansing in the 21st century when all the evidences are available in the public domain, it will be our collective failure as humans. If the pogrom and ethnic cleansing continues unchecked, it will be a blot on humanity. Every life matters.

This abridged document (whose data continues to be updated even as casualties increase even at the time of printing), is a collaborate effort of the Zomi Student's Federation, General Headquarters and Kuki Students' Organization and is written solely for public consumption. Our deepest gratitude goes to Convention Book Room for making the document available in the book form it is today.

May the dead receive justice here on earth; may we help them rest in peace.

We shall overcome someday!



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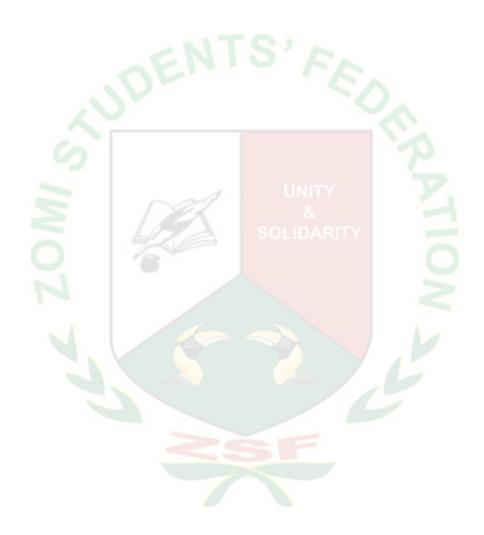
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CHAPTER 1

MODERN MANIPUR: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Hills and Valley of Manipur were two distinct socio-political and geographical entities. Tribal settlements in this part of the country predate the colonial administration, and a unique justice system and landownership under tribal chieftainship existed since the ancient period till date. The British engagement with the Zo country, which includes the erstwhile Chin Hills (now Chin State), Lushai Hills (now Mizoram), Northern Arakan Hills (now northern Rakhine), Chittagong Hill Tracts, Northern Chin Hills (now South Manipur Hills) was initially minimal. They adopted a policy of non-interference, as the hill areas were considered inaccessible and the inhabitants irrelevant to their colonial interest. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the British policy especially towards the Indo-Burma frontiers shifted from non-interference to occupation. The annexation of Burma (now Myanmar) in 1885 was a major factor for this shift. This resulted in the gradual annexation of the Zo country.

The policy toward the Zo country took various forms and shifted between cordial understanding with the Hill chiefs and Hill inhabitants and periodic military expeditions when such relations deteriorated. The growing contention over land boundaries as a result of the encroachment by tea-planters working for the British empire eventually led to a cycle of raids and large scale punitive expeditions. Besides many minor



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expeditions, three major and influential expeditions namely, the **Lushai Hills Expedition of 1871-1872**, the **Chin Hills Expedition of 1888-1889**, and the **Chin-Lushai Hills Expedition of 1889-1890** were carried out. These expeditions formally trifurcated the contiguous Zo country into different administrative spheres.

Re-amalgamation of the Zo country was discussed in the Chin-Lushai Conference (or the Calcutta Conference) of 1892, but was not carried out fully for administrative reasons. It was only after the Anglo-Kuki War (Zo gaal) of 1917-1919 that the colonial administration of the Hill areas of Manipur became more prominent. The relations between the Hills and the Valley continued to be characterized by raids and counter-raids between the tribal and Meitei populace, as was prevalent before the coming of the British empire. Not only was the Maharaja of Manipur unable to exert or establish his rule in the Hills at any point in history, but he was also unable to protect his Valley subjects from raids from the Hill people.

Thus, the **forced merger** of the Hills and Valleys of Manipur was the result of the colonial government's policy and concern for "administrative convenience" and "security", evident in Pemberton's imaginary mapmaking which superficially merged the Hills and Valley into a single administrative unit. The putting together of these two disparate entities prepared the ground for intermittent conflict between the Hills and Valley ever since.

TWO HISTORICALLY DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATIVE ENTITIES

The stark differences between the Hills and Valley of Manipur, in spite of their **administrative merger**, necessitated a differential administrative approach towards the Hills. Thus, the affairs of the Hills were never kept under the **direct purview** of the Meitei Maharaja and his Darbar. The British maintained the pre-existing separate administration in different degrees throughout their rule. The British officers acted in different capacities such as the Vice President and the President of the State Darbar, as well as the Political Agent and were responsible for the management of Hill areas and Hill affairs. In an acute sense, they were the ones who were responsible for integrating these two irreconcilable entities, and they did that through a form of *separate administration* for both.

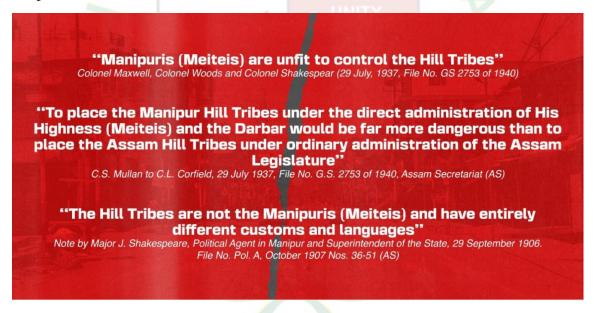
British Period

The British encounter with the Hill people began after they intervened in Manipur Kingdom to oust the Burmese at the behest of the Maharaja-in-



exile. Following a series of treaties, the British stationed a Political Agent in Manipur since 1835 to aid and advise the Maharaja. Before the entry of the British, the administration of the Hills (tribal land and villages) was under the Hill chiefs and overlords who held total control and allegiance at their behest. Following the annexation of Manipur in 1891, matters of the Hill people were placed outside the jurisdiction of the Manipur State Darbar.

Part of the Hills where the British could exert their influence were administered by the Vice-President of the Darbar, and later the President, who were British officials subjected to the control of the Political Agent of Manipur. The British administration functioned through an intermediary known as the Lambu. This indirect system of administration was in place till the Anglo-Kuki War (Zo gaal). After 1919, a new arrangement was conceived by the Chief Commissioner of Assam. The Hill areas were now brought under the direct administration of the British (not the Maharaja) and divided into four subdivisions under the administrative responsibility of a British officer each, so as to prevent further 'uprisings' of the scale they faced between 1917-1919.



Post-Indian Independence

Noting the continued necessity of separate administration postindependence, the Manipur constitution drafting committee came up with a two-part constitutional scheme – the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947 and the Manipur State Hill Peoples (Administration) Regulation, 1947. The latter pertains to the Hills. However, this arrangement could not continue for long as Manipur merged with the Indian union in the year 1949. Manipur became a Part C state and the Manipur State Hill Peoples (Administration) Regulation, 1947 was eventually replaced with the Manipur (Village Authority in Hill Areas) Act, 1956. When Manipur



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became a full-fledged union territory with the passing of the Union Territories Act of 1963, a territorial assembly was provided for the State. The Act also provided for the formation of a committee called the **Hill Standing Committee** with jurisdiction over matters concerning the Hills.

The attainment of Statehood by Manipur in January 1971 led to corresponding changes in the administration of the Hills. To deal with special problems that could arise due to administrative changes, the Union government inserted Article 371C into the Indian Constitution through the Twenty-Seventh Amendment Act of 1971. The President of India then promulgated the Manipur Legislative Assembly (Hill Areas Committee) Order, 1972, following which the Hill Areas Committee (HAC) was formed. The Committee draws membership from all tribal legislators and aims to safeguard the interest of the Hills in the Manipur legislature. Further, the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Council Act, 1971 was enacted by the Parliament. Thus, six **District Councils** were instituted to provide a form of self-government in the Hill districts. However, the HAC has only recommending power over matters concerning the Hills and the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Council is not an autonomous Council, rendering both the institutions toothless to safeguard the tribals and fulfil their aspirations.

CONTRACTOR OF CONT



CHAPTER 2

SYSTEMATIC EXPLOITATION OF THE TRIBALS: A DEEP-ROOTED INJUSTICE

The Meitei community have always been completely dead set against any and every beneficial protection accorded to the tribals. This comes from their outrageous but influential conviction that tribals are akin to outcasts (they call the tribals "*Haomacha*" which connotes "untouchable"). Therefore, the tribals in Manipur continue to be victims of both cultural and structural injustice. Some of the systematic exploitation and historical injustice they have had to endure are discussed in brief below:

DISPROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION IN THE STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

While accounting for more than 40% of the total population of the state, only 19 seats are reserved for tribals out of the total 60 seats in the State Legislative Assembly. They remain unable to play any substantial role in the decision-making process in the State. Additionally, the Meiteis have continued to sabotage the delimitation exercise in Manipur, out of fear that the delimitation will result in the increase of tribal representation in the State Legislative Assembly. As per the 2011 census, each of the tribal MLAs from the Hill areas of Manipur represent 1004.45 sq. km. and 61,106 persons each, while their counterparts in the Valley represent 56 sq. km. and 40,841



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persons respectively. Thus, the current institutional arrangements are made to be dependent on the Manipur government. Government laws and policies become mere instruments of the Manipur State's assertion into tribal and Hill affairs. This intermittent problem continues without any solution in sight under the current arrangement.

			Imphal Val	ley					Hill Area			
District	name	Total existing	Total	Average	Total	Average	District name	Total existing	Total	Average	Total	Average
		Assembly	population	population	area of	area per		Assembly	population	population	area of	area per
		Constituencies	of District	per	Districts	Assembly		Constituencies	of District	per	District	Assembly
				Assembly	(sq.	Constituency				Assembly	(sq.	Constituency
				Constituency	kms.)	(sq.kms.)				Constituency	kms.)	(sq.kms.)
1.	Imphal	40	1,633,672	40,841	2238	55.95	1. Senapati	19+1	1,222,122	61,106	20089	1004.45
	West						2. Churachandpur					
2.	Imphal						3. Ukhrul					
	East						4. Chandel					
3.	Thoubal						5. Tamenglong					
4.	Bishnupur											

Population as per census 2011 and geographical area

From the chart given here, it is seen that the average population per Assembly constituency of the Imphal valley is 40,841 whereas the average population per Assembly Constituency of hill areas is 61,106. The chart demonstrates that the Imphal valley is over-represented, whereas some hill districts are under represented in the Manipur Legislative Assembly

Image: Underrepres<mark>entation of tribals in Manipur, which is against Article 14</mark> (Right to Equality of the Indian Constitution.

TOOTHLESS HILL AREAS COMMITTEE

While the Hill Areas Committee (HAC) formed under Art 371C (read with the Hill Areas Committee Order, 1972), and the District Councils under The Manipur (Hill Areas) District Council Act, 1971 were instituted to protect tribal interests, their proper functioning is obstructed time and again. The HAC only has recommending power on scheduled matters pertaining to Hill areas. With only 20 (19+1) tribal MLAs out of the 60-member Legislative Assembly, both the HAC and District Council are continuously undermined and bypassed by the Manipur Legislative Assembly. The Meiteis, regardless of who comes to power, being a majority in the Manipur Legislative Assembly, continuously undermine and impede the functioning of the Hill Areas Committee and the District Councils.

Unlike other Autonomous District Councils (under the Sixth Schedule) in Northeast India, the structure and powers of the District Councils in Manipur are fundamentally flawed and insufficient. It does not have any legislative and judicial power. **At best, it enjoys recommending power.** The provision of the District Council itself is also susceptible to interference by the Manipur government through amendments. The arbitrary amendment to the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Council Act, 1971, in 2000, 2006, 2008 and 2011 are simply cosmetic facelifts. Thus, both the HAC and the District Councils of Manipur are time-tested toothless provisions which totally fail to protect, safeguard and develop the tribals in Manipur, as against the case of tribals in other parts of Northeast India. They effectively fail to safeguard the tribal land and identity, and impede the fulfilment of their political aspiration.



Tangkhul Mayar Ngala Long (TMNL) on Thursday organised a Sit-in-Protest at Gandhi Chowk, Ukhrul to voice out against the undue delay in holding the ADCs election even after more than two years of the expiry of the ADCs tenure. The ADCs tenure has already ended on May 31, 2020.

In a press release by TMNL stated that, "It is once again reminded that, according to the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Councils Act, 1971 and as per Section 15 of the Manipur (Hill Areas) District Councils (Election of Members) Rules, 2009, a general election shall be held for the purpose of constituting a new District Council on the expiration of the duration of the existing District Council or on its dissolution. However, the Government has miserably failed to conduct the election to ADCs of Manipur till date. We could not understand the logic behind the delay in holding the ADCs election.

Image: Only in March this year (2023), Tangkhul Mayar Ngala Long (TMNL) protested against the intentional delay in holding ADC elections.

INSTITUTIONAL NEGLECT OF HILL AREAS

All the important government offices, and all eminent educational, technical and medical institutions are exclusively concentrated in the Imphal valley. Central Agricultural University (CAU), Central Institute of Plastics Engineering and Technology (CIPET), Manipur University (MU), Regional Institute of Medical Sciences (RIMS), Jawaharlal Nehru Institute of Medical Sciences (RIMS), Jawaharlal Nehru Institute of Medical Sciences (INIMS), National Institute of Technology (NIT), Manipur Institute of Technology (MIT), Institute of Bioresources and Sustainable Development (IBSD), Takyelpat, Manipur Technical University, National Sports Academy Khuman Lampak, National Sports University, Sports Authority of India, etc. On the other hand, the Hill districts remain grossly neglected.

Indeed, the often-repeated claim that the Imphal Valley is becoming more and more congested is not due to tribal settlement in the Valley. In fact, it is due to the ever-increasing concentration of government infrastructures exclusively within the confines of Imphal Valley alone and the introduction of a legislative law that prohibits any horizontal growth in the name of agriculture, forest, and environmental protection that only limits their existing land area for habitation. On the other hand, the Hill districts remain grossly neglected in terms of development and funding. The popular claim that Meiteis cannot settle in Hill areas is also completely wrong. In fact, there are many Meitei Leikais (colonies) in Hill areas like Lamka (Churachandpur), Kangpokpi, Tengnoupal, Moreh, etc. where the Meiteis can actually obtain the right to purchase land by *following due procedure*.

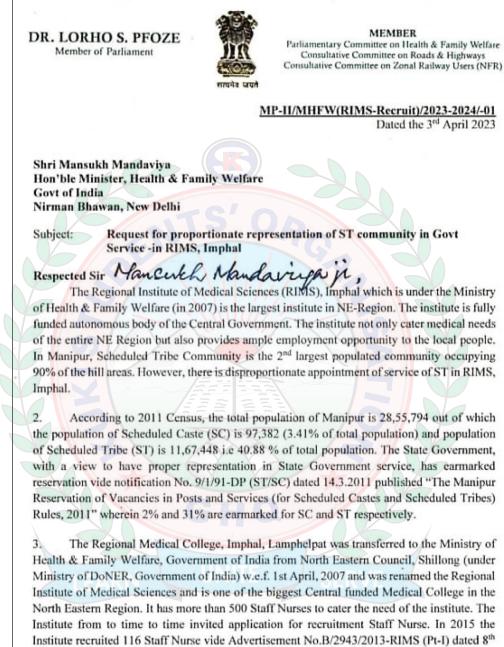
PROTECTIVE DISCRIMINATION UNDERMINED

The Manipur Reservation of Vacancies in Post and Services (for ST/SC) Act, 1976 has been kept inoperative for one reason or the other. The Manipur government fails to formulate its Recruitment Rules, and never implements the "100-point roster" in reservation. Since 2007, the Manipur government



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replaced the same with a new "200-point roster" against the protest of the tribals.



Institute recruited 116 Staff Nurse vide Advertisement No.B/2943/2013-RIMS (Pt-I) dated 8th September, 2015 (Annexurre-I) wherein 18-SC (15%) and 8-ST (7.5%) were recruited. Recently, RIMS issued Advertisement No.B/2943/2023-RIMS dated 6th March, 2023 (Annexure-II) for recruitment of 54 Staff Nurse/Nursing Officer where SC-9 (16.66%) and ST-3(6%) are earmarked.

4. It may be mentioned that, the Institute since its transfer to MoHFW, has been making recruitment to the Group B category wherein its reservation format has not been in tune with

C-1/5, Lodhi Garden, Rajesh Pilot Marg, New Delhi-110003 | Phone: +91-11-24610281 / 24605549 T-VII/NC-3, Lamphelpat, Imphal, Manipur-795004 | Phone: +91-358-24213338 Email: drlorho.pfoze@sansad.nic.in | lorhopfoze@gmail.com

Image: Member of Parliament (MP) of Lok Sabha from Outer Manipur, Lorho S. Pfoze, wrote to the Union Minister for Health & Family Welfare, requesting intervention on the recruitment process for post of LDC in RIMS Imphal due to the RIMS Authority flaunting existing rules for reservation and not giving the due reservation for Scheduled Tribes (STs)

•••••



The Manipur government has also repeatedly failed to implement ST quota/reservation based on the ratio of tribal population as was done in other Northeastern states. The recent quota issue at RIMS in the recruitment of Lower Divisional Clerk and the Manipur University quota reservation is the latest example among many others. To re-claim the established quota system, the All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM) even had to resort to an all Hill district shut down on 24th April, 2023. Tinkering of the reservation system and quotas has pervaded every recruitment in Manipur. This is clear from a cursory glance at the total number of Manipur government employees "category-wise" in various departments.

REJECTION OF TRIBAL SIXTH SCHEDULE DEMAND

The Hill Areas Committee officially demanded the extension of the Sixth Schedule to the Hill Areas of Manipur in the year 1974 but have always been outrightly rejected by the Meitei dominated State-government. The demand was reiterated in 1978, 1983, 1990, 2002 and 2003. As the demand for Sixth Schedule garnered strength among tribals, elections were boycotted for more than 20 years, from the late 1980s to 2010. Although the State Cabinet recommended the extension of Sixth Schedule provision in Hill Areas of the State on three occasions i.e. 1991, 1992 and 2001, the Manipur government shrewdly added the statement, "*with certain local adjustment and amendment*" in the recommendation. This curious phrase that was added was able to stall the extension even till now as they did not give any explanation as to what the phrase means and imply, even after repeated requests from the Union government.

CULTURAL IMPOSITION AND LAND ENCROACHMENT

The Manipur government formulated the 'Manipur Cultural Policy' without giving due consideration to the presence of tribal cultures. According to this policy, everything Meitei is Manipur and Manipur is the land of the Meiteis and Meiteilon speakers alone; to be Manipuri means to be Meitei alone. Following this, the Meitei Mayek script, which is alien to the tribals, was imposed in all government schools. This move of cultural assimilation and domination is highly resentful and discriminatory to tribals.

The Manipur government fails to formulate its own forest policy and laws. In the absence of Nodal Forest Agency to redress forest-related tribal grievances, the Manipur government has conveniently clubbed all tribal lands under "community forest". There is **no khas-land** in tribal areas. The abnormal increase in forest cover area in Manipur simply implies that more tribal lands are being encroached.



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UNFAIR BUDGETARY AND DEVELOPMENT ALLOCATION

There is an unfair allocation of funds for developmental works between the Hills and Valleys. On development and infrastructure, funding goes unproportionate to the Valley alone. Many villages in the Hills are surviving without basic health care services, water supply and electricity. The State government discontinued the practice of preparing a separate Hill budget in the 1980s without any substantial explanation. Although 90% of the State is Hill areas, the budgetary allocation for developing the Hill areas never cross 10% of the State's budget. Moreover, the Grant-in-Aid (Art. 275) received for the development of the Hill areas is diverted for the development of valley areas.

"Manipur's budget is beautiful, but how would the Hill Areas grow?" Alfred Arthur MLA 44 ST

Manipur Budget Allocation:

Year	In crore.	Valley in Cr	Hills in Cr.
2017 18.	Rs.5,000.	Rs.4,892.	Rs.108
2018-19.	Rs.4,900.	Rs.4,750.	Rs.150
2019-20.	Rs.5,000.	Rs.4,880.	Rs.120
2020-21.	Rs.7,000.	Rs.6,959.	Rs.41
Total	Rs.21,900.	Rs.21,481.	Rs.419
Land dist	ribution:	Hills 90% Valle	y 10%
Manipur p	population:	Hills 40% Valle	y 60%
MLA repr	esentation:	Hills 20. Valle	ey 40

"The oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors." "Liberation is thus a childbirth, and a painful one." "The oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors." Paulo Freire

Image source: Alfred Arthur, Ex-MLA 44 ST assembly constituency



ANTI-TRIBAL LEGISLATIONS

Legislative Acts were passed by the Manipur legislature time and again, which directly attempted to take control over lands in the Hill areas. In each case, the tribals and their representatives were situationally helpless to counter those in the Assembly. For example, the **Manipur Hill Areas (Acquisition of Chief's Rights) Act, 1967**, authorised the government to acquire the rights, title and interest of chiefs over land in the Hills of Manipur. At the same time, the Act aimed at extending the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reform Act, 1960, to the Hill areas thereby authorising the State government to acquire land rights and titles. This attracted widespread opposition from the tribals.

The death of nine tribals in a police shooting in August 2015 was also a clear manifestation of the unresolved political problem between the Hills and Valley. On 31st August 2015, the Manipur legislature passed three very controversial Bills - **the Protection of Manipur People Bill, the Manipur Land Reforms (Seventh Amendment Bill) and the Manipur Shops and Establishment (Second Amendment) Bill.** The Hill tribes were gravely apprehensive of the Bills as it intrudes on their land rights. It led to widespread anger and protest. In the course of introducing the Bills in the Manipur assembly session, no due discussion was held on the Bills in utter disregard of the "Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business". They were also introduced as money bills to bypass the Hill Areas Committee.

ILLEGITIMATE DEMAND FOR ST STATUS

The Meitei community, despite being an advanced majority community who are also enjoying reservation benefits under Scheduled Caste, Other Backward Classes & Economically Weaker Sections quota, is now demanding Scheduled Tribe (ST) status to monopolize all available privileges and resources in a total sense. If they were to be recognized as ST on top of the other reservations, this will nullify all legal protections that tribals currently possess. The Meiteis acquiring ST status would mean that the consent and approval of the District Councils would no longer be required for acquiring and buying land. Naturally, the Hill Areas Committee and any legal provisions for the protection of the tribals will become dysfunctional. Moreover, the status and position of the tribals will be further reduced in the Manipur Legislative Assembly. The same will happen to District Councils and Parliamentary elections as the Meiteis will then be able to contest in all constituencies. This will ensure their total majoritarian domination of Manipur, and based on their treatment of minorities in the State, **the constitutionally unprotected** tribals will then be seriously vulnerable to the threat to their lands and indeed to their very existence.

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CHAPTER 3

RECENT PRECEDENTS TO THE ETHNIC CLEANSING

The Manipur State-sponsored ethnic cleansing is a direct outcome of the majority Meiteis' long-standing attempt to grab tribal lands through any and every means; here the subversion of constitutional safeguards and protections of tribals in Manipur. The interview of Nishikant Sapam, a Meitei MLA with *The Wire* confirms and reveals (once again and in the public domain) that the whole targeting fundamentally converges over the issue of tribal land. Going by their "narrative", the Meiteis had atleast a thousand years to settle in the Hills. But there is no evidence of them ever settling in the Hills; the Hills were as alien to them as the Valley is for the Hill inhabitants. All of their habitations are evidence that they preferred the Valleys – the Kabaw Valley of Myanmar and the plains of Cachar. They have never been Hill people in all of their history.

Today, the Meiteis can settle in parts of the Hills with the approval and permission of the District Council and the Deputy Commissioner. However, what they are seeking, which is free access to and full ownership of tribal lands, is impossible and unconstitutional. But this remains their ultimate end – the conversion of tribal lands into State-owned, and subsequently Meitei-owned and Meitei-settled lands. They are willing to pursue this end at all costs, and as this ethnic cleansing have shown, even at the cost of exterminating the entire indigenous tribal communities. While the Meitei primarily wants tribal lands for exploitation and business purposes, land for

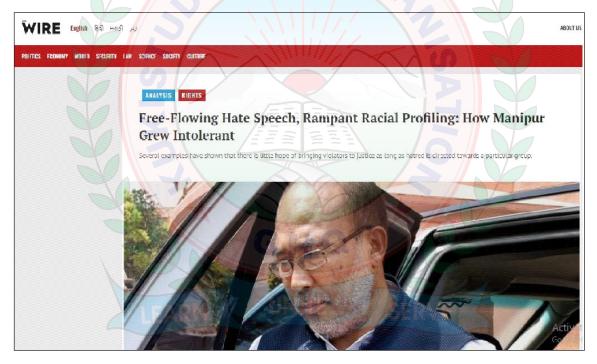


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the tribals is quintessence to their way of life, identity, livelihood, culture and survival. It is the very fabric of who they are.

THE RISE OF A COMMUNAL CHIEF MINISTER

The present Chief Minister (CM) N Biren Singh can be considered to be one of the most communal CM in the history of Manipur. He is the purest embodiment of the radical supremacist Meitei bigotry and partisanship in all forms. The much-hyped "Go to Hills" policy in his first tenure as CM, quickly transformed into "Burn the Hills" or "Blame the Hills and Slaughter the Hill Inhabitants" in his second tenure when the party achieved absolute majority in the State legislature. He soon became arrogant and allowed his true communal colours to burst forth. In his official capacity as the CM and also the Minister in-charge (Home), he is directly responsible for relentlessly targeting the tribals, particularly the Zo people under different guises.

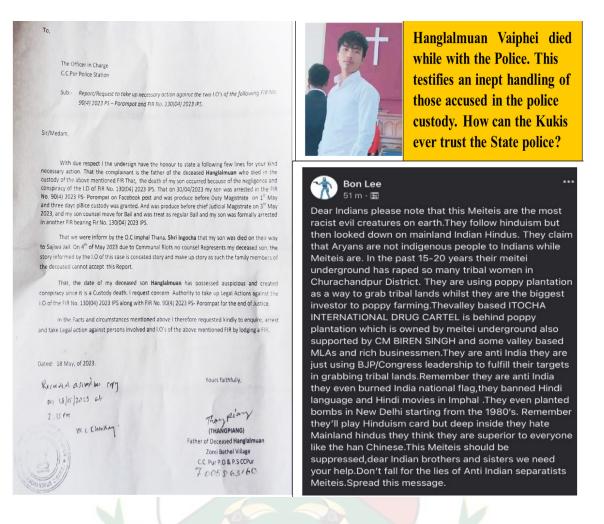


While the separatist valley-based insurgent groups (VBIGs/VBUGs) who rejected the Constitution of India continue to carry out anti-national (such as the ambush and killing of security forces) and inhumane activities (such as the raping of tribal women) in various parts of the State, the present CM continues to focus his attention exclusively on the Suspension of Operation (SoO) groups. He repeatedly claims that the militarization of the State is a consequence of the activities of these SoO groups while turning a blind eye to the **valley-based secessionist groups** who continue to operate freely without any restriction or condemnation. N Biren Singh has left no stone unturned in attempting to destabilize the ongoing political talks with the SoO groups, who are seeking a political solution **within the Indian Constitution**.

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The Chief Minister also launched an alarming crack-down on any criticizers of his actions and policies, no matter how petty. One recent case is that of Mr. Hanglalmuan, a resident of Zomi Bethel, Churachandpur, who was arrested on 30th April 2023 on account of a screenshot he posted in his Facebook page. He was taken into custody by a combined force of Imphal East and Churachandpur district police on the pretext of questioning him in regard to his post. Sadly he died while in Police custody at Imphal, and his parents do not know the whereabouts of his lifeless body.

Only recently, the CM tried to unilaterally withdraw the Manipur state government from the Tripartite Talks in an attempt to usurp the ongoing peaceful political talks, in direct contravention of the SoO ground rules and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) stated policy of settling conflicts through dialogue. He immediately flew to Delhi to get the Centre to agree on the abrogation of the SoO talks. He was humiliated by the Central leadership who reprimanded him for this reckless action and stated in no uncertain terms that the State government cannot unilaterally withdraw from the Peace Talks.

Three of the tribal Churches that were demolished in wee hours of April 2023, namely the Evangelical Baptist Convention Church, Evangelical





Lutheran Church Manipur and Catholic Holy Spirit Church, were carried out on the pretext of an anti-encroachment drive, despite many Meitei temples and structures guilty of more serious encroachment issues. The tackling of shallow and selective issues without going to the root cause is a theme that predominantly characterizes his policies. N Biren Singh manipulates his office and government functionaries, both to target a particular ethnic community, and also to protect himself at the same time. Interestingly, he will be guilty on all counts if he pursues his "War on Drugs" and other such policies to its full conclusion.

UNPACKING THE "WAR ON DRUGS"

The declaration of the "war on drugs" and the popularizing of the narrative of "poppy cultivation" began after the CM himself was mentioned in one of the biggest drug busts by MPS officer Brinda Thounaojam. His proclaimed "war on drugs" is fundamentally a public-image management measure. This has served to divert attention from the real issue of drug trade and business in Manipur.





VOI



Based on the Narcotic & Affairs of Border website of Manipur Police, the majorityoftheopium manufacturing laboratories are in the Manipur Valley. The largest drug kingpin in the state is linked to the CM's wife and one of his mostcabinet trusted ministers. None of the drug-lords belonging to the Meitei and Pangal community have ever been arrested till date. While the cycle of cultivationharvest-production-

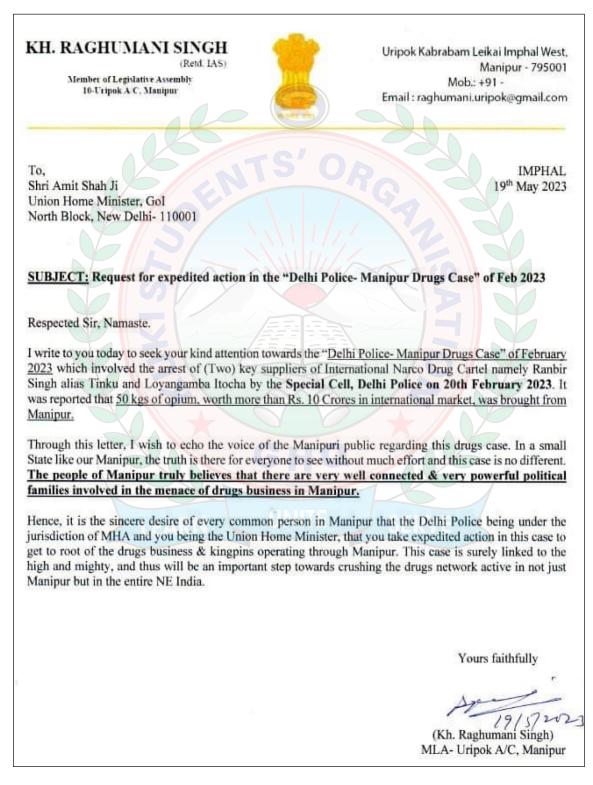
marketing is intrinsically linked together, with the cultivators often unfamiliar with the much larger drug trade and business, it is them that continues to be the centre of "war on drugs" attention. It must be noted that apart from occasional photo-op showing state police destroying already cultivated poppy fields, no serious efforts have been taken to uproot this cycle to any degree. At the heart of this business lies a fight over who will monopolize the highly profitable drug business. Even if the government becomes serious about stopping "poppy cultivation" (which, it must be noted, is firmly supported by

9	← Tweet
#	Thounaojam Brinda
٢	BJP CM Biren's War on Drug welcomes Druglord. BJP rolls out Red Carpet to under trial Congress druglord O. Henry Singh. Script writers: CM Biren & son-in-law RK Imo. Outstanding #PMOIndia #NarendraModi #AmitShah #ministryofhomeaffairs #WarOnDrugsManipur #CMBirenSingh #BJP 1:54 PM · Aug 21, 2020
	201 Retweets 26 Quotes 290 Likes 3 Bookmarks
	Akshat Tiwari @AxatTiwari · Dec 20, 2020 ···· Sad to hear that you return your Gallantry award 🅉 ,I salute the officers like you. I hope that truth wins.



VOI

all the tribal Churches and Civil Society Organizations) and the "clamp down" is successful at some point in the future, there is absolutely no guarantee that the menace of drug will disappear anytime soon. As long as the drug lords and kingpins, and the political leadership are connected in the way that it is in Manipur, any "war on drugs" is likely to be a sham. In Manipur, the real drug business is controlled by those with impunity in the Imphal Valley.





So far, the careless branding of the whole tribals, particularly the Zo people as "poppy cultivators" and the blanket claim that they are "illegal immigrants" is used as part of a malicious design to discredit an entire community and subsequently confiscate tribal lands. The CM and his team has used this concocted narrative to openly state (*in the MOVCDNER Phase III programme*) that the village chiefs on whose land poppy cultivation is undertaken will be held accountable and *the village will be derecognised*. He further mentioned that the land will then be passed on to the Manipur government. However, he has limited his policies and "war on drugs" to a particular ethnic community, and has failed to pursue and apply his own policies to all areas of Manipur, including the Naga and Meitei areas where poppy cultivation is significantly present.



Image source: News Nine (https://youtube/daJfqo9p2c)



THE MISINFORMED "ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS" CHARGE

In some of the most spiteful and communally-charged remarks, N Biren Singh has openly accused the Zo people as "foreigners" or "illegal immigrants" time and again, inciting communal hatred and even violence in the process. This not only reflects his ignorance of the history of Manipur Kingdom and the history of the tribals in Manipur, but also his incompetency to bring the diverse ethnic communities together. It is well-established that tribals have settled in the Hills for centuries, and pre-date the arrival of the British by centuries. The present conglomeration of parts of the erstwhile Naga Hills (northern modern Manipur), erstwhile [northern] Chin Hills (southern modern Manipur), and the erstwhile Meitei Kingdom (Kangleipak) is a delicate union that has produced either very good statesmen or very communal leaders in the recent history of modern Manipur. N Biren Singh is a prime example of the latter. He has completely failed the State and its multi-ethnic citizens.



In an online interview with Wasbir Hussain of Northeast Live on March 10, 2023, N Biren Singh made a sweeping statement against the Zo people: *"These people are encroaching everywhere, whatever the PF or RF and planting poppy plantation and doing drug business. So the government has gone all out against these elements."*

In a damning statement against such irresponsible statements, the Chief Justice of India (CJI) on May 17, 2023 remarked that "*some restraint must be there*" by public figures from making communal statements.



. . .



Adv Nizam Pasha: A prayer we've asked for is that officers should be restrained from making statements which are openly communal. CM is saying that unrest is caused by Kuki foreigners. Her said they are "destroying Manipur by Christianity, drugs..."

Live Law 🤣 @LiveLawIndia · 2h

CJI DY Chandrachud: Mr Solicitor, some restraint must be there...

SG Mehta: That will be ensured.

It is well known that the Zo people are proud citizens of India and patriots who have contributed not only towards its freedom movement and its independence in the past, but also its nation-building in almost every field in the present. Not many tribals in India are able to surpass the contributions that the tribals of Manipur have made to the nation.

WHITEWASHING INDIGENOUS HISTORY IN THE NAME OF "ARCHEOLOGY"

Another aspect of the land-grabbing scheme that the State government has recently introduced is the invocation of mythical Meitei icons and Meitei gods to transform tribal lands into archeological sites. The recent case of Koubru, which is proclaimed as Laipham (meaning the seat of the Meitei god Lainingthou) and the case of Chivu (near Behiang), where the alleged footprints of Meitei Maharaja Chandrakirti was found, were invoked to sacralise tribal lands, rename and built commemorative and religious structures in those places. In both of these cases, the indigenous tribal narratives and the sacredness of these places to the tribals were completely and blatantly ignored.

Until recently, these tribal forests and the Hills were foreign to the Meiteis and the State government never had any interest in developing them. However, the strategic importance of these border areas under the present Union government's **Act East Policy** and its possible significance for long-term thriving trade has seen the rewriting and imposition of majoritarian history and culture upon these once far-removed hill areas. As the Meitei Maharaja had never set foot in these Hills, the recent attempts to claim ownership by using the state apparatus were regarded as a grave affront by the tribals. Despite widespread public opposition, the communal land-grabbing project at Chivu (called Chandrakirti Park) was pushed as an intermediary



VOL **THE INEVITABLE SPLIT** (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

to development in those parts of the Hills, through a carrot-and-stick policy. Further, the claim to those places was rationalised in media outlets through a distorted interpretation of historical data and records maintained during the Lushai Expedition and prior.

PROCEDURAL LAPSES AND SHRINKING TRIBAL HABITATION

This State-sponsored ethnic cleansing is a direct outcome of the majority Meiteis' attempt to grab tribal lands and subvert constitutional protections of tribals. The State government headed by N Biren Singh has declared Reserved Forest, Protected Forest, Wildlife Sanctuaries, National Parks, and Wetlands over a majority of tribal lands without the "knowledge" and "consent" of the tribal land-owners. This is a serious and unconstitutional procedural lapse. Thus, the official rhetoric of "encroachers" is the attempt to alienate tribal populations from their land. Two illuminating cases are provided below:

- i. Under the direction of the Manipur government, an eviction drive was carried out on the 20th of February 2023 at K Songjang village. The Manipur government claimed that the village was newly set up in the year 2021. The village was in fact among the many villages destroyed in the violence of the Kuki-Naga clashes in 1993. The people pleaded with officials but to no avail. The Indigenous Tribal Leaders Forum (ITLF) and other civil society organisations carried out a peaceful protest rally against this forced eviction, and somehow this protest antagonized the Meitei communities, who time and again understood themselves as agents of the State government.
- ii. Tensions have also been flaring up in villages under the proposed Churachandpur-Khoupum protected forest. In November 2022, the Manipur government issued a special order which set aside the orders passed in the objection cases, excluding villages from the proposed protected forest area in the 1970s and early 1980s. With this order, 38 villages in Churachandpur became encroachers overnight. In April 2023, there were attempts by the forest and revenue departments to conduct a joint survey in the disputed protected forest. Here too, the ITLF opposed the joint survey, and pointed out that the consent of affected villages were not taken and due process not followed. If all the proposed Reserved Forests, Protected Forests, Wildlife Sanctuaries and other declarations are implemented, the tribals will have less than 10% of their present area for their habitation and livelihood.

As Forest issues are a sensitive matter, concerns were raised by tribal MLAs in the Assembly. Saikot AC MLA Paolienlal Haokip also forwarded his queries directly to the concerned Minister (Forest, Power, Environment and Climate Change) but no response have been forthcoming from the Minister till date. (*See Fact Check on Forest Areas in Manipur*)

Paolienlal Haokip Member Manipur Legislative Assembly 59-Saikot (ST) A/C



© +91 9968261695 +91 9667161199 e-mail: paolienlal@gmail.com

VOI

DoL.No.36/02(Forest)/SKT-MLA/04/2023

Date : 12th April, 2023

Dear Pu Bishur

I am writing to you concerning a matter of great public anguish and perceived injustice. It has been brought to my notice that some revenue and forest officials have been recently deployed to carry out some survey of the so-called Churachandpur-Khoupum Protected Forest in Churachandpur.

I have, during the Assembly Session, also raised the question as to whether the state government has nullified the orders of the then Assistant Settleme of the Forest Department excluding certain villages from the set Churachandpur-Khoupum Protected Forest of the time, to which you have used in the affirmative. I could not raise supplementary questions as question hour ran out. Now, I may pleased be allowed to raise the pertinent questions in this medium.

Firstly, how can the state government rullify such orders of the ASO who by law, in the absence of FSO (vacant as the government failed to appoint one at that time) was the statutory authority to settle any claims of pre-existing rights on land?. The authority and duties of the FSO/ASO are statutory under the Indian Forests Act, 1972, and doesn't require the state government to specially authorise, as claimed by the state government in the annulment order.

Further, the delay in processing of claims cited as a reason for annulment was the fault of the authorities concerned and not of the land owners, and hence cannot be a reason for annulment of the orders excluding lands claimed by Chiefs from the said Protection Forest.

Further, some delays in submission of claims of pre-existing rights must have been caused by the failure on the part of the government to declare its intent to constitute a protected forest, as required under the Indian Forests Act, 1972, in vernicular, keeping the largely illiterate Chiefs of those days in the dark and unaware. I have earlier asked the PCCF to supply me copies of such information published in vernicular, to which I have yet to receive any response.

Prove of 2



Paolienlal Haokip Member Manipur Legislative Assembly 59-Saikot (ST) A/C



© +91 9968261695 +91 9667161199 e-mail: paolienlal@gmail.com

In addition, I request your kindness to have the Forest Department clarify to me, whether the current exercise of survey teams being deployed is due to absence of any survey records with the government, which will prove the gazette declaring the Churachandpur-Khoupum Protected Forest is flawed and therefore *void ab initio*, and if not, the purpose behind the present exercise. Also, whether fresh surveys are being conducted in all such PFs, and if so, the detailed schedule for such surveys, unless it is a comprehensive exercise, the present exercise is perceived to be selective and targeted in nature, causing public angst.

I would be immensely indebted if you can kindly instruct concerned officials to clarify in writing, the above issues so that I can help the public understand the actions of our government.

Further, 1 request your kindness to instruct the concerned officials to cease further surveys before the above issues are satisfactorily clarified.

With warm regards.

(PAOLIENLAL HAOKIP)

The Hon'ble Minister,

- Forest, Power, Environment & Climate Change,
- Agriculture, Science and Technology Department,
- Government of Manipur.



THE LEISANG SPARK: WHO PULLED THE TRIGGER?

On 3rd of May 2023, all of Manipur's Hill districts were urged to participate in a nonviolent *Tribal Solidarity March* called by the All Tribal Student Union of Manipur (ATSUM) under the theme "*Come let us reason together*." The call was unequivocally supported by all the tribal organizations to oppose the High Court's recommendation **(WP(C) No. 229 of 2023)** to the State legislature for inclusion of the majority Meitei in the Scheduled Tribe lists. It must be noted here that the protest was organized in a peaceful manner in the tribal Hill districts of Churachandpur, Senapati, Kangpokpi, Chandel, Tamenglong, Tengnoupal, Ukhrul.

		Imphal - 79	mjati Complex, Chi 5001, Manipur Emai	ngmerrong +91 961262 +91 811995 +91 872995 I : altribalstudentsunionmanipur@gmail
Ref. No.		1	UNITY	Date
5			EMORANDUM 27th April 2023	
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2023, while havin people in this tim	g felt the ne	ed for taking appropriat	e measures to collective	convened by ATSUM on 21- ly protect the interest of the tri ed to organise a Tribal Solidar
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Valley-based Meitei organizations, upon learning about the rally, reacted by organizing counter-blockades in the valley areas the evening before the peaceful rally. The peaceful rally proceeded as planned in all the Hill districts of Manipur, and saw widespread participation by all tribals including the Zomi, Kuki, Naga, Hmar, Mizo etc. In Churachandpur, the rally ended peacefully at 1:05 pm after a memorandum was submitted to the Hon'ble President and Hon'ble Prime Minister of India through the Deputy Commissioner by the tribal civil societies and students' organizations. What triggered the immediate

violence was the burning of the Anglo-Kuki War (Zo gaal) Memorial Gate (one of the most important symbols of the tribals' resistance against British rule) in Leisang village by some Meitei miscreants. The gate was erected to commemorate the Anglo-Kuki War (Zo gaal) of 1917-1919, where the Zo people bravely defended their land against the British. Based on the evewitness account, the miscreants arrived in a white Bolero and started the fire before fleeing.

However, the conflict between the two parties didn't start until the miscreants assaulted returning rally-goers who resided in the border



KSO_IMPHAL @KSO_Imphal · 3s Months ago, suspicious Govt. officials along with civilians surveyed Kuki areas in Imphal. They left a red mark in the gate of many houses in National Games Village. Nobody knew the mark was painted to identify the Kuki houses. This is a pre-planned ethnic cleansing.



areas of Churachandpur district. The problem escalated when one of those rally-goers, Pastor Sehkhohao Kipgen was beaten to death by the radical Meitei groups and houses belonging to the Zo communities were set ablaze at Kangvai, which is located 2 kms from Leisang. The violence swept across the capital city like wildfire. The radical Meitei mob carried out a systematic arson and extermination in the capital city Imphal and other valley districts soon after. Having identified tribal houses, rentals, Churches, hostels, and educational institutions a month before the ethnic cleansing through official and unofficial



means, the organized mobs were able to immediately identify all tribal residences in a matter of hours. This ensured the targeted destruction of all tribal homes, properties, and places of worship without any hindrance.

Meiteis in different districts of the Imphal Valley had been mobilising themselves for months. Many indicators present a clear impression that the incidents were premeditated. In tribal habitations and enclaves in the Imphal Valley, houses belonging to the Zo community were surveyed by persons who claimed to be State officials and marked with colours and numbers months before the eruption of violence. Those houses which were marked were specifically the ones that were burned by the radical Meitei mob.

As a ploy to silence the tribals, the Chief Minister inducted two Zo MLAs into his Council of Ministers. Meitei Leepun and Arambai Tenggol were radicalized, indoctrinated and armed against the tribals. After the AFSPA was removed from Imphal, it was further removed from Wangoi, Leimakhong, Nambol and Moirang parts of Valley districts in March 2023.









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CHAPTER 4

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

SOLIDARITY

The premeditated violence incited by the Manipur State and radical Meitei mob that ignited on the 3rd of May 2023 following the peaceful protest organized by the tribals is a blatant disregard for human life, human rights and most importantly, human dignity. *It is an attempt to wipe out a targeted section of the populace through the use of brute force*, under the protection and assistance of the State government. It is one of the worst crimes against humanity witnessed in Manipur, and those complicit in the act, from the top to bottom must be brought to account.

The ensuing violence in Manipur is thus characterized by unprecedented loss of tribal lives, massive destruction to countless tribal property, brazen vandalism and desecration of tribal's places of worship, fatal destruction, arson and vandalization of tribal homes, and the displacement of thousands of tribals from their "home" in Imphal to makeshift rehabilitation camps, and eventually to their respective tribal districts. With this **Imphal pogrom**, the city has lost its moral right to be the State capital.

TARGETED ETHNIC CLEANSING

The outbreak of violence is deliberately targeted against tribals, particularly the Zo people. Hundreds of tribals are openly lynched to death









in Imphal Valley, and the death toll has been on a constant rise, while perpetrators of the violence enjoy unbridled impunity. Homes, Churches, and schools were set on fire and destroyed. Not even women and children were spared. Tribals in the Imphal Valley were the worst casualty of all – a valley now firmly associated with death in the eyes and hearts of the tribals. There is ample *prima facie* video(s) and photo evidence published by reputed news

agencies showing the Manipur Police Commandos aiding and abetting the perpetrators of this crime against humanity, even as there were strict attempts to filter media reporting and coverage.

The nature of violence, the brutality and barbarity of the crime was a bold statement to show how much the Zo people (Zomi, Kukis) are unwanted in Manipur. The manner in which the hatred was manifestedwas not anticipated by anyone. Letminthang Haokip, an Indian Revenue officer living in Lamphel, Imphal, was forcefully pulled out of his government quarter and hacked mercilessly to

Image: Seasoned tribal politician and BJP MLA from Thanlon constituency, Churachandpur had to be airlifted to New Delhi after sustaining serious injury from the attack. He is under treatment in the ICU at Apollo Hospital.



BJP MLA Vungzagin Valte, who is from the Kuki community, was set upon by a mob and beaten up in Imphal while returning from a meeting with Chief Minister N Biren Singh's office on Thursday.



Manipur violence: BJP MLA assaulted by mob in Imphal, critical



death. He served as Tax Assistant, Income Tax (GOI). Union and State tribal government officials, tribal civil servants posted in Imphal and tribal political representatives (MLAs) were also not spared. While the most senior BJP MLA from Thanlon AC Pu Vungzagin Valte was lynched by the radical Meitei mob in public view, the houses of Letpao Haokip (Minister, Tribal Affairs and Hills), P. Doungel (DGP), Clay Khongsai (ADGP), Mary Kom (MP, Rajya Sabha), etc. were all vandalized and burned.

Many tribal deaths are still unaccounted for, as many dead bodies in Imphal hospital morgues remain inaccessible to families. The attempt to recover their dead by the tribals is itself a threat to their own life, as Meitei mob continue to patrol the streets of Imphal. Many family members are simply recorded as missing, with no tribal family harbouring the hope of them returning alive.

It is also noteworthy that throughout their history, the Meiteis have been in conflict with every ethnic communities in Manipur, including the Pangals (Muslims), Nagas and Non-locals (Hindus from outside the State). In every instance, they have resorted to the use of brute force. They have made "might is right" the maxim of the day and depraved killings their style of humiliation. As evidences show, their culture of violence is not only one of destruction, but also of inhumane humiliation.

Forced Displacement of Tribals

Tens of thousands of tribals are displaced from the Imphal Valley and surrounding areas, and their properties completely vandalized, looted and burnt to cinders. Thousands of tribals are currently living in hundreds of temporary shelters and relief camps. These camps are locally run and maintained by the tribal public and philanthropic organizations without the Manipur government's support. To push their case, the Manipur government has been constantly trying to downplay the extent of this humanitarian crisis, and have attempted to evade their responsibilities of ushering protection and rehabilitation on the pretext that these politicians, ex-servicemen, civil servants, and daily wage-laborers are "possible" "illegal-immigrants".

Initially, more than 16,000 tribal people from the Imphal Valley took shelter in various military compounds to escape the ordeal. Shelter seekers increased by the day till it was difficult for the military to sufficiently protect and provide for them. They were stuck for days, surviving with very basic amenities. Only with the intervention of the Indian army were they later transported to more secure locations and relief camps in the Hills. Many were not as fortunate as they are. With the intervention of the army, thousands in Imphal were able to escape to metropolitan cities and neighbouring States. Till date approximately 7,000 people have taken shelter in Mizoram and the displaced are rehabilitated by the various Mizo Civil Society Organizations.



I THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)



Image : Tribals displaced by the ethnic cleansing taking shelter in various relief shelters and military camps.



Image : Villagers of Bongbal Khullen seeking safety in the forest as their village was torched by Meitei mobs.



Image: Villagers of Bongbal Khullen seeking safety in the forest as their village was torched by Meitei mobs.



Torching of Tribal Villages and Habitations

As per the data available on 17th May 2023, a total of 162 villages, 5670 houses and 8 schools have been burned by the radical Meitei mob. Such incessant atrocities uprooted tribals not only from their homes but also from their livelihood. As the Manipur state machinery is complicit in the ethnic cleansing, it remains unknown how life could ever be normal again for the displaced, if at all. Regardless of the negotiations and agreements that may yet come, the scars that they heavily carry will remain forever etched in their bodies, their hearts and their memories.



Image: Tribal houses in Langol, Imphal were torched on 4th May 2023.



Image: Remains of houses destroyed and burned in Paite Veng. Paite Veng is a prominent Zo tribal locality in Imphal.



VOI

THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

Atrocities Against Women and Children

Women and children are the most vulnerable in the face of armed ethnic cleansing. First-hand accounts of cases of sexual harassment and public disrobing, public gang rape and naked parading are being reported from Kangpokpi district. Women with infants were not spared. While instances of pregnant women giving birth in relief camps are reported, there are also cases of new mothers separated from their new-born babies, as a consequence of the (wo)manhunt carried out by Meitei mobs, even in hospitals. Whether they will be reunited is a far-fetched dream for now. A mother and son who were on their way to the army camp to take shelter were dragged out of the the car they were travelling and hacked to death just inches away from the shelter camp. The mother Gouzavung (57) serves as an Under Secretary in the Agriculture and Veterinary Department, Government of Manipur. Such was the brutality and barbarity of the Meitei mobs.

The Manipur State machinery also treats women with indifference, and neither is security, recourse and rehabilitation provided by the Manipur government to date. All those who could escape the ordeal are now lodged in locally-run relief camps and shelters in the Hill districts of Churachandpur, Tengnoupal and Kangpokpi.

There were also numerous confirmed reports of lady students targeted in educational institutions by mobs. Having collected the list of tribal students, research scholars, staff and faculty



Mrs. Chingthianniang w/o N. Goulalsang attacked on 04/05/2023 by meitei mobs while trying to run to safety inside the CRPF camp, Lamphel, Imphal. @UN @UNHumanRights @RahulGandhi @Jairam_Ramesh @dipr_mizoram @EastMojo @timesofindia @AJEnglish @ambedkariteIND



members (particularly those belonging to the Zo community) beforehand, radicalised Meitei mobs openly barged into and burgled ladies' hostels and quarters in the State's premier Central University - Manipur University. They selectively pulled them out of their hostels, dormitory and residences, and those who could not escape on time were left at the mercy of the mob. Their belonging, including their official identity cards, important educational documents and books were burned to the ground. In other institutions, similar acts were carried out. The students of Nightingale Nursing Institute,



Porompat, Imphal East were dragged out from the hostel and flogged. In these cases, all the attempts by their hostel mates to shield them proved futile.



Image: Remains of Mrs. Thianlam, a widow from Pheitaiching Village (Sadar Hills) who was inhumanely amputated, shot and burned by Meitei mobs and left in this state.

Even after hearing, seeing and witnessing some of the most horrific ordeals and murders of their families, relatives, friends and people, the tribal women continue to defend the lives of the innocent Meitei populace stuck in Lamka, Churachandpur. It is due to their courageous efforts that no harm is inflicted on the Meitei populace.



Image: Human chain formed by tribal women in Churachandpur.



Manipur State-Sponsored Routine Atrocities

To date, Manipur Police Commandos and the radical Meitei mobs continue to freely operate against tribals. The tribals are left with no option but to defend themselves and their land against the marauding mobs and Manipur State forces with whatever they can salvage. Their right to defend themselves against the threat of their very existence continues to be portrayed through various misleading narratives. The use of rudimentary licenced hunting guns to defend their villages are used as a pretext to vilify the tribals as armed aggressors, and surveillances on tribal villages are carried out in the name of patrols. This false narratives have justified and facilitated Meitei infiltration into tribal villages bordering the Valley districts, and continues to be a major threat for the tribals.



Image: Leader of the philanthropic organization, Young Vaiphei Association Kangvai, shot dead at point blank by the Manipur Police Commando in Kangvai

Contrary to Manipur State media reports, it was the radical Meitei mobs who were armed with sophisticated weaponry and ammunition which were freely taken (unchallenged) from more than 17 arm cote (storage) of the State forces including the Police Training Centre at Pangei.

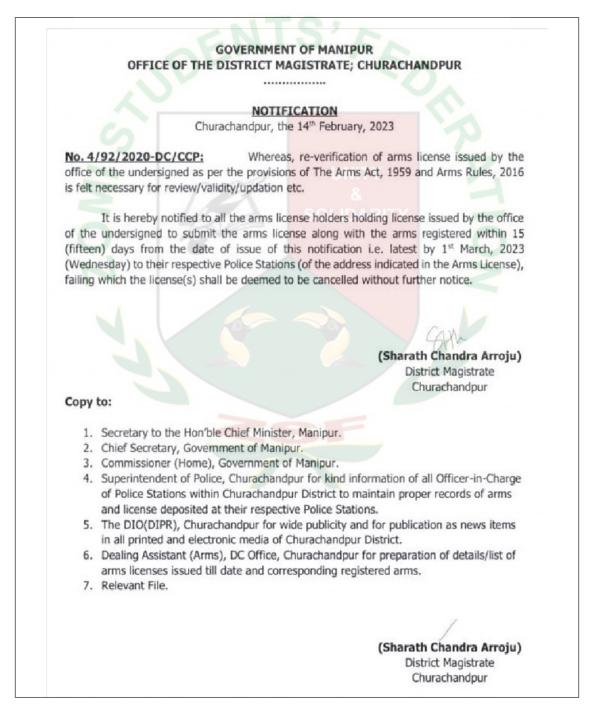
Around the same period, the district administration in Churachandpur, upon the instruction of the State government, issued an order No. 4/93/2020-



DC/CCP on 14th February 2023, for submission of arms and arms license. This order came under the supervision of the CM himself, who justified the



exercise by saying that the guns will be returned to the rightful owner in due course. A week after the guns were submitted to Churachandpur police station, the same were ferried to an undisclosed location in Imphal. It is an unusual exercise because the verification of gun licenses hasn't been carried out in the last 10 years, which was asserted by the CM himself in the Assembly. The dire need to renew license at this hour despite grave opposition establish that the State had a clear intention to disarm the tribals and render them defenseless against the atrocities to come. Moreover, while gun licenses in the Hills were forced to be renewed and guns submitted, the Manipur government issued more than 10,000 gun licenses in the Valley.





(Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

The atrocities also saw an active participation of in-service personnel. Video evidence clearly show that the Manipur Police Commandos assisted the Meitei mobs. They can be seen leading the rioters towards Haokip Veng, a Kuki neighbourhood in Imphal, minutes before it was set on fire. destruction in the Valley The was catastrophic because it was apparent that the State forces were supporting the mobs and the residents were defenseless against the invaders.

There was no sufficient troop deployment in the danger zones where the Zo communities lived Ashok Swain 🤡 @ashoswai · 16h : Why is police escorting a majoritarian mob in Manipur to attack the tribals?



during the crucial 48-hour period of damage and bloodshed. Additionally, neither a fire department nor an ambulance could be seen or heard in the city of Imphal. It was a pogrom directed at a particular community that involved intentional ethnic cleansing. In a truly concerning incident, an Ambulance driver named Dallanthang Zou S/o (L) Douching Zou of Awnkap Veng, Churachandpur district was lynched in Bishnupur district inside the premise of the police station. He was returning from Imphal on 3rd of May 2023. Caught amidst the violence in Bishnupur district, he escaped and sought protection inside the police station at Moirang with the hope of surviving the mobs, but was beaten to death inside the police station. There were several reported case of custodial deaths of tribals during the ethnic cleansing, including the deaths of Dallianthang of Awnkap Veng, Kamminlun Khongsai of T Monglham, Lelremruot of Saidan, to name a few.



Kamminlun Khongsai, S/o Laljapao Khongsai of T. Monglham Village, Churachandpur district.



Lalremrout Hmar, S/o Lalvirim Hmar of Saidan Village, Churachandpur district.



Meanwhile, the State only broke its silence on the night of 4th May 2023, after 24 hours when every house and habitation of the Zo people (Zomi, Kuki) in Imphal Valley was damaged and razed to the ground, forcing all inhabitants to desert their homes. By the Governor's order (No. H- 3608/2/2023-HD-HD), the Home Department gave district magistrates the authority to issue "Shoot at sight orders" in exceptional circumstances in an effort to manage and justify the deafening silence of the State authorities, particularly the Chief Minister. The directives rarely had any effect in Imphal and other Valley districts as the mobs were given unlimited freedom to cause mayhem at their leisure with the support of the Meitei Police Commandos.

GOVERNMENT OF MANIPUR SECRETARIAT: HOME DEPARTMENT ORDERS BY THE GOVERNOR OF MANIPUR Imphal, the 4th May, 2023 No.H-3608/2/2023-HD-HD: In view of the prevailing law and order situation following the unwanted incidents occurred the Tribal Solidarity March, 2023 held on 03-05-2023 and in order to maintain public order and tranquility in the State, the Governor of Manipur is pleased to authorize all District Magistrates, Sub- Divisional Magistrates and all Executive Magistrates/ Special Executive Magistrates detailed by the District Magistrates concerned to issue Shoot at sight orders in extreme cases whereby all forms of persuasion, warning, reasonable force, etc. had been exhausted under the provisions of law under CrPC, 1973 and the situation could not be controlled. 2. This Order is issued with the approval of Competent Authority. By Orders & in the name of the Governor, (T. Raniit Singh) Commissioner (Home), Government of Manipur. Copy to: 1. Secretary to Governor, Manipur 2. Secretary to Chief Minister, Manipur. 3. Staff Officer to Chief Secretary, Government of Manipur. Director General of Police, Manipur. 5. All ADGPs, Manipur. 6. IGAR (South), Mantripukhri. 7. All IGPs 8. All Deputy Commissioners/ DMs of all Districts of Manipur 9. All Superintendents of Police of all Districts of Manipur. 10, All SDMs. 11. All Executive Magistrates/ Special Executive Magistrates. 12. Relevant files.



THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)



Image: Meitei mobs with automatic guns moving around in Imphal unrestricted.

Moreover, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (AFSPA) was deliberately retained in the Hill areas, giving impunity to security forces, even though the main perpetrators of violence against the Indian security forces are the secessionist valleybased extremists/terrorists. The latest ambush of security forces carried out by the Meitei extremist groups in Churachandpur involved the killing of CO 46 Assam Rifle Colonel Viplav Tripathi, along with his wife and his 5-year-old son in the year 2021. In addition to Imphal, the Act was removed on 24th March 2023 from Valley areas including Moirang and Nambol which were also epicentres of the ethnic cleansing.



Image: Police remaining mute spectators during the violence in Kangvai area.

DESECRATION OF RELIGIOUS PLACES

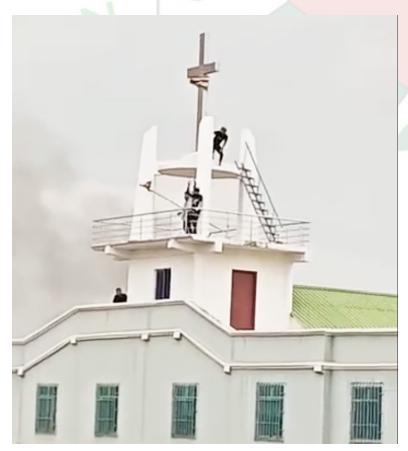
Places of worship were not spared by the Meitei mob. There was absolutely no regard given for the sanctity of religious places. Instead, the mob took pride in destroying and ransacking the Church, raising their flag **'Salai Taret'** on top of it, and descrating it before burning them down. In addition to this, Church properties were looted, desecrated and destroyed. No place of worship belonging or related to the Zo people is left untouched by the radical Meitei mobs. The attempt was to destroy the most sacred institution



and symbol of the tribals – the Holy of holies. The presence of fire-brigades whenever the fire threatened the surrounding Meitei buildings, but not when the Churches burned to the ground shows how biased and communal the State machineries are.



As of 10th May 2023, according to confirmed reports by the Churachandpur Christian Goodwill Council, the number of Churches torched and razed to the ground rises to 128. In an immediate attempt to garner the sympathy of the national public and divert their attention from the atrocities of the ethnic cleansing, many attempts were made by the Meitei owned and controlled State media to project the conflict as a Hindu-Christian confrontation. However, as not a single temple was defiled or burnt by the tribals, and not a single Meitei killed or harmed in tribal areas, the false narrative quickly ran out of



fuel. In true Christian and religious spirit, Churachandpur the Christian Goodwill Council continued to provide food and water, along with medications to the populace Meitei sheltered in army camps in Lamka, Churachandpur, until they were safely evacuated.

Image: The hoisting of the Salai Taret (representing the seven clans of the Meiteis) on top of a burning Church.





Image: Charred remains of a burnt Church in Luwangsangbam Vaiphei Veng.

ATTACK ON EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND BURNING OF SCHOOLS BELONGING TO TRIBALS

Tribal students, employees and their families have to seek shelter in the army camp located inside the Manipur University campus even as the organized mob carried out a man-hunt based on a list that was submitted to them beforehand. The premier Central University, where values of humanism and brotherhood are taught and inculcated through the ages, became the site of hatred, arson and violence overnight. Many of the students are flogged and beaten in public view, while a few of them are able to escape in time. But for all of them, staff, faculties and students alike, their quarters and rooms are looted, and their properties including their certificates, identity cards, and other important official documents are burned. Without their official documents, and with the growing popular narrative of "illegal immigrants" deliberately propagated, it is possible that many will find it extremely difficult to recover their own identities, especially if they continue to remain under the same political administration. The complicit State government and University officials are unlikely to make it easy for the tribal students.

THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)



Even as some of the most barbaric impulses overran the University for days, the administration lent a deaf ear. Till now, no condemnation is issued by the authorities or explanation on how the mob was allowed a free-run assault on their students. The situation is far from the state of normalcy, with tribal students, staff and faculty leaving the campus (with army escort) for fear of life.

In yet another extreme and bizarre case of continued indifference, in the circular dated 10th May 2023, the University informed all



Hostel 6 MU.... What do you guys get in burning our documents... i thought we belong together inside the institution

MANIPUR UNIVERSITY CANCHIPUR : IMPHAL OFFICE ORDER NO. Dated, the 10th May, 202 In view of the prevailing situation and No.MU/VI/17/2017/Admn.I: recent relaxation of the curfew, it is hereby informed to all employees of the Manipur University to attend the office from 9:00 a.m. until the curfew relaxation hour. This order is effective immediately. This is issued with the approval of the competent authority. (Prof. W. Chandbabu Singh) Registrar Copy to:-1. PA to the Vice-Chancellor, MU 2. Deans of Schools of Studies, MU 3. Dean of Students' Welfare, MU 4. Heads of Departments, MU 5. Officers, MU 6. All concerned 7. Office Order Book 8. Relevant file



t. Peter's School burnt down by Meitei mobs

Games Village, Imphal



employees to start attending offices, as if the ethnic cleansing of their own employees and students was a casual occurrence that can be washed aside. Such circulars were also issued for other institutions. Jawaharlal including Nehru Institute of Medical Sciences (JNIMS).

All the schools owned by tribals in the Valley were burned to the ground. As the utter disregard for educational welfare becomes evident, the future state of education for tribals in Hill areas is now an area of grave concern.

ATTACK ON JUDICIAL PERSONNEL

The principal role of the judiciary is to protect the rule of law and ensure the supremacy of law. It is the institution that safeguards the rights of the individual, settles disputes under law and ensures that democracy does not give way to individual or group dictatorship. However, in the present ethnic cleansing, even judicial personnel were not spared. This is a direct disrespect to the judicial system of the country and the ideals they hold as sacred. At least 17



tribal judicial personnel serving in different capacities in the judicial system were attacked and made to escape for their lives.

SILENCING AND DISTORTING GROUND REALITIES

Details of what is happening on the ground are restricted from being reported. The ban of the internet, while it is done on the pretext of maintaining law and order, is a convenient ploy to restrict local news, information and voices from reaching out. While the Hills remained in a complete blackout, the Manipur State media and the government in Imphal in tandem are authoritatively and shrewdly painting a different picture of the violence. The State media have relentlessly portrayed the Zomi and Kuki as perpetrators, and the Meiteis as victims.

Anyone following the Manipur State media will be acutely aware of the Meitei communal narrative and impulses in news reporting, and the attempt to completely undermine the rationale of tribal grievances and suffering. The way these narratives developed in their favour demonstrates their absolute dominance. These biases disclose not only the communal nature of their ethnic hatred towards others, but more importantly, also show how little they know and understand about the citizens of the state of Manipur. The question about whether the Meiteis are fit to shoulder the responsibility of being a majority community in a multi-ethnic set-up is an important question that needs serious interrogation.

RETURN OF HUMAN REMAINS AND DIGNITY OF THE DEAD

Despite repeated requests to the State government and hospital authorities, access to morgues in Imphal hospitals is denied even till date, including Regional Institute of Medical Sciences (RIMS) and Jawaharlal Nehru Institute of Medical Sciences (JNIMS) in Imphal, where estimated hundreds of tribal dead are kept. Neither is it possible to retrieve the actual number and list of dead in these morgues. Real-time ground reports alarmingly suggest that the yet unclaimed dead in the RIMS morgue are to be incinerated soon. This is against international and national norms of not only human rights, but of human dignity. No serious initiatives have been taken by the Manipur government or the State Human Rights Commission to facilitate the return of the remains.

The United Nations Inter-Agency Standing Committee's Operational Guidelines on Human Rights and Natural Disasters also recommends that appropriate measures should be taken *"to facilitate the return of human remains, including their proper management and disposal as well as of respect*



VOL

for the needs of families". In India, the right to fair treatment and dignity extends equally to dead bodies. The Apex Court of India recognized that the right to life, fair treatment and dignity, extend not only to a living person but also to a dead body. The Court highlighted the importance of conferring dignity to dead persons (Parmanand Katara Vs. Union of India, 1989).



Image: Paulalmuan, David and Lunginlal, three tribal daily wage labourers flogged and beaten in broad daylight and in full-public view in Kakwaleirak, Imphal.





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CHAPTER 5

REALITY CHECKS: SOME FALSE PROPAGANDAS

Amidst the current State-sponsored ethnic cleansing of the Zo people, there is in circulation a lot of false information and biased narratives, peddled by the state-controlled and blatantly communal Imphal-based media. These circulations have ensured that the full picture of the conflict and the nature of the atrocities and crimes that are committed against innocent civilians remain hidden from the eyes and ears of the national public. The State media is not neutral, and neither is their intent. However, almost in a defiant manner, the ground realities of the conflict and the nature of the violence have unfolded on their own, and in its own time. One of the important shifts in the unravelling of the conflict has been the delicate disclosing of the truth, especially from the ground and based on the victims' first-hand accounts. Below are some of the false media allegations on which clarification based on facts is due – in other words, a reality check.

ETHNIC CLEANSING AS RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

The Fake News

The current conflict in Manipur is a Religious Conflict between its Hindu and Christian population.



THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

The Propaganda

This distorted narrative originates from those extremists Meiteis responsible for the public murder of innocent tribal civilians and arson of countless Churches and private properties in the capital city, Imphal in Manipur.

The Background

At the core of this conflict is a historical contention over land and resources dating back to pre-colonial and colonial era.

The aggressive policies of the modern Manipur government which unapologetically caters to serve the majoritarian Meitei sentiments and continually impedes the constitutional rights of Hill tribes is at its root.

The declaration of reserved/protected forests over tribal lands, and the demand for ST status by the advanced Meitei community (who already enjoy reservations under SC, OBC, and EWS quota), both of which were creative attempts to claim tribal inhabited lands were the major causes underlying the current conflagration.

The Truth

1. The conflict is an ethnic conflict between two ethnic groups

The tribals and the Meitei (valley community) are two major ethnic communities of Manipur. They are distinguished by major differences in *culture*, *social organization*, and *language*. Religious difference is *not* a credible criterion to understand these differences as a sizable population of the Meiteis themselves are either Sanamahist (Meitei animist traditional religion), Muslims (Pangals) and also Christians.

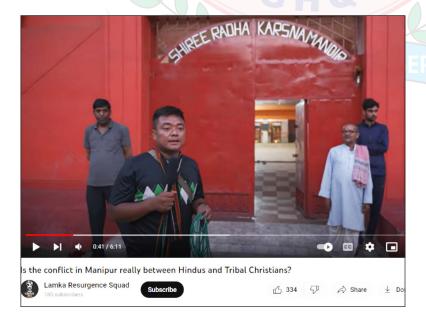


Image: A visit to the largest Hindu temple at the heart of Lamka town (Churachandpur district), Manipur, during the peak of the ethnic conflict. The video shows that Hindu devotees were able to freely worship at the temple and not a single harm has been attempted to Hindus or Hindu places of worship in the tribal town.



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2. People were targeted not on the basis of religion but ethnicity

Nagas, the other major ethnic community in Manipur, are mostly Christians and live among the Meiteis. Yet, not a single Naga was targeted or harmed, and their Churches were spared.

There are many followers of the Hindu faith in Zo inhabited areas like Lamka (Churachandpur), Moreh and Kanggui (Kangpokpi) who originate from North India and other regions, and not a single person from these



communities were harmed. Hindu places of worship in tribal areas, including those of the Meiteis, were left intact.

3. Meiteis are not exclusively Hindus

Traditionally, Meiteis are proud followers of the Sanamahi religion (their ethnic animist religion) before their mass conversion into Vaishnavite-Hinduism. The Hindu-Meitei population today account for about 40 percent of the Manipur population, while the Sanamahi followers account for only up to 8 percent of the same.

Adherents of the Sanamahi religion are predominantly anti-Hindu, and proudly champion what they call the "Kangleipak Flag" or "*Salai Taret Firal* (Flag of the Seven Clans)" against the National Flag of India. The rise of militant Meitei-ism is closely linked to the revivalism and resurgence of their Sanamahi religion. The Chief Minister and Maharaja Leishemba Sanajaoba, MP (Rajya Sabha) are committed to the revival of Sanamahi faith rather than the promotion of Hinduism in Manipur.

There is also a substantial Christian population among the Meiteis, as well as a Meitei-Pangal (Meitei Muslim) population who follow the Islamic faith and account for over 8 percent of the Manipur population.



Image: Arambai Tenggol rallying and waiving the secessionist Kangleipak flag and swearing their oath of allegiance to their traditional religion



3. The Anti-Hindu Meitei Hindus

In a bizarre and devious ploy, Meiteis are suddenly projecting their Hindu-ness in an attempt to manipulate the emotional support of the national Hindu population, who are often otherwise not aware of the complexities of the ethnic contentions and conflict in the region. However, it is impossible to forget the Meiteis long history of persecuting Hindus from other parts of India.

Recently, the Chief Minister N Biren Singh admitted in the State legislature that 20 'non-locals' (meaning Hindus from other states) were killed between 2017 and 2022 by extremist Meitei groups. No action has been taken even after this admission.

In a case of blatant xenophobia, extremist Meitei outfits have banned the screening of Hindi films **as early as the 1980s**. The much-hyped Bollywood movie 'Mary Kom' could not be screened in Manipur despite Mary Kom hailing from the state! They have also banned the teaching and use of Hindi language **since the 1980s**.

The prolonged and violent demand for **Inner Line Permit (ILP)** in the **late 2000** is a clear message that Meiteis want absolutely nothing to do with Hindus from outside the State. The ILP requires outsiders (especially mainland Hindus) to obtain a special pass to enter the State.

The current plea for sympathy from Hindus is ill-intended. It is an attempt to put the issue on a false premise and deceive the public. It is a covert attempt to divert public (and national) attention from their ethnic cleansing pogrom against the tribals in Manipur. What they have ultimately achieved is the **maligning of Hinduism as a whole and Sanatana Dharma in particular**, a non-violent religion that has been a pillar of unity in diversity since time immemorial.

4. Meitei anti-national politics over the decade

From the early 1980s, the Meiteis and their militant groups have been in offensive against the Indian Army in an attempt to achieve their own sovereign nation-state called Kangleipak. Some of the methods and tactics used include ambushing the Indian Army, attacking their camps, and hurling of grenades in convoy.

From the early 1990s, Meitei militants and armed groups started the killing of poor Hindu laborers, and have also started targeted killing of Hindu businessmen in the Imphal areas both through cold-blooded murder and through bomb blasts. Attacks on the CRPF and ambush on the Indian army continue to this date.

In the late 1990s, the kidnapping of and monetary demands made from Hindu businessmen in Imphal valley was on the rise. Hundreds of bomb blasts occurred in the Hindu localities in Imphal valley. The casualties during



this period also included many migrant Hindu workers, especially Biharis from the neighboring regions

From early 2000, the Meitei terrorist groups shifted their operation base to Myanmar, and have been assaulting the tribal population that inhabited the border regions of Indo-Myanmar. The land mines that they planted in Churachandpur, Chandel and Tengnoupal district in Manipur led to the loss of many innocent tribal lives with many more maimed for the rest of their lives. They have also carried out many ambushes of Indian Army security forces in Churachandpur and Chandel areas, and have used these attacks to ensure AFSPA remains in the tribal regions. The latest ambush of security forces by Meitei extremist groups in Churachandpur include the killing of CO 46 Assam Rifle Colonel Viplav Tripathi, his wife and his 5-year-old son!

5. The influence of secessionist elements on the State government

Although the Valley-based Insurgent Groups (VBIGs) are outrightly secessionist outfits that strongly reject Indian nationality and the Constitution of India, they continue to exert strong influence and hold on the State government. These outfits call for a state-wide boycott of EVERY Independence Day and Republic Day celebration every year. The nexus between the government and VBIG is well-known to security officials who once exposed it in the past. It is mentioned that the secessionist undergrounds get their percentage share directly from the State budget.

Emerging extremist groups like Arambai Tenggol champion the separatist Kangleipak Flag and reject both the Indian National Flag and their conversion to Hinduism. There are video evidences of them burning the Indian National Flag when this current conflict broke out.

On the other hand, the Zomi-Kuki militant groups under the Suspension of Operation (SoO) have always accepted Indian nationhood and the Constitution of India. They are the only armed outfits in the Northeast demanding their due protection and rights under the Constitution of India.

The sudden labelling of the Zo people as "illegal immigrants" and "refugees" started gaining significance when N Biren Singh became Chief

Manipur: PLA claims attack that killed Assam Rifles CO, family, 4 jawans

"People's Liberation Army stands for an independent Manipur and cessation from India to be achieved by principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao's thoughts."



Minister of Manipur. This was followed by the maligning and characterizing of the entire Zo people as "poppy cultivators", which became a popular narrative especially when the **CM**, his wife and some of his ministers were named in one of the largest drug-busts in Manipur.

The declaration of tribal areas as reserve forest, protected forests, wetlands and sanctuaries without following due procedure or consulting the constitutionally constituted Hill Areas Committee and stake-holders triggered the eventual outbreak of the conflict in Manipur. The Chief Minister, along with the radicalized elements of Meitei communities have colluded to systematically wipe out the Zo inhabitants from their lands.

POPPY CULTIVATION IN MANIPUR

The Fake news

Tribals in Manipur, particularly the Zo communities in Manipur, are engaged extensively in poppy cultivation.

This has been the narrative that was led by the current Chief Minister N Biren Singh, which led to the building up of a dangerous communalist sentiment and vilifying of the Zo community. This is criminal defamation, and merits legal action under the Indian Penal Code, Code of Criminal Procedure and various Indian laws.

The Truth

1. Poppy cultivation is carried out all over Manipur. Those culpable come from different communities, not just the Kuki-Zomi

Poppy cultivation is rampant all over Manipur, and all communities including Meiteis and Nagas are equally culpable as cultivators. Some places where poppy cultivation were recently exposed include Ringui village (Ukhrul), Shongphel (Ukhrul), village Khabung village which (Senapati), are non-Zo villages. In fact, it is the Zomi and Kuki civil society



The Assam Rifles, ZRA ana Zomi CSOs and Churches on - **Poppy Free Zogam Mission**



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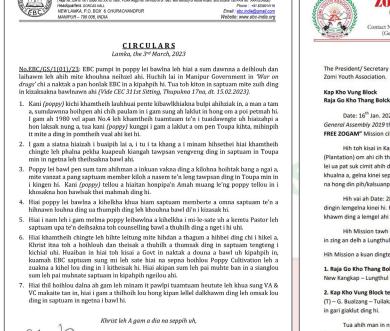
THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

organizations, and groups under SoO (Zomi Re-Unification Organization, Kuki National Organization, Hmar People's Convention (Democratic), etc.) who openly denounce poppy plantation in the Hills.



THE INEVITABLE SPLIT VOL (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)





(Rev That

EVANGELICAL BAPTIST CONVENTION



ZOMI YOUTH ASSOCIATION

pex body of MYU, SVO, TCXA, TYO, YPA, YVA, ZXO) *Philanthropic Organisation* . 8730818554 /Secy. +917005219897. email ID : zyaghq@gmail.com Headquarters: Lamka, Churachandpur District PIN-795128)

ZAKSAKNA

Date: 16th Jan. 2020. ZYA/Gho. Meeting No. 12 Resolution 1. Thukimna dung zui Jeh eral Assembly 2019 thukimna "KHAMTHEIH DODAL" cih tawh kizui in "KANI (OPIUM) FREE ZOGAM" Mission cih minvuah sep suah dingin kithukim hi.

Hih toh kisai in Kap Kho Vung Block leh Raja Go Kho Thang Block nuai ah KANI cinna (Plantation) om ahi cih thu zak ahih tawh kizui in hih bang a kham theih pianna KANI I gam I lei ua pat suk cimit ahih ding lunggulh na lianpi kinei ahih man in, ZYA in I gam leh minam khualna a, gelna kinei sepsuahna ah Block ten a kisam bangbang a na hong nungthuap uh a, na hong din pih/kalsuanpih ding uh ka hong thum hi.

Hih vai ah Date: 28th Jan. 2020 ni a Mission toh kisai taangna (Social Work) kuan dingin lemgelna kinei hi. Hih Mission ah Pawlpi, Police leh Army te tawh khut kilen a sep khawm ding a lemgel ahi hi.

Hih Mission tawh kisai in ni ciam ni in Lungthul (D) ah kisatation ding cih ahih man in zing an delh a Lungthul (D) Time : 08:00AM a tung kim ding in ka hong zasak hi.

Hih Mission a kuan dingte pickup point leh Route.

1. Raia Go Kho Thang Bolck te : Kangkap - Songtal - Mualnuam - Kaihlam - Thuangtam -New Kangkap – Lungthul (D). Kangkap ah date 27th Jan. 2020 in gari giaklut ding hi

2. Kap Kho Vung Block te : Ngalzang – Suangdai – Suangdoh – Lungchin - Enpum - Lungthul (T) – G. Bualzang – Tuilakzang – Lungthul (L) - Lungthul (D). Ngalzang ah date 27th Jan. 2020 in gari giaklut ding hi.

Tua ahih man in no Block nuai a Unitte a kisam bangbang a thu ana zasak dingin ka hong ngen in ka hong zasak hi.

"TOGETHER WE CAN"



Special Cell, Delhi Police @CellDelhi

03/03/23

●02 key supplier of International Narco Drug Cartel namely Ranbir Singh@Tinku and Loyangamba Itocha arrested by Special Cell (SR)

/ Member of Asia Pacific Baptist Federation (APBF) and Baptist World Alliance (BWA) /

•Recovered 50 kgs opium, worth more than 10 crore in international market, was brought from Manipur.

@LtGovDelhi @Delhipolice @hgsdhaliwalips



2:30 PM · Feb 20, 2023 · 3.047 Views

Cultivators of poppy are in fact mere cogs in this poppy machinery, as other are cultivators. They are more akin to laborers working under large poppy contractors. In fact, as per the website of Manipur Police (Narcotic & Affairs of Border), most of the opium manufacturing plants are located in the Valley districts such as Thoubal and Bishnupur.

2. The poppy business is actually controlled and sustained by the Manipur valley-based drug kingpins, and they are closely linked the to current political leadership

The real kingpins who control, facilitate and sustain the poppy

...



VOL **THE INEVITABLE SPLIT** (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

The Indian Express

https://indianexpress.com > North East India > Manipur

Manipur drug smuggling case: Cop alleges pressured to ...

15-Jul-2020 — Brinda, alleged that politicians, including a close acquaintance of the Chief Minister, and top police officers were **involved in drug smuggling**.

business in Manipur are actually Valley-based individuals who have close ties to the political leadership at Imphal. Only recently, the Special Cell (SC) of Delhi Police busted the **Etocha International Drug Cartel** which is owned and operated by individuals belonging to the Meitei (Valley) community.

In one of the biggest drug bust made by MPS officer Brinda Thounaojam, the Chief Minister of Manipur, N Biren Singh, and some of his ministers, were personally named in the case, with the arrested drug smuggler revealed to be the right-hand man of the CM's wife.

The much-publicized "War on Drugs" is merely the CM's attempt at **public-image management.**

3. The false narrative of poppy cultivation is a carefully developed ploy to ultimately snatch tribal lands

The false narrative of poppy cultivation is a ploy to snatch the lands of the tribal communities for the majority Meitei community. The Chief Minister, who has been leading the narrative that the Zo people are "poppy cultivators", had stated during the inauguration of MOVCNER Phase – III in Imphal that the villages where poppy cultivation is found will be derecognized. The idea is that the land will pass on to the hands of the government who can then hand it out to anyone it chooses. Whether such a proposal can stand the test of legal validity is of course doubtful.



WHO WERE THE VICTIMS: MEITEIS OR TRIBALS?

The Fake News

Meiteis are being attacked by tribals from the Zo (Zomi, Kuki) community. The armed groups under Suspension of Operation (SoO) are responsible for these attacks.

The Assam Rifles (ARs) and other Central paramilitary forces have joined forces with these SoO groups and are complicit in this violence against Meiteis.



The Truth

1. Extremist Meitei groups have systematically planned this ethnic cleansing beforehand. They are the aggressor, and they have the full support of the state government

The Arambai Tenggol, an extremist Meitei organization openly linked to the current Chief Minister Ν Biren Singh and current Rajya Sabha MP from Manipur, Leisemba Sanajaoba, led this cleansing ethnic of the Zo people in Manipur. They were allowed to freely take sophisticated firearms from the armories of various Police stations in Imphal (including Police Training

KSO_IMPHAL @KSO_Imphal · 5h

Months ago, suspicious Govt. officials along with civilians surveyed Kuki areas in Imphal. They left a red mark in the gate of many houses in National Games Village. Nobody knew the mark was painted to identify the Kuki houses. This is a pre-planned ethnic cleansing.



Centre at Pangei) and use them to assault innocent tribal civilians.

The extent to which this ethnic cleansing was pre-planned is only starting to unravel. Months back, tribal residents of various localities in Imphal were quite perplexed when young men claiming to be sent by the government (but who did not show any proof of identification) arrived and started making inquiries on which houses belong to the Zo (Zomi, Kuki) communities. They marked the gates of these houses with red paint. The confused residents, who are currently taking shelter in relief camps, now realize with a shock what this activity was about: it was to mark the houses belonging to the Zo so they could be specifically targeted when the ethnic cleansing begins. The plan clearly worked, as all Zo houses in Imphal have been set ablaze now.

The only action taken by the Zo communities was that of self-defence, as heavily armed Meitei groups have been assaulting tribal villages. *The indefeasible proof of this is to look at the body count*. The death and injury list are majorly from the Zo community. Majority of the private properties destroyed and villages burned belong to the Zo tribes. Any independent verification will reveal this. Within the Zo inhabited towns and villages, no innocent Meitei civilians were harmed; **the worst they saw was internal displacement**. On the other hand, there is ample visual (video recordings) and documentary (including first-hand account) evidence to prove that even innocent tribal civilians were targeted by the organized and armed Meitei mob.



2. It was the Kuki-Zomi villagers who organized themselves for selfdefence that the media dishonestly projected as cadres of the SoO groups



Manipur CM N Biren Singh on Monday said that the weapons of the Kuki insurgent groups in Suspension of Operations (SoO) with the government have been found intact during an inspection carried out by a Joint Monitoring Committee comprising the army and the state police. With repeated attempts by Meitei armed groups to storm tribal villages, villagers from the Zo villages near Meitei dominated areas have organized themselves into self-defence forces, and a few of them are armed with rudimentary hunting rifles. It is these civilian men that the State-controlled Imphal-based media falsely label as cadres of the SoO groups, doctoring images and videos to force their narratives.

Image: The Chief Minister N Biren Singh was compelled to admit that the weapons of Zomi-Kuki armed groups under SoO were intact in their respective camps the whole time, after inspection by a Joint Monitoring Committee of the army and state police.

3. The Assam Rifles (ARs) and other central paramilitary forces helped bring about a cessation to this ethnic cleansing. Violence subsided once they were deployed.

Before the Central paramilitary forces were deployed, the Arambai Tenggol and other extremist Meitei groups had free hand to lynch innocent tribal civilians - even in broad daylight and in full public view. There is ample video and photo evidence of this. The Central paramilitary forces helped to stop the State-sponsored ethnic cleansing. It was under their supervision that stranded tribals in Imphal were evacuated safely to the tribal districts.

In fact, some Meitei officers in these army allegedly misused their power to aid and abet these extremist Meitei groups. A Meitei officer of the AR, namely Major Y. Singh of 33 AR, was understood to have aided the Meitei mob in burning Bongbal Kholen (a Kuki village) on 4th May, 2023. Another Meitei officer of 16 AR, Major Rahul Singh (currently posted at Thoubal) was also seen to have sided with the Meitei extremists.



4. The fake news circulated are a result of a malicious disinformation campaign by the Imphal-based news media, who represent communal-Meitei interests and are controlled by the state government

The State government order on the banning of mobile data and broadband was enforced in a partisan manner. Imphal-based news media like ISTV, Impact TV, and TOM TV, who are controlled by the State government were given uninterrupted internet access so they can continue to circulate fake news and communally-charged information. They have been twisting facts and circulating false information in favour of the Meitei community and to vilify the tribals. Only recently, ISTV shamefully labelled a tribal dialect (spoken by a recognized tribe in Manipur) as a Myanmarese dialect, and was forced to issue a public apology due to public outrage.

Further, the Imphal-based news media already have established a monopoly on the news and information that goes out of the state to the national and international media community, specifically on account of patronage by the state government. Hence, their fake news gets amplified over the first-hand accounts of tribal victims which are continually sidelined.

Local media in tribal areas lack state patronage, and hence they are systematically curbed. Neither is connectivity to the outside world made available to them. Even many national and international media persons who come to Manipur are closely monitored and many attempts were made to compromise their neutrality by the State government and valley-based groups.

MANIPUR HILLS v/s VALLEY

Much has been said about the Hill-Valley divide in Manipur. But recently there has been a great politicization of the issue, and this was accompanied by the spread of blatantly false and misleading information. Primarily this has come from Valley-based media and political actors with vested interest in championing a particular narrative as it is key to accomplish their goal of taking over tribal land and resources.

The Fake News

Tribals live in 90 % of the land while Meiteis live only in 10% of the land and are therefore disadvantaged. Meiteis cannot settle in tribal lands; they are confined to only 10% of the geographical area of Manipur.

The Valley districts are becoming congested and there is, therefore, a need to extend settlements to the Hills.

The Truth

The truth of the matter will be presented in a tabular form for easy comparison and understanding.



Comparison	HILLS	VALLEY
% of Geographical Area	90%	10%
Settlement Rights	All communities: There is in fact a sizeable Meitei population in hill areas. Meitei Leikais (colonies) are a common feature in hill towns like Lamka (Churachandpur) and Kanggui (Kangpokpi).	All communities: There are tribal colonies in Imphal valley. But only few tribals can afford to settle here due to high living costs.
Buying Lands	Permitted to all under due procedure: The only restriction is that the prospective buyer of land who is a non-ST has to take approval from the District Council and the Deputy Commissioner concerned.	Permitted to all under due procedure.
Land Productivity	Very low, infertile, hilly and inhospitable.	Highly productive, fertile, plain area and conducive to living.
Mode of Farming	Shifting cultivation, which is labour-intensive, non- remunerative, and requires larger areas to maintain the Jhum cycle.	Settled/permanent farming which can be done in small areas. This is highly remunerative, and the government provides immense support in terms of capital and subsidies.
Reasons for Congestions	Declaration of Reserve Forest, Protected Forest, Wild Life Sanctuary, National Parks, etc. If rules of these frameworks were to be implemented, there will no longer be sufficient land for the habitation and livelihood of tribals. Tribals are predominantly agriculturalist. However, as the hills are characterized by low fertility and inhospitable terrain, they also depend on forest produce as a part of their sustenance.	Over-concentration of government institutions and offices, educational, technical and medical institutions, infrastructures projects, etc. in the Imphal Valley.



The People	Tribals, low income, low social status, and suffering from decades of institutional and systemic injustice.	Gen/SC/OBC, advanced community, high income groups, with disproportionate control over political power and economic resources.
Protections available to the People	The tribals are protected by Art 371C. But the Hill Areas Committee (HAC) formed under it is only a <i>recommendatory body</i> and therefore ultimately powerless.	The Meiteis have 40 out of 60 total seats in the State legislature – a disproportionate share as they account for just half of the total population. The State not only protects their culture, language, and political interests, but also imposes it on other communities of the State.

A BABEL OF FAKE NEWS AND DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGNS

Meitei MLA Nishikant Sapam on The Wire

Most of the information and facts spewed by Meitei spokespersons are based on fabricated facts, distorted histories, and simply selfcontradictory ideas. They often do not stand in the face of preliminary fact-check and logical examination.

A case in point: Meitei MLA Nishikant Sapam (NS) sat down for



an interview with noted anchor Karan Thapar (KT) and delivered all the major arguments deployed by Meiteis. But none of these arguments stood when tested on the anvil of facts and reason.

Some of these will be highlighted, along with brief commentaries to understand the context and implications.

On Scheduled Tribe (ST) Status of Meiteis

- KT: Are you claiming that Meiteis were Scheduled Tribes before the Merger into India?
- NS: Yes, absolutely!



- KT: But who recognized them as STs? Because the ST tag didn't exist in British Indian days.
- NS: We were the same kind of people.
- KT: But the ST tag didn't exist before independence.
- NS: It did, it did.

VOL

KT: It came into being with the Constitution.

A core argument given by Meitei groups including the Scheduled Tribe Demand Committee, Manipur (STDCM) is that Meiteis were STs before Independence. But Karan Thapar here pointed out clearly that the constitutional ST category (including all associated benefits of positive discrimination) did not exist before Independence. Sapam tried to course-correct by saying that Zo (Kuki, Zomi) and Meiteis were the "same kind of people". But a few minutes later, he contradicted himself by saying that "we [Meiteis] don't have similarity" with the Zo (Kuki, Zomi). The truth of the matter is that Meiteis have always despised and looked down upon the Zos, calling them "Hao macha" (a derogatory term). This attitude persists, except that now they are willing to be clubbed in the same category as the people they despised in order to reap economic benefits.

On Reservations

- NS: All the IAS and even the state services are hogged by people with ST quotas.
- KT: But the SC/ST quota is a fixed percentage.
- NS: Very few Meiteis get into the IAS.
- KT: Meiteis qualify for the OBC quota which is 27 percent.
- NS: But STs always takes the chunk of it [jobs].
- KT: But how can this be? The ST quota is separate to the OBC quota!
- NS: Kukis are hogging all the top posts
- KT: But Kukis can only benefit from the ST quota, and the ST quota is only 7 percent!

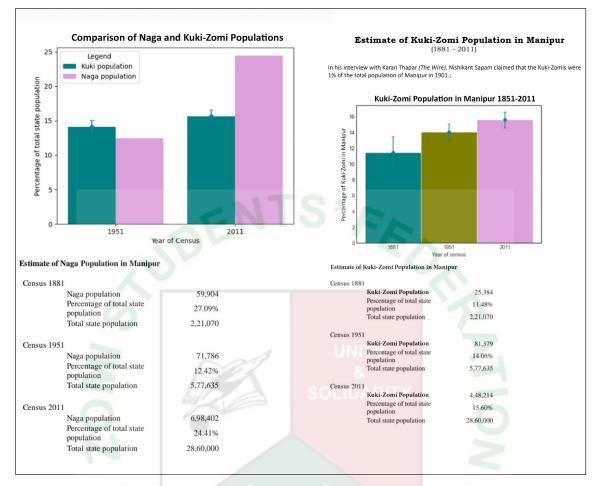
The truth is that Meiteis are cornering all the available jobs and opportunities in Manipur. All developmental works and government institutions are concentrated in the Imphal Valley, and a quick glance at any results of any recruitment exams in the State will show that 80-90 percent of the vacancies are filled by Meitei candidates (a disproportionate share, in fact).

On the Issue of Illegal Immigration

- NS: How can the Kuki population which was only 1 percent in Manipur in 1902 rise up to 29 percent in 2022?
- KT: It's not: the official statistics says it's 14 percent.



VOL



- 1. Robert Brown (1874), Statistical Account of Manipur;
- 2. Captain EW Dun (1886), Gazeteer of Manipur
- 3. Censusindia.gov.in

An amateurish ploy used by Meiteis is to simply spew out blatantly false facts and information, hoping that their listeners are too simple to fact-check. But such a tactic cannot work in Karan Thapar's court, who is always ready with the correct facts.

The truth of the matter is that there is no credible demographic data of Manipur dating back to 1901. Most parts of the hill areas were inaccessible, and inhabited by tribes who had not come under firm administrative control of the British government.

Here is the Census of India report for Churachandpur district. It adds a note: "Due to lack of data, population of districts from 1901 to 1941 shown as N.A"

Interestingly, the document also noted: "The population of Manipur State of Senapati district by sex includes the estimated population of Mao Maram,



State District S Code Code		State/District	Census Persons Year		Variation since the preceding census		Males	Females
					Absolute	Percentage		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			2011	1,40,651	+29,152	+26.15	72,371	68,280
14	274	Churachandpur	1901	N.A	-		N.A.	N.A
			1911	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A.	N.A
			1921	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A.	N.A
			1931	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A.	N.A
			1941	N.A	N.A	N.A	N.A.	N.A
			1951	44,496	N.A	N.A	21,725	22,77
			1961	66,304	+21,808	+49.01	33,092	33,21
			1971	1,00,418	+34,114	+51.45	50,810	49,60
			1981	1,34,494	+34,076	+33.93	69,732	64,76
			1991	1,76,184	+41,690	+31.0	91,218	84,96
			2001	2,27,905	+51,721	+29.36	1,17,232	1,10,67
			2011	2,74,143	+46,238	+20.29	1,38,820	1,35,32

Paomata and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district for 2001." Estimated population means that the list of names of people is not recorded. Data could not be collected for some areas of Manipur even in 2011!

On the Manipuri Identity

- NS: Will you please put your shoes in the shoes of the Manipuris? Once upon a time, this land was ours [Meiteis] and we are [now] restricted to just 9 percent.
- KT: But the Kukis are Manipuris too!

[note that NS had already stated that the Meiteis "don't have similarity" with Zomi, Kuki]

It may surprise an external observer that tribal communities of Manipur are considered by Meiteis to not be Manipuris. But this condition has always been clear to tribal communities who experience this alienation on a daily basis. When people speak of a Manipuri identity, culture, and language, we simply speak of a Meitei identity, culture, and language. The State protects and promotes Meitei identity and interests, and imposes it on other communities of Manipur. And it is quite true. The Zo (Zomi, Kuki) people have never been part of the Manipur Kingdom, and instead have always had their independent principalities. That is why they have never fitted into the idea of a "Manipuri people". Hence, given that both Meiteis and Zo people (Zomi, Kuki) acknowledge that they are different political entities, the natural course should be that the Zo people are given a Separate Administration, free from Meitei-Manipur hegemony.



On the Territorial Integrity of Manipur

NS: I as an MLA of the Government of Manipur have taken an oath to safeguard the integrity of Manipur.

This too is a blatant lie. The Oath to be taken by an MLA is provided in the 3rd Schedule to the Constitution of India. **An MLA takes Oath to "uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India"** and not that of a particular state. In fact, as per Article 3 of the Constitution of India, the Indian Parliament can form new states and alter existing boundaries by law, that too with a simple majority of votes. **India is called an "Indestructible Union of Destructible States"** precisely because Parliament can form new states or UTs to accommodate regional and ethnic diversity.

It is quite easy, legally and procedurally speaking, to create a SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION for the Zo inhabited areas.

FAKE NEWS, INFORMATION, AND PICTURES CIRCULATED BY EXTREMIST MEITEIS

Meitei extremist and fundamentalist groups, aided by Imphal-based media, have been circulating intentionally fabricated information to stoke communal sentiments and instigate more violence against tribals. Many renown and well-known personalities from the Meitei community have also joined the bandwagon of lies. Despite being the aggressors and perpetrators of one of the most inhumane pogrom in Manipur's history, the Meiteis are doing all they possibly can to play the victim card.

In some of the most blatantly shameless collective actions any community could fashion, they have sought to alter the narratives through a quantitative surge of fake news and reporting. Even some of the supposedly influential Meitei celebrities have been involved in spreading misleading information and abusing the platform they are privy to. These includes *Lucipriya Kangujam* (child environmental activist), *Soma Laishram* (actress), *Thounaojam Strela Luwang* (Femina miss India, 2nd runner up), *Robert Naorem* (acclaimed designer), among others. However, despite all their might and attempt to spread false and fabricated information, their effort seems to be counterproductive. To their own dismay, it has frequently backfired and worked against their interest. Below are a few samples of the many lies that have been debunked and proven false by factual refutation and information, beyond their sensationalized appeal.



Burning of our National Flag

Extremist Meitei groups burned the Indian National Flag immediately after the peaceful protest organized by tribals, only because the tribals had shown allegiance to the National Flag during the protest by displaying it proudly.

But some Meiteis had circulated this video as tribals burning the National Flag. The truth is quite easy to decipher, as the persons in the video were speaking in the Meitei language and bluntly stating the reason for burning the National Flag.



#ManipurBurning Burning of national flag not in canada by Khalistani but manipur by kuki people Neil Swarn Kushwaha May 8 · 159 views

Protest in Jantar Mantar

Meitei protesters in Jantar Mantar printed a large photo of a woman with facial injuries who they claim is a Meitei woman physically assaulted by tribals. But people were quick to notice that they stole the photo from a recent domestic abuse case in Arunachal Pradesh.



The Case of the Meitei Doctor and his Daughter



News information was circulated widely about a Meitei doctor being trashed and his daughter being sexually assaulted in Churachandpur district by tribals. Some days later, the doctor himself came live on *ImpactNews* (an Imphal valley-based media) to inform the public that all this



information are fake and to rebuke those who were stoking communal flames in his and his daughter's name. But the damage was done: many tribal girls bore the brunt of this deliberate misinformation, as many faced actual sexual assault supposedly "in retribution" from the "crimes" allegedly committed by their fellow tribesmen.

Langol Burning

So called child climateactivist Licypriya Kangujam, a Meitei herself, posted a video on social media, stating that tribals are burning Meitei houses. But in actuality, the village that is being burnt in the video is Langol village, which is inhabited by the Zo (Zomi, Kuki) tribes. The attack and arson of the village was carried out by the extremist Meitei group Arambai Tenggol in collusion with the Manipur Police Commandos. But Licypriya may not be the right person to blame, as it is well-



Dear Mr Narendra Modi Amit Shah ji, Illegal Migrants are burning the houses of our meitei indigenous community in Manipur. Bcoz they want to plant poppy at our reseved forests. This is horrible present situation now. It's out of control like a civil war. We need peace!

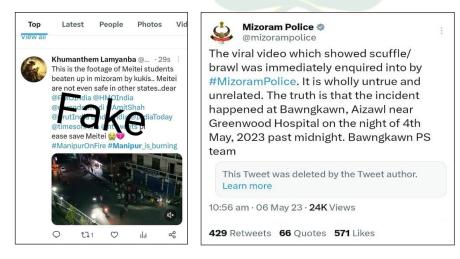


known that her parents are actually the ones operating her social media accounts (and her father is in fact an infamous absconding fugitive).

Violence Against Meiteis in Mizoram

To get the sympathy of the Indian public, Meitei social media users claimed that Meitei civilians were attacked in Mizoram.

The Mizoram Police stepped in immediately to debunk this false information.





Rape in Churachandpur

Extremist Meiteis, in an attempt to recruit more Meiteis into their fold, spread a fake news that Meitei women were being raped in Churachandpur.

Dayananda Ngairangbam @DAYA6_4 · 21s #savemanipur #savemeitei #manipurisburning #bbcindia #ndtv Kukis are raping meitei women in churachandpur district of manipur in open.Please help in these rough times.Kukis are spreading biased and false news over the social media. #ManipurOnFire #NarendraModi

#womenempowerment

The Director General of Police (DGP) of Manipur stepped in to announce that no rape incident occurred in Imphal. In fact, till date, no innocent Meitei civilians in Churachandpur are harmed, and Meiteis were provided protection by the local tribal women, as covered widely in the news media.

In yet another malicious attempt to deceive other Meiteis and persuade them to join in the cause of ethnic cleansing, extremist Meiteis circulated a fake news that the dead bodies of 37 Meitei rape victims along with that of a 7-year-old child were lying in the morgue of Shija Hospital.



DGP P Doungel: No rape cases in Churachandpur; strict action against those who snatched arms from PS

UT Desk - May 5, 2023 - 11:03pm

Shija Hospital, owned by Meitei businessmen, flatly denied this claim. But much damage was already done due to this fake news, as many innocent tribal civilians were consequently lynched in the streets of Imphal in broad daylight and in full public view.

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Shija Hospitals doesn't do post mortem examination . Shija is not allowed to do it by law at present.

BREAKING NEWS

Haojik haojik Shija hospital da Postmortem ge report ke matung enna meitei nupi 37 plus chahi 7 ta sureba angng yaona rape twraga hatpage Confirm oireh spread this news ASAP as much as u can.

0220 56

28 comments • 44 shares



CHAPTER 6

THE WAY FORWARD: SEPARATION ONLY SOLUTION

The recent state-sponsored ethnic cleansing pogrom has irrefutably shown, both to the nation and to the world, that the tribals, in particular the Kuki-Zomi-Hmar-Mizo community, and the Meiteis can no longer live together*peacefully* under one administration. Historically, there has always been a deep-rooted emotional and psychological distance and separation. Now with the mass intrastate exodus of communities in the State, **the physical and geographical separation is clearly evident.** Political and administrative separation is the only viable solution for maintaining peace and harmony among the communities. Separate administration is now a prerequisite for lasting peace.

The Union government must either govern the tribals directly as a Union Territory (UT), or grant them political autonomy under Article 244A of the Constitution of India. President's Rule must be imposed in the interim to improve the law-and-order situation in the State, even as political solutions are discussed.

The incumbent Chief Minister N Biren Singh must be removed immediately as he is directly responsible for all the *crimes against humanity* that are committed in the State under his leadership. **This is a non-negotiable precondition for peace as he will continue to use all the means available at his disposal to subvert the ground reality and compromise any attempt at evidence-based peaceful negotiations and solutions**. The State



government has completely failed the tribals and the citizens of Manipur, and there is completely no trust in N Biren Singh's leadership whatsoever.

RALLYING CRY FROM THE TRIBAL PUBLIC

The remaining tribals from the Zo (Zomi, Kuki) communities (who have escaped the ethnic cleansing) have now predominantly been evacuated from Meitei-dominated areas. Similarly, the Meiteis who have settled in the tribal areas have also been evacuated. While this has come about through a painful process, it has also created conditions for the easy demarcation of borders and setting up of separate administrative arrangements. There is simply no coming back from this: the separation is complete.

For tribals in Manipur, the idea of Separate Administration is no longer a distant wish or a demand. Tribals in the hill districts have come to see it as a fact – a process that simply cannot be stopped or delayed. Hence they have started renaming places and indicated clearly that these areas are under a Separate Administration.







The hill district of "Kangpokpi", which is a Meitei-ised version of its original name, has been renamed "Kanggui" – its authentic indigenous name. The name of the hill district of "Churachandpur" - which is named after a Meitei king - is now reverted to its original name "Lamka" by its residents. All things owned by the tribal people have been purged from the Valley districts, and likewise all things Meitei have dissipated from the Hill districts.

SUPPORT FROM THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES

All tribals are now speaking with one voice, united and resolute.



BJP MLA Paolienlal Haokip has categorically stated the position of the tribal MLAs in an interview with Karan Thapar. He confirms that the Chief Minister is deeply communal and that this conflict is a State-sponsored ethnic cleansing.

The 10 MLAs of the Manipur legislature belonging to the varied





Press Statement

The unabated violence that began on 3rd May, 2023 in Manipur perpetrated by majority meitels tacitly supported by existing Government of Manipur against the Chin-Kuki-Mizo-Zomi hill tribals has already partitioned the State and effected a total separation from the State of Manipur.

Our people can no longer exist under Manipur as the hatred against our tribal community reached such a height that MLAs, Ministers, pastors, police and civil officers, laymen, women and even children were not spared, not to mention the destruction of places of worship, homes and properties. To live amidst the Meitei again is as good as death for our people.

Therefore, as elected representatives of our people, we today represent the sentiments of our people and endorse their political aspiration of separation from the state of Manipur. We have also decided to hold a political consultation with our people at the earliest regarding further steps to be taken by us as a people.

As the State of Manipur has miserably failed to protect us, we seek of the Union of India a SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION under the constitution of India and live peacefully as neighbors with the state of Manipur.

1. Haokholet Kipgen. 2. Ngursanglur Sanate MLA. Saitu AC MLA, Tipaimukh AC 12/05/3 Haokip Hangshing, Kimne 4. Letpao Haokip. MLA, SatkukAC MLA, Tengnoupal AC 5. LM Khaute, 6 Letzamang Haokip MLA Churachandpur AC MLA, Henglep AC 10:123 7. Chinlunthang. 8. Paoliental MLA, Singngat AC MLA, Saiko Mager 9. Nemcha Kipgen, 10. Vungjag MLA, Kangpokpi AC MLA, Thanlon AC



Zo tribes have now come out in open support of the aspiration for a Separate Administration. In their **Press Statement**, they stated that they "represent the sentiments of our people and endorse their political aspiration of separation from the State of Manipur."

They have also written to the Home Minister of India, with the subject: *"Demand for Separation from the State of Manipur"*.



Many groups both in India and across the world have expressed solidarity with the tribals of Manipur and condemned in the highest terms the ethnic cleansing of the Zo tribes.

The Mizos in Mizoram, from the Chief Minister to Civil Society Organizations to individuals have raised concerns on the plight of their fellow Zo ethnic community in Manipur at different forums. Rajya Sabha MP K Vanlalvena has expressed clearly that it is only Separate Administration that will bring peace back to Manipur. BJP Mizoram have also advocated the demand for Separate Administration.

That Separate Administration is the natural and only logical solution is clear to any neutral and reasonable external observer.

ONLY SEPARATE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION FOR THE ZO PEOPLE (KUKI-ZOMI) WILL BRING PERMANENT SOLUTION TO THIS PERPETUAL PROBLEM IN MANIPUR

The Zo people have suffered enough. The surest mechanism that will guarantee the Zo people to live with dignity and thrive as equal citizens is to accord them political autonomy guaranteed under the Constitution of India. This is the only path towards durable peace and progress.



VOL THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)

The Hindu 🤣 @the_hindu · 15h × **Robert Haokip** \overline{TH} Chief Justice Chandrachud orally said a High 3d · 🎳 Court does not have the power to direct "This is not about total failure of law and order in changes in the Scheduled Tribes List. the state, it is a premeditated one. It coincides with the total withdrawal of AFSPA [Armed Forces Special Powers Act] from the valley and the police could not deal with the rioters in the valley but in Churachandpur and Moreh many were killed. There should be accountability at the top level," says Thongkholal Haokip, an assistant professor at the Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi. Patricia Mukhim ... Angellica Aribam Trying to unbundle the Manipur crises is like opening a Meitei's demand for inclusion into ST can of worms. The deeper you dig the more reasons for disaffection of the tribes you discover. Why are all category started a decade ago by a few institutions of learning located in Imphal? Why are most Govt institutions in Imphal? people. Majority of the Meiteis weren't in support. It was fringe. The radicalization of the Why are the hills districts not granted the 6th Schedule Status? Why should the Councils be constrained by the society in the last few years have led to today's scenario. It's tragic. The govt has State Assembly and the State Govt? Where is the autonomy of the ADCs. Apparently Manipur Hills are failed the people. governed by Para 4(1) of the 5th Schedule. When all other tribes are governed by 6th Schedule, why are 12:35 PM • 12/05/23 from Earth • **24.7K** Views Manipur tribes still guided by 371(C) of the Constitution. Former General Secretary, NSUI Let's also note that Kukis are also settled in Tripura from 33AD and are perhaps what are now called Darlongs. Prashant Bhushan 😏 @pbhushan1 · 2d "Sometimes When differences 'Separation is the only answer': Manipur violence fue<mark>ls calls for s</mark>eparate state in India. Leaders of the mainly Christian hill tribes say that living alongside the mostly Hindu Meitei people is 'as good as death for our people' run so deep for <mark>so long</mark>, maybe its best to separate" -Karan Thapar Guardian These ethnic bonds continue to endure across state and international boundaries. "If your own brother and sisters are killed. would you not react? That is the reaction of Mizoram," Prof Doungel said. Mizoram is currently hosting nearly 3,000 people displaced by the violence in Manipur.

- A Mizo politician who declined to be named blamed the Manipur government for allow-
- ing the situation to get out of hand. "If they had handled the refugee situation better, this would not have happened," he said.

Prof. J. Doungel, Mizoram University



ube.com/watch?v=jvdL81pDOfv&fea

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As on: 17^{th} May 2023

STATE-SPONSORED ETHNIC CLEANSING: SUMMARY OF TRIBAL CASUALTIES DATA COLLECTED BY: ZSF MEDIA/IT CELL

CHURCHES						
STATUS	SOURCE	NUMBER				
Completely	Churachandpur	Tribal Christian	Meitei Christian	Total		
Destroyed	District Christians	Churches	Churches			
	Goodwill Council	192	28	220		
DENIO FF.						

PERSONS					
STATUS	SOU	TOTAL			
Confirmed Dead	Churachandpur Morgue	Other places- Imphal areas, Kangpokpi, Chandel, Tengnoupal etc.	Sub-Total		
2	18	34	52		
Injured	Churachandpur District Hospital	Other places- Imphal areas, Kangpokpi, Chandel, Tengnoupal etc.	Sub-Total		
	352	2314	2666		
Missing	Missing Families/Relative/Relief Centres				
	2800				
Displaced Individuals	40,000-50,000 (out of which 17,650 are in Relief Camps)				

OFFICIALS-VICTIMS					
Type of Service	JUDICIARY	CENTRAL/STATE SERVICES	OTHER SERVICES	TOTAL	
Number (in persons)	14	214	8013	8214	

PROPERTY						
Туре	HOUSES	SCHOOLS	VEHICLES	VILLAGES		
Quantitative (in no.)	5670	8	81	192		



ANNEXURES



THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)



©The Lamka Resurgence Squad

HISTORICAL Amnesia In Manipur

- Meiteis have a deep misunderstanding of history, particularly on how the old Manipur kingdom evolved into the modern state it is today. That perhaps is why many are super sensitive to the tribals' demand for SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION.
- Uninformed Meiteis have the perception that they own all the existing lands in present Manipur, and that the Zomi-Kuki tribals came from elsewhere and settled in the hills.



MEITEI MLA NISHIKANT SAPAM Stated in a recent interview:

"Once upon a time, this land [hills and valleys of Manipur] was ours. Now we are confined to just 9%."



©The Lamka Resurgence Squad

Here are a few history lessons to clarify this misunderstanding and show why **SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION** is not only justified but necessary.

Before 1891, the Kingdom of Manipur (Kangleipak) encompassed the present valley areas.

It is well-recorded that the hills surrounding the Manipur Kingdom were settled by **tribal republics independent of the Manipur kingdom**. These tribes were often at war with Manipur.

The current Manipur districts of Churachandpur, Pherzawl, and parts of Chandel were **considered part of Northern Chin Hills.** British Political Agent at Manipur, W. McCulloh, wrote in 1859: "Before the connection of the British Government with that of Munnipore took place, the latter, **not to speak** of exerting influence over the tribes, was unable to protect the inhabitants of the valley from their exactions and black mail, and even after the conclusion of peace with Burma, and the fixation of boundary of Munnipore, the majority of the tribe were independent, and known to us little more than by name."

THE INEVITABLE SPLIT (Documents on State-Sponsored Ethnic Cleansing in Manipur, 2023)



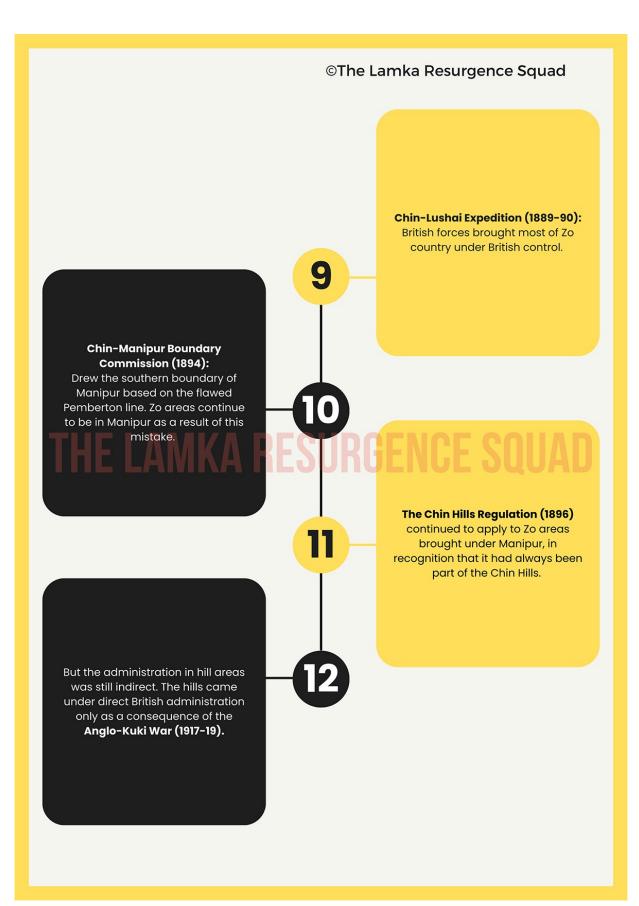


The border between the Zo people and the Manipur kingdom was marked as running along the Chakpi river (north of today's Chandel district) after the 1857 defeat of King Chandrakirti by the great Zo chief Kamhau. And the Treaty of Sanjenthong (1873), concluded with Guite chief Sumkam marked the border as Loktak Lake.

Pemberton Line (1834):

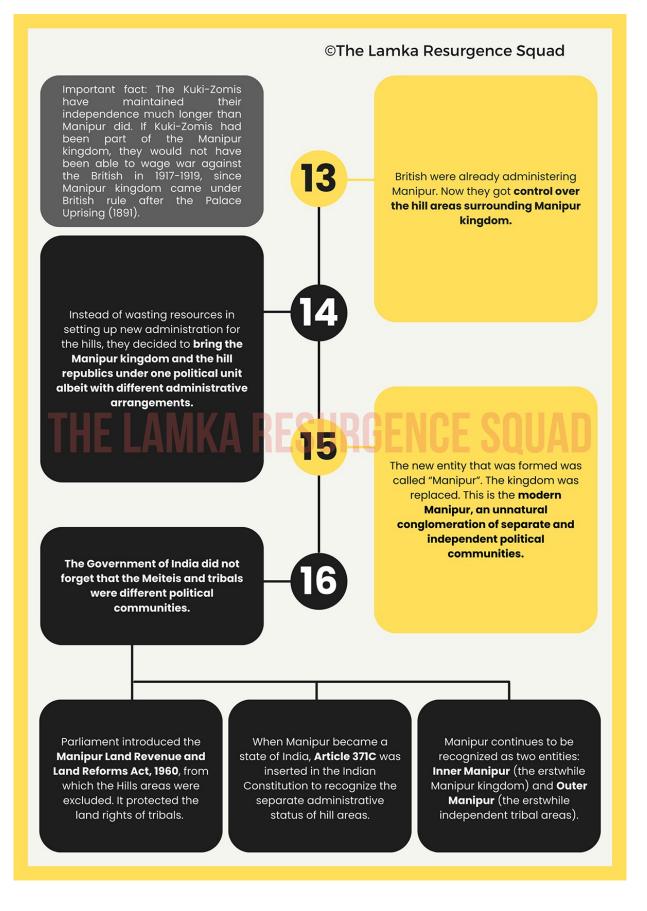
British officer RB Pemberton arbitrarily demarcated the southern boundary of Manipur without visiting the area. This was denounced by other British officers as it kept portions of Zo country (current Churachandpur, Pherzawl, and Chandel districts) under the Manipur kingdom.





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THE BIG Confusion

Most Meiteis don't have respect for facts and history. They have even torched the State Archives recently to erase documented history.

- Thus they confuse the modern Manipur that was created by the British with the old Manipur kingdom.
- They fear that the demand for Separate Administration will break apart Manipur. But in truth, the **real Manipur** will not be fragmented because it consists of mainly the Valley areas.
- The Hill areas, which were never a part of the old Manipur kingdom, will regain its old status as a separate and independent political entity.



Some points to ponder:

- If the Zo hills were part of the Manipur kingdom, why is there no age-old Meitei settlement in the Zo hills that dates back to the pre-Independence era?
- Why is Meitei culture and language unfamiliar to the Zomi-Kuki tribes? They would have imbibed these if they had been under Meitei rule. And Meitei kings are known to impose things on their subjects, such as getting all Meiteis to switch to Hinduism or to use the Bengali script. The fact that the Zomi-Kukis don't follow Hindusim or use the Bengali script is plain evidence that they never came under Meitei rule.
- The Zomi-Kukis have continued to grow politically and economically without any help from the Meiteis. When you are dependent on someone, you come to learn their language and culture. The fact that Zomi-Kukis are unfamiliar with Meitei language and culture shows that they have never been dependent on Meiteis for anything. Most Zomi-Kuki individuals can pass through life, from birth to dead, without being able to speak the Meitei language. The Zomi-Kuki condition is different from some other tribes of Manipur who need to learn Meitei language to get education, a job, or for daily business.



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MAJOR ATTITUDE CHANGES NEEDED

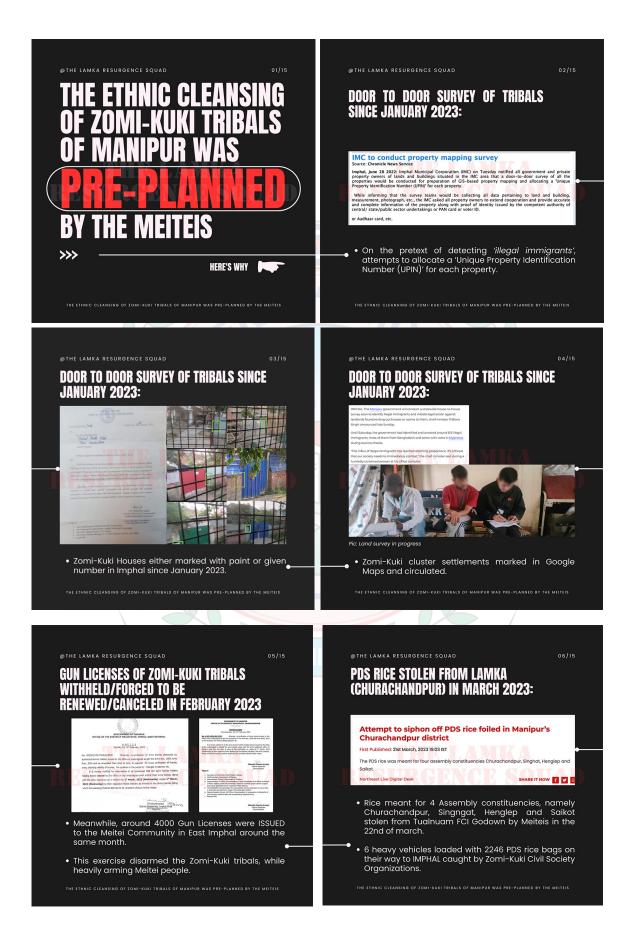
- STOP saying that the Kuki-Zomis came to Manipur from outside. They have lived in their present lands for centuries. Manipur was a neighbouring kingdom, and the British forcefully brought Zo hills into one administrative unit with the Manipur kingdom for their convenience. The Government of India have always recognized that Meiteis and Zomi-Kukis are different political communities.
- STOP saying that since the Zomi-Kukis are in Manipur, they should learn Manipuri (Meitei language). Zomi-Kukis are NOT in Meitei land: they have always lived in their OWN land and will continue to do so. Only Kuki-Zomis who live in the Valley areas like Imphal should learn Manipuri because that is Meitei land. Similarly, Meiteis who live in the hill areas should learn Kuki-Zomi and other tribal languages because it is tribal land.
- SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION is not unnatural. That Zomi-Kukis and Meiteis are under the same administration is the real mistake. Separate Administration will help to correct this historical error.



©The Lamka Resurgence Squad Majority of the political issues in Manipur arise due to the forced administrative unification of Meiteis with tribals. Peace and cooperation will come only when Separate Administration is instituted. **SEPARATION ONLY SOLUTION (SOS)**

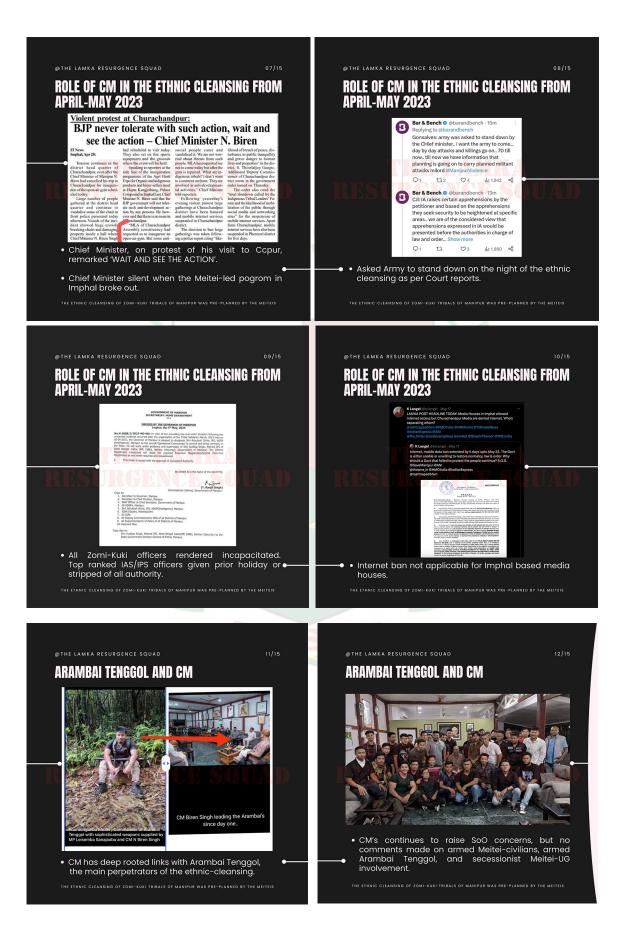


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VOI





WHY ARE THE MEITEIS DEMANDING ST STATUS?

The Meiteis are demanding ST status in order to alienate us from our ancestral lands and take away our constitutional, political and cultural rights.

HOW WILL THE ST STATUS FOR THE MEITEIS USURP US FROM OUR ANCESTRAL LANDS, AND OUR CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS?

The demand for ST status is a political device by the non-tribals to attain the right to acquire tribal hill lands. The Manipur Land Revenue & Land Reforms Act, 1960, Section 158, clearly safeguards the transfer of tribal lands to non-tribals in order to preserve the tribal custom and their land holding system. It restricts the non-tribals (including the Meiteis) from directly purchasing tribal land. They are required to first get the consent of the District Councils before they are able to carry out the purchase.

The Meiteis acquiring ST status will mean they will no longer need to seek the consent of the District Councils. They will have the right to directly acquire tribal lands. Since they have money and power, they will easily take control over much of our lands. This will infringe upon our land holding system directly.

Out of the total 60 legislators in the Manipur Legislative Assembly, 40 legislators are nontribals. Since the votes of 31 legislators are only required to pass a law, the Meiteis can pass any law which can infringe on our tribal rights. Article 371C was inserted in the Constitution (by the 27th Constitutional Amendment) to protect the tribal interest in the hill areas of Manipur. It led to the formation of a Hill Areas Committee (HAC), which have to be consulted when the Manipur Legislative Assembly is to pass law that affects the Hill Areas of Manipur. If Meiteis become STs, our HAC will effectively become a dysfunctional body, because the Meiteis will be part of our HAC.



The Meiteis becoming ST means they will be able to contest in the seats reserved for STs in the Manipur Legislative Assembly (19 seats), Outer Manipur Parliamentary Constituency, District Council elections and Village Authority elections. This will severely deprive the minority tribals of their only political platform. In simple words, there will be no more political reservation for the hill tribals. The Meitei community, despite being an advanced majority community, are also already enjoying reservation benefits under SC, OBC & EWS quota. If they get ST status, they will totally monopolize all available reservations in education and employment.

WHY ARE THE MEITEIS, LED BY THE CHIEF MINISTER N BIREN SINGH, USING THE NARRATIVE OF "ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS" AGAINST US?

The Meiteis have always wanted to grab our lands through any means necessary. Since illegal immigrants are prohibited by the laws of our country (India) from purchasing land, calling us illegal immigrants is one way to support their false claim that our land is not ours and the Government of Manipur should take control of it.

By virtue of Article 5 of the Constitution of India, we are a citizen of India:

- 1. By birth
- 2. By descent
- 3. By residing in the country for more than 5 years.

The radical Meiteis and the Chief Minister's rhetoric of calling us illegal immigrants is purely racist, and only shows his anti-tribal agenda.

WHY HAS THE ISSUE OF POPPY CULTIVATION BECOME SUDDENLY POPULAR?

The branding of the whole Zomi-Kuki-Mizo-Hmar community as poppy cultivators is part of the malicious attempt to confiscate tribal ancestral lands.

Under the War on Drugs' campaign, the Chief Minister of Manipur openly stated at MOVCDNER Phase-III programme at Imphal in May 2022 that the village chief on whose land poppy cultivation is undertaken will be held accountable and the village will be derecognized. Once de-recognition happens, the chief's ownership of the village is nullified



and the land passes on to the hands of the Manipur government, which may then hand it over to anyone it chooses. There is no law in the country that permit a whole village to be de-recognised even if some illegal cultivations are found in some area.

It is important to understand that poppy cultivation is also done in Naga and Meitei areas. In fact, poppy cultivators are controlled by drug kingpins who are based in the Valley. And most opium manufacturing plants are located in the Valley districts, as per the website of Manipur Police (Narcotic & Affairs of Border).

The declaration of the "war on drugs" and the popularizing of the narrative of "poppy cultivation", began after the CM himself was mentioned in one of the biggest drug busts by MPS officer Brinda Thounaojam, and is a public-image management measure. This has served to divert attention from the real issue of the drug trade and business in Manipur, which is actually controlled by those in the Valley. In fact, the largest drug kingpin in the Manipur is linked to one of the CM's Cabinet ministers, who is definitely not a tribal.

IS OUR ANCESTRAL LAND REALLY THE PROPERTY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MANIPUR?

No, our ancestral land belongs to us, our community and to our chiefs since time immemorial. By law, the government cannot claim ownership over property that belongs to individuals or communities. Section 11 of the MLR & LR Act, 1960 state, "all lands, public roads...lakes... which are not the property of any person, are and are hereby declared to be the property of the Government."

The Gauhati High (Manipur Bench) in the case of Nigom Others v. Samjathang, Chief (1990) stated that in the Hills of Manipur, the chief is the land owner and the villagers are licensees.

The Manipur High Court in C. Wungam v. Union of India (2016) held that, "…in the hills of Manipur it is the villagers to whom the land belongs".

Article 300A and 296 of the Constitution of India prohibit the State from depriving us from accessing our land resources. It only allows property not owned by anyone to be acquired by the State or the Union. Our ancestral land belongs to us from generations to generations.



WHY IS THE STATE GOVERNMENT DECLARING OUR ANCESTRAL LANDS AS PROTECTED FOREST (PF), RESERVED FOREST (RF), WET LAND (WL) AND WILD LIFE SANCTUARY (WLS) RESPECTIVELY?

The idea behind RF PF WL WLS is that if the non-tribals cannot acquire tribals hill land, then the tribals must also not have any ownership rights over their land and resources.

The government claims that declaring these arrangements over our land in order to protect the environment. But the actual intent is to take away our rights over lands. Environmental protection cannot come at the cost of rendering us homeless. The Government of Manipur has never taken our consent and approval in declaring our land as RF, PF, WL & WLS. Moreover, there are severe procedural lapses that are unconstitutional. Human Rights law of our country and international laws are being neglected in the indiscriminate nonconsented declaration of environmental protection. Human Rights and Environmental Protection should go hand in hand, and not against each other.

Sustainable development policy is the way forward and not Biren's development policy that infringes upon our indigenous rights.

"Land is their (tribal) most important natural and valuable asset and imperishable endowment from which the tribals drive their sustenance, social status, economic and social equality permanent place of abode and work and living...Therefore the tribes too have great emotional attachment to their lands."

Supreme Court of India (Samatha v. State of Andra Pradesh & Ors)

IS THERE REALLY NOT ENOUGH LAND FOR MEITEI SETTLEMENT?

This is a myth. Manipur Valley is one of the most fertile and productive plains in India. Population density in the Valley districts is the same as other plains areas in India.

The Meiteis claim that the Imphal valley is becoming congested. The reason for this is the ever-increasing concentration of important government offices, eminent educational, technical and medical institutions, and government infrastructures exclusively within the confines of Imphal valley alone. On the other hand, the Hill Districts remains grossly neglected in terms of development and funding.



The Government of Manipur has introduced laws to prevent further sale of land in the valley areas. The plan behind this is to halt further saturation of the valley lands and to start exploiting the hill areas unabated for their interests through various arbitrary legislations.

Also, the popular claim that Meiteis cannot settle in hill areas is baseless. In fact, there are many Meitei Leikais (colonies) in Hill areas like Lamka (Churachandpur), Kangpokpi, Tengnoupal, Moreh, etc.

OUR LAND. OUR RIGHTS. OUR IDENTITY.

#SeparationOnlySolution Issued in public interest by the Zomi Students' Federation







