ISSUE No. 32



Ngaloi Guest House RELIEF CENTRE

Near Ngaloi Muol, Lamka

Managed by Kuki Khanglai Lawmpi (KKL) GHQ

Total Inmates Registered: 97

📕 Male: 4

📕 Female: 53

VILLAGES COVERED

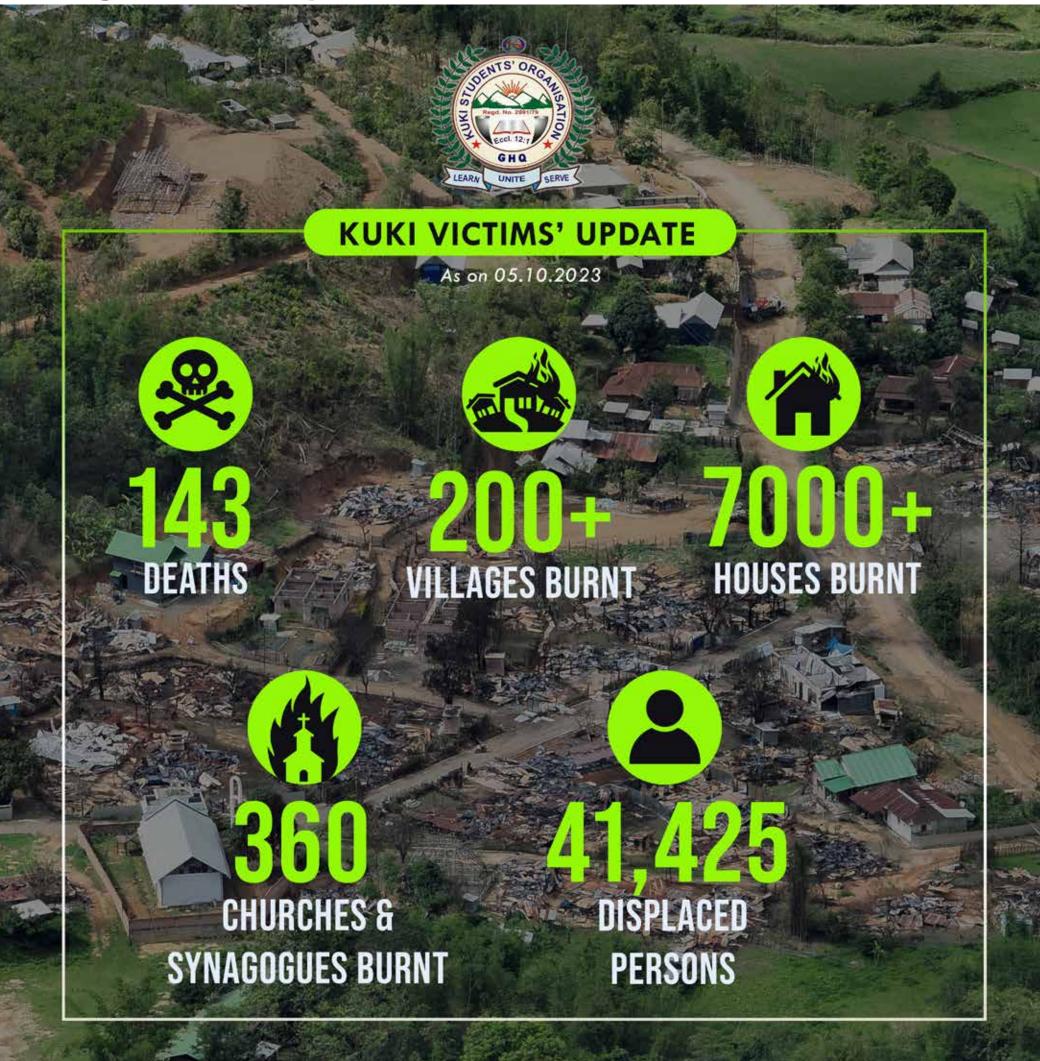
10000

Songphel, Sadar Hills Haibung, New Keithelmanbi L. Thinglhangphai, Sugnu Champhai, Saikul Saheibung, Sadar Hills Khoken, Sadar Hills L. Jangnomphai, Sadar Hills Bethany, Sugnu T. Sijang Munnomjang, Sugnu

KSO Media & Documentation Cell







Thingkho Le Malcha (charred wood tied with chilli): A war symbol; a pre-arranged secret code agreed upon by the Kukis to inform the people about the commencement of war and on receiving this, one has to remain alert and be ready for the battle.



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Non-Bailable Arrest Warrant Issued to Meitei Leepun Chief Pramot Singh

The Court of the Chief Judicial Magistrate, Churachandpur, has issued a non-bailable warrant of arrest against Pramot Singh, Chief of Meitei Leepun, in a case related to an offence of rioting commited by him.

In the wake of ethnic violence in Manipur, an FIR was lodged against Pramot Singh at Churchandpur Police Station under section 153 A/153B/500/505 of Indian Penal Code for promoting enmity between different groups, defamation and making statements conducing to public mischief.

At the court hearing, the assistant public prosecutor submitted that during the course of investigation, the address of the accused person namely Pramot Singh was established as Nepali Basti Chingmeirong, Imphal West District, Manipur, which lies under the jurisdiction of Lamphel Police Station, Imphal West, and having its Office at Sana Konung, Imphal East District, Manipur.

The application of the Investigating Officer of the case also stated that due to the ongoing communal conflicts of the state which broke out on 3rd of May 2023, the accused person cannot be arrested at this juncture as the address of the accused falls under the jurisdiction of Lamphel Police Station, Imphal West District. Acccordingly, a message was sent to the Officer-in-Charge of the Police Station for taking necessary action. Since there was no intimation received from the concerned Lamphel Police Station, a reminder for taking necessary



action was sent and also for conducting of house search on September 9, 2023 under Section 41A of the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC). However, no intimation was received from the concerned police station.

After several attempts failed, a notice was also served to the accused person to appear in person before the investigating officer for the purpose of investigation on October 2, 2023 at 10:00 am at Churachandpur Police Station, but no reply or intimation or cooperation was received so far from the accused person.

Upon hearing of the case and on perusal of the material record, the Court issued a non-bailable warrant of arrest against the accused. It also directed the Superintendent of Police, Churachandpur, for ensuring timely execution of the order which is returnable by November 9, 2023.

Court Summons MU Head of Law Department and Former District & Sessions Judge for Promoting Enmity

The Court of Chief Judicial Magistrate, Churachandpur, summoned Dr. Yumnam Premananda Singh, Head of Department, Department of Law under Manipur University and Noutuneshwari, Retd. Sessions Judge, Government of Manipur, for appearing before the Court on November 9, 2023.

The two accused were charged for offences punishable under sections of 153A/153B/505(1) B & C/505(2) and 506 of Indian Penal Code.

The Court said that there is prima facie well established evidence against the two accused persons and therefore, summoned them for appearing before the court in person.

It was revealed in the Court that Dr. Yumnam Premananda

Singh. Head of Department, Department of Law, Manipur University, and Aribam Noutuneshwari, Retd. Sessions Judge, Govt. of Manipur, were engaged in a direct call for action to the general public who were not only apart of the programme but also those watching online in social media to blow away all buffer zones, where Indian Army/CAPF were deployed, and kill the Kuki-Zo tribes in a programme held in Imphal in the early part of the ethnic conflict between Kuki-Zo and Meitei communities.

The two accused persons also incited the general public to march and storm to Churachandpur and Kangpokpi in traditional combat dress.





Thingkho Le Malcha

Manipur High Court to Get its First Tribal Woman Judge

Department of Justice, Ministry of Law & Justice, Gol has appointed Golmei Gaiphulshillu Kabui to be a Judge of the Manipur High Court.

On 10 January 2023, the Supreme Court Collegium in its meeting, approved the proposal for elevation of Golmei along with Aribam



Guneshwar Sharma as Judges in the Manipur High Court.

Barely a month later, Aribam Guneshwar Sharma has been appointed as a judge of the Manipur High Court on 3 February, 2023. Whereas the appointment notification came for Golmei after 9 months since the SC Collegium's recommendation.

Interestingly, Justice Golmei will be the first woman High Court Judge from Manipur and also the second tribal High Court Judge after Justice Songkhupchung Serto. She will also be the first tribal woman Judge of Manipur.

Remove CM, Impose PR to Restore Peace in Manipur : Congress Working Committee

The Congress Working Committee (CWC) had reiterated its previous demand for the immediate removal of Chief Minister N Biren Singh and imposition of President's Rule as the first step in resolving the unprecedented crisis in Manipur.

The resolution was taken during a meeting of the CWC held in New Delhi on October 9 which addressed critical issues and outlined its promises for the future.

As per the resolution, the meeting expressed its deep anguish on the collapse of constitutional government and the continuing humanitarian tragedy in Manipur.

"Even after more than five months, the PM has totally abandoned the people of Manipur and abdicated his constitutional responsibilities. Violent incidents have increased with numerous instances of vigilantism and threats by armed mobs. The Union government has completely failed in its duty to maintain public order and bridge the divisions between the communities. The constitutional machinery in Manipur has broken down," it mentioned.

Paolunmang Arrested from Pune; CBI Faces Risks of Losing its Credibility

With the arrest of another accused-Paolunmang, in a case related to the alleged killing of the Meitei young couple, the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) faces the risks of losing its credibility, atleast from the Kuki-Zo communities.

In the wake of an ethnic cleansing against the Kuki-Zo unleashed by the majority Meitei radicals alongwith State machineries, the Kuki-Zo communities have been raising the pattern of investigation by the central agency, and accused the CBI or NIA of overlooking the hundreds of Kuki-Zo victims whose lives had been treacherously nibbed in the bud.

To regain the lost trust, the CBI needs to come out with action taken reports upon the criminals from the Meitei community who are responsible for the inhumane cases of raped, murdered, paraded naked, tortured of Kuki women, burning alive of a child with his mother inside ambulance, beheading of a youth, amongst many others. Seems that hundreds of criminal cases have been untouched for delivering justice to the Kuki victims.

A Kuki youth- Paolunmang, was arrested from a location in Pune on October 11 with the help of technical surveillance, the official said. He was produced before a magistrate and sent to CBI custody until October 16.

The Kuki people alleged that the central agencies-CBI and NIA have performed "selective amnesia" when it comes to delivering justice to the Kuki-Zo victims while swift and prompt action of selective justice delivered to another community.

Mentioned may be made that on October 2, the CBI had arrested four accused in connection with the killing of two students. The four-two men and two women-were arrested from Henglep area in Manipur's Churachandpur district.









WKZIC Demands NIA to Review Allegations Against Kuki Militant Groups

The World Kuki-Zo Intellectual Council has called on the National Investigation Agency (NIA) to review allegations against Kuki militant groups in connection with the recent violence in Manipur. The council emphasised the necessity of a thorough and unbiased investigation into the matter.

The World Kuki-Zo Intellectual Council (WKZIC) in a letter to the National Investigation Agency (NIA) Director Dinkar Gupta, IPS demanded a review to be made by the agency claiming four Kuki militant groups as forces behind the crisis in Manipur.

In a letter to the NIA Director, the WKZIC stated, - "The various Kuki militants formed during 1987-88, to defend the Kuki civilians who endured series of 'Persecutions & Genocides' from larger and stronger communities, later came together under the umbrella of KNO-UPF is under 'Suspension of Operation' (SoO), from 2005 with Gol and then with Gol and GoM in 2008 respectively."

Further, the letter stated that the KNO-UPF has been obediently loyal under the custodian of the Government of India from 2005 till date (2023), with all their weapons double locked, stayed at designated Camps peacefully like Government Sepoys with monthly stipends from Gol, and SoO tenure extended annually, till date, attaining 18 years of normal life activities like normal citizens.

Blaming the Meitei community, the WKZIC mentioned how the Meitei community suddenly launched their premeditated attack on minority Zo ethnic Kukis on the 3rd May 2023 evening, an hour after the TRIBAL SOLIDARITY MARCH in all the hill districts of Manipur.



The letter also stated that minority Kukis in Greater Imphal Valley districts were hunted, hundreds killed and all Kuki colonies in Inner Manipur Kangleipak were burnt into ashes and within 2 days alone about 80 Kuki villages in all the peripheries in Manipur were burnt down. On the 4th of May 2023, all Kuki populace in Imphal Valley took shelter in Security Force Centres in the state.

The letter highlighted certain media houses alleging the Kuki-Zo people were taken aback to learn that the National Investigation Agency (NIA) wrongly accused KNO-UPF constituent units such as ZRA, KNA and KNF (N), who signed an SoO as Kuki with Gol, and unheard UKLA as militant groups Forces behind the Crisis in Manipur, leaving aside the 11 (eleven) outlawed Meitei Manipuri Militants.

Therefore the WKZIC urged the NIA to look into the matter, and collect information from Central Security Personnel deployed in Kuki-dominated areas of outer Manipur, to get accurate information, not to add multiple pains and agonies upon minority Kuki people.

Manipur Police Arrests KCP Cadres with Arms, Ammunitions

Imphal West District Police today arrested two active members of KCP (City Meitei) from Thangmeiband near Hot Bite Cafe, Thangmeiband.

The arrested persons are identified as Ningthoujam Chalamba Singh (26yrs) S/o late N. Subol Singh of Khurai Sajor Leikai and Yendrembam Goutam Meitei (25yrs) S/o Y. Ahongjao Meitei of Sekta Mayai Leikai.

They disclosed that they are working under the command of Self-Styled Chairman Mr. Brojen @ City Meitei since June 2023 and on his advice, they demanded huge amounts from the shop owners of Imphal West and East area for their party fund.

From their possession, one 9mm pistol RFI along with a magazine loaded with 4 live rounds bearing body no. 18305913 (suspected to be looted from security forces), one pistol marked as ".32 7.65 PISTOL MADE IN JAPAN" along with magazine loaded with 3 live rounds, one Baleno car black in color without registration number, three mobile handsets and wo wallets containing 2 Aadhaar cards and Rs. 200/- were recovered.



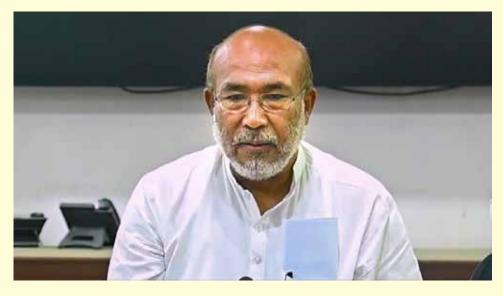


THE HATE PROPAGANDIST : N. BIREN SINGH AND THE RISE OF FASCISM IN MANIPUR

Manipur or Kangleipak as the people call it, was once a calm and splendorous place where both people of the hills and valley co-existed peacefully with utmost respect for each other. "Chingna koina pansaba, haona koina pan ngakpa" meaning "the land which is surrounded by hills and guarded by the hillmen" was the theme of coexistence and the same was testified by the sheltering of valley dwellers during the Seven Years of Devastation, Chassad chief sending 200 of his men to stand guard against merger of Manipur in 1949 and other various instances that history has in its memoirs.

Unfortunately, the bond of brotherhood and the cordial relationship between Hills and Valley in the past has been deluded by contemporary Meetei centric leaders and thus began to dwindle gradually. The Russian grandmaster Garry Kasparov had said that, "You can get quite far in a democracy if you can convince a majority that they are victims of a minority, and that only you can protect them." which is perfectly employed by the communal Meetei leaders to rally the people around them. The titular king of Manipur Leisemba Sanajaoba whom the Kuki had shown utmost respect in tune with the historical setting of the past friendship between the Manipuri Kings and Kuki Chiefs had been radical of the meetei hegemony and is spearheading the meetei militias such as the Arambai Tengol and Meetei Leepun clandestinely in his capacity as the titular king as well as the people's representative to the parliament.

In the meanwhile, with N. Biren Singh as the Chief Minister of Manipur, a paradigm shift in the socio-political scenario emerged with division of people along ethnic lines and perceived indigeneity of various communities that have been living together for centuries. His selective discrimination is not limited to the hills and valley alone but also among the hill tribes by favoring one upon another. The facets of Neo-Fascism can be seen with N. Biren Singh seated at the helm of power where Kuki people are labelled as illegal immigrants, refugees, narcoterrorists and whatnot. The first political strategy of his fascist ideology can be felt through his approach towards the enactment of Reserved Forest laws in hilly Kuki-Zo



areas. By-passing all the established norms and rules, deluded by the narratives of too much congestion in the valley and exploiting the flaws of land ownership in the hills, he flexes his authoritarian muscles upon the helpless village dwellers by serving eviction notice and declaring them as illegal settlers in their own ancestral land.

The anti-Kuki rhetoric and indigenisation theories had flooded the social media and the local print media to radicalize the youths and various organisations such as the Haomee Federation, Kanglei Kanba Lup, World Meetei Council etc. had mushroomed to propagate hatred against the Kuki community and intimidate them by imposing the "refugee" tag. In fact, it was the failure of the Manipur government as well as the Indian government to rehabilitate and resettle those displaced people due to the atrocities of NSCN(IM) after the organization gained ground in the North Eastern India, in which thousands of families and hundreds of villages were uprooted and scattered. It will be cruel and unfair to refer such displaced people as illegal immigrants and refugees. However, it is very unfortunate that a person with a stature of occupying the post of Chief Minister of a state had used derogatory remarks such as refugees, junglee etc to a particular community on a Facebook comment is uncalled for. Also, such remarks from the man holding the most powerful position in the state

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Thìngkho Le Malcha

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had emboldened the already radicalized Meetei youths to intensify their anti-kuki rhetoric and propagandas.

The labelling of Kuki as narco-terrorist community as a whole is just another example of fascist ideology put into practicality by Chief Minister N. Biren Singh and his cohorts. Not a single country and even the most advanced and well regulated countries are not fully capable of dealing with the menace of drugs and as such, it cannot be attributed to a particular community. In fact, the drug trafficking network is managed by big players from the valleys and the cultivators are mere pawns in the game. One of the most decorated ex-cop, Th. Brinda had spilled out that the Chief Minister was the 'Godfather' of all this illicit business in the state which probably led to her quitting her job as a police officer. As such, the problem of drug trafficking is not a recent phenomenon. It is neither a problem of a community alone nor an endemic but rather, it's a worldwide problem and blaming one particular community is a manifestation of the rise of fascism. There is a saying that "If the wise fails to guide a society, the stupid will surely do it." and seemingly, the majority Meetei community is under the guidance of radical organizations like the Arambai Tengol and the Meetei Leepun who had knowingly or unknowingly destroyed the unity and integrity of the state, thereby necessitating the demand for a Separate Administrative set up for the Kuki-Zo community.

The controversy looming over the naming of the Anglo-Kuki War had caused deep pain and hurt the emotions of the Kuki-Zo people as the struggle and sacrifices of their forefathers had been ignored, neglected and forgotten. When a short battle at Khongjom can be recorded as 'Khongjom War', why a full scale war that engulfed the whole of North Eastern India for three whole years cannot be called a War? Even India's First War of Independence was termed as 'Revolt of 1857' by British writers and it is obvious that the Kukis' fight against the British will be termed 'Rebellion' by the British writers. It's a moral obligation, duty and responsibility of a state to honor and acknowledge the sacrifices made by its people. However, the sacrifice of the Kuki people had been rewarded with indignity, humiliation and even dishonored by questioning the very existence of the War since the Kukis are not in a position to claim the glory of their past.

The demand for the status of a Schedule Tribe itself is an absurd state of affairs where one wants to become a backward community or a undeveloped tribe. In the context of Manipur, it is apt to say that the demand for ST status by majority Meetei community is more of coveting the opportunities embedded with it and the land procurement policies in the hills which barred the non tribals from buying the lands. The present ethnic violence in Manipur too has got its spark from the Meetei ST demand itself with the Manipur High Court direction to recommend the demand of Meeteis to the Union Government followed by protest rally in the hills. But in reality, the Meeteis, who are the majority in the state have the best of opportunities in terms of employment where every department of the state government is practically filled with them down from bottom to the top; medical and educational institutions congestedly concentrated at Meeteis areas; dissappropriate representation in the state assembly; inappropriate distribution of development funds between the valley and hills and the reservation quotas of SC, OBCs and that of General category wholly occupied by the majority Meetei. Above all these opportunities, the demand for ST status is nothing but a greed to devour every opportunities in the state.

The covetous nature of Meetei-centric speeches often mention that the top posts in government offices held by tribals, specifically the Kuki-Zo community, of being a free gift of tribal reservations quotas while ignorant of the fact that it was their sheer hardwork and years of toil that put them in those positions. This grudge of jealousy is clearly reflected in the nature of mayhem perpetuated from the 3rd of May this year against the Kuki-Zo community by specifically targeting high ranking officers in Imphal valley physically, politically and economically at the first instance. Nevertheless, with the living God on our side, the Kuki-Zo people had and will always shine brighter after every oppression and persecution like a fine gold shining brighter and better when heated in fire, and this particular event of Meetei pogrom to wipe out the whole of Kuki-Zo population in Manipur will be a call to rise, shine and meliorate in the days to come.





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Thingkho Le Malcha

CHIEF MINISTER IN THE DOCK

-THONGKHOLAL HAOKIP

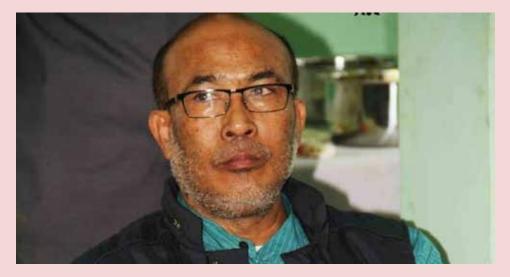
N. Biren Singh government's decisions in Manipur have increased hostility among communities, prolonged current impasse.

Last month, Manipur Chief Minister N Biren Singh requested the central government to revoke the Free Movement Regime (FMR) agreement with Myanmar in order to curb the influx of the so-called "illegal immigrants", allegedly responsible for the ongoing violence in the state. Earlier, in September 2022, the FMR was temporarily suspended in the wake of the coup in Myanmar in February 2021 and the inflow of refugees into Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland.

The temporary suspension of the FMR is explicable, given the acute political unrest and fragile security situation in the neighbouring country from where large scale inflow of refugees has become exigent in Mizoram. But, India and Myanmar have never had a history of violent boundary disputes. Most of these boundary settlements were largely arbitrary — the concerns of local people were hardly kept in mind before the boundary lines were drawn or settled.

These borderlands are cultural spaces where people from the same ethnic stock inhabit contiguous areas. In times of trouble, ethnic ties are much stronger than state-imposed borders and laws, which Mizoram has demonstrated in the last two years. Manipur shares a border of about 390 km with Myanmar. Only about 60 km of this stretch has been taken up for fencing by the central government while the rest continue to remain porous. In the increasingly security-centric border management, the FMR has been a recognition of the lived realities of borderlands.

The border between Manipur and Myanmar was formalised by the boundary commission of 1881, which corrected the errors of the one drawn by R B Pemberton in 1834, and placed it on the foothills of the eastern slopes of the Dingpi ridge in Manipur or the western foothills of the Kabaw valley in Myanmar. The border line passes through or just misses several villages as these foothills were one of the preferred locations for settlement. Many of these villagers on the Indian side of the border depend on the economic activities in the Kabaw valley for livelihood. The lack of all-weather roads on the Indian side of the



border forces them to walk a few metres east, across the porous border and on to the India Myanmar Friendship Road, linking Moreh-Tamu-Kalemyo-Kalewa, to travel to Moreh via Tamu, and then to Imphal and other parts of the country.

The lack of proper medical facilities in many villages in the extreme southeast of Manipur has also forced villagers to avail the nearby facility in Khampat, a small township mainly of Kuki-Chin inhabitants in Myanmar. As an informal practice, the Myanmarese authorities would allow such travel after a casual identity check to ascertain whether they were from the so-called "border villages". Such an informal border regime has been the practice since the early days of Independence. In fact, those belonging to the border villages were hardly even aware of the FMR, until recently.

The Kuki insurgent groups, who are engaged in peace negotiations with the Centre, demand the extension of FMR up to 80 km (aerial distance) on both sides of the Indo-Myanmar border and 120 hours or five days stay with visa-less entry and movement for the Kuki people. The call for a permanent revocation of the FMR by the Manipur government, therefore, makes the situation more precarious in the light of the five-monthlong unrest, that has deepened the chasm between the politically dominant Meitei community — mainly settled in the heart of state — and the trans-border Kuki community. This is especially so when the crisis of food and medical supplies in the borderland deepens due to the continuous blockade in Imphal valley.







Thingkho Le Malcha

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The recent extension of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) in the hill areas of Manipur, while excluding 19 police stations in Imphal valley, is another manifestation of how the two geographical areas of the state are treated differently and unequally. The continuation of the "disturbed area" tag of the hill areas under AFSPA, despite the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM) signing the ceasefire agreement with the government of India in 1997 and the Kuki insurgent groups since 2008, is a stark contrast to the Valley, despite most of the Valley-based insurgent groups still fighting against the Indian state. This apparent favouring of the Valley area also contributes to the animosity between communities.

Similarly, the attempt to segregate population in the Manipur-Myanmar border appears to be an ad hoc approach. Despite the segregation of the population on ethnic lines, this conflict is not permanent. Given the dependence of the communities on each other, there will have to be discussions on better ways to co-exist. In contrast to the usual state-centric approach, the lived experience in the borderland — which, in the words of the Mexican sociologist Jorge A Bustamante, is a space where "broad scenes of intense interactions in which people from both sides work out everyday accommodations based on face-to-face relationship" — has to be taken into account.

The demand of N Biren Singh for the revocation of the ceasefire between Kuki insurgent groups and the government of India, instead of demanding a quick settlement, and his continuous blaming of Kuki insurgents as responsible for the present crisis in Manipur irk many. The allegation of "illegal immigration" causing violence, without evidence, and the attempts at doing away with the FMR may serve his interest, but the central government should not easily fall into the trap of a particular narrative.







Thingkho Le Malcha



In lands of yore, a tribe did rise, Their voices strong, beneath the skies, 'Gainst tyranny, they took their stand, Fighting for their rights, their homeland.

A noble quest, in classic guise, To break the chains, to reach the skies, Injustice reigned, the tribe did mourn, But unity and hope were born.

With banners raised, in resolute might, They faced the day, they faced the night, A David 'gainst a Goliath foe, Their spirits fierce, their courage aglow.

The majority, with power and sway, Sought to keep the tribe at bay, Yet within each heart, a fire burned, For freedom, justice, they yearned.

In eloquence, their pleas they wove, their passions strove, To win the minds of those unswayed, To join their cause, in the light of day.

Though battles fierce, they did endure, Their love for freedom remained pure, their voices rung, As they fought the fight, when the world was young.

With valor, they stood, unwavering, bold, In tales of old, their story told, A tribe that rose against the tide, their fight won't hide.

-Jeffrey Paojalal Hangshing