

MAHEIROI 2011

MSAD

MAHEIROI

2011



Published by
Manipur Students' Association Delhi

MAHEIROI 2011

An Annual Magazine of
the Manipur Students' Association Delhi

©
MSAD 2011

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Contribution price Rupees 100 only



Dedicated to those who fight for Justice



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Dear friends,

At the very outset I would like to express my happiness to the successful publication of Maheiroi 2011. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Coordinator Chinglen Luwang, Malem Ningthouja (Chairperson, Election Committee), Praem Hidam (Advisor), and Manishwar (Advisor) for their initiative and hard labour. Furthermore, I would like to share my expectation to the succeeding executive terms to have regular publication of Maheiroi. I wish that Maheiroi 2011 serves the interest of the Manipur student community and inspires them as well.

Our executive term (2010-2011) coincided with turmoil situations in Manipur. The longest blockade that Manipur had ever witnessed was carried out in an environment of mistrust and animosity among communities in Manipur. There was apprehension of the situation culminating into communal violence. The political decadence in Manipur has attained such high degree that despite prices of goods increasing to astronomical high, thereby affecting the economic livelihood of the common people, neither the government nor the contending forces were seriously working towards urgent amicable political solution.

Another important issue that we came across was people's call for peace and democracy. We were involved in the people's demand for peace directed against AFSPA, i.e., a struggle in which the decade long hunger strike of Irom Chanu Sharmila had been an integral part. However, as exemplified

by the recent attack on peaceful demonstration at Arts Faculty, University of Delhi, there is a clear indication of some anti-peace people trying to implicate the ongoing movement getting projected as anti peace and anti-democratic. The onus is on all of us to prevent any such anti-peace propaganda projection. Everyone here is an ambassador of this movement. Everyone share the responsibility of projecting the movement in its true meaning.

I would like to reiterate the fact that in order for any student to be able to do anything substantial for our motherland, one has to strive hard in studies. While social awareness and political role are important, what is equally important for each student is to be sincere in studies as well. I would love to see everyone keeps the feet grounded and the promise that was made to the parents while coming to Delhi for education.

The city lights are blinding and it is easy to lose ground here. I would like to appeal everyone to be true to oneself and never get lost into temptations that may uproot one's cultural originality. We are the pillar of Manipur and I am sure that we can keep the flag of Manipur flying high. MSAD is looking forward to see the entire Manipuri students in Delhi coming out with flying colours.

**Long live MSAD
Long live Manipur**

Miss Beerjurekha Samom,
President, MSAD
05 November 2011



PAOJEL

Delhi da mahei masing tamliba Manipurgi maheiroi khunai gi lup ama oina Manipur Students' Association Delhi 1971 da lingkhattuna maheiroisinggi yaifa thouram kaya hakthengnana paikhatlakli. Lup asina maheiroi singgidamak leptana paikhatchaba thabk thouramsinggi manungda Maheiroi hairiba chefong asisu maru oiba thabak amani haina loujei. Tellaba matam kharagi manungda maheiroisingna knna hotnaduna Maheiroi puthoklakpa asi maheiroi khunnaigi maipakpa amani haijaning-ee. Chefong asina Delhida leiriba Manipurgi maheiroi singgi lousing amadi eeba-khotpa kaya mayamda saruk tamminnanabagi maru oiba pambei amasu soidana oigani haina thajajei. Chefong asina maheiroi singda kannaba amadi fajaba ethil peebe ngamba soidana oigani haina achetpa thajaba thamjari.

**Apunbana Yaipharae.
Long Live MSAD**

R.K. Sanayaima,
General Secretary, MSAD



MESSAGE

I am extremely delighted and feel tremendous pride that the Manipur Students' Association Delhi is coming up with the fourth edition of its one and only magazine Maheiroi on 3 November, 2011, after a gap of nearly a decade. I, with great humbleness, take this fourth publication of Maheiroi as one of the phenomenal achievements of the organisation and its members and indeed a result of gracious cooperation. The earlier editions were released in the years 2000, 2001 and 2002. Maheiroi is perhaps the only notable publication of MSAD besides its monthly newsletter.

I consider it to be my duty, as the cultural secretary, to express my sincere gratitude and words of thanks to the Editorial Board for bearing countless inconveniences and sacrificing their valuable moments due to their preoccupation in this work. I shall be failing from my duty if I don't extend my gratitude to those people who have always been helpful in the preparation of this work. It would not have been possible to accomplish this task without their active role and support. They deserve special credit for the success.

I take this opportunity to sincerely express, on behalf of MSAD, my special thanks to everyone who has always been kind to MSAD with sincere assistance and cooperation so ungrudgingly. It is all because of their blessings that this humble publication has now seen the light of the day. I, with firm belief expect further cooperation from all in the years to come.

Laishram Ashok Khuman.
Cultural secretary, MSAD



MESSAGE

I am glad to learn that the Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD) is bringing out the 4th edition of its annual magazine "MAHEIROI-2011".

I congratulate the Editorial Board of "MAHEIROI-2011" and its co-ordinator, Khumukcham Chinglen, in particular, for the effort to bring out the magazine.

A magazine of a students' association plays a very vital role in strengthening the association by bringing into it the spirit of fraternity among its members.

I do sincerely wish the publication of "MAHEIROI-2011" a success.

Dr Thokchom Meinya
M.Sc.; LL.B.; M. Phil., Ph. D.
Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha)
Former Minister (Hr. & Tech. Edn.), Manipur

20 October 2011



MESSAGE

I am very glad to learn that Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD) is bringing out its 4th Annual Publication "Maheiroi 2011" with manifold topics and information about Manipur.

Such magazine will definitely create a platform where the younger generation has the opportunities to expose their innate talent in the field of literature and express their views on all the current topics.

Publication of such magazine regularly will help spread our rich cultural heritage all over the world

I wish the publication a grand success.

Nongthombam Biren
Spokesperson, SPD Government,
Minister, IFCO and CAF & PD, M-anipur.

3 November 2011



MESSAGE

I have the great pleasure to learn that Manipur Students Association Delhi (MSAD) is bringing out the magazine *Maheiroi* after a long break. I am sure that with the current publication of *Maheiroi* 2011, it will once again rejuvenate the academic and literary activities of MSAD.

Academic and literary activities are endeavour that require constant engagement with words – with ideas. It is through novel ideas that human civilizations have moved ahead towards life of greater value and ideals. One way of creating new ideas, and thus visualize a desirable human goal, is through constant sharing and debating on the existing ideas. Writing is one of the many platforms through which our experiment with ideas can be initiated. The publication of the *Maheiroi*, I believe, will be a small but meaningful engagement towards this objective – not only towards academic and literary excellence of the individual students, but also praxiologically engage with our trouble torn native place called Manipur.

It is really commendable that the Academic Committee of MSAD has been working hard and making such a serious endeavour. I wish MSAD and its office bearers good luck and success.

Dr. Bhagat Oinam
Associate Professor
Jawaharlal Nehru University
Centre for Philosophy
School of Social Sciences

October 21, 2011

MAHEIROI 2011

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Note: Literary works carry the views and opinion of the concerned author and not necessarily those of the Editorial Board.

MAHEIROI, the annual magazine of the Manipur Students' Association Delhi, is the result of collective efforts of many people. This volume is another addition to a number of other documents in the archives of MSAD, most of which are related to crucial issues of political and civil rights. We hope this volume would keep alive the literary tradition of MSAD which had witnessed the publication of the first three editions of MAHEIROI in 2000, 2001 and 2002.

The publication of this volume is not as easy as one may expect. We had to face series of tedious formalities, overstretched coordination and many inconvenient adjustments. Fund raising was another big challenge while coping with many other important activities which actually were overlapping with the publication work.

Here is a brief revisit of how the idea of rejuvenating MAHEIROI came to be realised. Section II, Article 7, Clause (i), of MSAD Constitution, says, it is the "responsibility of the Academic and Magazine Secretary to constitute an Academic Committee, which apart from other activities is supposed to publish an annual magazine". Accordingly the Academic & Magazine Secretary (2010-2011 Term) had issued a press release on 17 February 2011, inviting students to submit articles, poems, short stories on or before 31 March 2011. One of the preconditions to carry forward the initiative was the appointment of an editorial board and a coordinator that would spearhead the process. However, the matter was temporarily kept on hold for a period of about 5 months. However, on 11 August 2011, the matter was again taken up. New notification was circulated requesting for submission of essays, short stories and poems on or before 30 August 2011. A press release was also issued asking students to join the editorial board as per the regulations laid out in the release. Any student may apply for the membership of the board either on the recommendation of Executive Committee or on voluntary basis.

A JBM was called on 22 August 2011 to decide on the themes and contents of MAHEIROI 2011. Finally, MSAD announced the constitution of an Editorial Board on 8 October 2011. Since then, Chinglen Khumukcham as the coordinator began collection of essays and poems and short stories from the students as well as other writers. Regarding the contents of MAHEIROI, MSAD had decided to collect contributions from a wide range of fields. Some of the initial ideas that came out were related broadly to the following: MSAD and its Activities, Statistical Information About Manipur, Poems and Lyrics, Fiction (Short Stories), Issues of Development and Human Rights, People's Movement in Manipur, Questions of Territoriality, Women's Politics & Action, Manipuri Students in Delhi, Issues of Discrimination, Community, Diversity

and Unity in Manipur, Film Industry in Manipur, Letters to Editors and Responses, and Pictures or Photographs on MSAD and Manipur. The themes were later unanimously agreed upon. The idea behind choosing of wide ranges of topics was to encourage plurality of thoughts and writings, experiences and opinions, and to retain the legacy of MAHEIROI. Whatever literary works that the Editorial Board received through the Coordinator were thoroughly studied, edited, crossed checked and sent back to the contributors for their final response. Except in the case of an article on Film Industry in Manipur that the author did not reply to the comment of the editorial board, all were approved finally for publication.

The current volume of MAHEIROI also incorporates essays of the winners of the Essay Writing Competitions held on 26 July 2009 and 3 September 2011. There is however a clarification particularly about these essays. These essays may not fulfil the minimum standard of what we generally expect from the point of view of academic publication. In fact, these essays were written on the spot on the occasions of academic programmes organised by MSAD. The purpose was to encourage writing and thinking habits among the students from Manipur, so that they could exercise their intellectual skill and capacity to react to the contemporary experiences in Manipur of which they are part not to deny. We however feel impressed with the kind of response in terms of participation and enthusiasm among the students. We are proud of the courage and the interest of these young and talented students who shared their views on the topics given to them. Except few corrections of grammatical mistakes, date, name of places, and deletion of repetition, we have strictly maintained minimum intervention in order to retain their original views.

Also in this volume are reports of various activities of MSAD, list of volunteers, list of meritorious awards and other prizes, list of donations and contributions, and other information provided to us by the Executive Committee. We had requested the EC to authenticate the reports and also to strictly follow appropriate criteria so that there is neither misrepresentation nor underrepresentation of “facts”. The Editorial Board is not however responsible for any omission or inclusion in respect of what is published in this volume. Moreover, the literary works carry the views and opinion of the concerned author and not necessarily those of the editorial board.

We are fully indebted to MSAD for inviting some of us to be in the Editorial Board and giving us the opportunity to participate in the production of MAHEIROI and contribute to MSAD in general and the large number of students in Delhi in particular.

**Apunbana Yaifare
Long Live MSAD**

Section I

MSAD ACTIVITIES

MSAD ACTIVITIES EXECUTIVE TERM 2010-2011

- 23-12-2010:** MSAD circulated examination wishing cards to the members.
- 24-12-2010:** MSAD attended Christmas celebration organized by UAF trust and presented a gift.
- 24-12-2010:** MSAD interacted with the staffs of Human Rights Law Network (HRLN) on the issue of human rights abuse in India in general and in Manipur in particular.
- 29-12-2010:** MSAD interacted with a team of eminent journalists from Manipur and discussed the problems confronted by the people of Manipur as a result of Protected Area Permit (PAP).
- 30-12-2010:** MSAD visited AIIMS to identify the identity of an accident victim from the North-East.
- 18-01-2011:** MSAD circulated New Year pamphlet to the members.
- 23-01-2011:** MSAD JBM decided to draft annual planning for the executive term 2010-2011 and to nominate committee members.
- 28-01-2011:** MSAD made an enquiry about a woman patient from Manipur Ms Angella at IC unit, BL Kapoor Memorial hospital, Delhi.
- 09-01-2011:** MSAD visited Gurgaon, Sector 56 and enquired about the rescue of two women from alleged flesh trade.
- 16-02-2011:** MSAD attended Annual Freshers' Gathering organized by the Manipur students of Jamia Milia Islamia University.
- 17-02-2011:** MSAD volunteer Mr. Shoibam Leyland donated blood to a *scoliosis orthopedic* patient Mr. Thokchom Thouba at AIIMS.
- 08-03-2011:** MSAD observed centenary of the International Women's Day.
- 13-03-2011:** MSAD organized Annual Sangai Cultural Night at Dushera ground; released Newsletter Vol.4 issue 1; and donated blood at AIIMS.
- 27-3-2011:** MSAD attended protest jointly organized by AISA and Indraprastha College against sexual assault on a woman staff of IP College by Holi revelers.
- 28-3-2011:** MSAD investigated and took up necessary action for Miss Shipa, a student of JD institution, Hudson line north Delhi.
- 13-4-2011:** MSAD protested racial attack on Manipuri family at Munirka and discrimination by the police.
- 23-04-2011:** MSAD organized a group discussion on the present political socio-economic condition in Manipur.

02-05-2011: MSAD felicitated renowned boxer Miss Sarjubala of Manipur who won gold medal in the World Youth Championship-2011 at Antalya, Turkey and Master Md. Frooq Alam, who won gold medal in all Delhi District Level Taekwondo Championship.

08-05-2011: MSAD hosted a study circle on Environmental and Development Issue in Manipur.

17-05-2011: MSAD interacted with a team of All Manipur Working Journalist Union (AMWJU) and Manipur Research Forum (MRF) on the issue of sexual harassment of Manipuri women in Delhi, ways to prevent and means to address the plight of the victims.

21-5-2011: MSAD interacted with the members of UPF, Tammi-Chingmee Lup, AMKIL, UMO, Nupi Samaj on the issue of women's empowerment, domestic violence and arrest of civilians on false charges in Manipur.

18-6-2011: MSAD organized an interaction programme on Communal Harmony in Manipur at Delhi University Park.

13-06-2011: MSAD organized an interactive programme among students and delegates of International Manipuri Mothers' Association (IMMA), at the Delhi University Park.

25-06-2011: MSAD organized a joint press conference with IMMA at the Press Club of India on the issue of state terrorism, social unrest and political instability in Manipur.

27-06-2011: MSAD played important role in handling a case of sexual harassment of a Manipuri woman by a local at RK Puram, Delhi.

15-07-2011: MSAD organized an interaction programme focusing on the *Nude Protest* of 15 July 2004 by twelve Manipuri women in protest against the custodial rape and murder of Miss. Thangjam Manorama.

08-08-2011: MSAD organized Peoples' Demonstration for Peace at Jantar Mantar to protest human rights violation perpetrated by the State and the Non-state groups in Manipur.

20-08-2011: MSAD attended a festival under the theme Traditional Ethnic Designs and Colours of Northeast organized by the Delhi Paite Idongta (DPI). MSAD won second prize in the folk dance competition.

21-08-2011: MSAD attended an Iftar Party at Jamia Milia Islamia University organized by the Delhi Association of Manipuri Muslim Students (DAMMS)

09-09-2011: MSAD in association with Just Peace Foundation (JPF) organized a black day observation against AFSPA at Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

03-10-2011: MSAD organized literary meet *Maheiroigee Khonjel* at Tagore Hall, Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

30-10-2011: MSAD observed Irabot Day at the Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

04-10-2011 and 05-09-2011: MSAD organized annual Siroy Sports Meet at Ramjas College, University of Delhi. Hmar Students' Association Delhi won the Nine Men Soccer Tournament, and Crazy Boys retained the title of runners up.

25-10-2011: MSAD handled a sexual harassment case.

23-10-2011: MSAD's organized Annual Freshers' Meet cum Social Gathering at Ramjas College, University of Delhi.

02-10-2011: MSAD supported a day long protest against AFSPA organized by SDRP group at Jantar Mantar.

27-10-2011: MSAD attended a workshop on the issue of social identities organized by Jagori.

26-10-2011: MSAD attended and donated Rs 1000 to the Freshers' Meet organized by DAMMS at Jamia Milia Islamia University.

22-10-2011: MSAD attended Freshers' Meet organized by Khoibu Students' Association.

24-10-2011: MSAD took part in the protest against deletion of Ramanujan's essay of Ramayan from the history syllabus of Delhi University.

05-11-2011: MSAD took part in the protest against AFSPA organized at Jantar Mantar.

07-11-2011: MSAD released the annual magazine MAHEIROI 2011.

LIST OF THE AWARDEES

(Based on the information provided by the Executive Committee)

Recitation

1. First Position: Puyum Rakesh, Research Scholar, JNU.
2. Second Position: Soibam Haripriya, Research Scholar, DU.
3. Third Position: Usham Rojio, Research Scholar, JNU.

Painting

1. First Position: N. Abita Devi, Sociology (h), 1st year, Miranda House.
2. Second Position: Kamei Bikram Kabui.
3. Third Position: Soibam Leyland, Anthropology 2nd year, HansRaj. College, and RK Jyotsana Devi.

Essay Competition

1. First Position: Chabungbam Babina and Hanglem Rojit Singh.
2. Second Position: Rajesh Ngangbam and Nongmaithem Abita.
3. Third Position: Akoijam Premchand Singh.

Extempore Speech

1. First Position: Amit Elangbam, Kangleicha Sanaloi Lup (KSL).
2. Second Position: Elangbam Samananda and Chabungbam Babina.
3. Third Position: Khamsoshan Jaichea.

Sangai Sports

1. **Winners: (HMAR UNITED)** Damrawsesinate, Damuel Tusing, David Ramchullo, Edward Sungte (Manager), Emmanuel. R. Lungtau (Captain), Gospel Ralsun, James Joute, James khawbung, Lalzarzolien, Mangjames, Micheal Hringlon, Mordekai, Patricin Fimate, and Paul H Thang
2. **Runners Up: (CRAZY BOYS)** Arshard, Bungo, Chung, Deepak, Gaithui, Leekan, Player list:, Ringsang, Rovson, Suraj, Swamikanta, Thangalien Mang Haokip, Tom, and Tony (Captain cum Manager)

List of Meritorious Award (Not submitted by the EC)

List of Mr. & Miss Freshers and Judges (Not submitted by the EC)

LIST OF THE CONTRIBUTION TO MSAD

Name	Amount in Rs Or Kind
[N. Biren (Minister, IFCD), D.D. Theising (Education Minister), Surchandra (M.L.A) and Dr. Fhimate]	20,000
Alex Naoroibam	1000
Baghat Oinam	1000
C. Pramodini (Asstt. Prof., D.U.)	500
C. Pramodini	1000
CPDM	1000
DAMMS	1000
Dr. Th. Meinya (M.P Inner)	10,000
Dr. Th. Meinya (M.P Inner)	10,000
Dr. Th. Meinya (M.P Inner)	5000
Hareshwar Goshwami	1500
Hareshwar Goshwami	1670
Jayanta (MLA)	5,000
Khuman Leima (IMMA)	10,000
Krispa Ningombam	300
L. Bankim	500
Madam Sanatombi	1000
Malem Ningthouja	880
Mr. Bunga Maibam Khuman	500
Mr. Joykishan	5,000
N. Biren (Minister, IFCD)	20,000
O. Iboi (C.M. Manipur)	80,000
Timothe (Zeliangrong)	100
Victoria Ningombam	500
Victoria Potsangbam	1000
Wilson	1000
Yaima (Manipur Bhavan)	5,000
Altaf	Rs 500
Chinglenkhomba	First Aid, Sangai Sports
E. Amitkumar	Trophy (best player), Sports
L.S. Arambam, Saikhom Nikol, and RK Gunamani	Trophy (winner), Sports
Khuman Leima	Loud Speaker
Total in Rs	1,84,950

OFFICE BEARERS AND VOLUNTEERS 2010-2011

Executive Committee Members as on 26 February 2011

- * President: Beerjurekha Samom
- * General Secretary: RK Sanayaima
- * Organizing Secretary: Sherly Roy
- * Finance Secretary: Chittrarajan Taorem
- * Public relation: Jagdish Ningombam
- * Magazine Secretary: Vaomathot Shimrah
- * Cultural Secretary: Ashok Khuman
- * Games and Sports: RK Gunamani

Advisory Board Members

- * Praem Hidam
- * Manishwar Nongmaithem
- * Gunamani Chongtham
- * Thongam Chinglenkhomba Meetei
- * Ibongo Irom

Election Committee Members

- * Malem Ningthouja, Chairperson
- * Saikhom Nikol, Returning Officer
- * Damudor Arambam, Returning Officer
- * Erabanta Laitonjam, Member
- * Irengbam Chetan, Member
- * Joskeny Nongmaithem, Member
- * Laishram Rajchandra, Member
- * Thoi Thoi Kongkham, Member

Audit Committee Members

- * Bebichetana Khumukcham, Member
- * Bidyasagar Konthoujam, Member
- * Manichandra Nongmaithem, Convenor
- * Rustam Salam, Member
- * Surjit kumar Laishangbam, Member

List of Volunteers Who Have Contributed in Organising Various Activities

Men: Aboycha, Ajmal Hussain, Altaf Raja, Arun Kangjam, Augustine Ksh, Awar Chiru, Babu, Bigyananda, Bimol, Boby Philem, Chakhagam Rongmei, Chetan Yenshembam, Chitaranjan, Dapin, Darendro, David, Davis Sharma, Depak Sharma, Devananda Moirangthem, Devananda Sharma, Grison Waikhom, Gunabanta Thangjam, Guneshwor, Gunindro Ningombam, Herojit Yenshembam, James Singh, Jayanta khumanlambam, Jem Warengbam, Johnson, Josekeny Nongmaithem, Kanaka Akham, Kenedy Moirangthem, Khup Misao, Kisan Sanasam, Lendel, Leyland Soibam, Luwang Shinyen Arambam, Mang Choloji, Manichandra, Manishwor Yenshembam, Md. Hefajuddin, Md. Shafikul Haque, Nikol Saikom, Prashanta Aheibam, Premjit Wahengbam, Pibathoi, Pukrambam Bamkin, Rakesh Laishram, Razak Khan, RK Stalin, Robert, Roger, Sachin, Romenkumar, Saikhom Nikol, Suranjoy Athokpam, Surdir Pukhrabam, Suresh, Swameo, Thoithoi Kongkam, Tony and others.

Women: Allen Sorokhaibam, Surpriya Ningombam, Ranita Ningombam, Abita Nongmaithem, Aruna Heikham, Kshetrimayum Dayabati, Kshetrimaym Dayani, Guisim Thangal, Jenny Heikham, Krispa Ningombam, Miranda, Mona Pukhem, Pintu Moirangtham, Sherley Roy, RK Tanya, Tracy Kongsai, Uddipna Das and others.

Section II

ARTICLES

Statistical Information of Manipur in Brief

Compiled by
Thongam Chinglenkhomba Meitei,
Malem Ningthouja,
and Manishwar Nongmaithem

1. INTRODUCTION

The following compilation is intended to provide the readers with the basic statistical information about Manipur. The collection is drawn from secondary sources published by the government, articles and works of independent researchers.

Manipur: Literally 'A Jewelled Land'; also described as 'A Pretty Place more beautiful than many show places of the world' by Mrs. St. Clair Grimwood, 'Jewel of India' by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and 'Switzerland of India' by Lord Irwin.

Neighbourhood: It is bounded by Nagaland on the north, Assam on the west, Mizoram on the south and along the east it shares a 398 Km. long international boundary with Myanmar.

Capital:	Imphal
State Language:	Manipuri
Official Languages:	Manipuri and English
Official Emblem:	Kangla Shaa
Official Bird:	Nongyeen
Official Animal:	Sangai
State Game:	Sagol Kangjei / Manipuri Polo
Official Flower:	Shirui Lily

2. GEOGRAPHY

Area:	22,327 sq. km.
Latitude:	23.83 ⁰ N to 25.68 ⁰ N
Longitude:	93.03 ⁰ E to 94.78 ⁰ E
Altitude:	790 meters above MSL (Imphal)
Rainfall:	1467.5 mm (Avg.)
Rainy Season:	May to October

Area by Sectors

Year	Name	Area (in sq. km.)
1901	Manipur	22,347
1911	Manipur	22,347
1921	Manipur	22,347
1931	Manipur	22,347
1941	Manipur	22,347
1951	Manipur	22,347
1961	Manipur	22,347
1971	Manipur	22,356
1981	Manipur	22,327
1991	Manipur	22,327
2001	Manipur	22,327
11.1	Senapati	3,271
11.2	Tamenglong	4,391
11.3	Churachandpur	4,570
11.4	Chandel	3,313
11.5	Ukhrul	4,544
11.6	Imphal East	709
11.7	Imphal West	519
11.8	Bishnupur	496
11.9	Thoubal	514

* Hill Total 20,089

**Valley Total 2,238

*** Source: Census Publications of the Office of the Registrar General, India

Geological Features

Geologically, Manipur is said to belong to the young folded mountains of the Himalayan system. The rocks in the state vary from upper Cretaceous to the present Alluvium. The oldest rocks found in the state are mainly confined in the eastern part of the state close to Indo-Myanmar border and the rocks are grouped as cretaceous rocks consisting of Chromite (Epilates), Serpentine etc. Availability of Asbestos, Chromite, Copper ore, Coal, Big iron, Lignite, Lime stone, Nickel ore and petroleum is reported in some parts of the state. In Ukhrul district limestone deposits are found which belong to upper cretaceous period. The sandstone, shale of the Disang group found over the eastern half of Manipur belong to the Eocene period. The rocks consisting of sandstone, shale, clay, etc. of the Barail group are confined to the rocks of Disang group and extend along the mid western portion of the state and they belong to the upper Eocene and Oligocene periods. The shales and sandstone of the Tipam

and Surma groups cover the western blanks of Manipur and they belong to Miocene period. Rocks of alluvial deposits found in the Manipur valley portion are of recent origin and further they can be grouped as older and younger alluvium. The state is mainly composed of tertiary rocks. In the Ukhrul area there are igneous rocks which contain Quartz, Sandstone, Limestone, etc.

The soil of the state is of two major types – residual and transported, which cover both the hill and plain of the State. The residual soils are either laterized or non-laterized. The laterized red soils covering an area of 2,500 sq. km. in the Barak drainage on the Western slope of Manipur. It contains rich portion of nitrogen and phosphate, a medium acidity and lesser amount of Potash. The old alluvial is brought down by river Barak basin and Jiri River and their tributaries from their lateritic water ship hills. The compact and less permeable soils contain higher quantity of potash, fair amount of nitrogen and phosphorus with medium acidity. The transported soils are of two types – alluvial and organic. The alluvial soils cover 1600 sq. km. in the valley. This soils have general clayey warm texture and grey to pale brown colour. They contain a good proportion of potash and phosphate, a fair quantity of nitrogen and organic matter and are less acidic. The organic soils cover the low lying areas of the valley. With dark grey colour and clayey loam texture, these peaty soils have high acidity, abundance of organic matter, a good amount of nitrogen and phosphorus but are poor in potash. The hill soils are more or less rich in organic carbon (1 to 3%) in the top soil, but poor in available phosphorus and potash. They are acidic in nature.

Source: Environment and Ecology Office, Government of Manipur

Drainage

The state is drained by various streams which belong to three river systems. The Manipur river and its tributaries - Imphal, Thoubal, Nambol, Nambol, Khuga, Sekmai, and other smaller streams with Loktak and other associated lakes form the water resources of the valley having catchment of 6,332 sq. km about 28.4% area of the state. Discharging maximum quantity of water during the monsoon months (May- September), they frequently inundate the land along their banks. Every year Manipur experiences havoc of flood.

River Barak and its tributaries Irang, Makru, Jiri and their associated streams which drain the Northern and Western hill areas, have a catchments of 9042 Sq. Km. about 40.5% area of entire State. The Eastern slope of Manipur eastern hills is connected by a number of small streams of the Chindwin river system, which have a catchment area of 6953 sq.km., about 31.1% area of the State. River Axenglox and its tributaries, – Chamu and Chingai and river Yu

and its tributaries – Maklang, Tayungbi, Taretlok, Lokchao and Tuiyaag flow in sub-parallel pattern and their supply terminates in the valley of Myanmar.

Select Flora and Fauna

Blessed with an amazing variety of flora and fauna, 67% of the geographical area of Manipur is hill tract covered forests. Depending on the altitude of hill ranges, the climatic condition varies from tropical to sub-alpine. The wet forests and the pine forests occur between 900-2700 m above MSL and they together sustain a host of rare and endemic plant and animal life. Coveted the world over as some of the most beautiful and precious blooms, orchids have an aura of exotic, mysteries about them.

In Manipur, they are abundant in their natural habitat growing in soil or on trees and shrubs speaking their beauty and colour, stunning the eye that is not used to seeing them. In such profusion. There are 500 varieties of orchids which grow in Manipur of which 472 have been identified.

In addition to 'Siroi Lily' which is the only terrestrial lily grown on the hill tops of Siroi hill, Ukhrul, the Hoolock Gibbon, the Sloe Loris, the Clauded Leopard, the Spotted Linshang, Mrs. Hume's Barbacked Pheasant, Blyths Tragopan, Burmese Pea-Fowl, four different species of Hornbills etc. form only a part of the rich natural fauna of Manipur. However, the most unique is the Sangai the dancing deer. The floating mass of vegetation on the Loktak Lake sustains small herds of this endemic deer which unfortunately has the dubious distinction of being the most threatened Cervid (known as Phumdi) in the World. Another worth mentioning fauna is Salamander which is known as Lengwa found at the foothill of Siroi in Ukhrul.

3. PEOPLE

Manipur is inhabited by indigenous population and immigrant populations (composed of the Nepalese and the Mayangs).

The indigenous population is composed of the following communities: Aimol, Anal, Angami, Any Kuki tribes, Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes, Chiru, Chothe, Gangte, Hmar, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Kharam, Koirao, Koirang, Kom, Langang, Mao, Maram, Maring, Meetei / Meitei, Meetei Panggal, Monsang, Moyon, Paite, Poumai, Purum, Ralte, Sema, Simte, Suhte, Tangkhul, Tarao, Thadou, Vaiphei and Zou are predominantly Mongoloid, and speak Tibeto-Burman languages.

Mayang: Historically, as late as nineteenth century *mayang* was a generic term used when referring to particularly the Bengalis, Cacharis and an identified certain section among the Assamese. Subsequently, the term *mayang* towards the end of the twentieth century covered almost all the Indians

except those who were perceived as aboriginals of Nagaland, Assam, Tripura, Sikkim, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, and Manipur.

Growth of population, Manipur vis-a- visa India during the period between 1951 and 2011

Census Year	Total population (in lakhs)	Decennial Growth Per cent	
		Manipur	All-India
1951	5.78	12.80	13.31
1961	7.80	35.04	21.64
1971	10.73	37.53	24.80
1981	14.21	32.46	24.66
1991	18.37	29.29	23.87
2001	22.94	24.86	21.54
2011	2,721,756	18.65	17.64

Source: Census Operations

Distribution of Population, Sex-Ratio and Population Density (2011)

Area,	Total	Males	Female	Sex-Ratio*	Density**
Manipur	2,721,7561,	369,764	1,351,992	987	122
Senapati	354,972	183,081	171,891	939	109
Tameng long,	140,143	71,762	68,381	953	32
Chura chand pur	271,274	137,748	133,526	969	59
Bishnupur,	240,363	120,185	120,178	1000	485
Thoubal	420,517	209,674	210,843	1006	818
Imphal W,	514,683	253,628	261,055	1029	992
Imphal E,	452,661	225,130	227,531	1011	638
Ukhrul	183,115	94,013	89,102	948	40
Chandel	144,028	74,543	69,485	932	43

*Number of Females per 1000 Males

** Population density per sq. km.

Minority languages / dialects

There are more than 29 different dialects spoken in Manipur. Six indigenous dialects apart from the official Manipuri language recognised by Government of Manipur for medium of instruction & examination up to class XII are:

1. Thadou-Kuki, dialect of Kuki community.

2. Tangkhul, dialect of Tangkhul community.
3. Hmar, dialect of Hmar community.
4. Paite, dialect of Paite community.
5. Mao, dialect of Mao community.
6. Rongmei, dialect of Rongmei community.
7. Kom, language of Kom community.

Literacy Rate 1951-2011

Year	Total Percentage	Males	Females
1951*	12.57	22.93	2.73
1961	36.04	53.48	18.87
1971	38.47	53.70	22.87
1981	49.66	64.15	34.67
1991	59.89	71.63	47.60
2001**	70.53	80.33	60.53
2011	79.85	86.49	73.17

Note: Literacy rates for 1951, 1961 and 1971 related to population aged five years and above. The rates for the years 1981 to 2011 related to the population aged seven years and above.

* Based on sample population

**The rates have been calculated excluding the population of Mao-Maram, Pao Mata & Purul sub-division of Senapati District for which estimated population of 0-6 age group was not available.

4. GOVERNANCE

Manipur achieved independence along with British India in 1947. Manipur constitution was adopted the same year. The first Manipur State Assembly was elected through adult franchise in July 1948. For the purpose of election the representative returnable from General, Hill and Mohammedan constituencies were in the ratios of 30:18:3 respectively with an additional two seats for the representatives of Educational and Commercial interests.

In 1948 the valley of Manipur was divided into 29 constituencies. Three of them were plural constituencies. i.e., each voter had two votes, one of the Mohammedans and the other for the non-Mohammedans. The special constituencies from which one Muslim and one Hindu were returned were Lilong, Mayang Imphal and Yairipok". The Jiribam (Rajbari) (Hill area) was allotted a general seat. The hill area of Manipur was divided into 18 single member constituencies. Practically these constituencies were 'tribal' constituencies. The 'tribes' residing in the valley demanded that one seat should be allotted to them in one of the valley constituencies. Accordingly, Moirang

constituency was made a special constituency from which one tribal representative and one non-tribal representative were elected. Therefore, the Manipur Legislative Assembly consisted of 53 seats.

The Assembly was, however, dissolved when the Dominion Government of India took over Manipur administration on 15 October, 1949. Manipur became a Part C State and continued to be administered by the President through a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant Governor who acted as his agent. There was an Advisory Council appointed by the President in consultation with the Chief Commissioner. The Council met once in three months presided over by the Chief Commissioner. The Council was an advisory body and as such its advice was not necessarily binding on the Chief Commissioner. On 1 November, 1956 Manipur ceased to be a Part C State. Manipur became a Union Territory under the Union Territorial Council Act, 1956. A Territorial Council consisting of 30 elected Members and 2 nominated Members was constituted on 16 August, 1957.

The Territorial Council was later converted into a Territorial Legislative Assembly in June 1963. The Territorial Legislative Assembly consisting of 30 elected members and 2 nominated members started to function from 23 July, 1963. With the enactment of the North-Eastern Areas (Re-organization) Act, 1971 by the Indian Parliament. Manipur was conferred full statehood on 21 January, 1972 with a 60 Member Legislative Assembly (40 General, 19 Scheduled Tribe and 1 Scheduled Caste). Three elected representatives represent Manipur to the Indian Parliament; 2 in Lok Sabha (One for Inner and One for Outer) and 1 in Rajya Sabha

British Political Officers / Agents in Manipur

1. Captain Gordon (1835 to 1844)
2. Major W. McCulloch (1844 to 1862)
3. Dr. Thomas Dillon (1862 to 1863)
4. Major W. McCulloch (1863 to 1867)
5. Dr. R. Brown, F.R.C.S.E. (1867 to 1872)
6. Col. Thomson (Officiating) (1872 to 1872)
7. Dr. R. Brown (1872 to 31.3.1876)
8. G.H. Damant (Officiating) (1.4.1876 to 1877)
9. Sir James Johnstone (1877 to March 1886)
10. Major Trotter (1.4.1886 to 31.7.1887)
11. F. St. Mr. Grimwood (1887 to 1889)
12. Mr. Hith Feb. (1889 to Sept. 1889)
13. Mr. Grimwood (Oct. 1889 to March 1891)
14. H. St. P. Maxwell (24.4.1891 to 31.11.1893)
15. A. Porteous, Esq. I.C.S. (1893 to 1895)

16. H. St. P. Maxwell, I.C.S.C.S.I. (1895 to 1896)
 17. Captain H.W.G. Cole, I.C.S. (Officiating) (1896 to 1898)
 18. A. Porteous, Esq. I.C.S. (Officiating) (1898 to 1899)
 19. H. St. P. Maxwell I.C.S.C.S.I. (1899 to 1902)
 20. Major Albert E. Woods, I.A.O. (1902 to 1904)
 21. H.St. P. Maxwell, I.C.S.C.S.I. (1904 to 1905)
 22. Lt.Col. J. Shakespear, D.S.O.I.A. (1.4.1905 to 23.2.1908)
 23. A.W. Davis Esq. I.C.S. (Officiating) (24.2.1908 to 16.2.1909)
 24. Col. J. Shakespear, C.I.E.D.S.O.I.A. (17.2.1909 to 19.3.1914)
 25. Lt. Col. H.W.G. Cole C.S.I.I.A. (20.3.1914 to 27.5.1917)
 26. J.C. Higgins Esq. I.C.S. (28.5.1917 to 26.12.1917)
 27. W.A. Cosgrave Esq. I.C.S. B.A. (27.12.1917 to 12.3.1920)
 28. L.O. Clarke, Esq. I.C.S. (13.3.1920 to 31.3.1922)
 29. C. Gimson, Esq. (Officiating) (1.4.1922 to 23.11.1922)
 30. L.O. Clarke, Esq. C.I.S.I.C.S. (24.11.1922 to 5.4.1924)
 31. J.C. Higgins Esq. C.I.E.I.C.S. (6.4.1924 to 31.3.1929)
 32. C.G. Crawford Esq. I.C.S. (Officiating) (1.4.1928 to 23.11.1928)
 33. J.C. Higgins Esq. I.C.S. (1.4.1929 1933)
 34. C. Gimson Esq. I.C.S. (1933 to 1946)
 35. G.P. Stewart Esq. I.C.S. (1946 to 1947)
- * There was a gap of Political Agent from August to November 1887 due to sudden death of Major Trotter

Chief Commissioners

1. Maj. General Rawal Amor Singh (15.10.49 to 17.10.49)
2. Shri Himat Singh (18.10.49 to December 1950)
3. Shri E.P. Moon January (1951 to 21.9.52)
4. Shri R.P. Bhargava, I.C.S. (22.9.52 to 2.1.55)
5. Shri P.C. Methew, I.C.S. (3.1.55 to 25.4.58)
6. Shri J.M. Raina, I.A.S. (26.4.58 to 22.11.63)
7. Shri Baleswar Prasad, I.A.S. (23.11.63 to December 1969)

Lieutenant Governors

1. Shri Baleswar Prasad, I.A.S. (December 1969 to January 1970)
2. Shri D.R. Kohli, I.C.S. (January 1970 to 20.1.72)

Governors

1. Shri B.K. Nehru, I.C.S. (21.01.1972 to 20.09.1973)
2. L. P. Singh, I.C.S. (21.09.1973 to 11.08.1981)
3. S.M.H. Burney, I.A.S. (12.08.1981 to 11.06.1984)

4. Gen. K.V. Krishna Rao (Retd.) (12.06.1984 to 07.07.1989)
 5. Shri Chintamani Panigrahi (10.07.1989 to 19.03.1993)
 6. Shri K.V. Raghunath Reddy (20.03.1993 to 30.08.1993)
 7. Lt. Gen. K.V. Nayar, PVSM, S.M. (Retd.) (31.08.1993 to 22.12.1994)
 8. Shri O.N. Shrivastava (23.12.1994 to 01.12.1999)
 9. Shri Ved Prakash Marwah (02.12.1999 to 11.06.2003)
 10. Shri Arvind Dave (12.06.2003 to 06.08.2004)
 11. Dr. Shivinder Singh Sidhu (05.08.2004 to 22.07.2008)
 12. Gurbachan Jagat (2008 to Continuing)
- * Source: Governor Secretariat, Raj Bhavan, Imphal.

Chief Ministers of Manipur

1. J.F. Pearson (15.07.1947 to 14.08.1947)
2. Shri M.K. Priyobrata Singh (14.08.1947 to 15.10.1949)
3. Shri M. Koireng Singh (01.07.1963 to 12.01.1967)
4. Shri M. Koireng Singh (20.03.1967 to 04.10.1967)
5. Shri L. Thambou Singh (13.10.1967 to 25.10.1967)
6. Shri M. Koireng Singh (19.02.1968 to 16.10.1969)
7. Md. Alimuddin (23.03.1972 to 28.03.1973)
8. Md. Alimuddin (04.03.1974 to 08.07.1974)
9. Shri Yangmasho Shaiza (10.07.1974 to 05.12.1974)
10. Shri R.K. Dorendra Singh (06.12.1974 to 23.07.1975)
11. Shri R.K. Dorendra Singh (23.07.1975 to 13.05.1977)
12. Shri Yangmasho Shaiza (29.06.1977 to 14.11.1979)
13. Shri R.K. Dorendra Singh (14. 01.1980 to 26.11.1980)
14. Shri Rishang Keishing (27.11.1980 to 28.02.1981)
15. Shri Rishang Keishing (19.06.1981 to 04.01.1985)
16. Shri Rishang Keishing (04.01.1985 to 04.03.1988)
17. Shri R.K. Jaichandra Singh (04.03.1988 to 17.02.1990)
18. Shri R.K. Ranbir Singh (23.02.1990 to 07.01.1992)
19. Shri R.K. Dorendra Singh (09.04.1992 to 30.12.1993)
20. Shri Rishang Keishing (14.12.1994 to 24.02.1995)
21. Shri Rishang Keishing (25.02.1995 to 15.12.1997)
22. Shri W. Nipamacha Singh (16.12.1997 to 01.03.2000)
23. Shri W. Nipamacha Singh (02.03.2000 to 14.02.2001)
24. Shri Radhabinod Koiyam (15.02.2001 to 01.06.2001)
25. Shri Okram Ibobi Singh (07.03.2002 to 28.02.07)
25. Shri Okram Ibobi Singh (02. 03. 2007 to Continuing)

Lok Sabha Members From Manipur

Inner Manipur

1952-57 L. Jugeswar singh
1957-62 L. Achaw Singh
1962-67 S. Tombi Singh
1967-71 M. Meghachandra Singh
1971-78 N. Tombi Singh
1977-78 N. Tombi Singh
1978-80 N. Tombi Singh
1980-84 Ng. Mohendro singh
1984 N. Tombi Singh
1990 N. Tombi Singh
1991 Y. Yaima Singh
1996 Th. Chaoba Singh
1998 Th. Chaoba Singh
1999 Th. Chaoba Singh
2004 Dr. Thokchom Meinya
2009 Dr. Thokchom Meinya

Outer Manipur

1952-57 Rishang Keishing
1957-62 R. Suisa
1962-67 Rishang Keishing
1967-71 Paokai Haokip
1971-78 Paokai Haokip
1977-78 Yangmaso Shaiza
1978-80 Khollo Kaiho (By election)
1980-84 N. Gouzagin
1984 Meijinlung Kamson
1990 Meijinlung Kamson
1991 Meijinlung Kamson
1996 Meijinlung Kamson
1998 Kim Gangte
1999 Holkhomang Haokip
2004 Mani Cheranamei
2009 Thangso Baite

Rajya Sabha Members From Manipur

1953-57 Ng. Tompok Singh
1957-63 Lalit Madhop Sharma
1963-64 Lalit Madhop Sharma
1964-72 Sinam Krishnamohon Singh
1972-74 Salam Tombi Singh
1974-78 I. Tompok Singh
1978-84 Ng. Tompok Singh
1984 R.K. Jaichandra Singh
1990 B.D. Behring
1990 W. Kulabidhu Singh
1996 W. Angou Singh
2002 Rishang Keishing
2008 Rishang Keishing

Chief Secretaries to the Government of Manipur

1. P.C. Deb (1953 to 1954)
2. A.K. Ray (1955 to 1957)
3. P.D. Tayal (1958 to 1959)
4. C.S. Nayar (1960 to 1962)
5. R.B. Saksena (1963 to 1966)
6. A.N. Segal (1967 to 1969)

7. D.G. Bhawe (1970 to 1972)
8. S.M. Krishnatry (31-01-1972 to 23-05-1975)
9. H. S. Butalia (03-06-1975 to 31-08-1978)
10. L.B. Thanga (01-09-1978 to 31-10-1981)
11. D.N. Barua (01-11-1981 to 06-03-1988)
12. K. Kipgen (06-03-1988 to 12-06-1988)
13. B.R. Basu (13-06-1988 to 23-10-1990)
14. H.V. Goswami (28-12-1990 to 16-10-1994)
15. K.K. Sethi (17-10-1994 to 03-03-1996)
16. H. Jelshyam (04-03-1996 to 18-04-2000)
17. Rakesh (04-05-2000 to 14-08-2002)
18. A.P. Sharma (14-08-2002 to 09-08-2004)
19. Jarnail Singh (09-08-2004 to July 2008)
20 Rakesh (July 2008 to 30 June 2009)
21 DS Poonia (July 2009 to Continuing)

Chairmen of Hill Area Committee

Sl.	MLA *	Name of Chairman
1	1 st MLA	S.P. Henry
2	2 nd MLA	(i) Benjamin Banee (ii) Saheni Adani
3	3 rd MLA	(i) K. Huriang (ii) L.S. John
4	4 th MLA	(i) R.V. Mingthing (ii) I.D. Dijuanang
5	5 th MLA	I.D. Dijuanang
6	6 th MLA	Dr. M. Horam
7	7 th MLA	C. DOUNGEL
8	8 th MLA	Songchinkhup
9	9 th MLA	Thangminlien Kipgen

* MLA = Manipur Legislative Assembly

5. ECONOMY

Data available in 2011

Population below Poverty line (%) (2005) 17.20
Literacy Rate (2001) (in percentage) 70.50
Workers (in percent) 42.18
Road length in km per 100 Sq km 51.20
Per capita consumption of power in KWH 75.00

No. of Villages electrified (in percent)	80.20
Credit Deposit ratio (in percent)	39.00
Per Capita Income (in Rs at 2001 prices)	12823.00
Index of Social & Economic Infrastructure	75.39
Food production (cereals) in Qtls/ Ha	23.30
Fertilizer consumption in Kg/Ha	91.90
Per capita product of Milk in Kg.	29.60
Rice production in Qtls / Ha.	23.20
Banks in Nos.	83.00
No. of Banks per lakh of population	3.50
Per capita credit in Rupees	680.27

Transportation

Tulihal Airport at Imphal connects the state capital with Delhi, Kolkata Guwahati and Agartala. National Highway NH-2 (Recently changed NH-39 to NH-2) links Manipur with the rest of the country through the railway stations at Dimapur in Nagaland at a distance of 215 km (134 mi) from Imphal. National Highway 37 (Recently changed NH-53 to NH-37) (India) connects Manipur with another railway station at Silchar in Assam, which is 269 km (167 mi) away from Imphal. The road network of Manipur, with a length of 7,170 km (4,460 mi) connects all the important towns and distant villages and the Imphal-Moreh Road that connect Myanmar by NH-102

6. MEDIA

Radio

1. All India Radio, Akashvani Imphal (On AM).
2. All India Radio, Akashvani Imphal (On FM).
3. All India Radio, Akashvani Churachandpur(On FM)

Television

Doordarshan, DD Imphal.

Cable Tv Network:

ISTV Imphal.

Newspapers

1. Poknapham Daily (Manipuri Daily).
2. Poknapham Daily
3. The Sangai Express (Manipuri Daily).
4. Hueiyen Lanpao (Manipuri Daily).
5. Ireibak (Manipuri Daily).
6. Naharolgi Thoudang (Manipuri Daily).

7. Imphal Free Press (English Daily).
8. The Gosem (Thadou/Kuki Language Daily)
9. Zalen Banner (Thadou/Kuki Language Weekly News)
10. AJA (Tangkhul Daily).
11. Manipur Express (Paite Language Daily)
12. Lamka Post (Paite Language Daily)
13. Hmasawnnathar(Hmar language daily)

7. TOURIST PLACES

Andro: Located at about 27 Kms east of Imphal, it is an ancient *loi* (now recognized as Scheduled Caste) village. There is a cultural complex that exhibit potteries and cultural relics of indigenous communities.

Churachandpur: It is the second biggest town of Manipur at about 60 Kms away from Imphal. The Khuga Dam tourist spot is located in Churachandpur.

Kaina: It is a hillock at about 29 Kms from Imphal and 921 metres above sea level. It is a sacred place of the Meetei Hindus. The idol of Shri Govindajee carved out of a jack fruit tree during the reign of King Bheigyachandra in 18 century and hill shrubs and natural surroundings give the place a religious atmosphere.

Kangla Fort: Founded by King Nongda Lairen Pakhangba who became king in 33 A.D the Kangla at the heart of the Imphal city is the oldest fort that had been the royal palace and the seat of power as well.

Keibul Lamjao National Park: Located in the south western part of the Loktak Lake it is the natural habitat of the precious brow-antlered deer (Sangai). The park is considered as the only floating park in the world.

Khongjom: Situated on the Indo-Myanmar Road, 36 Kms away from Imphal, Khongjom is an important historical place where the last battle of the Anglo-Manipuri War of 1891 was fought. A war memorial laid on the top of the Khongjom hillock adds the historical ambience of heroism and patriotism.

Loktak Lake: Loktak Lake is the largest fresh water lake in the North-East. The Sendra tourist home is built on the Sendra hillock located in the middle of the lake at a distance of 48 Kms away from Imphal City. From it one can get a bird eye-view of the unique Loktak Lake and the floating mass called Phumdis

Loukoipat: It is a tourist spot in Bishnupur district with a small but aesthetically satiating lake surrounded on all sides by green foliage-rich hillocks. There is boating facility.

Maibam Lokpa Ching: It is a hillock located at about 17 Kms. south of the Imphal City on the Tiddim Road. The place was an action-packed

location where the Allied Forces had fought a fierce battle with the Japanese Forces in the World War II. Japanese war veterans had constructed a monument called India Peace Memorial at the foot of the hillock.

Manipur State Museum: The interesting museum near the Polo Ground in the heart of Imphal has a fairly good display of Manipur's Tribal heritage and a collection of artefacts and historical paintings.

Manipur Zoological Gardens: It is located at about 6 Kms to the west of Imphal at the foot of the pine growing hillocks at Iroisemba on the Imphal-Kangchup Road.

Mao: Mao is one of the oldest hill stations of Manipur bordering Nagaland. It is located at midway between Dimapur and Imphal on the National Highway 39. Interesting sites are the Mao IB that was built by the British Royal Military engineers in 1897, Makhel that is considered as the historical place of Naga dispersal and a legendary place of common origin of Meitei and Naga and Dzuko Valley with its pristine beauty blooms with a rare lily between May and July known as Dzuko Lily.

Moirang: Moirang is located at about 45 Kms away from Imphal city. It is famous for the temple of Lord Thangjing and eventful festival called Moirang Lai Haraoba in May. The INA Museum, installed in commemoration of the hoisting of the flag of the Indian National Army on April 14, 1944 by Subhash Chandra Bose exhibit letters, photographs, badges of ranks and other articles associated with INA.

Moreh: It is an international border town located on the Indo-Myanmar Road at about 110 Kms south east of Imphal. Right on the other side of the border, at Namphalong, there's a big Myanmar shopping complex selling several varieties of Thailand and Chinese products.

Sadu Waterfall: Consisting of three falls with the first fall about thirty meters in high, it is a famous tourist and picnic spot in Sadu (near Ichum Keirap village) 27 km (17 mi) from Imphal, in the Sadar Hills area, Senapati District.. On the side of it there is a park or garden known as Agape park.

Saheed Minar: The imposing Minar of Bir Tikendrajit Park standing tall near the eastern flank of the pologround at Imphal commemorates the indomitable spirit of Manipur martyrs who had sacrificed their lives while fighting against the British in 1891.

Tamenglong: It's the district headquarters of Tamenglong District situated at about 156 Kms from Imphal. The region is known for its deep gorges, mysterious caves, refreshing waterfalls, exotic orchids and oranges. The Tharon Caves, Booming Meadow, Zeilad Lake and Barak waterfalls are the interesting tourist spots.

Tengnoupal: Located at about 69 Kms (43 miles) from Imphal it is the highest point on the Indo-Burmese Road from where one can have a view of the northering valley in Burma.

Ukhrul: Located at about 83 Kms (52 miles) to the east of Imphal it is the highest hill station in Manipur. It is famous for the peculiar type of flower-lily, the Shirui, grown only in the Shirui hills. Shirui Hills and Khangkhui Caves (Mangsor) are interesting places for excursion.

War Cemetery: The Second World War Cemetery at Deulahland in Imphal commemorates the soldiers who had died in the Second World War. Maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, the stone markers and bronze tablets placed in uniformed columns and rows are inscribed with the names and detail of the martyred soldiers.

Willong Khullen & Yangkhullen: Willong Khullen is a village located some 37 Km (23 miles) from National Highway 39 on the Maram-Peren Road. It is home to stone erection culture very similar to Stonehenge. Some of the tallest stones are seven meters tall and one meter thick. The village of Yangkhullen is built on a steep slope on the hills.

8. FESTIVALS AND SPORTS

In Manipur hardly a month passes by without a festival which, to the people, is a symbol of their cultural, social and religious aspirations. It removes the monotony of life by providing physical diversions, mental recreation and emotional outlet, and helps one to lead a more relaxed and fuller life.

Cheiraoba: It is the traditional new-year festival popular among the Meitei community. Celebrated during the month of April a part of the ritual entails festive feast, ritual and religious hiking on the nearest hill tops with the belief to rise to greater heights in the worldly life.

Christmas: Christmas is observed the Christians for two days on 24 and 25 December. Prayers, reading of Gospels, feast, singing of hymns, lectures on Christ, sports etc. constitute the major parts of the festival.

Chumpha: Celebrated for seven days in the month of December the Chumpha festival is a post harvest festival of the Tangkhul community. The last three days are devoted to social gatherings and rejoicing. The festival is concluded with a procession within the village.

Gaang-Ngai: Celebrated for five days in the month of Wakching (December/January) Gaang- Ngai is an important festival of the Kabui community. The festival begins with omen taking ceremony on the first day. The rest of the days were marked by feasts, dances, songs and presentation of farewell gifts etc.

Heikru Hidongba: Popular among the Meetei community it is an annual traditional boat race celebrated in the month of September. Idols of deities are installed on the boats before the commencement of the race.

Kut: Kut or differently termed as Chavang-Kut or Khodou etc is a post harvest festival of the Kuki-Chin-Mizo communities observed on 1st November. The festival is marked by feasts, songs and dances in merriment and joviality for all.

Lai-Haraoba: It is typical propitiation of god and celebrated amongst the Meetei community for few days in honour of the deities known as Umang Lai. The festival represents the worship of traditional deities and ancestors. The Thangjing Lai Haraoba of Moirang usually held in May attracts huge gatherings.

Lui_Ngai_Ni: It is a seed sowing festival of the Naga communities observed on 15 February. Social gathering, songs, dances and rejoicing highlight the festival.

Mukna: It is Manipur style of wrestling played between two male rivals for trial of strength by sheer physical strength and skill. Athletes of the same or approximately the same physical built, weight or ages are made to fight with each other.

Ningol Chakkouba: It is a festival of the Meetei Community. Married women visited parental house in response to invitation and enjoyed sumptuous feast. It is a form of family rejoinder to retain familial affection. It is observed on the second day of the new moon in the Manipuri month of Hiyangei.

Ramjan Id: Ramjan Id is the most popular festival of the Panggal community (Manipuri Muslims). It is observed in the usual spirits of joy and festivities as in other Muslim world. Ramjan is the ninth month of Hijri year since the time of Prophet Mohammed. During the Ramjan month the Panggal practice self denial by avoiding any food, drink and smoke from pre-dawn till sunset. After the month on the second day of shawl, when the new moon is visible they break the fast and celebrated Id-UI-Fitre. On this day, they offer prayers and take delicious dishes, exchange greetings and call on the friends and relatives.

Sagol Kangjei: The Sagol Kangjei is originated in Manipur. The game is played with seven players (in each side) who mount and ride ponies. Each player is fitted with polo-stick made of bamboo root. The mounted players gallop after the ball to hit it straight into the goal. The British learnt the nuances of the game of Sagol Kangjei in the 19th century from Manipur, renamed it as Polo and played in other parts of the globe.

Thang-Ta & Sarit Sarat: These are the forms of Meetei Martial Arts. The indigenous martial art-forms were meant to hone one's battle-craft during peace times in the olden days when every man was meant to serve as a warrior to defend his country during war. The art, as seen today, observes elaborate rituals and rules, which are strictly followed by the participants.

Yaoshang: Celebrated for five days commencing from the full-moon day of Lamta (February/March), Yaoshang is an important festival particularly among the Meetei Hindus. A kind of Manipuri folk dance known as Thabal Chongba in which boys and girls hold hands and dance in festive tube-lit ambience is an inseparable part of the festival. Games and sports have become important aspect of the festivas since around 1990s.

9. SELECTED DATES AND EVENTS (33 A.D. TO 2000)

33: Nongda Lairen Pakhangba ascended the throne at Kangla and founded the Ningthouja dynasty.

154: Khuiyoi Tompok became king; Meetei *Pung* (Drum) was invented during his reign.

1247: Puranhaba became king; defeated Chinese invasion.

1470: The Kabaw Valley became part of Kangla Kingdom; River Chindwin was marked the eastern boundary.

1533: In commemoration of the repulsion of Tripuri invasion Meidingu Kabomba dug a canal known as Takhel Khong.

1562: Mungyamba became king; carried out series of conquests in Shan principalities as well as the surrounding hill villages.

1597: Khagamba became king; repulsed Chinese invasion.

1652: Khunjaoba became king; he dug the moat around the brick wall of the Kangla Fort.

1666: Paikhomba became king; constructed bunds, including the Imphal River bank stretching from Singjamei to Kyamgei in 1695 A.D.

1704: Meidingu Charairongba was initiated into Vaishnavism.

1709: Pamheiba (Garibniwas) became king; crossed Ningthee River, attacked and destroyed the town of Mayedu on the bank of Yu River in Myanmar in 1736.

1762: The first treaty alliance between Manipur and the East India Company was signed.

1819: Seven years devastation (Chahi taret khuntakpa) under Burmese rule began.

1826: Treaty of Yandaboo recognised the sovereignty of Manipur.

1833: Jiribam was annexed to Manipur during the reign of King Gambhir Singh.

1834: Kabaw Valley was transferred from Manipur to Burma by the British.

1885: Manipur Levy assisted the British force during the 2nd Anglo-Burmese War.

1891: Manipur was defeated in the Anglo-Manipur War.

1896: William Pettigrew was permitted to carry out Christian missionary activity in the hill regions.

1904: Nupi Lan (Women's War) broke out against the British policy of forced labour.

1907: Manipur State Durbar was established to assist the King.

1916: The first Kuki Baptist Church was established at Tujang Vaichong Village.

1917: Thadou -Kuki Rebellion broke out against the British policy of forced conscription to the Labour Corp.

1920: Bazaar Boycott broke out against mayang traders in Imphal.

1931: Zelianrong leader Haipou Jadonang was hanged to death by the British for his anti-colonial movement.

1939: Nupi Lal (Women's War) broke out against the British policy of exporting rice leading to famine.

1944: The flag of the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) was hoisted by Subhash Chandra Bose at Moirang.

1947: Manipur attained independence from the British rule; Manipur Constitution was adopted; absolute monarchy was replaced by constitutional monarchy.

1948: The first election to the Manipur Assembly based on adult franchise was held; established responsible government of Manipur.

1949: Secret merger agreement was signed between the Dominion Govt. of India and King Buddhachandra of Manipur; Manipur assembly was dissolved and administration was taken over by the DGI on 15 October.

1950: Manipur was reduced to Part C State status.

1951: Comrade Irabot died due to malaria in the Anggo Hill ranges in the course of armed struggle against the Government of India.

1956: Manipur became a Union Territory under the Union Territorial Council Act, 1956.

1957: Territorial Council consisting of 30 elected and 2 nominated members was constituted on 16 August, 1957.

1958: Armed Forces Special Powers Act was enacted by the Government of India.

1963: Manipur Territorial Council was converted into the Territorial Legislative Assembly under the Govt. of Union Territory Act, 1963.

1970: Construction work of Loktak Project began.

1972: Manipur was conferred statehood on 21 January under the North-Eastern Areas (Re-organization) Act, 1971.

1974: Tangkhul woman Miss Rose committed suicide on 6 March 1974 in protest against gang raped upon her by BSF personnel on 4 March.

1880: Entire Manipur was declared disturbed area under AFSPA. Meira paibi movement to defend human rights began.

1983: The commissioning of the Loktak Project.

1990: With the opening of railway line upto Jiribam of Manipur, Manipur was included in the railway map of India.

1992: Manipuri language was included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India; beginning of Kuki-Naga Clash that had lasted for more than six years.

1993: Communal clashes between the Meities and Panggal communities lasted for few weeks.

1997: Eruption of communal clashes between Kuki and Paite communities in Churachandpur District.

1997: Supreme Court justified AFSPA 1958 on 27 November.

1999: Manipur hosted the Fifth National Games; ranked top position in the overall point medal tally.

2000: Sharmila began the marathon fast in protest against Malom massacre by the Indian paramilitary force and to demand the repealing of the AFSPA.

Brief Profile of Indigenous Communities of Manipur

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Manipur is considered a melting pot of diverse communities and cultures. Legends and historical accounts suggest that several waves of immigrants in succeeding historical periods had settled in Manipur. This understanding is held forth by the visible trend of immigration picking up momentum in a speedy manner during the postcolonial period. In terms of socio-cultural expressions postcolonial migrants from India and Nepal seemed to have not completely absorbed into the pre-existing society. Despite their presence in large number Manipur is considered the homeland of 'indigenous' peoples. The indigenous communities of Manipur comprises the following communities such as the Aimol, Anal, Angami, Any Kuki tribes, Any Mizo (Lushai) tribes, Chiru, Chothe, Gangte, Hmar, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Kharam, Koirao, Koireng, Kom, Lamgang, Mao, Maram, Maring, Meetei / Meitei, Meetei Panggal, Monsang, Moyon, Paite, Poumai, Purum, Ralte, Sema, Simte, Suhte, Tangkhul, Tarao, Thadou, Vaiphei and Zou communities. The following compilation is an attempt to briefly profile some of these communities to provide with the threshold towards basic understanding, particularly among the readers who are relatively unaware of the indigenous community composition of Manipur.

AIMOL: The Aimol trace their origin in a cave located somewhere between two hills. The first person who had emerged out of the cave was killed by a tiger. In the final effort, a man wearing a cloth that had the print of tiger skin (saipukhup) and python skin (lajiang) killed the tiger and let others emerge out of the cave. Thereafter they settled in a place called Khuakhengjol from where they spread out to other areas. Aboriginal Aimol villages are found in three districts of Manipur; fourteen villages in Chandel District, two villages in Churachandpur District, and two villages in Senapati District. The traditional administrative institution of Aimol is organised around a Chief who is assisted by seven ministers known as pasakariat. The ministers are assisted by six sub-ministers. They looked after the welfare and development of the village.

CHOTHE: Legends trace the origin of Chothe in a cave called Unpithuaranga. They migrated to different places because of increasing pressure on land and as per the suggestion of King Pakhangba. They migrated southward and settled

in the Nongmaijing Hill ranges. They went further towards Chandel District. There is also a legend that claims that there were decedents of Pakhangba among the Chothe. According to this legend Pakhangba had brought up a man (Kachokte) and a woman (Thanindan) who were Chothe.

CHIRU: It is believed that the Chiru are immigrants from certain parts of South East Asia. They are composed of five clans and seven sub-clans. Permanent Chiru settlements are found in the following villages: Dolang and Lamdangmei Villages in Tamenglong District; Charoikhulen Village in Churachandpur District; Dolang, Nungsaichiru, Bungte, Saduchiru, Thangjingchiru, and Khangchupchiru Villages in the Sadar Hills; Waithuchiru Village in Thoubal district; and Uranchiru Village in Imphal East District. Traditional administration is carried out by a chief known as Khonlakpa mostly selected from Danla clan. The chief is assisted by a functionary known as Meetei Lambu and two other officials known as Tangwa and Changlois. Some of the important festivals are the annual harvesting festival known as Lawipuisak and Derkai and Phoiveet that are observed every three years.

HMAR: The Hmar trace their origin in a place called Singlung which is considered to be located in Central or South-west China. In Manipur dominant Hmar settlements are found in the Tippaimukh, Jiribam and Khuga areas. Sikpuirooi is an important harvest festival of the Hmar. Common folk dances of Hmar are the Chawn-lam, Dar-lam, Pheipheet-lam, Hrang-lam, and Tinna-Hla-lam. These dances are based on rhythmic tunes of musical instruments. Folksongs based on the traditional way of life are sung along with the dances. Dark-huong or gong and bell, Khuong or drum and Darbu are important musical instruments of Hmar.

THE RONGMEI (KABUI): It is believed that the Rongmeis had first settled at Makhiani or Makhel. Thereafter they migrated to a place called Ramting Kabinh where they lived in a cave that had an outlet called Mahou Taubei. From there they migrated to a place called Chaguang Phunling and then to Makui Luangdi near Wuilong in the Senapati District. Thereafter they founded a civilization somewhere along the Koubru and Laimaton Phourungba hills called Luangdaime. From there they migrated to various places. Presently Ruangmei villages are found in southern Tamelong District (eighty villages), Churachandpur District (ten villages), Jiribam Subdivision under Imphal East District (four villages) and Senapati District (ten villages) and in Imphal (sixty three villages). Traditionally their administration was carried out by a village council known as Pei consisting of Tingkhuh, Baanhza, Ganvchangc and selected village elders. The Pei supervised social institutions such as Khangchu

(boys dormitory), Luchu (girls dormitory), Mavthiancmei Kaibang (house of married women), Kiangza kaibang (house of old women) etc. Khangchu is an official responsible for village defence. The most important festival is five days harvesting festival known as the Gang-Ngai which is celebrated in the month of December/January. Kabui folk dance is popular in Manipur.

KHOIBU: It is considered that the Khoibu had lived in an insulated world before conversion to Christianity. They are organised into seven clans such as the Charang, Hongsha, Dangsha, Tontang, Ronglo, Khaling and Saka. Khoibu settlements are found in Chandel, Imphal East, Imphal West, Senapati and Churachandpur Districts. Traditionally they had a republican system of administration. Although the head is selected from the Chanrang clan every clan enjoys respectively assigned responsibility to assist the head in administration. Khoibu War Dance is one of the popular folk dances in Manipur.

KOM: According to legends Kom emerged out of a cave. Many of them were killed by a tiger until one Karongpa who wear a cloth imprinted with tiger marks intrigued the tiger to become friendly and let one Saichepa kill it. Thereafter, one Pushongthu's party while was passing through a hole, used a sword called Chemke and killed a python and an enemy who were waylaying near the opening tip of the hole. Thereafter they celebrated a grant festival in the house of one Telenpa. Several Kom settlements are found in several parts of Manipur. Important festivals of the Koms are Seling, Bielam, Hlungphun, etc. They observe a wedding ritual known as Hlodei and a ritual of deceased person known as Lukasun.

KOIRENG: The term Koireng is a corrupt version of the word Kolren or Koren which is subsequently termed as Koireng by the Meiteis. The origin of the Koirengs is traced in Koram, which is believed to be the Koren of Eastern Myanmar. Koireng folk song and folk tale refer Kolram as Koren Thngnung or Hesouthn Koren and also Koren Kholian or a big Koren village. According to royal chronicle the Koirang arrived in Manipur not before the sixth century A.D. Traditionally Koirengs had a democratic village administration under a chief known as Khullakpa. The Khullakpa is assisted by an administrative council called Khuo constituted by the representatives of elders from each clan of the village.

MEETEI: Legends trace the origin of the Meetei in the Koubru Mountain. However, mythological forefathers who had settled in the Koubru were not known by any nomenclature such as Meetei or Meitei, Tangkhul, Kabui,

Maring, and Anal etc. They migrated to the foothills and highland (i.e. dry area like Kanglatombi, Imphal Kangla, Moirang Kangla etc) and became the Mangang community who founded Ningthouja dynasty. In due course of socio-economic and political changes seven Yeks comprising of Mangang, Luwang, Khuman, Moirang, Khaba-Nganba, Angom, and Sharang Leishangthem gradually evolved into Meetei. A holistic interpretation would illustrate that Meetei possess distinctive written history, literature, script, calendar, and religion known as Sanamahism. They invented polo game and classical dance known as Rasa Leela. Moirang kangleiron, Khongjom Parva and Pala or Sanskritana constitute popular ballads among Meiteis. Meetei folk dances include Pung Cholom, Maibi Jagoi, Lai Haraoba Jagoi, Khamba Thoibi Jagoi etc. Lai-Haraoba, Yaoshang, Ratha Jatra, Cheiraoba, Heikru Hidongba, Mera Chaorel Houba, Kwak Taanba, Ningol Chakouba, etc. are important Meetei festivals.

MAO: The Mao trace their origin at Makhel which is located in Senapati District. Traditionally a chief known as Mohvum headed a Mao village. The chief is assisted by a council constituted by members who are nominated from the clans in a village. The village council may have a chairman. There is a court headed by officials known as Gunboras composed of representatives from each clan. The court decides criminal and civil cases of the village. An important festival of the Mao is the Saleni, which is celebrated in commemoration of the peace treaty that was first signed between Pfosemai and Viswema villages before two centuries. The peace treaty is widely held as an instrument of peace and harmony.

MARAM: Maram has a legend about brothers namely Maramrowkaang (eldest), Akikangba (second), and Kalasanglong (youngest) of whom eldest brother became the forefather of the Maram. More than forty Maram villages are found in Senapati District of Manipur and in Nagaland. The culture of Maram is either subsumed or valued with other immediate neighbourhood communities that constitute a collective culture. They practice a democratic system governed by a council composed of representatives from each clan of the Maram community. The Sagong is the head of village council. The Saomg and second Sagong enjoy the post of home minister and external affairs minister respectively. The Atingba held the responsibility of declaring decisions taken by the council. Maram has several rituals such as the Nlem (New Year festival), Kapokii, Lungrowkii, rock pulling etc.

MARING: According to legends the Maring had originated from a hole or cave only after a rock- door known as Sharinpa was opened by a bull-mithun. In the beginning those who came out of the hole were eaten by a tiger called Homshanu. However, two wise men played a trick and killed the tiger and the rest came out safely. The oldest Maring village called Kulwi Shong Shong is located somewhere in the Kabow Valley now in Myanmar. They migrated to Imphal valley and settled in Langol Hills during or before the reign of Meidingu Ura Konthouba (568-658 A.D.). The harvesting festival known as Meirwui Kashaan is an important festival of the Maring.

MATE: The term Mate literally meant front beaters. According to anthropologist Dr. Nabakumar myths and legends informed that the forefathers of the Mate known as Songza and his kinsmen had migrated from Nawaipikhou through a cave known as Khul. This is being cited as the main reason for the inclusion of the Mate as a constituent member of the Khulmi National Union that was formed in 1947. Mate are organised into more than thirty villages in Chandel, Senapati and Churachandpur Districts.

MOYON: According to legends the ancestors of Moyon called Minthi and Thangjaam had led people out of Khur (cave/hole). They settled at Sijjur, Tungfuwjuur, Tungphaejuur, Maklang etc. one after another. Most of these places are located in Manipur and Myanmar. Thereafter they settled in hill areas called Khungjuur paam, which is in Chandel District. Traditional administration of Moyon had a king who looks after the affairs of the people.

PAITE: The word Pai meant 'to go' and Te is being used as a suffix to connote plurality. According to Prof J. Roy the term Paite suggests a group of people who went out of the Chin Hills of Burma. However Paite legend traces the origin of the community in a mountain cave known as Khul. Culturally Paite folk dances such as Dak Lam, Jangta Lam, Ton Lam, and Silam Lam, songs, and folk tales are linked to every day chores of life. The dress of women composed of blouse and decorated garment is more colourful and elaborate in comparison to the dress of men.

PANGAL: The Pangals are concentrated in the valley districts of Manipur. They are considered as the descendants of Muslim war captives during the reign of King Khagemba in 17th Century. The war captives married Manipuri women and accepted local titles and surnames. It is believed that Pangals are organised into around seventy seven indigenous family titles. Culturally traditional dress for men is Khudeis and Trousers and that of women is Fanek (sarong type) and Shalwar Kameez.

POUMAI: Legends trace the origin of the Poumai in a grand old man named Pou. It is believed that a pear tree which became the symbol of dispersal of communities from Makhel-Shajaoba Village had sprung up from the walking stick of Pou when he had retired there. Poumai possess a rich cultural repository composed of patriotic, poetic, romantic or love, harvesting, and feasting folksongs. Important musical instruments includes Lana (a long string with a stick attached to half gourd shell), Chii (mouth organ) made of bamboo, Nghakai (a mouth organ made of buffalo horn or kind of bugle), Shah and Be (mouth organ made of hollow small plant), and mouth organ made of bamboo with four holes. Folk dances of Poumai ranges from war cry dance to whooping dance, and feast of merit dances. Tradition dress of the Poumai is colourful. Men wear Tousiirounii (Kilt), Lai (headgear), Pheida (ankle ring), Vaohu shu (Hornbill feathers), Phanubo (strand small cotton), Hra etc.

TARAO: According to legends the Tarao emerged out of a cave in Houbi Hill and settled at Somshokmul in Burma. Thereafter they migrated and lived successively in and around the plain areas of Kakching. Due to internal differences some of them went back and settled in Thamlapokpi hill range. The rest settled in the plain areas. Tarao is numerically the smallest community in Manipur inhabiting only in five villages in Chandel, Thoubal and Imphal East Districts of Manipur.

TANGKHUL: According to legends Tangkhuls are immigrants led by three brothers who subsequently became Thangal king, Hungoumwo king and Meetei king. The eldest brother who became forefathers of Thangal settled in Makhel (Mao). The two younger brothers migrated towards Hundung. They separated when the youngest brother went farther in south in search of their pet pig. He settled at Yaingangpokpi when the pig gave birth to piglets. He became the forefathers of Meetei. The second brother who had stayed at Hundung became the forefather of Tangkhuls and known as Hungoumwo king. Mutual love and co-operation among the three brothers continued. Every year after harvest season the two elder brothers visited the youngest brother and exchanged gifts. This practise became crystallised and ritualised into a festival known as Mera Houchongba. Important festivals of Tankhul are Luira, Yarra, Mangkhap, Dharreo, Chumpha, Longra Khamang, and Thisham festivals.

THADOU: Legends trace the origin of Thadou in Khul or cave. It is also believed that they had migrated from China. In post independent Manipur, the term Thadou began to be openly and officially used since 1956 when it was enlisted in the Schedule Tribe List. Thadou possesses rich folk dance. Chon is the biggest festival.

THANGAL: Legends trace the origin of the Thangal in Makhel. They considered that they were one of the founders of the Manipur. They practiced democratic administration governed by a Chief who is assisted by a council of elders composed of the heads of clans. Their cultural and social activities are intimately connected with agriculture pursuits. Important festivals include harvesting festival known as Maa Malan, and other Christian festivals.

VAIPHEI: It is believed that the ancestors of Vaiphei had migrated from either China or Mongolia. They settled in Sizeng Valley (Burma) for many years. Due to inter tribal wars and annexation of the Sizeng Valley by the British, a section of them migrated to Northeast India. They migrated to Manipur between 1830 and 1850. According to Paoneikhai Vaiphai, Vaiphai migrated to Manipur in two batches. The first batch settled mainly in Senapati and Ukhrul Districts, whereas the second batch settled in Churachandpur district.

ZOU: Zou belong to Kuki-Chin-Mizo communities. In Manipur they are concentrated in Singngat sub-division and adjoining Henglep, Tipaimukh, and Saikot areas. They possess distinct dialect, custom, tradition, and an administrative tradition. Many of them practice shifting cultivation and hunting game. Their social and economic activities were indispensably linked to religious rites and rituals, which are manifested in various religious festivals called pawis.

Violence as AFSPA 1958 and People's Movement Against It

Malem Ningthouja

Democracy in India has produced contradictory situations. On the one hand, there is the conscious effort to erase any mark of difference through guaranteeing constitutional rights in principle thereby allowing the people of Northeast to politically bargain for their rights. On the other, the policy of stationing troops in the region for national security prevents the people from enjoying the fruits of peace and democracy.

Introduction

This paper deals with the violent experiences faced by the people in Manipur under the regime of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA). It analyses various ways and means adopted by people's movements against the Act. There is a perception that there is simultaneity of *violence perpetrated with impunity under the regime of the Act* (henceforth *violence*) and protest against it; each respectively representing 'policy of governance' and 'people's response' against such policy. Although this understanding remains uncontested, protest against the intension of violence, if not *raison d'être* of violence embodied in the Act preceded *violence*. The 1958 protest in the parliament was a harbinger of subsequent protracted movement against *violence*. The intention of violence was dwelt on a fabricated national exigency, i.e., a demand factor, thereby construed *violence* as justified means to defend an imagined Indian nationhood. It framed a law and order discourse to act as propaganda surrogate to cover up the capital interest of the policy makers in the weak spots. The argument is that the objective of AFSPA and its implication are to be interpreted from perspectives beyond the legal paradigm. This paper analyses the issue in two sections. The first deals with *violence* and the second deals with the people's movement against AFSPA.

Experiences of Violence

AFSPA is widely condemned in Manipur and beyond for unrestraint *violence*. Protagonists of the Act, i.e., clique of policy makers, defended the Act. The Supreme Court of India in 1997 upheld it for "deployment of the armed forces of the Union shall be for the purpose of enabling the civil power in the State to deal with the situation affecting maintenance of public order

which has necessitated the deployment of the armed forces in the State.” The Court, to uphold human rights, prescribed a set of ‘dos and don’ts’ for the armed forces, which in no practical sense do away with the impunity provisions of the Act. *Violence* continued. Despite protest for decades, the former Home Minister, Shivraj Patil’s “brothers, men and officers of the Armed Forces ... (who are) involved in countering insurgency” resented amendment or repealing of the Act because “we (soldiers) function under orders and hence our interests need to be protected.” To cover up the *violence*, they have adopted military civic action program, e.g., gifting and hosting tours and sports events for civilians. Although, these measures attract few beneficiaries, in the long run they perpetuate militarization of the social service sector, thereby, undermining the role of civil administration, and does not ensure immunity of the people from *violence*. Therefore, *violence* continues.

Violence continues because, section three empowers any responsible official to declare any area as a disturbed, i.e., preconditioned deployment of troops and impunity provisions became operative. Section four empowers any commissioned officer, warrant officer, non-commissioned officer or any other person of the equivalent rank in the armed forces in the disturbed are(s) to carry out brutal and arbitrary policing and ensued unrestraint collateral damage or *pogrom* upon civilians. Section six defends guilty personnel as “No prosecution, suit or legal proceeding shall be instituted, except with the previous sanction of the Central Government against any person in respect of anything done or purported to be done in exercise of the powers conferred by this Act.” Reports and complaints suggest that guilty personnel were hardly convicted through delaying investigations, tampering of evidences and intimidating victims; therefore, suspension of the Constitutional fundamental rights and violation of the United Nations’ prescribed humanitarian norms.

Interference by the armed forces in the civil administration, politics and judiciary are repeatedly reported. For instance, in 1988 a Major of the Assam Rifles (henceforth AR) barged into the room where a team of the Planning Commission was meeting, disrupted the meeting with abusive tone, “The norms of decency followed by us here are different from those in Delhi.” Legislatures could be debarred from moving beyond lines drawn by the armed forces. Instead of aiding civil administration, they at times operated without a request from the state government, and interfered in legal proceedings and politics. For instance, when the then chief minister Rishang Keishing protested against *violence* in Oinam village, Senapati District in 1987, he was promptly removed from the post due to the pressure of the AR. In 1988, the AR prevented the Registrar (Judicial) of the Gauhati High Court from interviewing women victims of rape. Pressurized by the AR, the then home minister of Manipur Tombok Singh went to Oinam village on 11 April the same year to tell the

villagers to withdraw their writ petition. In 1989, every day at the session court in Imphal, the AR personnel who were facing a case, carried a table and a pair of chairs to the court room on the plea that the ordinary benches used by the public were not good enough for them. When the judge ordered that there must be equality before the law and treatment given to the petitioners and respondents must be alike and same, the AR went to the Gauhati High Court challenging the order. As if a norm, lawyers and democratic rights activist were faced with the bared bangs of the armed forces. Officials of the state government—both magistrates and police officers—could be detained and their offices raided by the armed forces.

In summary, *violence* experienced by the people include: cold blooded fake encounters, massacre, torture, harassment, illegal detention, forced disappearance, killing as a result of “mistaken identity,” rape, molestation, sodomy, post-traumatic stress disorder, and destruction of property. The UN acknowledged the scale of *violence* and observed in 1991 that there were number of fields in which legislation and practice in India were not compatible with the terms of the ICCPR 1966, such as the implementation of the Covenant in ‘disturbed areas’, arbitrary killings and arrests in some states, the excessive powers granted to the security forces, and the failure to bring proceedings against police offenders. Individuals and organizations published account of *violence*, viz., *Mini-Emergencies to Suppress the Poor Use of Coercive Power, Obstructing Justice, Official sanction for killings, National Security tyranny Hard Option, Where Peacekeepers Have Declared War*, etc. In 2005, the Report of the Committee to Review, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958, Ministry of Home Affairs, noted that AFSPA had promoted violence and recommended that the government of India (GoI) to repeal the Act.

Unrestraint *violence* has drawn the attention of critics who shift away interpretation of the Act from a legal perspective/law & order discourse to anti-colonial perspective, i.e., AFSPA as manifesting colonial implication. If we go by the statements of the Indian left democratic forces such as the CGPI and the AIPRF, violence was an inevitable course adopted by the GoI. The left interpretation, if not the propaganda literature of insurgent organizations in Manipur, suggests that AFSPA was a legal camouflage to cover up Indian expansionism, i.e., a term used by the UCPN in the context of Nepal. Such interpretation may sound polemics. However, the AFSPA debate of 1958 informs that the Act was enacted primarily to suppress national liberation movement in Northeast, later on in Kashmir. Geographical coverage under AFSPA would indicate that the GoI has adopted military option while dealing with the vexed national question (*Sic.* political issue) raised by the community of suspects, i.e., people belonging to ‘virile’ character, ideological and racial

indifferences as referred to by the first generation postcolonial Indian policy makers. The pretext and context of the Act and its material implication suggest for what Neville Maxwell had termed as Nehru's 'forward policy.' The Act undermines democratic rights and perpetuates 'the predicted' alarming situation i.e., undeclared martial law or emergency. The Act, reinforcing one another with other repressive legislations such as Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, National Security Act, Prevention of Terrorism Activities Act, Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, etc., converted Manipur into a permanent state of siege, i.e., 'State of Exception' according to Agamben for a similar situation. In other words, if there is severe violence as a result of "war on people," violence under the regime of AFSPA is self-illustrative. Brutal and repressive tactics to suppress people's movement against AFSPA produce a viscous cycle of State sponsored reign of terror and perpetuates *violence*. This begs the questions: for whom is the Indian nation state constructed? And whose security and peace are we talking about?

Ways and Means of Protest

Visually manifested; individual or collective, passive or active, spontaneous or organised, sporadic or simultaneous, sectarian or coordinated protests and agitations against *violence* and AFSPA for the last five decades in Manipur constitute enduring course of people's movement for democratic rights. As mentioned elsewhere, protest was registered as early as 1958. However, organised attempt to spearhead widespread movement have not taken place till 1970s for various interplaying reasons; (a) the Act was imposed in piecemeal/sporadic manner, (b) there was communal interpretation on the implication of the Act (c) there was lack of consciousness for democratic rights and common democratic goal; (d) there were other sensitive and overlapping issues that divert away attention from *violence*, (e) there were repressions against protest, etc.

In the early 1970s, the Kanglei League, a party that wanted to raise issues through electoral politics, initiated a campaign against AFSPA. At the individual level, a reported suicide was committed by a Tangkhul woman Miss Rose on 6 March 1974 in protest against gang raped upon her by BSF personnel on 4 March. The author was informed that the suicide had inspired the birth of Tangkhul Shanou Long and Naga Mothers' Association. From 1977 onwards Naga People's Movement for Human Rights raised the issue of *violence*. Human Rights Forum, Manipur, since 1979 began international campaign and took up legal challenges. In 1980, in the aftermath of widespread protest against violence by the Central Reserve Police Force at Patsoi Langjing, Imphal, women's *Meira Paibee* movement emerged. By September, 1980, Amnesty International sent a letter to Human Rights Forum, Imphal stating

that it was "keen to receive any reliable reports of political imprisonment, detention, torture, and the death penalty in India". In 1983, Civil Liberties and Human Rights Organization was formed by lawyers to fight in the courts against *violence*. In 1993, Committee on Human Rights was formed with the objectives to create awareness and to build up mass movement against *violence*. Coincidentally various interplaying factors such as: introduction of Indian Human Rights Bill 1993; establishment of National or State Human Rights Commissions; establishment of Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; intensification of national liberation movement and expansion of its mass fronts; contributed towards human rights movement picking up momentum. Civil societies and scores of what Bayly would term "assertive intelligentsia" took up the initiative to carry forward series of individual and collective protests against AFSPA. In 2000s, during the 2004 course of intensified protest against AFSPA, about a dozen women, raising the voices 'Indian Army Rape Us' and 'Indian Army Take Our Flesh' stripped themselves in front of the Assam Rifles Headquarter Gate on 15 July. On 15 August Mr. Pebam Chittaranjan committed self-immolation in protest against the AFSPA. A conglomeration of 32 organisations under the banner called Apunba Lup carried out what they called (a) *meepal tangdaba khongjang*, (b) *leingak loisang saruk yadaba* and (c) *wakat khongjang*. Agitators used bricks, stones, sticks and catapult and fought several pitched battles against the repressive machineries in several parts of Manipur. Movement against AFSPA continues.

People's movement illustrate various interplaying and reinforcing means and ways such as submission of memorandum, legal challenges for justice, circulation of campaign / propaganda literature, publication of reports, street plays, attending or organizing seminar, conference, meetings, sit-in-protest, rally hunger strike, rally, road blockades, closing of offices & institutions, non-cooperation movement, photo exhibition, installation of memorials, observation or commemoration of events, fighting pitch battles with repressive machineries, etc. All these produce holistic effect in terms of (a) documenting and registering protest at various levels, (b) propaganda against AFSPA, (c) winning solidarity statements and support from peoples and organisations beyond Manipur, (d) organising and motivating the people for unity and struggle, (e) keeping the spirit of democratic movement alive, etc. The dominant theme or demand of the movement, although tendency of incorporating the demand for right to self-determination including right to secession could be seen in some instances, is largely confined in the demand for right to life and justice, thereby within the framework of the Indian constitution and internationally recognised humanitarian norms, i.e., yardstick for measuring the degree of *violence* and buttressing legitimacy of the demand.

Therefore, the movement *per se* is confined in the domesticity created by the Indian policy makers.

People's movement is an organisational effort where both individuals and groups constitute a crucial ingredients of the ways in which the movement is organised at various levels, for example, *leikai* (residential area or colony), Manipur, India, and international levels. At the bottom line there are units/locals in every *leikai*, e.g., club, *meira paibee*, committees and other collectives which may come together and constitute *ad-hoc* Joint Action Committee. At the higher levels, there are civil societies called NGOs or fronts who eulogise themselves as apex or Manipur level. Each of them may have branches or units or allies in the *leikais*. They may come together under common banners for *ad-hoc* coordination, and may have link with other organisations in other states, or with India level or international level organisations. Functionally, the initiatives by the apexes are largely concentrated on coordinating the units or locals or allies within Manipur and beyond. They are largely responsible for carrying out the means and ways of movement as mentioned in the preceding paragraph. At the local level, apart from the JACs that are active in course of specific issues, the women *meira paibeas* play crucial roles. They not only act as vanguard of the movement by keeping vigil *vis-à-vis* the armed forces, but also continuously keep alive the spirit of the movement through organising periodical torch march and quick response against *violence*. In short analysis, inasmuch as the locals responded to the coordination by the apexes and *vice-versa*, there is crisscrossing dialectic between spontaneity and organization. The tendency of spontaneity is dominantly seen at the local level when a local rise up instantly against sudden *violence*. In such instance the concerned local develop a climax of protest, which may be followed by relatively coordinated and organized response from the neighbouring locals or state level apexes. The spontaneity at the local is either merged with or subsumed within the long drawn out strategy of coordinated movement at the higher level planned by the apex(es). The *modus operandi* of the movement continues.

In conclusion, the Indian policy makers' seeming commitment to democracy framed within the framework of the propaganda that articulated for India as a democratic nation has produced two contradictory situations in Manipur. On the one hand the conscious effort to erase any mark of difference through guaranteeing constitutional rights, in principle terms allows the people of Manipur to politically bargain for realising the rights. On the other hand the forward policy of sending in troops to occupy the region and the unrestraint *violence* in the name of defending Indian national security prevent the people from enjoying peace and progressive democratic order. If one would agree with Partha Chatterjee that India is marked by bringing together into the

political arena the two domains –one of sovereignty and the other of governmentality, corresponding respectively to a discourse of rights and a discourse of policy then the people of Manipur appropriated/ adopted the former in juxtaposition against the later discourse. Constitutional rights to form association and organization accorded to the people have made easier the task of carrying out movement for democratic rights since desperate assertive intelligentsia could openly form civil societies and took leadership role of the movement.

However, the movement against AFSPA has not been fully successful for various reasons such as; (a) there is heavy repression and psychological propaganda by the government to suppress the movement, (b) authorities could bribe the family of the victims to silence their voice and render many into frustration, (c) there is lack of coordination among civil societies and common platform cutting across communal and regional boundaries, (d) there is communal and regional colouring of the area coverage under AFSPA, having corresponding communal stereotyping of protest and crowd composition, (e) there is overlapping of several other sensitive issues, (f) party politics, alleged opportunism and sectarianism among the leaders and apexes frustrated several locals, (g) people largely organised around short-lived sentiment and emotion lack regular ideological and orientation course for consistent and protracted democratic struggle, (h) tactics adopted in protest that would affect the economic livelihood of the majority who are impoverished rendered a particular course of protest suicidal and self-defeating, etc. The weaknesses on the part of the movement cannot be the factors for unleashing unrestraint *violence*. Although people protested AFSPA as it stands out distinctively for the symbolic provisions of impunity, what the people want for the long run is an end to all forms of repression and the undemocratic terror regime in the name of security and capitalist investment. The people may be divided along class, regional and communal lines; but the demand for a society free from subjugation, exploitation, oppression and discrimination is appraised by all. History is the witness if GoI is committed for peace and democracy in Manipur.

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So Called ‘Development’

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Development can be generally understood as better utilization of resources, better condition of wealth creation with more equal distribution. In other words, development is assumed to be a condition that could bring about opportunities to upgrade everything. In this context, policy makers and planners in Manipur believe that construction of mega dams, flyovers, market places, railways, will pave the way to ‘development’ and are considered as the epitome of development. This is true considering public demand of these structures. The development ‘projects’ which are currently undertaken in Manipur however give a counter narrative to the general idea of development as suggested in the beginning. Moreover, there are persistent failures of governance in all sectors for decades and as result, the strategies of these projects will hardly be able to deliver an inclusive model of development.

Keeping it as background, this short essay is an attempt to understand the nature of present development projects in Manipur, taking few recent examples as cases in point. The objective is to inquire into the so called developmental constructions in Manipur, and for this purpose the essay will discuss Ima Keithel Reconstruction.

In the last few years, we have seen a number construction projects which are often claimed by the state as great ‘achievements’, perhaps more likely so in future as well. Unnecessary constructions are often undertaken in the name of development. It however only enhances the cliques of vested interest, for it is who they control all major contract works. The BT Road Flyover, newly constructed Ima Keithel¹, and few more, for example, Golf Field, Five Star Hotel, and Capitol Project can be cited. The question is: at what cost, is the government pushing all these unnecessary projects? Any sensible reflection will surely doubt whether a Golf Field or a Five Star Hotel is what we really need in Manipur. For instance, the ongoing expansion of the area of Capitol Project is protested for the obvious displacement of hundreds of households. Establishment of elite colony on the land, which was forcibly acquired with no transparency in the way the public funds are handled for such purpose, has tremendously and systematically neglected that which people really need to see and have.

As for the BT Road Flyover, it is a strategic blunder. As Akoijam wrote, the construction first destroyed the District Hospital which was perhaps the first of modern hospitals in Manipur² for the Flyover to emerge right in the heart of the historic Ima Keithel. Again to maintain its architectural form, the Flyover now visually tramples over the Kangla, a place known as a key to ancient and modern history of Manipur. Flyover also destroys the opportunities of thousands of women who earned their livelihood solely by selling mostly vegetables at the site where the Flyover and its adjacent road now spread. Over the last few years, the grievances of the victims of the displacement have not been properly relieved while their demands to address their plight have been routinely clamped down. Let me focus on the issue of displacement with a little more detail. The issue of displacement is closely tied to the nexus among political leaders, bureaucrats, contractors and big business houses, each of them having vested interests on the prosperous business at Ima Keithel. They want to control the market plots by offering them to those who are into their corrupt pockets.

The Keithel is the cradle of the fervent economic activities in Manipur. In order to modernize the structure, the government had started reconstructing the pre-existing three markets sheds of the Keithel. During the course of the construction, vendors were allocated with temporary seats at the District Hospital site outside of the main Keithel complex. The possibility of a pre-planned allocation policy for a select few who are close to those in power cannot be completely ruled out. It is in this regard that the current modernization project of the Keithel cannot be separated from the tragedy of loss of livelihood and hopes of large number of women who come from far off places and have no higher up links, including widowed victims of the ongoing armed conflict who come to the Keithel for a day’s meager income. It is to also see the painful transformation of an inclusive space which the Keithel was earlier into what it has now become, an exclusive space where most opportunities always go to the few urban barons. This could be more evident when the government had recently assigned the displaced vendors to Lamphel Sanakeithel, which is less accessible to the marketers and few buyers would go there. The result is obvious. Rural-urban divide has further widened while the gap between the privileged and the marginalized is now becoming more apparent than before. If one looks into development-militarization nexus in Manipur, things will appear in a worse shape. As we all know, since Manipur has been under martial law (The Armed Forces Special Powers Act), there is huge militarization in every possible sphere of daily life in Manipur. With the prolonged militarization, transparency in governance is becoming out of question. In the absence of transparency, black markets have flourished only to benefit the security personals³ and the ruling elites. Power brokers in and

outside of the State institution have acquired strong hold in the business of profit making. War and hunger have served, so to say, to nourish a kind of 'warlordism' in Manipur, similar to what happened in the early 20th century China or many parts of contemporary Africa and South American societies.

Just to draw to a conclusion, one may say that things are not in desirable order in Manipur. One instance of this is increasing militarization and its relation to widespread corruption. Profiteering by ruling elites, their stiff opposition to transparency and accountability in the matters of governance are in fact the idea of development which the political elites have profusely mapped in order to get profit out of it. Deterioration of public services particularly in the field of health, education, sanitation, public transportation, cannot be separated from the failure to protect 'citizens'. Widespread violation of human rights undergirding authoritarian rule in Manipur cannot therefore be left unexamined if one needs to see in what ways constitutional and democratic institutions and processes in Manipur are dispensed with. Manipur is a failed State despite the rhetoric of development. Only hope to reclaim justice and democracy in Manipur so that we could see the kind of development that people like is to rise against the forces that rule over us. Our future, we hope, lies in resistance.

Endnotes:

- ¹ Ima Keithel (Mothers' Market), which is situated at the heart of Imphal Market, all business transactions here are performed exclusively by women
- ² "Memory of a tragedy: A personal revisit to a failed attempt" http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=news_section.opinions.Memory_of_a_tragedy_A_personal_revisit_to_a_failed_attempt, Access: 21 Oct., 2011
- ³ "Heated argument between police and Army at Moreh" see <http://www.epao.net/> Accessed on: 21 Oct., 2011

Arts as the Politics of Authenticity and Cultural Appropriation

Usham Rojio

Cultural appropriation of the "other" has been widely discussed as a problem of ethics in recent years. Fundamental to the argument of this essay is to interrogate how mainstream Indian scholarship particularly on performance and art seek to subsume Meetei performances to the *Natyashastra*¹ in the absence of a deeper inquiry into the historicity of Meetei art and performance. It is an attempt to dwell on and reflect on what Ankersmit calls "the historical sensation," a complete conviction of genuineness, truth".² For this purpose I will discuss some of the most relevant treatise on Meetei performing arts in order to broadly engage with a couple of questions: What interest do contemporary scholars on performance in India have in studying Meetei performances through the prism of *Natyashastra*? Is it really possible, for example, to survey performing arts, the techniques and knowledge involved with it without taking into account of the vernacular histories of performances in Manipur?

To begin with, one might say that in India official reconstruction of performing arts participated in the Nehruvian "projects of nationhood" and as a result, the institutionalization of the performing arts is an active element of the politics of nation-building. In the process, nation narrative thus involved a great deal of manipulation, interpretation, interventions, and misappropriation of performing arts of various kinds by bringing them into a singular fold, a particular discourse of arts. During the subsequent period till the present State patronage and sponsorship tempted the appropriation of certain regional performing art forms and selective legitimization as "national" and then "classical" or the vice versa. Against this backdrop the recent polemical debates over cultural appropriation have centered on the concept of "dominance and subservience," "core and peripheries," "high and low," etc. As Bhagat Oinam³ points out, the failure of political solution in some parts of India like Kashmir and Northeast India lies in the conception of Modern India by the Indian Nationalist – Congress and right wing Hindu organisation. He elaborated the statement of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay that India must have a history comes out of a deep rooted commitment to build a nation project and also construct a nation narrative. The history of India is thus traced to the land of Bharata which as Anolysius put is a "Brahminical Nationalism."

Northeast India in such a scenario of cultural appropriation seemed to be the “receiver” owing to the bundles of contradictions that the colonial rule brought during the first half of the 19th century. This created several ideational and ideological divides in terms of identity and cultural-historical sense of the collective self of the people in the region. Be it politics or economy, one might see that these multifarious layers find resonance in the everyday cultural articulation of political aspirations. For the mainstream scholarships on Meetei dances, they are a component of the *Natyashastra* system. These scholarships render the Meetei dance forms in the light of the institutionalised interpretations such as the Vaisya theories, Ksatriya theories, Brahman theories etc.

However, if look at the ethno-linguistic literature in order to understand the ways in which performing arts evolved there is a discord between the way Meetei *Rasa Leela* being defined as classical and its being outside of the discourse that defines it as the classical. Let me discuss in this light some of the text available with regards to Meetei dance forms. The book *Panthoibi-Khongkul* gives an account of religious and social festival known as *Lai Haraoba* where Khaba community paid homage to deity Nongpok Ningthou and his consort Panthoibi. This festival is believed to be part of cosmological theory of creation in Meetei myth and has in itself a repository of numerous songs. Significant among these *Lai Haraoba* songs found in *Panthoibi Khongkul* are *Ougri*, *Khencho* and *Lairemma Paosa*.⁴ *Ougri* and *Khencho* are much more archaic in diction and steep in historical allusions. *Ougri* is also mentioned in the manuscript *Laisra Pham* as a coronation song on the occasion of ascension of Nongda Lairen Pakhangba in AD 33.’

Anoirol is another text found in *Panthoibi Khongkul* in the form of songs, a treatise of Meetei performing arts. *Anoi* is prehistoric name given by Meetei annals to any emulation of divine ensemble of nine Laibungthous and seven Lainuras expressing devotion, self-contentment and extreme bliss in re-depicting creation of the universe, procreation of mankind and pursuits for sustenance and development. In course of time a particular facet of this ritualistic performance has become known as *Lai Haraoba* (propitiation of Gods). However according to the annals original *Anoi* was a many-splendored divine spectacle covering graceful body movements (dance) of celestial beings accompanied by exquisitely melodious vocal and instrumental music, besides war-dance, sculptural displays and yet other creative arts and art-forms designed to make life on earth a pleasant experience. Hence through the passage of time, various art-forms developed in the process of annual *Anoi* and other art forms ensembled. Another manuscript titled *Naothingkhong Phambal Kaba* refers to *Anoirol* as an important aspect of Meetei culture and tradition.

If re-depiction of creation and procreation is designated as *Anoi* or *chuk-koi*, i.e. moving (or *koi*) within four limits (or *chuks*) and eventually as

Jagoi Anoi, then *Anoi Lol* can be judged to be the origin of yet eleven other art-forms⁵, as tabulated below with apparent equivalence:

Table 1: **Eleven Other Art-forms Originating from *Anoirol***⁶⁶

Indigenous Names	Art-forms
<i>Esei Anoi</i>	Vocal and Instrumental Music
<i>Laiyek Anoi</i>	Painting
<i>Laikhot Anoi</i>	Sculpture
<i>Theng-gou Anoi</i>	Strategy build up art (a unique dance form)
<i>Thang Anoi</i>	Sword dance
<i>Ta Anoi</i>	Spear dance
<i>Ing-git Anoi</i>	Mime Art-form
<i>Khuthek Anoi</i>	Hand gestures
<i>Khongthang Anoi</i>	Foot stepping art
<i>Cholom Anoi</i>	Art of body movement with gestures (e.g. like animals)
<i>Wari Anoi</i>	Story-telling Art with great gusto and bodily expressions

(Source: Prepared by Sr. Guru R.K. Achoubisana)

According to Sr. Guru R.K. Achoubisana “unlike other Indian styles or schools of dancing in which single technique forms the basis, (Meetei) dance and music comprises many different parts: *Lai Haraoba*, *Ras Lila*, *Nata-Sankirtana*, *Thang-ta*, etc. Its distinctiveness lies in the fact that each of the above is a complete art-form by itself with a whole set of typical movements and immense rhythmic variations. In all *Anois*, all the gestures are only suggestive, rather than explicitly expressive.” For example, *cholom* (body gestures of *Nata-Sankirtana*) are only suggestive of the movement of an elephant. It is common knowledge that stepping technique and variations used by a sword-fighter (sword dancer) are the same used by vibrant drum (or pung) player in *Nata-Sankirtana*, as it is true of the strategy-oriented footworks and defence-cum-aggressive postures stipulated in *Theng-gou Anoi* or *Thengou-rol* on the basis of whatever advice rendered by Guru Athingkhok or Ashiba.

Unlike other Indian classical music sung while seated, *Nata-Sankirtana* singing is by itself a combination of singing by musicians with movements of body and hands based on *Khuthek Anoi* form in alignment of footsteppings derived from *Khongthang Anoi*.

As suggested in *Anoirol*, original dance of creation of the earth as enacted by Nongthangleima was later on reenacted by nine Laibungthous and seven Lainuras during Hayi-Chak (Age of Truth) from which *Lai Haraoba* evolved over ages. Incidentally, remaining in motion or circling within a *Chuk*

or four limits would show how *Chuk-koi* or *Jagoi* has derived. In *Lai Haraoba* dance spectacle therefore the first item reenacted would be *Leiching Jagoi* or creation of the earth, to be followed by *Laibou*, which seeks to re-enact creation of the universe, procreation, birth cycle and development of mankind. Human body is created through reenactment of as many as sixty four hand gestures, following a making of a house, cultivation for grain and catching fish through reenactment of 364 hand gestures.

The *Lai Haraoba* dance which King Bhagyachandra innovated resulted into some forms of dance among which Meetei *Nat-pala* (Maha Sankirtan), and *Ras Leela*, in particular, have been noticed by all art-lovers throughout the world. The *Nat-pala* has some basic items viz.: *Sinkaklol*, *Tindan*, *Leitai Nongdai*, *Rajmen*, *Paring Langsang*, etc.⁷ Depending on occasion, whether a marriage or post-death ceremony, *Nat-pala* items and lyrics may vary. Prominently herein kortal (or cymbal) cholom by singer and pung (drum) cholom by drummer have been innovated by Bhagyachandra from the first three traditional items of *Lai Haraoba*. The next item is the world-famous *Ras Leela* again innovated by King Bhagyachandra “simply basing on the existing *Lai Haraoba* dance making improvement in technique or rhythmic movements to suit his religious beliefs and to some extent in costume. He used *singkaklen*, *nongdon jagoi*, *tindan*, *leitai nongdai*, *rajmen paring langsang* (*leinet jagoi*), *tanchup and mankup*, and *laipou bhang pareng*.”⁸

From the above brief discussion, one can see that the “form” of dances continue even though changes have been witnessed in the “content” of the dance forms. If we take into account some of the of significant treatises like *Anoirol*, we could see that the forms of continuity, changes and various dynamics of the Meetei performances had encountered various influences coming from different historical trajectories. It will also imply that the structure of Meetei performing arts have a distinctive tradition with which they evolved to be what they are now. This development is made obscured if we relate the evolution of the structure to the *Natyasastric* tradition. Mainstream arts discourse in India in their attempt to institutionalize classicalness of Meetei dance forms is in this sense insensitive to the heterogeneity of performing arts by unnecessarily bringing all form of dances within the classical tradition and system of *Natyasastra*.

To draw this essay towards a conclusion, let me have a few words on the question of ‘ethics’ with which I began this essay. Ethics has a profound relevancy to the claims of authenticity and originality. If we claim authenticity of Meetei performing arts, then we have to also counter the gross ideological hegemonisation of the dances forms. As Charles Taylor said authenticity is a moral ideal, an ethical question, which is however prominently trivialized by

certain tendencies and agendas in contemporary life.⁹ Shaping an ethical politics of authenticity then has two strategies to take on. First is to refine in the effort to confront the ever-deepening hegemonies and to widen the expression of our desire for self-exploration, self-discovery, and self-fulfillment. Second, we need to strive for the ideal in an engagement with the others in order to develop an “identifiable” self for it is only when we recognize and accept diversity we come to have a clearer sense of our own identities. Authenticity of the original, of our identity might be reclaimed through the discovery of diversity of performing arts as the essay broadly attempts to do and not through homogenizing differences of performing arts for the purpose of the instrumental gain such as project of national identity, as the *Natyasastra* discourse and its practitioners do.

Endnotes:

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¹ For more details see Mohd Anis Md Nor, “Kapila Vatsyayan and Dance Scholarship: India and Beyond,” *Dance Research Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Summer, 2000), pp. 95-102

² Ankersmit, F.R, “Historiography and Postmodernism”, *History and Theory: Contemporary Readings*. Ed. Brian Fay, Philip Pomper, and Richard T. Vann. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998. p.146

³ Bhagat Oinam, “Nation Building Projects at the Margins: A Tale on Aspirations, Contestations and Crossroads,” *Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 6 (I & II), Spring and Monsoon, p. 6

⁴ Kishan, Thingnam Singh, “Manipuri Literature in History,” *Eastern Quarterly*, Volume 3 Issue I , July- September 2005, p. 129

⁵ Khumanlambam Yaima, Pandit Achouba (Ed.): *Anoi Lol*: Volume 1-4 (MSS).

⁶ Sr. Guru R.K. Achoubisana, “The Religious Origin of Manipuri Dance & Music,” *New Insights into the Glorious History of Manipur*, H.Dwijasekhar (Editor), Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

⁷ Various dance steps and techniques as mentioned in *Anoirol*

⁸ Singh, Ibohal, *Introduction to Manipur*, Imphal, 1963, p. 116

⁹ Taylor, Charles, *The Ethics of Authenticity*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991, p.27

Folk Music of the Ethnic Minorities of Manipur

Laishram Birendrakumar Singh

Considering its ethnic plurality, Manipur could be termed the prototype of the whole of Northeast India which has more than two hundred ethnic nationalities. Despite its small size, Manipur has thirty-three constitutionally recognized ethnic nationalities and many more unrecognized groups or 'tribals' as they are officially known. Each of the communities has its own distinctive characteristics of folk-life, customs, dialects, beliefs and practices that they consider to be their own and that help shape an identity of their own amidst a mosaic of other identities.

Music of the ethnic nationalities of Manipur constitutes a major component of their folklife. It is here that no-one can look at their music as independent of their life. In their music, one will find their hopes, aspirations and frustrations as well. The ups and downs of their voices and their tonal variations draw, in the listeners' mind, the beautiful landscape of the hilly terrains. They also reflect the hardship of their agricultural activities. Music does not stand on its own. It accompanies dance movements or physical movements they perform while engaging in cultivation activities or ritualistic performances. The remark of Prof. Peter Bodeut that "Romanian folk dances, in their movements, reflect the entire history of Romanian life" is also true in case of the folk music of ethnic minorities of Manipur.

Apart from the unrecognised groups, there are thirty-three constitutionally recognised scheduled tribe communities in Manipur. They are 1. Aimol, 2. Anal, 3. Chongthu, 4. Chothe, 5. Hmar, 6. Koirang, 7. Kom, 8. Liangmei, 9. Mao, 10. Moyon, 11. Paite, 12. Pao-mei, 13. Purum, 14. Simte, 15. Tarao, 16. Vaiphei, 17. Tangkhul, 18. Kabui, 19. Zou, 20. Thadou, 21. Maring, 22. Lamkang, 23. Kharam, 24. Thangal, 25. Zemi, 26. Chiru, 27. Gangte, 28. Koirao, 29. Maram, 30. Monsang, 31. Sukte, 32. Oinam, and 33. Lushai. The ethnic music of these communities are of many kinds and each community has an ethnocentric tendency of claiming that it is their own and different from others. This sense of exclusivity enables them to survive amidst a kaleidoscope of other nationalities. This gives them a sense of security, not simply in matters of music, but also in matters of their territory or geographical space that they survive on through agricultural practices and other areas of interest.

Like any other tribal music, the music of the ethnic communities of Manipur is rhythmic rather than melodious. The rhythm is maintained through the use of percussion. They also use voices like shouts and cries to bring a change in the rhythm and corresponding changes to the accompanying dance movement. They are accustomed to applying music-like utterances while engaging in agricultural activities in the field and other activities. These are monosyllabic expressions like 'ho', 'ha', 'hoi', etc. They do not have any meaning but the music provides a stimulus to their activity. These are also found lifted from real life experience and used in songs. It is common practice among the communities that the singers of such music-like songs do not start the music at a time with all the voices in their respective notes. Singers of the dominant note will lead first, then the chord and last the low voice. Thus they will present beautiful harmonic music. The Kabuis call it "Chang tat hoi" or "Hoitan", Maos call it "Uri-han", "Lota-han" or "Mabho-han" and Tangkhuls call it "Kham-mohon". So, a kind of harmonization is there in the music.

There are some common features running across most of the music of the communities. The singers in general are divided in three groups. In Tangkhul, the first voice is known as "Lokyei" and in some way it approximates the soprano of Western music. The women generally take the lead singing Lokyei. The second voice group is known as "Khokrei" and it resembles the bass of the West. This is a low and heavy voice sung by the men together with the leader of the women group. The third voice group is known as "Lokla" and, again, may be compared to the alto of the western music. This is the harmonic voice or the Chord given by the women group. Thus the whole group gives polyphonic music. Another group known as "Khangani", equivalent of the tenor, has been introduced recently.

We should remember that ethnic communities of Manipur have been embracing Christianity through missionaries who came from the West and, through them, have imbibed many things from the West and re-appropriated them as their own.

Harmony is intellectual, while melody is purely emotional. The ethnic communities have their own harmonic system of singing. The singers do not need any pre-composed notes on paper. The composition invariably takes place vividly in front of the audience inspired by the emotions and feelings that come spontaneously to their minds. They are however not familiar with the intellectual exercises in singing a harmonic music, only that they distribute the notes according to the pitch of their respective voices. Their music is a simple harmonisation having a common motif like the development of sounds in the 'drone' of the tumbura of the Indian music.

Tangkhum, Rongmei and many other ethnic communities play bowing-style stringed instruments. Mao play the plucking style with fingers. Of all the bowing instruments, we may make mention of 'La' of the Rongmei, 'Nra' of Zemi, 'Ra' of Liangmei, 'Talla' of Tarao, 'Tari' of Maring, 'Tingteila' of Tangkhum and 'Gaigong' of Paomei. Another stringed instrument played by plucking with fingers is 'Olabii', a 4 feet long instrument with a thin bamboo finger board. The sound box or resonator is a bowl covered with thin hide and over it only one metal string runs. This is used by Mao and another instrument of similar kind used by Paomei is known as 'Lanae'. Some more stringed instruments used by other tribes are 'Sananta' of Tarao, 'Tingtang' of the Hmar, 'Selangdah' of Chongthu, 'Sirangdah' of Anal, 'Silangda' of Thadou, 'Sirangdar' of Kom, 'Serangdar' of Koirang and 'Sarangdar' of Purum. These instruments resemble the 'Sarinda' of Bengal. Sarinda is predominantly used by the indigenous communities of the northern hilly tracts of India and some in Bihar. In Assam, this instrument is found among the old Assamese who sing 'Borgit' and they call it 'Sarengdar'. In Manipur, the bow is made of fibre extracted from the bark of a tree called 'singkap.'

Another instrument is the cylindrical or barrel drum made of wood covered with leather and used for percussion. Small drums of this kind are used among the groups in Manipur. They are beaten with a stick or sticks. Each group gives names of their own to this instrument – the Purum call it 'Khong', Simte call it 'Khuang', Tarao call it 'Khung', 'Khungpee', 'Khungral' or 'khungtame' according to differences in sizes. The Mao never use such drums or any kind of percussion instrument in their dance and music. They prefer hand claps instead. The most obvious Southeast Asian character is the presence of knobbed gongs with a convex bulge at the center. Meitei call it 'Shembung', Rongmei call it 'Shenmu', Kom call it 'Chum' and likewise all the groups using it give different names of their own. A small idiophone made of a piece of split bamboo, only seven to eight centimetres long, is also used. It is played with a string, placed at the mouth of the player and plucked with fingers. The mouth of the player acts as the resonator as well as producing delicate tonal sheds with the use of the breath. Paomeis call it 'Chuii', Taros call it 'Sara ting' and all have their own names. Many use the horn for giving rhythm to their music and dances by beating it. Simtes call it 'Saki', Tarao call it 'Sheelki', Koirangs call it 'Sekhi', etc. 'Rusem' or 'Gosem' is an aerophone, a wind instrument consisting of a hollowed gourd wind chest holding several pipes of reed. When the holes on the pipes are closed or opened, either chords or melodies can be played. Such instruments are believed to be the oldest in the world and believed to have originated from Southeast

Asia. Purum, Simte, Tarao, Vaiphei, Koirang, Kom, Paite etc. use it with different names of their own. Flute is used, but the horizontal flute is more popular than the vertical flute. Trumpets made of bamboo or horns are also used.

Located at the junction of South Asia and Southeast Asia, the ethnic communities of Manipur reveal a harmonious confluence in the culture of their musical instruments and the music itself.

Notes:

* Maibi enacts a trance.

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A Visit to My Native Place “Abode on Earth”

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After staying for more than three years in the main land, Delhi, for my study, I got an opportunity to visit my native place MANIPUR for my Project work. I live in Chingmeirong, Stadium Road, Imphal East District. I would like to share some of my experiences of Manipur with my fellows who miss the place.

Manipur is a blending of wonderful colours and possesses breathtaking landscapes. Undoubtedly, it is a paradise on earth where mother-nature has been extra generous in endowing with beauty. It has always been a shining outpost of India. On many occasions, more often than not, Manipur is a name to be reckoned with, for it does India proud especially in the areas of sports, and art & culture.

Manipur is a melting pot of people composed of various racial affiliations, colours, cultures, religions and communities. She encapsulates a heterogeneous society as a family under her wings. She provides the platform for everyone to excel. She never distinguishes me and you. I used to hear of incidents and stories of mutual trust and communal harmony in the days gone by. *Camaraderie* attitude is widespread and apparently embodied in the communal living spaces such as the dormitory systems. One would notice that men and women coexist without ultra conservative moral policing that is commonly practiced in what is being called ‘mainland’ India. Our people possess the attitude of amiableness that distinguishes us from other societies particularly in terms of willingness to communicate in any language or gesticulation and the great admiration for cooking and sharing meals together. The people of this land are happy to share information that they have with others, including how to get the best recipe, how to cultivate rice and vegetables. They are extremely cooperative in sharing what they possess and ideas.

However, there is other side of the narratives marked by intricacies and complications that play off the spirit of *camaraderie*, which has become visible over the years. The children who are born and brought up under the care of mother Manipur work day and night to create distance from one another. Realistically speaking, communal harmony seems to be dwindling as days

gone by. There is also subtle development of trust deficit amongst individuals of the same community or otherwise. There is need for exploring the right way to address the intricacies and complications occurring within it. For the purpose of highlighting I shall proceed with the following overviews.

Firstly, for more than thirty *ethnos* or communities inhabiting the hills surrounding the fertile valley modernity has not brought qualitative transformation to the material and spiritual settings. Life has not been that easy because of the harsh nature of the geographical terrain and the unproductive food producing system. The people live in comparatively insulated villages, which has relatively enforced on them peculiar social system that is rallied around kinship loyalty and interdependence. Similarly small and secluded kinship based societies solely rely on whatever resources the nature would provide them to survive. Their sinews are hardened with labour as they carry out back-breaking work for the rest of their lives. Their world is indeed small, insecure and fragile.

What seems to be an irony is lack of facilities and infrastructures to improve agriculture and enhance productivity. The agricultural remains technologically rudimentary and the economy is backward. For instance, due to lack of cold storage facility, whatever a village produced in a particular season had to be sold off at the cheapest price in a hasty manner before it get exposed to natural calamities or to pay for indebtedness. Installation of adequate cold storage facilities and improvement of transportation facility for agricultural products can create surplus economy. It would also improve inland trade which would earn huge dividend both for the concerned villagers and the overall economy of the state. For the current social psychology, the ethos of a village is built around the practical experiences developed within the respective extrinsic kinship relation. Interdependence within a village is marked by cyclic and communal enchantment, which is regularly worked out in the form of ritual sacrifices. Rhythmic repetitive dances and solidarity festivals, ushered through dim vestiges of tradition provide the energy link with their once fabulous world.

Secondly, in the urban setting of Manipur, the valley dwellers from all walks of life and communities are apparently getting more benefit from modernity. They enjoy facilities of information technology, digital revolution, and also some of the modern amenities. Positive impact of this revolution can be well cited by the employment opportunities it offers, e.g., information technology service sector. However, the extent is still less than desired. More can be done in this sector by encouraging entrepreneurship and through facilitating entrepreneurs with whatever backing that needs to be given.

Just to butt in a point here, a trend of moral policing has become visible in respective to digital revolution. Personally I do not subscribe to the vested censorship policies imposed by conservative organizations. While I do not rule out bad effects of information technology among those who misuse it, I at the same time believe that accessibility to knowledge and information by students should not be dictated by random organization that possesses no credential. There was a time when censorship could be imposed on video parlours discouraging distribution of video cassettes and CDs with pornography content to the legally under-aged young people and students. But the censorship has become paradoxical and dubious as a result of increasing use of internet that circulates pornography. This can lead to moral pollution in mind and deed. There is immediate need to come up with more practical way of spreading moral consciousness.

Thirdly, it pains me to observe gross exhibition of irrationality by the children of mother Manipur. We left no stone unturned to deconstruct the sound ambience installed for us to dwell upon. We take but hesitate to give back. A little dose of reasoning can rain wonders in Manipur. It's high time we rationalize our thoughts and channelize our resources and energy into areas assuring dividends. The message is loud and clear 'we need to stop playing zero-sum game.' To go back to those golden days and restore mutually trusting existence, all the people need to usher in a conscious effort towards this goal. This is not impossible. We need a conscious effort with determination. Having this conviction is the need of the hour to bring smile on the face of our mother Manipur.

Finally, I would like to admit that I grew up in an environment where the good, the bad and the ugly are configured into a system from where no one can escape. Adventuring into this uncharted and incomprehensible environment could possibly offer one to choose either a recipe for disaster or not. I certainly enjoy the liberty to choose the type of person I wanted to be. The more I grew up, I began seeking the entelechy and divination that define the uniqueness of Manipur. Although I still lack enlightenment or wisdom I have learnt an immense amount about myself and the society. I am also happy for having the opportunity to test my boundaries in a situation that is laden with poverty, ethnic crises, cacophonies of bustling tiny villages, throngs of heterogeneous people, and sweltering rain. All these have inspired within me patience, appreciation, and a new perspective on life. When far away from my native place I certainly miss the tropical setting, sunshine and torrential monsoon and the pure breeze that wakes me up every morning.

It would be inappropriate for me to paint a canvass portraying the lives revolving in Manipur as a vicious cycle of cherry and rosy only. I love my Manipur; that's the reason why I hate her. It would be a privilege for me to see her walk down the path of growth and development. I will smile when she smiles and weep when she weeps. I grew up breathing the purest air and water I have ever breathed or drunk. Forever I will be indebted for her kindness and generosity. The gorgeous thicket of tropical trees and euphonies of whistling birds that encompass our beautiful abode compensate for the inconvenience of having to constantly slap irrationality into our lives.

The more I distance myself from my state, the more I tend to appreciate the beauty that adorns this tiny secluded abode.

Long live Manipur

Women's Question and Their Role in Political Struggle in Manipur

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On 8th September 2011, the 11th foundation day of Apunba Manipur Kanba Ima Lup (AMKIL) was celebrated at Lamyamba Shanglen, Palace Compound in which I was invited as a resource person. In an effort to raise women's questions emphasised my presentation on the issues of structural violence faced by women. The chief guest of the function, who is also the chair-person of the Manipur State Social Welfare Board, R.K Nayansana spoke on the issues of women empowerment while the president of AMKIL Phanjoubam Sakhi Leima began by saying that she would differ from the previous speakers. She said, "Until we are free from the slavery of Indian State we shall be as oppressed as we are today, so the first and the foremost task is to gain our freedom." This is one of the moments of reaffirmation of women's questions being consumed by the flames of nationalist politics. The premise is that women's question and nationalist political struggle are thought to be non-negotiable. In Manipur the political issues: the issues of tussle between the armed opposition and the State and its fallout and the various issues related to politicization of ethnicity have subdued the issues of education, health and governance so as the issues related to women. It is presumed that these issues are considered worthy to be taken up only after the so called forefront political issues are resolved.

Women's question would include issues for example, of rights (related to property, bio-medical), and representation in media and academic discourses, in familial values and popular culture. Besides these, questions of rape, *izzatdabi*, domestic violence, women trafficking, are closely related to the gendered discourse and practices of taboos and stigmas, moral policing, widow marriage and female foeticide. Domestic violence including marital rape, sexual abuse, wife suicide, murder and widows' plight is also fundamental in understanding the significance of women's issues in the equal status with other concerns of the national liberation movement in Manipur.

Women's role in Manipur from antiquity till date has been invoked from time to time in various forums as a matter of national pride. In our contemporary context what are our women's role? Do they have a role at all? If they do act then do they act out of their cognition or some external influence?

What is their role inside the house and outside the doorway? How do these women see their own issues? Within the domestic sphere the domestic labour has been uncounted and unrecognised. The issue of domestic labour debate is yet to begin as a concept in Manipur. But the onslaught of the economic blockade, ethnic cleansing, communal riots and poverty directly gives a blow to women who have to feed their children. In every locality drunken man beating their wives is a common phenomenon. Sometimes man can afford to drink and die whereas woman cannot afford to die when the tiny hungry mouths cry.

The very well chronicled social upheavals in Manipur are testimonies to how we as women have mobilized ourselves or responded to actions in the 'public spheres. The response and the participation of women in these circumscribed public spheres is not so much due to the fact that women in Manipur are more powerful, skilled or educated or there are new opportunities opening up. Rather, it is the breakdown of modern as well as traditional institutions and the responsibilities these institutions coupled with the subsequent diminishing impact of governance that have contributed much to the construction of this very image. In such circumstances, women are forced to take the responsibility of offsetting the fallout of the political turmoil and economic hardships. The reality and the projected images of the women in our society are not congruent. Women are powerful in the projection of certain sphere, in the newspaper, in talks and discussion, in propaganda speech, in the projected images of the mainstream media. In media and on the dais, in the mike, on screen, in newspapers and on pedestal woman seems to be deified. Once women are transported from the dais and relegated to day to day sphere their values get dwindled. The systematic subordination is even made worse by the whirling political conflicts and subsequent militarization eventually making women agents in the struggle as they become clandestine carriers of arms, drugs, money, etc.

Whenever people mentioned of women in Manipur the women in the garb of Meira Paibi are the ones who are considered as agents. They are considered significant agents of civil society. They are the ones who go to the remote corner of Manipur to fetch the bodies of their "sons" to give a deserved funeral. They are the forerunner in protest in the street, in the social and political events which seem to have overtaken us. Besides being involved in the nationalist struggle, customary laws of the society like the resolution of incest, marital problems, illicit relationship, or *izzatdabi* are exercised by Meira Paibis whose regulations regarding these issues at times fall into the sphere of extra-legal activities. This is mainly because of the people's distrust of the legal system in our state, which has seemingly broken down.

Yet why is Meira Paibi unable to hammer home the point that women's issues are as distinct yet symbiotically related to and equally important as the nationalist political struggle in the region? They are silenced about the sufferings in their intimate spheres of their own body and mind. On the other hand they are made to identify their sufferings with that of the body politics of the State. The question of their body and existence is transposed in the politic of nationalism and issues of state politics. The idea of universal motherhood creates a tendency towards totalitarian homogeneity of women's feeling.

As Partha Chatterjee mentioned in his famous essay "The Nationalist resolution of the Women's Question", there is a critical and problematic relation between the politics of nationalism and women's questions. Indian nationalism, Chatterjee argued, fostered a conservative attitude towards social practices and customs regarding women. Women's question was addressed by distinguishing the private and public sphere. The women in the spiritual realm in this manner were supposed to maintain their traditional ethics whereas in their material way of life they can access to western means and education. Nationalist element crept up in this context in the construction of motherhood. Women however became idealised and desexualised when she was made an epitome of motherhood. Nationalism had a tendency to mobilize motherhood as metaphor in order to utilize the "mother" signifier. It however created, as Chatterjee argued, a new patriarchy that re-enforced its moral norms on women. In the similar manner, the idea and construct of motherhood is appropriated and misused in our social context. Women in the visible arena remain mere instrument and the power that they project limit themselves to being a body of resistance not moving toward the other dimensions of the ways in which power is exercised. This is reflected in the decision making, agenda setting and thought formation or in the process of cognitive formation.

We want to dissolve this contradiction by resisting the projection of women in a particular way that merely enhances patriarchal values. It would be possible only when every woman wakes up from being the qualifiers of 'mothers' or 'sisters' or 'daughters' to critical performance of a political role. It will need then for our women to get access to the first-hand information by themselves. They have to guide themselves. They need not refer to someone's recommendations. They have to take charge of their own body and mind. They might fall, stumble or get lost in the way. But how would they learn to forge ahead until they take the challenge or unless they demand the right to their mental and physical mobility? For this to happen, there must begin a task of overhauling the value system of our present society. This will also need to go beyond the hetero-normative practice of gender.

Wildlife Conservation in Manipur

1. Wildlife - a rich natural heritage of Manipur

Even though Manipur is a tiny state in the North Eastern Fringes of India, she is exceedingly rich in natural resources with a vast and varied fauna heritage. This region is included in the same zoological province as the forest region of the Himalayas with the same gradation from tropical to temperate vegetation. The distribution and character of animal life is also similar, but in addition distinctly Malayan type fauna is traceable all through the province with an intermingling of peculiar forms. This results in the diversity and peculiarity of the wildlife found in Manipur.

2. Mammalian Fauna:

Many of the species of animals found in Manipur are endemic, foremost among them being the Sangai or the Brow Antlered Deer, *Cervus Eldi Eldi*, which in its unique wetland ecosystem is restricted to Manipur only. The other two related species have been reported from Myanmar and Thailand.

The only ape found in India, the Hoolock Gibbon locally known as Yongmu, commonly occurs in all the five hill districts of Manipur. Similarly, the Slow Loris, the Stump Tailed Macaque, the Pig-Tailed Macaque are the other rare primates that occur in the forests of Manipur. Amongst the carnivores the Clouded Leopard and the Golden Cat are the rare, nocturnal animals found in Manipur. Spectacular big cats, the tiger and the leopard, still make a quiet living in the remote parts of the state. Of the two, the leopards are more common, whereas tigers are seldom reported now. The gigantic land animal, the elephant, makes seasonal migration into the state in the Indo-Myanmar border areas, along the Taret river course and also the western parts from Assam.

The Himalayan Black Bear (*Selenarctos Thibetanus*) is another schedule I animal that commonly occurs all over the hills of Manipur. The rare and elusive Malayan Sun Bear (*Helarctos Malyanus*) is restricted to the unique forests in the Indo-Myanmar border areas and inhabits the Yangoupokpi Lokchao Wildlife Sanctuary of Manipur. This animal is rarely found in India and a recent report in India Today magazine describes on such sighting in Arunachal Pradesh. Though the Malayan Sun bear resembles a Black Bear, it is smaller in size and can climb trees with the agility of a monkey.

If one were to take a tour of New Samtal, a small town in the Indo-Myanmar border areas, especially during the night, once can see herds of Bison, as well as of Sambhar, along the road. The Barking Deer, the commonest *Cervus* in Manipur prefers the hilly areas while the Hog Deer, another deer found in the North-East India can be sighted at Keibul Lamjao National Park in Manipur. Serow (*Capricornis sumatraensis*) is another rare animal found in Manipur. The animal chooses to live in the most inhospitable area for man, but finds itself at ease on the steep slopes of rocky mountain in Tamenglong and Senapati Districts and Keilam hill ranges of Churachandpur District.

The True Badgers are not found in Asia. However, the Hog Badgers and Ferret Badgers are the rarest South East Asian representatives found in Manipur. They are widely distributed in the hills of Manipur. Of the two, the Hog Badgers known as Nungok are more common than the Ferret Badgers in Manipur. The elusive lesser carnivore - the Ferret Badgers - is seldom sighted owing to its nocturnal mode of life, as well as its small population in the hills. The Pangolins, Bear Cats, Spotted Linsangs are the lesser schedule-I animals of Manipur, lesser when it comes to size alone. The Spotted Linsang found in the Barak watershed is very agile and quite beautiful to look at. And so is the Himalayan Yellow Throated Marten. The Pangolins are less commonly encountered in the Indo-Myanmar border areas and the Binturongs or Bear Cats though seldom sighted are found in the forests of Senapati District.

3. Avi-Fauna:

Birds, by their very being, take our imagination of a flight. Manipur should be proud of her rich avi-Fauna. All the members of phasinidae are colorful but Mrs. Hume's barred back Pheasant (*Syrmaticus humiae*) and Blyth's Tragopan found in Manipur are spectacular and stand out from the rest of the group. The Khaleej Pheasant found in Manipur is a rich mixture of steely black and white and is definitely quite elegant. The Burmese peafowls and jungle fowls are another long feathered pheasants found in Manipur.

4. Problems and Prospects:

It is quite unfortunate that a large number of birds and animals have become extinct in Manipur that too, in the recent past. The Javan Rhinoceros was seen roaming along the Khuga river valley in Churachandpur district as late as the beginning of 20th century, but now it is extinct from Manipur and hence from India. The wild Ox of Myanmar (Bantering) known as 'Santhou' in Manipuri was last seen thirty years ago. In all probability these animals have vanished from the Manipur soil forever. The Hoolock Gibbon, Stump Tailed macaques, Slow Loris, Clouded Leopard, Golden Cat, Marbled Cat,

Banturong, Spotted Linsang, Malayan Sun Bear, Smooth Indian Otter, Hog Badger, Malayan Gaint Squirrel, the Serow (Sabeng) and most other denizens of forest are making a precarious existence in the forests of Manipur, and all of them are on the verge of extinction.

Among the birds, the White Wood Duck, Pink Headed Duck, Grey-Leg Goose, Mallard, Brahminy Duck, Clucking-teal, Plover, Hooded Crane, Brown Headed gull, Avocat White ibis, Glossy Ibis, Indian Shag, Open Bill stork, Black Necked Stork, and a host of others have become extremely rare, and many of them are probably extinct from the State.

Rapid deforestation resulting in habitat destruction coupled with indiscriminate hunting of birds and animals have threatened many species with extinction. In the hills, where people pride themselves as traditional hunters, it would be a pity soon enough if they are left with no animal to hunt at all. It needs to be admitted that messages of conservation are yet to reach the interior hills of Manipur, and even so, only the economic development of the people would enable them to overcome the compulsion of over exploiting the living natural resources of the State.

In order to prevent the destruction of Wildlife in the State, as early as 1931, Captain C. L.W. Harvey, the then President of Manipur State Darbar promulgated the Game Rules of Manipur. The Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 was introduced in Manipur State from the 15th May, 1973, thereby offering legal protection to all forms of wildlife in the state. In accordance with the advice of the Wildlife Advisory Board, the Manipur Zoological Garden, Iroishenba, at the Western hill side of Imphal, was established on 2 October 1976 where captive breeding of rare and endemic species are being under taken. The Manipur Zoological Garden, as of today, is the jewel box of rare animals some of which are found only in this part of the country.

Information of the Wildlife of Manipur is incomplete without the Elds' deer, locally known as Sangai (*Cervus Eldi Eldi*, Mc. Clelland, 1842). Once believed to be extinct, this raremost cervid was rediscovered in the year 1953. The unique habitat of this most threatened cervid in the world constitute mostly of floating mats of vegetation (known locally as phum/phumdi) on Loktak Lake. The habitat comprises of above 40 sq.kms and was declared as a National Park in the year 1977. Though not a spectacular increase, the shot from about 14 heads in 1974 to 147 in 1997 is indeed a big increase. In this fragile eco-system, Sangai still faces the danger of extinction. All our efforts are being made by the Wildlife Wing of the Forest Department with the active co-operation of local people to save this race of deer.

The most deciduous forests of the Indo-Myanmar border areas sustain rare flora and fauna. Of late, in one year, six species of plants new to India

and two species new to science were described from these forests and there are still many more plants and animals yet to be identified and named. With an area of 184 sq. kms.it could be legally be protected as Wildlife Sanctuary. With proper management, there is hope that these rich forests with their denizens could be preserved for posterity. This could however be possible only with active co-operation of the local people.

The Shiroy Kasom hill range, the habitat of the endemic ground lily, Siroy lilly (Lilium macklinease) and also the habitat of Mrs. Hume’s barredback pheasant and Blyth’s tragopan are now proposed to be declared as a National Park. The Keilam hill ranges that host extremely rare species of animals particularly Horn Bills have been declared as a Sanctuary. Similarly Zeliad lake has also been initially notified as a Willdlife Sanctuary. It is hoped that they will be finally declared to be a Sanctuary very soon.

The Dzuko valley is yet another region presenting a rich multitude of flora and fauna in Manipur. Some areas of this valley still remain undisturbed by human activities and it is worthwhile to turn this vast valley in a Biosphere Reserve to a splendid genetic diversity envoronmrnet.

Every year a ‘Wild Life Week’ is observed to highlight the importance Wildlife Conservation and emphasize on the need to take immense steps for the preservation of our natural resources. As a part of the observation of the Week, essay writing competitions, painting, and pencil sketch competitions are held for the students in the State. Film shows on Willdlife are screened at different places in all the seven days of the week. Broadcasts on related topics from knowledgeable persons are expected to bring about the problem and prospect of Wildlife conservation in Manipur. The schools and colleges can generate a great deal of interest in Wildlife topics by arranging meetings, debating competitions, quiz programs, etc. If all the non government agencies which are active in the field of socio-economic development of the state can take up the cause of wildlife much could be achieved.

The Forest Department would once again appeal to contribute wholeheartedly in the noble task of conservation of Wildlife: “Grow Trees for Prosperity, Preserve Forest and Wildlife”.

5. Wildlife Sanctuaries:

A. Protected Area network in Manipur:

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 1. Keibul Lamjao National Park | 40 sq. km. |
| 2. Yangoupokpi Lakchao Wildlife Sanctuary | 184.8 sq. km. |
| 3. Orchid Preservation Plot | 0.5 sq. km. |
| 4. Second home of Sangai (Iroisenba) | 0.6 sq. km. |

B. Protected Areas initially declared as Wildlife Sanctuary:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Keilam Wildlife Sanctuary | 187.5 sq. km. |
| 2. Zeliad Wildlife Sanctuary | 21.0 sq. km. |

6. Wildlife Pledge:

CONVINCED OF THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF CONSERVING THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT, UPON WHICH RESTS THE FOUNDATION OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION, WE SOLEMNLY PLEDGE, THAT WE WILL SPARE NO EFFORTS TO PRESERVE OUR VANISHING WILD LIFE AND OUR DWINDLING FOREST AREAS WHICH OUR GENERATION HOLDS IN TRUST FOR POSTERITY.

Courtesy: The Wildlife Conservation, Forest Department, Govt. of Manipur.

Section III

SHORT STORY
POETRY
LYRICS

Chanurembi

Malem Ningthouja

Pokpadagi siba faobagi matambu punshi kouee hainei. Punshi asi khongchat amani. Thokkhiba / thokliba thoudok macha macha kayana machak oiraga punshi wari ama oihalli. Thoudoksing asi hakchangda tariba mameegumna, kharana wakhalda ningsingduna leihouee, kharadi mamee hnthakhi, aduga kaya amana pumkao khaokhi. Kanagumbana thoudokpu chemaida eesinduna thamlaga sahityagi leichal oihnbasu yaoee. Eihakki wareng asisu taibangda natraga vapki atiyada ooba fangba mamee amani. Ei ningsingli ngasisu !

(May 2007) Nongma nungthil ama, Tera Pishaktagi ... (telephone)

‘Hingba amasung sibagi khennaba karino! Asuk tonna mimmannadana hingbagi mahut sikhibana fei. Nupeegi mapokta poklub asina amukka henna tonkhre. Ei thouri yallaga siragae khallabani.’

‘Wafamdu eingonda hairibana karigi? Eidi nahak nasak khangbasu natte. Nahaknasu eibu ooramkhiroi.’

‘Ddana nachalnupida eerakpa kayadu paaruraga ddagi wakhal khang-ee. Eihakka ddaga sak khangnadrasi eigi warisi tabirabadi soidana tengbangbirakkani khlli.’

‘Eigi numbersina kanadagi?’

‘Magida yaorammi, lotna sillaga phone touraklibani’

‘Karigi lotliba, mangondagi mateng louba yadra, ei haige mangonda’

‘Yaroi yaroi, lairabagi michang leite. Imakhoi aduga makhoina khngkhradi saa lan saarani. Adumna wathok oidei saruk tengbanga amta nijararoi. Ddana mangonda luna toubado makhoinadi yamna lanna khnbani. Imadagadi suk-hou hek houdokpirunu wa thokkani.’

‘Adudi keidouba taaba?’

‘Ei lairik makha tamthagae. Lairik leinaba mateng khara ...’

‘Oiroi, kannaroi! Pukchakki lan mayoknaringeida lairikki chnnafam leite. Senthok leinaba hotnasi. Nanggidi pukchakki lan adu mayoknaba maruni.’

Numidang ... (telephone)

‘Indomcha yaoraktradi keidourae? Angang atombidi?’

'Dda Indomchadi thabk chilli. Angangdi yaori. Kuina wari toubinu mee taakhini. Eina phone touribase imakhoigi ingkhol matol pukhri mayaadagini. Ukhi takhiba thokladi waa thoklani.'

Numit ninigi matung, Imphalgi mafam amadagi ... (telephone)

'Eikhoi imada haikhrabani. Ahanbagidi Og macha ani louro. Chairn-gi oina ngangnarabani, laaba amga amom amga. Suba nomba tn-ganu. Maduna houdoktuna awat apaa menba yaagani.'

'Dda Ei sel oina loujaragae, somda swaida eesaana apaamba oina khnjaragae. Ei saanglaba Imphaldagi Tera Pishak faobagi lambeedu Og machasingdu puraga lakpa eekai. Ei chahi nouribi nupini. Eigi eezatpusu ddana khara khnbiyu'

'Hoi farae, hayeng senfam oina loururo eikhoi yumdagi'

Tha anigi matung, Imphalgi mafam amadagi ... (telephone)

'Dda ei parlour hangge touri immanaba amaga pullaga. Madugi mateng khara toubirak-oo'

'Og-singdudi kamdouraba ...'

'Yam mawong tarae, makhol taahn-ge (Og khongbagi makhol taahnba)'

Mmannabadu phone paihanba 'Eeyamba, eeyambana maabu tengbangbiba nanao loina pao tarae. Eeyambana magi parlour asimta hangbada tengbangbiradi mahaksi maning thunglagani.'

'Parlour-su tamdana kmdouna parlour hangdoino? Inaonupina yaoramba Gambheersingh Market Complex ta dukan ama lei. Aduda hanna yaoro haiyu.'

Mahakna phone paikhatpa, 'Dda masimatangdi mateng pangbiyu. Ddana lishing tarakhakta mateng paangbiyu.'

'Oiroidba thabkti ei sougatpa pamde. Ogsingdu hanna mawong tana amukta loikho'

Mahak neeba yaaba makhei neeramлага phone thamkhi.

Tha kharagi matung; Laphupat Teradagi telephone

Afing afaigi mawongda eingonda phone tourakkhi. Mee khara ngrung ngrung ngnnabagi makholsu tai. 'Makhoina eibu oot neibada ei khang lakpa ngamdaduna eepamda hllaklaga leiribani. Makhoi henmalle waraktaba yaroi. Ddana makhoida amukta haibiyu. Eigi eebung lalhoubagi achouba ama lei nakhoi lemna tharoi haina eina haijinkhrabani. Dda lalhouba saaraga khara kihallo makhoibu. Wari saadba yaroi dda.'

'Nanggi nupadi kadaina chatkhrabage?'

'Adhamorani, karisu kannadba... mama mapakhakki khnbani. Eigi khnde'
'Nasa nasa yanaraga lakkhiba natra? Mayamna yanabasu toubna chumdra? Nangna eingonda lotpani. Nahakna eingonda phone toubna hourakpa matamdo nang hllaklaga leiba matamni'

Manempokta phone paihnli. Manempok kibana makhol nikkhi, Eina haikhi, 'Ima, eidi mitopni. Imakhoigi imung manunggi wafamda eina khut thinginningai karisu leite. Imounupidi khara mnba henmanba manna ujei. Ichanupaga nakhei sengna wari toubiyu. Mapamgi mee kouraga fagadbdou tannabiyu. Eidi lalhoubasu natte! Lalhoubasingnasu eemung manunggi wafamda khut thingjinfam thokte.'

(2008 Winter) Mayana phone tourakpa, Keishampat

'Ddana haiba makha lamdagi nupido kari maming haiba? Houjik dadagi nachalsingni haiduna eikhoi dukanda eigi imannaba amaga changlaktuna lei.'

'Chanurembi'

'Um chumme. Chanurembi kouee hai. Eikhoina Delhida laklambagi wari toubada magi mabungsing ama lei haiduna ddagi ming pllakpani'

'Madi aduda keidouriba'

'Magisi mina yamna ngangnei. Imannabasi pung thinbani. Eikhoiga marak marakta jagoi punbani. Matusu thirabani. Macha ani / ahum surabani. Eikhoi nakalsida varada leibani. Nupisisu adum marak marakta laktuna leirei.'

February 2009; Tera Pishak

Numit khara eihak khun asida leikhi. Chanurembigi maramda pao kaya loukhi. Ming asimak asengba ming oiramdre. Mahak Sanahanbiga houminnarakpani. Wabgaigi Amit-kasu lairik tamminnarak-ee hai. Houjik mahak chahi 27 / 28 lom suramlagani Lairaba emung amada choarakpani. Ngantana mayum palluraga khainaraga hllakpani. Matam khara lalhoulup amagi gi thabk chellammi hai. Tanthoraktuna mayumda leiba matamduda eina echal Baby-da eekhiba kaya paruraga eingondagi mateng louge khnduna call tourakkhibani. Einasu mateng paangba pamkhi. Wafam asi mahakna ima, indomcha, Baby khoida khanghnba pamkhide. Baby na eingonda nungaitaba kaya lei haiba wafam mana lirakkhiba maramna magi maramda hngfamsu leikhide. Adumakpu imakhoi indomchakhoigi imungda changthok changsin toubna meeyoi amani akaiba tourakloi khnkhi.

Magi thamoï sokpa manna lirakpa waari kayadu taaruraga angamba mateng kharadi pangba pamkhi. Masi khangdaba meeyoi kayanadi Baby haraonaba magi akoibda leiriba meeyoisngda mateng paangbani haina lanna

paothokhibsu yaoba malli. Adubu tasengbadi loumi sinmisingda micro-investment toubagi poram amagi manung channa eihakna Chanurembida mateng paangkhiani. Chanuremgi paandamna tonganba amani. Eina pikhiba sel adu mahakna Og leikhide. Parlour-gi wafam adusu pung yeiba nupa aduga makhoi loutunara eingondagi sel louthoknaba hotnakhiba oiramalle. Pung yeiba matu macha leiba nupa adu indomchagi mari mata oiramduna wathok ama oikhi hai. Adugi matungdagi Baby khoida changlakpa ngamkhidre hai. Mahakna meegi sel matli, pot wairaga yonthok-ee haiba wafam kaya taaba fangkhi. Mahakna atoppa lalhoulup amagi senkhai tumkhaigi thabak touee hai. Maduda sel chennabadagi mabu thiba, aduga nakal amaromdana police na thibadagi mahak yum thadoktuna chatkhre hai. Mahak nungai yaifana hingningbagi eenot leiba meeyoi amani haibasidi achumbani. Madu fangnaba araanba pambei sijinnabadagi magi maikhe fajadba ama oikhibani haina khlli. Mou naha kaya hingbagi lanfamda kangaonaduna natei chadba khutlai paiba khutpu kayagi mingda sel khaiba chatli haibagi pao tattna taari. Makhoigumbi kaya khudongthiba nangbagi pao, faa punbagi pao khabarda tattana yaori. Chanurembi hinglibra / faa pun toukhraba haina eetat tattana wakhal khlli. Natraga hakchang yollaga araanba yahip touduna fanglakpa khutpai sel kharaduna pukchakki lan mayoknaribra haina chingnaba faoe. Mahakki hei singba adu kamdouna meeyamgi yaifanaba mawongda mathou pangthok-hnba yaagadge hainasu hek hek khlli.

Chanurembigi wari loidri haina khalli. Nongma thengnarakkhiba yai. Eina echal Baby da wafam amakhak haijaning-ee. Nahakki khonjelgi bhaboksinggi marakta Chanurembi gumbi kaya yaori. Malem asida khundaribi makhoigumbi kayabu yaolgi eenot piba ngamba yakairolgi sahoom safu kna khudol tamba ngamba oibiyu. Eigi warengbu paabiriba sahityagi bhabok nakhoinasu Chanurembigumbi lishing lishinggi punsi khongchatpu eekai khumnaningai oiba punshi mahingda puraknaba hotnabiyu.

Chanurembibu thengnarabadi mabu amuktadi masak khangjaning-ee nongmatadi oojage haina aeeiba / aseiba eihakna khourangna ngairi haina eepao tambiyu.

Thum Packet

Devananda Moirangthem,
B. Sc Maths (H) 1st year, KMC.

Wakchinggi shitharakpa matamni. Yahourakpada leichilna pumngou ngouduna leirammi. Ingmankhibana phamungdagi hougat lakpada fijao ama loinarak e. Mapan thorak tuna korouhnbabu khurumjei.¹ Ingkhraba matam asida yahou ngnbi emoududi eeru-maithajaraga dhuk thaba loiraduna imungda changkhi. Khangde ayingba haibasi makhoigidi yaodraba karino. Chin-ya sengdoktuna mapanda wana saba moraduda korouda ning onsanduna phamlaga khabar pai. Paba houbaga emouna cha puthoraktuna pirei. Eigi emousi luhongba tha fadri. Yamna fei! Sumang wai teibada pakna chaona tei. Nouribagira maram mokliba haibadura khangdre!

Cha du thakpa loire. Khabar du manggol da thanamlaga fijaodu inna inna keithel lomda tholak-ee. Ingkhraba matam ojarabasu inkhat lakpa pakng macha leisa macha kaya di ayingba khangda cycle amamamga lairik khao amamam yanduna tuition toubu chatnari. Kanagumba pakhang macha kharana engkhraba ayuksida mee mayam chatli haiba faoba khangdana gari macha amam amam tonglaga kannu kannu thoukhibasu yaooe.

Numit khuding gi ayuk yahourakpada mayai leikaigi Thaba gi hotelda cha thakpa hek hek chatpani. Hotel adu ahal mayam gi awa pothanafamni, e-pao faodoknaphamni. Angang singna ayingba asaba khngdana yahouba tuition gi semsabagum leikai sigi ahal singsu yahouba mafi marol settuna hotel chatnaba hotnei. Ngasi imougi cha adu haowi haidrabadi tasengna ei cha gi mahao khngdaba mee haibadu oirani.

Adum oinamak Thabagi hoteldi changhoudaba yadaba gum tna hotelduda chang-e e. Yahou ngnba etao kayasu hannana phamduna leiramle. ei hakchang ngammudaba gi mapan thoktaba hapta amamuk farae. Yamna kuina thok-udabasu natte. Yamna lapna-rubasu natte. Adubu fana yamna honglambagum ui. Lambigi matai matai da drain toubagini haiduna JCB na kothok pagi leibak mayam peiduna lei. Gari ama chatkhiba da ufulna mee masak khangnade. Nongju pantha ga oiradi fanabu fajani. Matang chadana drain touramliba si eidi vote mayani haiba faoba kaorure.

Ei uba maktada Thaba na cha heina-heina lknaboi kariboi laorak e, “ta Yaima ngasidi keidoure, namou nupigi cha haotrabo ngasi tholak -eesibo.” Cha thaklamba mayam su eingonda onsanlaga nok-sanlak-ee. Thaba na hairiba du emou nupi lakpadagi mapan thoraktabaduda hairibani haiba ei khang-ee.

Eisu haiphet momon touraga pongna hai, “eigi emou na lonba chadu hotel sida yonlabadi lupa tara piraga thakpa faoba ekaiganiko.” Tanjaduda hanna famlamba makha romgi tada na hairak e, “hoi ne Yaima nangi namouse yamna fei haine. Masakna masak fajariba, kuchu na kuchu panliba.” Marak thatna Thabana hai rak e, “ta Yaima lairik laisu di karam toubu?” “M.A ni hana ojhasu oirammi hai moi adomda. Echa nupaga makhoi wari sanabada eikhoina lamba fangdaba enggraji wahei wata ngakta! Eidi taabada kyadi nungaire,” thamo da khara ponglap touna haikhibani. Adubu masi tabada Modhuna tapna hairak e,

“Yaima houjik kaalgi lairik heibi singsina khit henlabani ko, thum packet amafaoba loiba nangdaba.² Adubu nangidi fei haina taribanina nangdi naraibak yamna fara-bani.” Tadhanna makha tarak e, “eikhoi maninggi Chaobagi handak lakpa mamoudusu ngarang mapangi mama mapa laktuna wa-loisannakhra malle.” Eina, “kari toubu yaorage tadhan?”

Eina asum tabadana ‘yum mei lakta-baduda esing lumdre, esing asaba natrabadi lujaba ngamloi haiduna mamai taraga chandol thin-lugae toubaduda manem Nganbina mei laktrabasu siing thagatlaga lummu hairu-bada, aduna henna tanja-khre hairaga chandol thinjan-laga dhuk thadoi tourakpa duda Nganbi do khangba ngamdra-manle, taibang pal sebatnabi ahal laman panli khangdra, haina laoruba jatni. Adudagi mamou duna chaokhattabi nangna kari khangdana kaina khumlakpaduda macha nupa Rajen-na houglakpaga mapa chanana taraba jatni. Adudagi Rajen-na mama da machin khummi, houna lonchat khangde, haiduna khara fuba cheiba touru-reye. Mamoudo adudagi adum chatkhra manlene.’

Eina “khangdreda tadhan houjik-kaalgi mou-naha singsigi maongse.”

Mayam cha thakpa loinare. Modhuna “ngasidi Yaima namou afaba fangbagi mayamgi sen nangna toubu tare” haina hairak-e. Eisu hoida emou ahan fangba sibu touthok-ke mathang echa nupa aton-bagi sisi sanggom cha oina touge hairaga Thaba da kun chatpi ama thadhei. Thaba-na sel han-ge toubada eina emou fangbagi nangi su kongbani khanlo sel hanlanu haiduna hal-handre.

Hotel-dagi thoklaklaga potlakta changduna ahong achao yeng-e. Puklaobi³ sana machu changba mawong taaba ama leire. Makhyatta peiya lengduna yallaga yumlomda hallak-ee. Lambida eteima Bina thengnei.

“Yaima namou pija-nabra aduk chaoba adudi?”

“Eeteima namouse lakpa-dagi ahaoba amatasu pijadri. Ngasidi makhut yengba oina hekta thong-hanlage.”

“Yaima namoubu kamdouge? Yamna fei hainei da.”

“Um adum fei eteima. Mathou masak khang-ee, bhebhar kaide, magi hai-babu mana thongba chak ngaibasi di mee latpa tanjada autoda famlaga mee suba ngaibaga chap hek manei.”

“(noklaga) Tapna tapna adum thuja-rakkanida, nouri tourini. Ado nacha nupa atomba dudi handak-ki primary ojha loubaduda yaonaba kanna hotnari hainaba-gum taida.”

“Khang-deda eeteima Manipurgi thabakse. Selda leire haiduni”

“Adubu noibu houjik kayamdi thourang tourage?”

“Eecha nupa ahanduga khang-naba marup amagi mapa-nadi lakh ahum piyu mana thokpa fanaba sin-ge hai-dana echa nupa ahan duna puba lakpaga hotnadana lakh ani-makhai di pikhre. Awatpa dusu mana sunaba kanna hotnari. Eisu khara di hapning-bani adubu upai leite pension-su chang naina fang-daba sida cha thakpa faoba tokla-sira khanli bani.”

“Fei fei mayamba-na aduk hotna-riba du. Farae Yaima eteima su leihoure.”

Eeteima Bino magi thonggalda changhoure. Ei wakhal khanna khanna lak-ee, “eigi ngasibu pumtoi toina thong-hanbana faribra. Kari mata hairaroi emouna pamjaba mawong da hekta thongja rasanu. Monda nungaina changlak-ee. Thongal yourak pada emou nupido mamai mamit ngak-sang ngangna mamit mana echot chotna kapna kapna chen thorak-ee. Eina kari tounare ebemma haina hang-ee. Paokhum piramdana, eina henna thouna happagum, henna yangna keithel lomda chenkehi. Ei hummang anappi kai, ahan thangda mimang famladra khanna. Manggonda akai atoi pot chei mayam tarammi. Manungda eechnupa du esou langna pot chei thugaibagi makhol tai. Ei wa ngangde. Lok khujan-naduna ei hanlak-le haiba khanghanli. Eina lok khuba makhol tabadagi pot thugaibagi makhondi tadre. Machin da murum murum sonli “asuk wana inao nupa asitabu mee oirabadi hai duna koichel chenduna puruba senfamdu mapam da eibu taklamdana mama gi marupki sel thangnaba pithokkhrene, Hum! Ma eigi khutta sidaba maraibak fei.”

Ei swai laowi. Icha nupa atonbagi thabakki awatpa sel thinlugadaba numittu ngasini. Kari touni ei matha sai. Imung changlakpada icha nupa atonba dusu soot soot kaplammi. Ei chaksangda nga asi thamluge haiduna chang-ee. Sagai da ngaadu houdongna chadanaba chak-upna upsanlaga thammi. Nakanda fet laona leithorakpada ngahan luhongba numitta leikhiba thum packet adu tangkhai dagi henna yaona leiba ui. Madu ubada etom ta momon nokchei.....

Endnotes:

¹ Numitpu Korouhna haina ariba londa khangnei. Ayukta numitpu eat thouniba meeyoi kangbu amasu lei.

² Thum packet ama chabada numit kharadi chang-ee. Thum packet chaba loidringeida khainaba / khatnabana halli haina aebana fongdokli.

³ Nga makhala ama

'Conflicts'...where is the serenity?

Chan Paona Elangbam,
B.sc Bot.(H) 3rd year, HansRaj College.

Year after year age sum up,
Panicked to root down native
i grew up.
Searching for serenity, became impossible.
Yearning for peace, became imperceptible.

Still under the embrace of white people, nevertheless ceaselessly conflicts,
powerful men pugnacious for leadership, besides natural calamities.
The remnant of weapons, reflect on innocence,
The ramshackle, over fatigue world is hauling for peacefulness.

We poor people alike as bird locked in the cage,
this world soon be doomed age by age.
suffocating, harder and harder to breath, indeed wistful.
sounds of screaming, shrieking, indeed dreadful.

What'll be the consequences? its pitiable
by decade what our motherland would be? its unpredictable.
i rather learnt to grasp weapons than handling stylograph.

Million of innocent are screaming,
sensation of blazing, drowning.
Until this flame protrude to an end,
lets reunite, reunified for stillness.

Step forward, towards serenity,
stop war! save world, save life.

Spring Song*

Soibam Haripriya

Spring song
streaks
on her summer cheeks
Toiling away
her unusual labour
unfeeling
mauls by fingers and flesh
numb
frozen smile
Each drugged vein
Eased every encounter
Each 'he'
wanted a feverish clutching
of hands on bosom
It escaped
from her misty head
like an accident
a scream, a moan
a deep nail print
from the dead cold core
Depthless flesh withdraws
paid for the moan
Spring song
streaked cheeks
will fix another joint

**Spring song is a compact face powder probably manufactured in
Thailand.*

Change !!

Akoijam Premchand
Bsc(h)Bio-Chemistry, 3rd year
Sri Venkateswara College

When one changes, people expect
It to be changed to a better one.

What if it changes to worst?

This is the question that is kicking me all the time.

Change is needed....

Bad to good, good to better

Then to excellent and to perfect

This is what nature has planned for us.

No one can stop the changes,

It has to happen.

Even if the changes are bad,

They have to be accepted.

I realise, changes are made for bringing some changes.

Regretting won't heal

We can again change the changes.

And its gonna be excellent or perfect finally.

Lets bring some good changes.

Loktak Project

Chingkhong chingya lou oodaba yani
meeyoi lising 30 muk thabak peeni
mei nganni, meidei (paisa) lakni...
Oh! Ngallare, loktak project
adubu lui nangi naraibak
ho loktak pat...

Mei ngannabanena, mei thannabanena
Ithai dam thinggatlaga
loubukta eesing yoklubreibabu
electric- ki meingalda chaara hengadourido ...!

Chingkhong chingyai lou
hannagigum makang-ee
kannadaba canal toubada pari kaya mangle Ha?
Somda lounamme, eesingna lou-hatle;
crore 400 henna essingna lou-hatle...!

Lou-ooba yadaba chingkhong chingyada patnao komjao toubiro
loktei loubra, guha toubra nadom hingnaba hotnaro...!
Eesing yonbagi mammal tang-nge
paisa henna peeyu haisira,
kshetipuran crore crore louraga balance oinaba hotsira...!!

Chingkhong chingya lou oodaba yani
meeyoi lising 30 muk thabak peeni
mei nganni, meidei (paisa) lakni...
Oh! Ngallare, loktak project
adubu lui nangi naraibak
ho loktak pat

'Loktak Project' in Abok 2 (Tapta Volume 9), Imphal, MK. Productions 2002.

Qutub Minar

Imphal Talkies

(English translation by Soibam Haripriya)

It was past midnight
The goddess of Delhi city
Wide eyed, sharp nosed is in her slumber

Roving my eyes for passersby, I pushed
The tall, long, Godlike
Qutub Minar¹

Thought I can't do without taking it to Imphal
I fancied Qutub Minar standing by the Samu Makhong
hoping this would designate Samu Makhong²

Towards Indira Gandhi airport Qutub Minar loaded on my head, I marched
they refused and there wasn't
a plane that could carry the Qutub Minar

To the stench filled and faces scattered railway station, I headed
they said they couldn't drag it till Guwahati
they could, till Jalpaiguri though

I hitched on the Avadh Assam train³
They were right when they said this train collects cow-dungs
It dragged itself like a pregnant serpent, leaving its trails of smoke

A long halt on reaching Bihar
I Got off to sip a cup of tea
from Lalu's clay cup it was, I savoured⁴

Summer scorched peasants were awaiting the rains
Neither Mayang⁵ nor Meitei⁶, a peasant is just a peasant
Laboured and exhausted, awaiting rains
After rains harvest
After harvest the abuses of the feudal lord

I've reached Jalpaiguri
Waiting to exhibit the prowess of this Meitei Lion⁷
I traversed with the Qutub Minar loaded on my head

I swam the breadth of the mighty Brahmaputra⁸
One arm splashing, one arm dragging the Qutub Minar
I am Hanuman⁹, I thought

In the dense forest of Assam the songs of the tea plantation workers wafts
through
Tendered my heart, the songs of the suffering humanity was the same
Suffering knows no place, has no face
The unknown tongue pierced my heart
I rested at Kohima
Relinquishing a dish of pork and rice I tarried on
the serpentine road of the hills
akin to the flow of rivulets

People stared at me, at the Qutub Minar
At Highway 39, I paid the usual tax
One asked, 'Oh, What is this big tall thing?'
I replied 'Its nothing, just a pestle
imported from Bilat by Meitei ema to feed her indolent sons'

I arrived at the bosom of the persevering Meitei ema
Now I am at Sekmai Bazaar

While I was flirting with the pale brew
While the onlookers were watching me with envy
Suddenly from a black car the Chief Minister alighted

Said he to me
"Man what have you done
How will I respond to Manmohan¹⁰
The government in Delhi is about to collapse
Opposition accuses
Manmohan has gifted Qutub Minar to Obama¹¹
To support the tilting Statue of Liberty"

Said I to him

“Honourable Minister Saheb,
Please convey to Manmohan
When AFSPA¹² is repealed you can take back the Qutub Minar
Otherwise I will be on my own course
Draped in a phanek¹³ I hope to install it at the Samu Makhong
When my mother draped the barren papaya tree with a phanek
It bore fruit
Let me clothe the Qutub Minar with a phanek
Tall and robust it might look becoming

And when they take the Qutub Minar
The names of those massacred
I will carve on it vividly and gift it back”

Endnotes by the Editorial Board:

- ¹ Qutub Minar, in Delhi, constructed with red sandstone and marble, is the tallest minaret in India, with a height of 72.5 meters (237.8 ft), contains 379 stairs to reach the top, construction commenced by Qutub-ud-din Aibak in 1199 A.D and completed by Iltutmish, is notable for being one of the earliest and most prominent examples of Indo-Islamic architecture.
- ² The statue of the legendary king of Manipur, Maharaja Bhagyachandra taming the wild elephant of Assam stands at the heart of Imphal city.
- ³ Generally considered as the worst train for slowness in speed and highest frequency of halts.
- ⁴ One of the political leaders in Bihar.
- ⁵ A derogatory term in Manipur referring to non mongoloid Indians.
- ⁶ Numerically dominant community of Manipur that constitute about 57 % of the entire population.
- ⁷ Referring to the singer himself.
- ⁸ The largest river in India running through Assam.
- ⁹ The herculean ‘monkey hero’ in the Hindu epic Ramayana who was a devotee of Lord Rama.
- ¹⁰ Literal meaning is Shamu = Elephant and Makhong = Feet or the enclosure are around it. The Prime Minister of India; in 2004 he had promised to replace the controversial Armed Forces Special Powers Act with a more humane Act, which has not been complied till date.
- ¹¹ The president of the USA.
- ¹² Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 empowers the ‘security’ forces to violate human rights with impunity.
- ¹³ A Meetei term for the sarong type cloth worn by the women in Manipur. According to Meetei tradition, a fruit plant / tree that does not bear fruit is considered wild / male. A piece of phanek is being tied around the stem with the hope that it will turn the plant into female and ensure fruit bearing.

Section IV

SELECTED DOCUMENTS OF MSAD

CONSTITUTION OF MANIPUR STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION DELHI

Preamble

We, the students of Manipur in Delhi hereby have resolved to constitute a students' organisation and adopt this constitution to safeguard and further the interests of the members of this Association, to strengthen and promote unity, integrity, and understanding and to enhance socio-cultural, educational development of the students.

Section I

Art. 1 Name

The name of this organization shall be called the "Manipur Students' Association Delhi," hereinafter referred to as the Association.

Art. 2 Membership

(a) Any student from Manipur enrolled in any recognised institutions in Delhi who holds a valid identity card shall be a voting member of the Association and thereby entitling them to right to vote as per Election Rules & Regulations provided in Annexure I.

(b) Any other person from Manipur residing in Delhi other than those members mentioned in Art. 2 (a) is entitled to become a Non-Voting member of the Association.

(c) All members constitute the General Body of the Association.

(d) The Annual Voluntary Membership fee of the Association shall be Rs. 20, which shall be realized by the decision of the Executive Committee.

Art. 3 Patrons

Any Person who contributes a minimum amount of Rs. 500 shall be a patron of the Association for one year.

Art. 4 Aims & objectives

The Association shall endeavour:

(a) To foster unity, integrity, understanding and close relationship amongst the peoples to promote Manipur identity.

(b) To organise, encourage and coordinate extra curricular activities for social, cultural and intellectual development and welfare of the students of Manipur.

(c) To undertake various type of activities which lead to the realization of a progressive society.

Art. 5 Structure of the Association

(a) There shall be a General Body of the members, the ultimate repository of all powers vested in the Association.

(b) There shall be an Executive Committee which will be elected for a term of one year through the process of electoral franchise and which is responsible to the General Body. The following are the offices of the Executive Committee:

- (i) President
- (ii) Vice-President
- (iii) General Secretary
- (iv) Organization Secretary
- (v) Finance Secretary
- (vi) Public Relations Secretary
- (vii) Academic & Magazine Secretary
- (viii) Games & Sports Secretary and
- (ix) Cultural Secretary.

(c) There shall be a Working Advisory Board of eight members out of which four will retire on the completion of every one year and vacant seats will be filled by persons nominated by the newly constituted Executive Committee. The Board is constituted for a term of two years.

(d) The Executive Committee in consultation with the Working Advisory Board shall nominate at least one but not more than three persons from amongst the distinguished personalities as Honorary Advisor(s).

(e) The members of the Executive Committee except those who have ceased to be members of the Executive Committee shall remain in office till the new office bearers take charge.

(f) In case of any vacancy occurring in the office of the Executive Committee, the latter in consultation with the Advisory Board will approach the Election Committee within a period of not more than a month and the Election Committee will nominate new office bearers of the post concerned. The decision of the Election Committee will be final.

(g) In case of any vacancy in the Advisory Board the Executive Committee in consultation with other remaining advisor(s) will nominate a person to fill the membership.

(h) There shall be an Auditing Committee of five members nominated by the Advisory Board for a term of one year.

(i) There shall be an Election Committee of not less than eleven members with a Chairperson and a Returning Officer, who are nominated by the outgoing members of the Election Committee in consultation with the Advisory Board.

(j) A student cannot hold any office of the Executive Committee for more than two consecutive terms.

Art. 6 Eligibility

(a) The candidate should be a bonafide resident of Manipur.

(b) Students who are pursuing a Post-Graduate or equivalent regular/correspondence course in any of the Universities or any other institutions in Delhi recognized by UGC and the Government of Delhi and who have resided for a complete one year in Delhi are eligible to contest the election for the post of the President.

(c) Students pursuing at least a Graduate or equivalent regular/correspondence course in any of the Universities and any other institutions in Delhi recognized by UGC and the Government of Delhi and who have stayed for a complete one year in Delhi are eligible to contest the election for the posts of Vice-President, General Secretary, Finance Secretary, Organization Secretary, Public Relations Secretary, Academic & Magazine Secretary, Games & Sports Secretary and Cultural Secretary.

(d) The Advisors should have at least three years of experience in organizing capacity with the activities of the Association.

Section II

Art. 7 Power and Function

(a) President:

(i) The President shall preside over all the General Body and Executive Committee meetings and any other programmes organised by the Association, except for the General Body meeting called for considering a motion of No-confidence against any office bearer of the Association.

(ii) The President is required to share financial information and handover at the earliest any monetary collections to the Finance Secretary.

(iii) President can call for information on financial matters in the form of report from Finance Secretary.

(iv) Any programme proposed by the President has to be first discussed either in a Joint meeting or an Executive meeting and it will be executed only when it is favoured by a two third of the members present and voting.

(v) The President with a prior notification of two days can call an Executive meeting and a Joint meeting through the General Secretary.

(vi) The President shall not deny any proposal of the General Secretary to be discussed in the Executive or Joint meeting.

(vii) The President can ask any secretary for any information regarding the working of the Association.

(viii) The President shall have the casting vote in case of a tie in the Executive Committee meeting.

(ix) In case of vacancy in any of the offices of the Executive Committee, the President shall take over the charge of the office until the new office bearers are appointed

(x) The President shall represent the Association to any activities, meetings, conference, conventions, etc. The president can also recommend General Secretary or Organisation Secretary to represent the Association in such activities.

(xi) The President shall approve with his seal the various committees constituted under the supervision of the secretaries concerned.

(b) Vice-President:

(i) The Vice-President shall assist the President and shall in the absence or vacancy of the latter discharge the duties of the President.

(c) General Secretary

(i) The General Secretary shall call General Body meeting, Joint meeting and the Executive meeting on the recommendation of the President as per Article 7 (a) (iv).

(ii) The General Secretary shall be responsible for setting the agenda of every meeting and minutes of the meetings of the Association.

(iii) The General Secretary shall be responsible for maintaining the office records of the Association and shall at the end of each term hand over them to the Advisory Board.

(iv) The General Secretary will be assisted in the exercise of his duties by all other Secretaries as per requirement.

(v) Any proposal of the General Secretary has to be first discussed in either a Joint meeting or an Executive meeting and the proposal has to be executed only on the consensus by a two third of the members present and voting.

(vi) Any proposal of other Secretaries shall be first presented to the General Secretary who shall refer the matter to the President and call joint meeting for discussion and shall be executed by a two third of the members present and voting.

(vii) The General Secretary shall constitute and supervise a Human Rights Committee of seven members within one month of taking charge and shall have to present it in one of the first two Joint meetings.

(d) Organisational Secretary

(i) The Organisation Secretary shall assist the General Secretary and discharge the latter's duties in his/her absence.

(ii) The Organisation Secretary shall coordinate the activities of various branch committees.

(iii) The Organisation Secretary shall within one month of taking charge constitute and supervise a Women Committee of seven members and shall present it in one of the first two joint sittings.

(e) Finance

(i) The Finance Secretary shall operate and maintain the financial account of the Association.

(ii) The Finance Secretary shall produce the report of financial matters on demand, if any, of the President as well as the Auditing Committee according to Article 7 (a) (ii) & Article 9 (ii) respectively.

(iii) Any expenditure sanctioned to be made to Secretary out of the Association fund for a particular programme shall be transacted with the knowledge of the Finance Secretary. For any expenditure under any circumstance other than this, a prior knowledge of at least two members of the Advisory Board will be required to make the transaction.

(f) Public Relations Secretary

(i) The Public Relations Secretary shall with the approval of the General Secretary make any official statement, media release, and announcement. The Public Relations Secretary shall within one month of taking charge constitute and supervise a Documentation Committee of seven members and shall present it in one of the first two joint meetings.

(g) Academic and Magazine Secretary

(i) The Academic and Magazine Secretary shall within one month of taking charge constitute and supervise an Academic Committee of seven members and shall present it in one of the first two Joint meetings. The Committee shall organise activities for the academic welfare of the students (admission counselling, workshop, meritorious award, picnic, publishing an annual magazine).

(h) Games & Sports Secretary

(i) The Games & Sports Secretary shall within one month of taking charge constitute and supervise a Games & Sports Committee of seven members and shall present it in one of the first two Joint meetings. The Committee shall organise annual sports meet, and promote participation in games & sports and health awareness.

(i) Cultural Secretary

(i) Cultural Secretary shall within one month of taking charge constitute and supervise a Cultural Committee of seven members and shall have present it in one of the first two joint meetings. The Cultural Committee shall organise a cultural and literary meet, Freshers' meet and promote inter community interactions and socio-cultural expressions among the students through various programmes and activities.

Art. 8 Association Funds and Accounts

(i) Subscriptions from the members, balances carried forth from the earlier years and any other funds obtained by the Association shall constitute the Association Funds.

Art. 9 Auditing Committee

(i) There shall be an Auditing Committee of five members with one Convenor nominated by the Advisors for a term of one year.

(ii) The Audit Committee shall audit every programme within a week and for that matter shall demand a financial report from the Finance Secretary. The Audit Committee on the recommendation of the Advisory Board shall audit any issues involving financial irregularities in the activities of the Association.

(iii) The Audit Committee shall audit at the end of every term and shall submit the report to the Advisory Board.

(iv) No working advisor shall be member of the Audit Committee and vice versa.

Art. 10 Election Committee

(i) There shall be an Election Committee of eleven members with a Chairperson and a Returning Officer nominated by the Advisory Board for a term of one year. No working advisor shall be member of the Election Committee or the Audit Committee.

(ii) The Election Committee shall nominate a member of the outgoing Executive Committee as caretaker of the Association at the end of the term till the new Executive Committee is constituted. The caretaker shall not exercise the executive powers given by the constitution.

(iii) The Election Committee shall conduct a free and fair election at the end of every term as per the Election Rules & Regulations.

Art. 11 Advisory Board

(i) The Advisory Board shall aid and advice the Executive Committee from time to time.

(ii) The Board shall nominate the members of Election Committee and Audit Committee.

(iii) The Board shall instruct the Audit Committee to submit its report and to hold special audit as required by circumstance.

Art 12 Executive Committee

(i) The Executive Committee shall be entrusted with organising the activities of the Association in accordance with the aims and objectives of the Association.

(ii) The Executive Committee shall hold Joint meeting when the Advisory Board requests the president for the matter.

Section III

Art. 13 Official language

The Official language of the Association shall be both English and Manipuri.

Art. 14. Vote of No-confidence

Any office bearer of the Association may be removed from the office provided:

(a) That 1/5 of the total voting members of the Association and 3 members of the Executive Committee or 1/3 of the total voting members send a requisition to the President for a meeting of the general body to consider the votes of no-confidence.

(b) That at least 1/3 of the total voting members of the General Body are present in such a meeting called by the President within a week of receipt of the requisition.

(c) That from among those who send the requisition someone presents a charge sheet before the General body meeting and the office bearer against whom the requisition is filed replies the charge levelled against him/her.

(d) That 2/5 of the members present on the day vote in favour of the no-confidence motion.

(e) In such a meeting the voting members present shall choose from amongst themselves a person who is not a member of the executive committee (but who is member of the general body) to preside over the meeting.

Art. 15 Amendment

(a) Amendment to this constitution can be made only by an amendment proposal moved by the Executive committee in consultation with the Advisory Board. The proposal shall be notified in electronic & print media at least forty five days ahead.

(b) The amendment shall be passed provided at least two hundred and fifty (250) of the total members present in the General Body Meeting have voted in favour of the amendment.

(c) All votes irrespective of non-voting and voting members will be counted.

Art. 16 Volunteers

(a) Role of volunteers in the activities of the Association is recognised and they are very important for the better performance and efficiency of the Association.

(b) Manipuri students at various places in Delhi can with a prior permission from the President organise meeting, interaction programme and any necessary activities under the banner of the Association and at least two members of the Executive Committee shall attend the programme.

Art. 17 Quorum

At least 1/3 of the total number of members separately or joint, as the case may be, shall constitute a quorum for any meeting of the Executive Committee, Joint or the Advisory Board.

The above constitution was re-drafted by a Redrafting Committee comprising of:

1. Naorem Malemsanba, Gen. Secy, MSAD (1997-1998), Chairperson, MSAD Election Committee (2004-2006)
2. Malem Ningthouja, President MSAD (1999-2000), Advisor MSAD 2001 – 2004, Co-ordinator, Interim Working Group for MSAD (2007), Chairperson MSAD Election Committee (2007)
3. Seram Rojesh, Cultural Secy. MSAD (2000-2001), President, MSAD (2004-2005),
4. Praem Hidam, Convenor, Election Committee MSAD (2004-2006)
5. Rakesh Pukhrabam, Gen. Secy., MSAD (2004-2005)
6. Sadokpam Ranjeeta, Co-ordinator, Interim Working Group for MSAD (2007), Active volunteer since 2001

The above constitution was re-drafted with due acknowledgment of inputs from:

Chongtham Thoiba
Moirangmayum Indrakumar
S. Gunajit Mangang
Kakchingtabam Naresh Sharma
Moirangmayum Sanjoy

Convenor
N. Malemsanba

Saturday, 20th October 2007

A Total Culmination

Convention on Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958

‘What needs to be done to carry the struggle against the AFSPA forward?’

The ongoing protest in Manipur demanding repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 is aimed at bringing an end of several decades of anti-people *operandi* of the Indian State. The custodial rape and cool blooded murder of Miss Th. Manorama, who was apprehended by the 17 Assam Rifles after issuing an arrest warrant on 11 July 2004, have certainly sparked off the protest. But the ongoing protest is a culmination of people’s resentment against serial killings, massacres, sexual harassments, disappearances and tortures committed by the armed forces in Manipur. The latest incidents of killings and tortures in 2004 such as torture of civilians by the CRPF at Moirang Kampu (17.02.04) after an ambush by unidentified gunmen, killing of Sanamacha (02.03.04) by the Assam Rifles, killing of ten people during the Yaosang festival (Holi) who were picked up by Assam Rifles from different places during festival, killing of Kh. Naoba (15.03.04) by the Rashtriya Rifles, killing of Hangkhanpao Khongsai and Langlenthon (25.05.04) by the 14 Assam Rifles, killing of P. Sanajit (31.05.04) by the Rajputna Rifles, killing of a 60 year old pastor Zamkholet Khongsai (08.07.04) by the Assam Rifles, etc. have refreshed the spirit of people’s defiance of the military excesses and added fuel to the ignition sparked off by the Manorama incident. For instance, just four months preceding the ongoing protests, the people of Manipur had organized a massive rally on 17 March 2004 condemning what is generally referred to as the ‘Bloody Holi’.

Manipuri peoples’ movement against the ‘repressive regime’ is decades old. Protests against AFSPA began when members of the Lok Sabha from Manipur Mr R. Suisa and Mr. L. Achou Singh vehemently opposed the introduction of the bill, which was subsequently passed as AFSPA, in the Indian Parliament in 1958. The inhabitants of the hill districts who were the first to suffer under this Act were the first to protest against atrocities and excesses committed by the armed forces. Their protests remained less organized, sporadic and could not spread out in Imphal and Delhi. Since 1980 onwards, when the whole of Manipur came under the Act protests against ‘repressive regime’ became more vocale, organized, coordinated and widespread. A large section of Manipuri women organized themselves into *Meira Paibees* and started human rights defense movement.

The people of Manipur protest AFSPA because it is one of the most draconian laws under which provisions the armed forces committed crimes such as massacres, custodial killings, tortures, rapes, forced disappearances and etc. In fact, the spirit of the ongoing protest is derived from pent up humiliation against human rights violations including 'genocidal massacres' such as the Heirangoithong massacre (14.03.1984), Oinam massacre (09.07.1987), Chandel killing (2.06.1995), RIMS massacre (07.01.1995), Malom massacre (02.11.00), Tabulong massacre (28.12.00) etc. The Manorama incident has fueled the movement since it altered the general belief of issuing arrest warrant as a check to the rampant human rights violations by the armed forces into meaningless. This alteration confirmed the people of Manipur that the only choice available for them is to fight for complete withdrawal of the Act. They no longer have any faith in either reviewing the Act or compensation or any promise to punish the armed personnel responsible for human rights violation as solution to the perennial war hysteria and physical threat posed to them by the State.

The ongoing protest ignited by the Manorama incident is a culminating juncture of the overall process of protest movement for restoring justice and democracy in Manipur. A 48 hours general strike was followed by series of mass submissions of memorandum, sit-in-protests, relay hunger strikes, mass rallies and bundhs, etc. On 15 July 2004 Manipuri women communicated to the entire world that the time has come to defy the anti-democratic regimes when they protested in front of Kangla without any cloth. Their courage received solidarity from various fronts. The women nude protest has since then unleashed an unstoppable mass resistance in Manipur. People defied government curfew and faced the brutality of the 'security' forces to carry the protest forward. More than a thousand protestors have sustained injuries due to excesses and tortures by the 'security' forces. Two precious lives have been lost in the agitation and Pebam Chittaranjan have self-immolated to death for the cause.

The policy of the Indian State to control what it terms as 'law and order problem' has devalued and eroded human rights in Manipur and in the areas where the AFSPA is enforced. The people of Manipur have challenged the callousness to the protest as well as the demand for the withdrawal of AFSPA. The agitation has got intensified through *Meepal Tangdaba* (Self-Reliance) movement whereby the people of Manipur sought to protect their honour and dignity through the stoppage of using 'Indian' made products. Simultaneously non-co-operation movement called *Leingak Loishang Saruk Yadaba*, whereby people will not participate in the daily business of the government offices voluntarily and protest movement called *Wakat Khongjang*

are being undertaken currently. Students have responded with the surrender of their textbooks to the Governor. Today, the movement against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 to a great extent has convincingly come up as a larger movement for democracy with a countrywide support.

As the movement for restoration of justice and democracy in Manipur spread across the country, the Manipur Students' Association Delhi organized a rally, participated by 20 organizations, on 22 July 2004 at the Parliament Street. On 29 and 30 July 2004 a national convention was concluded with a protests rally and formation of a National Committee for Repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958. Another dharna was organized on 28 August 2004 by the Delhi Committee for Campaign Against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 at Jantar Mantar in Delhi. To conclude briefly, this Convention is a continuation of the protests against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958. The Manipur Students' Association Delhi appeals for your solidarity in our common fight against the AFSPA.

Dated: 4th September 2004.

Released and circulated by the Manipur Students' Association Delhi

MSAD Memorandum Submitted to

1. The President of India
2. The Prime Minister of India and
3. The Home Minister of India

Subject: The people of our state demand an immediate restoration of democracy and repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958.

Sir,

The 15th October remains significant for the Manipuris historically as it was on this day in 1949 that Manipur was suddenly declared a part of the Indian 'Union' under the Manipur Administration Order. It is important to recollect that under the Manipur Constitutional Act of 1947, the first general election of Manipur was held under adult franchise in 1948. The 1949 Order has been a reminder to the abrogation of the sovereignty of Manipur making the 'merger' legally and politically invalid since it was not ratified by the elected government of independent Manipur. The invalidation of the coercion of the Indian nation making process was reiterated in the Manipur People's National Convention in 1993

The people of Manipur along with this political onslaught have been experiencing Indian State's most undemocratic engagement in the region. The post-independent Indian response to Manipur and other north-eastern states needs to be understood in the context of the most draconian legislation like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 (AFSPA). The AFSPA is a reproduction of the Armed Forces Special Powers Ordinance of 1942, which was enforced to suppress Quit India Movement. This reproduction of the colonial legislation for the north-easterners in 1958 is a clear indication of suspecting the people of this region mounting to brand them within the category of criminality by the Government of India, which verifies the rejection of equality, heterogeneity and democracy in the region. The enactment of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 has negated the very foundations of democracy which gives constitutional safeguards to Right to Life (Art. 21), Right to Freedom of Speech (Art. 19, 1, a) and safeguards against the 'illegal detention of civilians (Art.22).

The civil life in Manipur has been experiencing the most uncivil presence of the State along with the imposition of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act in Manipur since 1958. The imposition of the AFSPA declares the

region as 'disturbed', which has violated the civil life in the region. As a consequence there has been recordable numbers of enforced disappearances, murders, rapes and gross human rights violations. The recent killing of Zamkholet Khongsai, a 60 years old pastor and custodial rape and killing of Th. Manorama by the Assam Rifles is a testimony to the prolonged crimes committed by the Indian 'security forces' in Manipur. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 empowers the security forces to operate with absolute impunity that subsequently institutionalizes state terrorism. As there are increasing "insurgency" operations in the region it is clear that the militaristic policy of the State cannot bring peace to the region on the other.

The callous State response to the issue of repealing the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958, has only made the people of Manipur including the students' fraternity realise that the movement against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act is a long journey for democracy and justice. The overall support, solidarity and participation in the movement for the repealing the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958, from across the country are all signifiers to the democratic foundations of people's movement. Instead of adhering to the demands of the people for repealing the Armed Forces Powers Act, 1958, the Government has been intensifying the deployment of 'security forces' in Manipur.

As a part of the ongoing movement against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958, the Manipur Students' Association Delhi has been on 15 days relay hunger strike. The protest against the draconian Act in Manipur and all over India is a movement to set significant new agenda of democracy and justice through the people's movement.

Therefore, the Manipur Students' Association Delhi while concluding this phase of hunger strike resolves to continue the movement against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 and immediately demands the following:

1. The immediate punishment of the accused 'security' personnel who were involved in the custodial rape and killing of Miss Th. Manorama.
2. The immediate repealing of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958.
3. The immediate withdrawal of armed forces from the Kangla.

Yours Sincerely,
Seram Rojesh, President, MSAD
Pukhrambam Rakesh, General Secretary, MSAD.

15 October 2004

Be Aware of the Colonial Wolf!

Friends, as you are aware of, a spectre looms over Manipur. It is a spectre of reactionary claims of portions of Manipur's territory to create communal territories. The problem ahead of us who co-exist, interdependent and want to march towards progress is to oppose reactionary forces that attempt to divide the people on communal lines only to strengthen the colonial grips over the subjugated people of Manipur.

From 1928 when the Manipur State Durbar raised a demand against the Butler Committee for the amalgamation of hills and valley administration to 2003 when the All Political Parties Delegation Manipur submitted a "All Party Memorandum" to the Prime Minister of India for the "protection of the territorial integrity of Manipur" the question of the territorial integrity of Manipur has been both an emotive as well as one that has logical foundation developed over time.

The Manipur State Durbar on 1 April 1939 demanded amalgamation of hill-valley administration. The joint conference of the Nikhil Manipur Mahasabha and Manipur Praja Mandal dated 5 April 1946, condemned Sir Coupland's plan for the proposed formation of North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). In 1948 protestors against the proposed formation of PURBANCHAL, on their way to a public meeting on 21 September, clashed with the police officials leading to the killing on spot of the officer in charge and the injury to many others. In 1965 the All Manipur People's Convention and All Manipur Students' Union protested against threat to the integrity of Manipur. The Manipur Territorial Congress Committee on 22 June 1968 demanded an assurance by the Government of India for the protection of the 'territorial integrity of Manipur'. In 1987 the Manipur People's Party reiterated its political stand, "imperative necessity for preservation of the territorial integrity of Manipur". The Manipur State Legislative Assembly (MSLA) on 24 March 1995 and on 14 March 1997 unanimously resolved to defend the territorial integrity of Manipur. On 31 May 1996 the Committee for Peace and Integrity (COFPAI) completed its three months integrity campaign. On 4 August 1997 the All Manipur United Clubs Organisation (AMUCO) organised a big protest rally to defend "unity and integrity of Manipur" and a public resolution was passed declaring that the people of Manipur would resist, as one man,

sinister and diabolic designs which posed a threat to the integrity of Manipur. On 17 December 1998 the MSLA resolved to defend the 'territorial integrity of Manipur'. A public resolution on the occasion of the "united people's Manipur defence rally" on 28 September 2000 jointly organised by All Manipur Kanba Ima Lup (AMKIL) and National Identity Protection Committee (NIPCO) reiterated to "protect the integrity of Manipur". MSLA again on 22 March 2001 resolved to oppose any 'policy' that was perceived as threatening the 'territorial integrity of Manipur'. In protest against the extension of the ceasefire GOI and NSCN-IM without the consent of the people of Manipur the AMUCO and AMSU called for a general strike for 72 hours from midnight of 15 June 2001. The last day of the general strike witnessed lakhs of people staging their protests and marked the *Day One* of month long protest that has been widely characterised as the *June Uprising*, i.e., protestors setting ablaze several government offices, including the MSLA building, Assembly Secretariat, CM's Bungalow. On 26 June 2001 the AMSU, AMKIL, AMUCO, International Peace and Social Advancement (IPSA), NIPCO and United People's Front (UPF) came together and passed a historic resolution called the *People's Declaration* to defend the territorial integrity of Manipur.

The issue of integrity is a serious concern for us because in the context of Manipur community borders had never corresponded with territorial demarcations created for administrative convenience. Manipur had a mixed demographic pattern and as a result community claims over specific areas only invited communal disharmony. Not a single community had absolute control over any hill district. The central valley that has been settled by all the communities cannot survive without the resources available in the 'hills'. We realised that the historical and geographical basis of Manipur in the context of community co-existence is indispensable and co-existing communities are inseparable. Territorial integrity is essential for the economic viability of us to survive on and progress.

Let us oppose community cleansing and genocidal tactics of the communal forces who in the name of defending communal interest befool the entire population of Manipur, marginalise vulnerable villagers, serve the interest of the colonial authority and share the colonial booty.

Unity is Victory

18th June 2006

Nupi Lan

In the spirit of the struggle

We resist all forms of oppression!

“We begged for rice and in return received bayonet wounds and wounds from the gun-butts. For one handful of rice we paid two handfuls of blood”.¹

“In order to enable us to live with full dignity and preserve our honour along the line of our tradition and culture, our fight against crimes and atrocities committed by the army, which are occurring in front of everybody’s eyes, is going on without a break from 14 May 1980 onwards....”.²

“Go back Indian Army...Indian Army Rape Us ...Indian Army Take our Flesh ... We are all Manorama’s Mother.”³

“I am disappointed with the discriminatory policy of the Indian Government ...I shall never give up my stand without fulfilling my demand”.⁴

Dear Friends,

The Nupi Lan of 1939, fought under the leadership of Manipuri women against British colonial policy, that culminated in the struggle for the establishment of self-rule, had generated an unwinding path of resistance against all forces of oppression. What was taken as a war cry against the colonial atrocity had in the course of the struggle duly become an epitome of the relentless struggle against all forms of repressive agents; British rule in the past and today against India Government. It was a milestone; a battle where each wound inflicted by colonial oppression echoes the cry of the undying will; each step a milestone of resistance in the sojourn of all forms of atrocities so forth; each cry beckons the never-ending harrowing memories of these voices that shall find the spirit whenever the undaunted will embark upon all stark forms of oppression.

Nupi Lan was an anticolonial struggle as elsewhere in the world during the period. Where there is oppression, there is resistance. That is the spirit of Nupi Lan left for the generations to come. Colonial free trade policy produced famines of 1920 (that sparked off Bazaar Boycott) and 1939. Consequently there was widespread starvation all around while the unceasing free trade policy further aggravated the food scarcity to such an extent that people had to fed on stems and roots. On 12 December 1939 women raised their arms and started fighting the colonial apparatus to bring an end to the

colonial exploitation. The general parlance of Nupi Lan heralded the unshakable ground whereof all continuing process of struggle till date finds its will to fight against all unjustifiable wounds and atrocities.

The impact and repercussion of Nupi Lan against colonial oppression duly finds its cognisance in the struggle against whatsoever forms of institutionalised atrocities in all times. Nevertheless, the struggle for emancipation from all oppression has taken a shifting process yet the overall approach of struggle never took a backseat. This is rather an obvious fact since Manipur was annexed to the Indian Union in 1949. From that moment onwards Manipur has been a witness to repressive policies of the Indian State. Since 1958 the continuing force of resistance against Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (AFSPA) has taken undue grievances in many forms of glorious sacrifices, mortifications and abnegations. Twenty six years of resistance that the Manipuri women instantiated in the form of *Meira Paibee* movement has today become a proven capacity to challenge the oppressive measures of the Indian State. The trepidation that has stirred with one of the greatest awe struck sight that has found its place in the pages of history of resistance against state terrorism is the nude protest at Kangla on 15 July 2006. The daring protest, which was the last straw of resistance, exposed all the turmoil fervently enforced upon from all varied forms of institutionalised oppressive agencies. The nude protest represents the bulwark of resistance against the savagery of AFSPA. In this relentless struggle it would not be overrated to highlight the long struggle of Irom Chanu Sharmila. It is not a struggle of one woman; it is a voice of that human will, a voice of the wound that has been leashed incessantly; the fate of justice that has been sealed prolonged to the people of Manipur. Nupi Lan finds its torchbearer in the faith of one woman who has been on fasting for the last six years demanding the complete repealing of AFSPA. Nupi Lan has today got epitomized in the undying will of Sharmila.

The forms of discrimination and oppression that the people of Manipur had experienced under the British colonial rule and which is continued by the Indian State had portrayed a picture of uncertain life, undignified existence and wounded psyche. One thing is for sure that still the fact of oppression is deeply rooted in the institutions and establishments of the Indian State and in its operation in Manipur. Colonialism exists and we know this from our experience. Now, the undying spirit of Nupi Lan has definitely offered a powerful resistance. The generation, which we are one at present, needs to take on this challenge for we have the same experience as our precedents had many decades back.

We resist these oppressive structures of which the AFSPA is one such obvious installation. We want to live with security and dignity, a life properly protected and lived. The blazing ideals of the anticolonial resistance by Manipuri women have in its course acquired an intensified stage. We need to take these ideals forward as a tribute to the spirit of the nude protest and the stage we have so far reached will certainly be the most cherished and purest honour to the rebelling spirit of Irom Sharmila. Let's fight AFSPA in the spirit of Nupi lan and that is precisely a decisive moment of offering our tribute to the women of Manipur for their undaunted courage and pride.

Repeal Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958
Long Live Democracy
Long Live Nupi Lan

New Delhi,
12th December 2006

Endnotes:

- ¹ Testimony by Salam Tomba Singh SI No. 10/s/0, Manipur State Durbar Criminal Case No. 4 of 1940, 13/03/1940.
- ² Excerpt from a Pamphlet circulated by the Communication group, Manipur Nupee Kangleup, Kangleipak (Manipur), Imphal, 27/5/1980.
- ³ Slogans of the nude protest at Kangla ,Imphal, 15/07 2004.
- ⁴ Excerpt of the Press statement delivered by Irom Sharmila, New Delhi, 06/11/ 2006.

Death of Lucy Kashung **Abducted, Raped and Murdered**

The death of Lucy Kashung alias Lucy Kash is another incident that has once again exhibited an unceasing misrepresentation of the identity of women from North East. She was found dead on Saturday morning, 16 Dec. 2006, at Roop Nagar, Delhi. There have been concerns from many quarters expressing apprehensions and doubts around the incident. What are the factors involved in the whole event leading to the death of the woman? How did the death occur? How did the media report about the death? How is the death of Lucy related to a 'reported identity' informed by a 'projected image' of women from North East India? These are some of the questions that have to be properly answered if there has to be any possibilities of getting justice done to Lucy kash who was murdered by a person called Ajay Luthra who himself claimed to be a close friend to her for the last eight years.

Lucy was brought to Hindu Rao Hospital (HRH) at Malka Ganj on Saturday morning. The accused Ajay Luthra with his friend Anand Thukral tried to flee after leaving the 'dead' body at the hospital. The friends and relatives of Lucy only came to know about the incident when they were informed in the same morning on the phone. They rushed to the spot and found the dead body of Lucy. The police earlier refused to register a case about the incident for reasons not known to them. Ajay Luthra stated that after having drinks with Lucy, he asked Lucy for a drive and later he was planning to drop her at the latter's residence. According to him, she refused to go home and the only option he had was to leave her inside his car at Roop Nagar. He gave her 'even' (a term used in one of the reports) a blanket. In the morning he went to see her only to find her condition worse. He along with his friend Anand Thukral took her to Hindu Rao Hospital where she was declared 'brought dead'. Meanwhile, the deceased's relatives alleged that she had been raped inside the car by Luthra and his friends and then murdered. When representatives of MSAD met her relatives and friends at her residence after the incident they shared with the representatives some normal habits of Lucy. One of those is that Lucy generally did not sleep over anywhere outside her home. She normally came from her workplace at 8.30 pm. Her friends told that if she had any program in the evening she would certainly call up one of her friends to go with her. Every time she went to a party she was with one of her friends. On the faithful night a relative of Lucy was waiting for her for they had planned a dinner together at the residence of the relatives. They kept on calling up Lucy at around 8.30 pm. The phone was ringing but nobody

picked it up. They were surprised at the silence over the ringing phone for a long time. Lucy did neither call up anybody at her residence nor informed any of her friends and relatives about any party on Saturday. The autopsy report is much awaited for further investigations.

The death of Lucy Kash has been highlighted in the media with less authenticity undermining the opinions and apprehensions of the deceased's relatives and friends in the workplace. Any handling of the issue needs to address certain questions about the incident. Why was not she taken to her own home? Did Lucy's condition worsen only on the Saturday morning? If it is so, what are the conditions under which she didn't receive the call on her phone? If the condition was not allowing her to receive the phone, why didn't Ajay Luthra try to inform anyone at her residence or any of her relatives on Saturday night? If he was not very much aware of her relatives and friends to call then the claim that he has been a close friend to her for period as long as eight years does not give any ground for validity. It is also brought to the notice that none of her friends and relatives know about any person called Ajay Luthra during their close and long association with Lucy. Is Ajay Luthra's claim of friendship with her a put up job to cover his complicity with the death of Lucy under the name of an unacknowledged acquaintance? One can reflect on the nature of reporting that occurred in some of mainstream dailies in this regard. The following is the story of the incident as reported in some mainstream print media.

The Times of India of Dec. 17 said that a 28 years old woman from Manipur died in mysterious circumstances in Roop Nagar on Saturday. Lucy Kash put up at Vijay Nagar near Kingsway Camp and worked with a beauty parlor in Kamla Nagar. The police so far detained to ascertain Ajay Luthra (38) who was a friend of the deceased for the last 8 years. The accused Luthra had called up Lucy on Friday evening at around 8 pm and both consumed alcohol. He further stated that the deceased refused to take shelter in his place later that night and he left her inside the car. The car was locked from outside. On Saturday morning Luthra came to HRH with an unconscious Lucy accompanied by a friend, Anand Thukral. She was declared brought dead.

The Hindustan Times of Dec. 18 stated that a murder case has been registered against Ajay Luthra for the death of Lucy Kash. According to the police Lucy consumed a lot of liquor with Luthra, the accused, at a party. It further stated that the accused took Lucy to Bara Hindu Rao Hospital on Saturday morning after her condition worsened. The post mortem report was reported being awaited.

The Hindu of Dec. 17 reported that Lucy died in mysterious circumstances at Maurice Nagar in North Delhi on Friday night. The two had

dinner together and later took drinks whereof Lucy got unconscious. She was declared brought dead in the hospital.

The Pioneer on December 17 stated that Lucy was found dead under mysterious circumstances in Roop Nagar in North Delhi. She was reported as a resident of Meghalaya. Lucy, according to the report, was staying with her sister in Mukherjee nagar. She left her beauty parlor around 8 pm and according to Luthra, they both had drink and Lucy fainted. She was declared brought dead in the hospital. The police denied of any foul play but interrogation was going on.

The media reports are offering some serious doubts whether the statements given by the accused are in any way enough to arrive at any conclusion about the mysterious nature of the death that was reported or whether the nature of death that has been reported was a true story considering the intensity of the flaws in the whole chain of events. As it is shown in the above portray by the media about the death of Lucy one can obviously scrutinize discrepancies in the reports relating to certain factual accounts of Lucy. It is reported that she is from Meghalaya in a paper and in other two she is reported to belong to Mizoram and Manipur, of which the last one being true. It is reported that she lives at Mukherjee Nagar, which is not true. The truth is that she was living at Vijay Nagar Double Storey. Lucy Kashung is a Tangkhul from Meizailung Phungreitang of Ukhrul in Manipur. The differences in rendering the factual accounts of the victim clearly show that the media reports are basically based on those who do not know about the victim. If the information must have been supplied by the accused then it is again figuratively clear that the claim of the accused that he has been a close friend to Lucy for the last eight years is a fraud, an attempt to cover his role in the death of Lucy by seeking acquaintance of the deceased as apart of complicity of her own death. This is not simply negligence on the part of the media persons who gathered information about the incident but strong presence of an immensity of certain 'attitudes' towards the case involving the death of woman from North East. Another aspect of the complicity with the attitude is the source of the information. It is obvious that the sources are till date given by those who know the accused more than the victim or by the accused himself.

A prominent discrepancy to be probed in the case is the position of Luthra in the incident. He cannot simply be obliterated as a mere representation of the deceased's friend, rather his being the witness of the whole happenings on that fateful Friday night should be given due weightage. The case cannot be absolved without probing further the nature of Luthra's much assuming role, which in no way serve the much-sought 'alibi' he is trying to procure. Leaving a woman friend of 8 years long, completely locked outside in a car, in a cold wintry night, in an unconscious state is to be questioned. We question

the grounds of the validity of the closeness, that friendship and the kind of care one has for a friend. The assumption of the claim of having a close friendship with a woman who died in his detention, then taking her to hospital, then trying to flee from the hospital premise is no more than an attempt of the accused to elude the overriding truths involved in the death of Lucy. How authentic is Luthra's stance in the whole story should be unmasked in his so claimed long relationship with the deceased till her fateful end. What happened in that night is in no way a circumstantial misfit and should not turn the case into a harangue. Whatsoever liability he accounted should not render the case for his mere eviction or acquittal. The incident is clearly one manifest mentality, a basic attitudinal framework within which women from North East is being made visible and thus constructed. It feeds on ideological input given by a general perception as found in mainstream consciousness about women from North East that they are easy prey. So acquaintance is another logic of the operation of mainstream understanding of the identity of women from the North East.

The suspicious nature of the death of Lucy Kash highlights some of the oft-happened relevance in the long history of crime against women whereby women from North East are rendered as the uncalled victim over and again. The in depth callousness on the crime is intensified whereon the victim as claimed by the propagators to have some form of acquaintance with the propagator of the crime. This is not a seeming story but the stark reality of any formidable crime that effaces the question of gendered crime against women. It provocatively renders the resurgence of many of the issues in regard to the construed identity of the North Eastern women in general. It has been duly fed in the mindset of mainstream thoughts and actions and which finds supplication in its deliverance through the off guard parlance of the media. The very reported identity of women from North East on grounds of code of conduct have decapitated and victimized them with no justification in whatever forms.

The case of Lucy Kash is not a story of a lost in one family. It has garnered certain tenterhooks of how the intensified psyche of the dominant realm interprets the issue of the death of a woman from North East. How far are the general masses going to comply with the issue pertaining to an already existing mindset? Will it ever be possible to refurbish a new perspective of the projected image of women from North East without fighting back the same attitude towards them? Is media a reliable supplication in any ways? These and many more are catapulted along with this case. What cannot be undermined further or prolonged in the mysterious death of Lucy Kash is the in depth issue of the death of a woman from the North East and how the public is construing this. We raised these questions because there always

occurs a construction of certain identity of women from the region and that certainly informs how the people of the North East particularly women are constructed within a stereotypical framework. This framework also informs the very sense of reporting about an incident of sexual move involving even murder as in the case of Lucy. When something goes wrong as in the case of Lucy the superimposing mentality gives way to a reported identity of the women from North East as easy-going persons. The reported identity is strengthened and is in many ways linked again to nourishing the attitude behind gaze over the women from the region.

The concern that is sought for an adequate understanding of the issue involving the mysterious death of Lucy is certainly directed towards making a move to advance the resistance against the reported identity and mainstream projection of the image of women from North East on the one hand and those involved in the systematic actualization of the project of misrepresentation on the other. We need to resist the reported identity about the people from North East for subjecting to it will further strengthen the whole practices of being misrepresented. Taking the death of Lucy as the latest incident we need to continue the struggle against the context of misrepresentation within which any case like that of Lucy is made possible. Rape of a woman from North East is not simply an act of sexual assault against woman. It involves a series of conditions of misrepresentation, a representation of the popular identity of being a self of North East as vulnerable to the mainstream self and its consciousness. We need to fight both the context that enables the act of raping and image that is raped and the crime that is done to a woman, that of abducting, raping and then, of murdering.

**Punish Ajay Luthra and his associates for abducting, raping and murdering Lucy Kashung.
Fight any form of domination.**

Published and distributed by Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD)
Dated: 31st December 2006

Against Sexual Harassment

PRESS RELEASE

Dated 13th October, 2007

The Manipur Students' Association Delhi organized a "Protest Demo" against the escalating sexual harassment of women and racial discrimination upon minority peoples on 13-10-07. The demonstration that began at 2.00 p.m. at ITO junction was participated by several students and representatives of civil societies.

The demonstration was organized against the wake of heightening instances of rape that entrusted upon an alarming social reality. MSAD expressed its concern for the increasing sexual harassments of girls and racial discrimination (irrespective of sex) on people hailed from the Northeast (read as mongoloid stocks of Northeastern India). This particularization is not meant to be the only reason for the progressive resistance that is aimed at. It is a usual experience that students and persons hailing from Northeastern region of India are treated as the 'other' with specific categories that suit the malicious dominant consciousnesses and prejudices. The 'otherness' of the 'other' is categorized as barbarous, uncivil, unrefined, underdeveloped, tribal, easy and so on, which determines a social relationship that establishes racial prejudices with ultimate capacity to reproduce exploitation, domination and harassment of the 'other' in the hands of the dominant.

The demonstration demanded the resignation of irresponsible Union Home Minister Shivraj Patil, Chief Minister Shiela Dixit and the concerned Delhi Police Commissioner who cannot protect freedom and dignity of women. What Shiela Dixit, being a woman, has done so far to save our sisters and mothers from the 'monsters'? It is also a shame on those who see women only as mere sex symbols.

Memorandums jointly signed by representatives of student organizations and civil societies demanding prompt initiative of the government and a white paper fully emphasizing practical solution to the issue were submitted to the Chief Minister and the Police Commissioner of Delhi.

Press statement released by the
MSAD Committee against Sexual Harassment
(Manipur Students' Association Delhi)

On the Killing of Labourers in Manipur

PRESS RELEASE

MSAD expresses deep concern over the serial killing of unarmed wage labourers in Manipur on 17 and 18 March, 2008. Whoever is the perpetrator of the killing and whatever be the cause of the killing, MSAD contextualizes it in the ongoing India-Manipur conflict situation, and calls for public attention on the graveness of the human rights violations institutionalized by the State and Non-state forces. Several civilians have become soft targets of the conflict situation; many have lost lives, disappeared, maimed, and handicapped. Between September 2007 and February 2008 more than 450 persons have been killed. MSAD is of the opinion that communal colouring of the killings may create misunderstanding and arouse communal tension. The result will be further victimization of the vulnerable common people. MSAD, therefore, calls upon the co-existing communities in Manipur and the concerned communities that the victims belong to, to understand the situation and take initiative in establishing inter-community cordial relationship. MSAD charges the Government of India for relying on military tactics and intensifying the conflict situation rather than taking bold political initiative to address the deep rooted political issue.

Dated/ Delhi
18th March 2008

On Recruitment of SPOs in Manipur

Dear comrade,

When the world wide call for defense of human rights and an end to any form of armed conflict through peaceful political means have been on the rise, the recent policy of arming sections of the unemployed Manipuri people by the Government of Manipur on the pretext of employing them and to defend human rights is no solution to the objective conditions of poverty under LPG policy superimposed in Manipur and human rights violations emanating out of the ongoing Indo-Manipur political conflict. Arming certain sections of the population to use arms along ethnic lines, issuing licenses of guns to the political barons and sections of the upper class to suppress economic bargaining power of the exploited and marginalized class, and encouraging civil strife that is latent in the conscription drive for SPOs would increase violence and genocide in Manipur in the long run. That the Indian government had adopted such policy at a juncture when there have been widespread protest to both finance imperialism by the MNCs and state institutionalized destruction of agricultural lands and other resources and displacements, raises our concern over economic growth / development and political peace in Manipur. Similar armed policy adopted in Kashmir and Chattisgarh had exemplified discouragement to the unity of the oppressed and the exploited in their legitimate fight for economic self reliance and political peace. Any section of the marginalized population failing to understand reactionary contents of the policy and, therefore, submitting themselves to it in the name of employment or security, would end up with puppetry, subjection, and forever lost of democratic right and national pride in their lifetime. While appreciating civil human rights movement to address immediate human rights concerns in Manipur we called for collective effort to bring a democratic and peaceful political solution to the Indo-Manipur conflict.

With comradely
Manipur Students' Association Delhi

14 May 2008

Doping Conspiracy is an Insult . . .

The recent controversy on Monika who was being framed as positive in a dope test conducted on June 6 under the Sports Authority of India is a conspiracy that was cooked up to humiliate the sporting spirit of shining sportspersons of Manipur. The conspiracy clearly shows the deep rooted corruption in Indian sports. Despite being an exhibition of the Sports Authority of India's (SAI) sinister design to publicly insult the concern and sentiments of the people of Manipur by framing Monika on false ground of doping result, the drama of doping test has also produced a new terrain of racial discrimination in Indian sport. The fraud is now witness to a blunder of losing India's lone weightlifter to compete in the Beijing Olympic.

People in Manipur work so hard to support all the sportspersons in their formative phases and this toiling should never get cheated like the way it is being done to Monika by refusing her to go to Beijing for the games on the false charges of using banned drugs. The doping conspiracy has displayed sports officials' callousness to how big a sporting event the Olympic is to a sportsperson like Monika and her supporters and how sharp they will be hurt if they are falsely implicated.

One can easily see the development of the drama of fraud in Monika's case. As per the general norm for dope testing for international players, the dope test report should be made available 48-72 hours prior to her departure. Contrary to the norm, Sports Authority of India sent the dope test report to Indian Weightlifting Federation on August 6, the same day Monika had to leave for Beijing. Surprisingly, even before the arrival of the test report to IWF, SAI had already made the media alert about the result which is only an act of a well prepared leakage of information. She was subsequently subjected to fresh dope test on August 8 at the instruction of IWF only to reveal all negative. IWF urged Indian Olympic Association to allow Monika for the Beijing Olympic immediately. Another review panel recommended her for the Olympic by considering three latest negative reports after the test of June 6. She was given a clearance of the charges of positive. She was given a hope that she now could go to Beijing which was later rejected by the Indian Olympic Association on the ground that the entry to Beijing Olympic had already been closed.

The dramatic developments from being tested 'positive' to being reincarnated 'negative', and finally directing to 'fly' to Beijing and later on

rejected to the 'entry' is all that happened to an international weightlifter from Manipur. Such a gross crime to Monika with all such vulgar intentions that is committed by the Sports Authority of India is what the Indian Army did to Manorama in 2004.

**We stand for the Manipuri sportspersons.
We demand immediate suspension of R.K Naidu, Director SAI.
We demand CBI investigation of the doping conspiracy.**

Distributed by Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD)
12 August 2008

A Call for Unity

10 DECEMBER 2008

It is to remind on this occasion of the International Human Rights Day that the notion of dignity and equality as recognised by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should enable the world community in envisioning through practices of these notions a world free from domination, repression and injustice. Similarly the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights emphasise on the significance of political aspirations of the people in order to ensure self-determination as foundation for freedom and justice. Ideas about strengthening and protecting them, and of course, the politics around these ideas have today reformulated the notion of dignity and equality. Today, various sections of the humanity, be it cultural, political or social, have successfully started to bring these ideas to the domain of intensive political engagement and mobilisation.

The provisions of the Declaration and the Covenants allow free choice of programmes for economic, social and cultural development for each nation (e.g. Manipur) to pursue and urge every government to follow the path to democracy, peace and development through such programmes. In light of the spirit of the Declaration and the Covenants, the people of Manipur have been struggling for democratic rights of equality, freedom and dignity. However, what follows since the beginning of these struggles is a series of brutality of the Government of India through explicit military repression, atrocities and violation of human rights. As a consequence of these undemocratic and militaristic practices of the Indian Government, Manipur stands today completely dehumanised, and terrorised; its economy completely pauperised and the society irreversibly disarrayed. Thousands of cases of rampant killing of innocents, assassination of children and women, detention and enforced disappearance are becoming the order of the day, all under clearly defined objectives of the Government of India to efface any form of democratic struggle in Manipur.

India's geo-strategic interest and the greed for expansionism, both economic and political, which are vividly shown in various strategies of the Government of India, has now become powerful source of justification for and legalisation of the intense form of using terror by the State as a technique to gain the economic and political ends. What is developing in Manipur is an

increasingly contested ideology of the Government that seeks to suspend democratic rights, concrete economic displacement and political marginalisation. As a result, development is completely out of question. Productive forces, especially the youths, are utilised in militarization projects of the State by giving them job for containing the struggles for democracy. Manipur's identity of being a nation and its values is now gradually under a threat.

Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD) believes that our struggle for democracy should take new strengths to further intensify the inspiration of Universal Declaration of human Rights. On this solemn occasion of the International Human Rights Day, that is 10 December 2008, we extend our solidarity to all those who are fighting for democratic rights in different parts of the world and at the same time, call for unity of the oppressed and exploited peoples across the globe to rise up together and fight for justice, democracy and peace.

**Apunbana Yaifarae !
Unity is Victory!**

Published by- Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD)
10 December 2008

Condemn Gurgaon Crime Fight Racial Discrimination on the NE People

Manipur Students' Association Delhi (MSAD) shares the pain and trauma of two women from Manipur who were ruthlessly molested; deliberately dragged and confined in several secluded rooms in an attempt to rape; looted of money, purse and digital camera; brutally thrashed and kicked upon by a gang of landlord and hooligans hired by the landlords in the wee hour of the early morning of 13 December 2008 at Sikandrapur, DLF Phase-1, Gurgaon, Delhi.

Miss Lucy (name changed) had arrived at Gurgaon on 11 December in search of Job. She was sleeping with her friend Miss Grace (name changed) when at around 2.30 a.m. of 13 December, the landlord knocked at the door. Lucy suspected the intention and refused to open the door. The landlord kept on repeatedly banging at the door and abused them for the delay in letting him in. The women pleaded for mercy and appealed for meeting in the morning. The landlord was adamant. His intension to sneak through the room became clearer. Both Lucy and Grace were thrilled with fear. They tried to contact police at No. 100. Since there was no response from the police, Lucy raised an alarm for her Manipuri friends who lived in a nearby building. Her friends responded to the alarm. As soon as they reached at the scene an altercation with the culprit was ensued. It resulted into a scuffle. The landlord along with a gang of local hooligans thrashed upon Lucy's friend and chased them away. They then broke the door open and entered into the room. They abused Lucy and friend in the most uncivilised languages for having raised an alarm, forced them to pack up their luggage and vacate the room immediately, kicked at them and thrashed them with rod repeatedly. They were forced apart, took to different directions, beaten up severely, threatened with rape and confined in secluded rooms. The women of the family got up on hearing hue & cry by the two helpless victims. They however did not rescue the victims. Instead, they helped the culprits in confining Lucy in a secluded room. When the police arrived at the scene, the women in an attempt to conceal facts misinformed the police with the most disgusting lies and allegations against the victims. Lucy, however, got escaped and rushed towards

the police van. Police took both the victims to the police station and later on admitted in a hospital. The victims later on discovered their luggage totally dismantled and their money, purse and digital camera were missing.

The unethical and barbaric attitude of the women of the family of the landlord who refused to raise alarm in rescue of the victims but have, instead, misinformed police and assisted the culprits to escape scot-free, raises questions against moral chastity and sincerity of the Indian women regarding the political initiative for defending the modesty of their gender. Any honourable & respected women of civilised society would not be pleased with the most disgusting character of harassing a pair of helpless women in the most brutal manner ever exhibited by a gang of criminals inebriated with lust and intension of robbery. Even an immoral would have never tolerated it. But the Indian women of 13 December have exposed the moral standard hidden in the darkness of their civilizational ethos. And we feel the pain of it.

Official apathy and negligence illustrated by the concerned OC (Delhi Police) in refusing to register the case under the Prevention of SC/ST Atrocity Act 1995, Molestation, Sexual Harassment and Robbery invoke our concern for an unabated Indian racism towards the Northeast people vehemently institutionalised by law enforcing agencies (e.g., Indian army & paramilitary forces in the Northeast and police in the Indian metropolitan cities). While our fundamental rights in the home state remain suspended in the name of upholding India's national security – e.g., atrocities committed with impunity under the provision of draconian AFSPA – Manipuri emigrants in Indian metropolitan cities in search of job and for education are denied of justice in several cases. Should we be selectively pointed out and discriminated in such manner because we have become part of the Indian subcontinent? Are we meant to be governed permanently in such humiliating manner?

The forging attitude of ordering community of peoples into layers of social hierarchy will not let the sub-continent march towards peaceful solution to the crisis & conflict that were the result of institutionalised subjection, oppression and discrimination. Locating us at the bottom of social hierarchy and dehumanising us with all forms of disgrace, insult, atrocities and profiteering obviously make us doubtful of our citizenship in India. It leads us to retrospect our past, introspect our present and sought for a progressive future either within or beyond India. Should we migrate to Indian cities only to be subjected & insulted and used as commodity by the profiteering Indian entrepreneurs and landlords? Should we not address the issue of toying us under a typical imperial hype of the Indian hooligans and law enforcing

agencies who misbehave against our dignity and sense of humanity? Should we not protest to defend our fundamental rights and honour & dignity?

MSAD calls upon the Northeast people and progressive parties, organisations and individuals in India to collectively share the pain of the victims of the crime and initiate towards:

- * **Delivering justice to the victims* Punishment of the criminals with deserving penalty for the crimes mentioned above**
- * **Teaching of an appropriate lesson to the concerned women who shows disrespect to the modesty of their gender**
- * **Punishment of the guilty personnel (Delhi Police) who shows apathy and negligence towards the victims**

Pamphlet released by Manipur Students' Association Delhi
Dated: Delhi: 16th December 2008

Stop India's War in the Northeast

PRESS RELEASE

Ref. No.: Press Release/1/14-01-2009

We call for peace and democracy but the response by the Indian government is volley of bullets and all forms of brutal crime against humanity. What we have been experiencing for more than five decades has been *war against democracy*.

India's unending war in the Northeast, particularly Manipur, primarily designed and carried out to fulfil extra-territorial material ambition of warmongering Indian ruling class, however camouflaged by articulating polemical jargons such as 'national security', 'developmental projects' and 'war against terrorism', has rendered the people of this region vulnerable to war time emergency. State controlled media have been blacklisting democratic movements/ aspiration of the people and covering up class character of India's war in the Northeast with false propaganda. And yet history is testimony to a series of war crimes committed against Manipuri civilians by the Indian government. Thousands of civilians have lost life, forced disappeared, harassed, dehumanised, pauperised and traumatised while in suppressing people's democratic movement for peace and self-determination.

State terror in Langjing (four killed & several harassed; April 1980), Oinam Leikai (four killed; May 1981), Heiranggoi Thong (thirteen killed & thirty one injured; March 1984), Tousem (two killed & seven injured; May 1986), Oinam Village (fifteen killed & several tortured; July 1987), Kachai (whole village tortured; April 1991), Tera Keithel (five killed; August 1993), Chinga (one killed & seven injured; March 1994), Ukhrul Bazaar (three killed & four tortured; May 1994), Makui village (four killed & three injured; July 1994), Nungkao (four killed, two injured & several tortured; September 1994), RMC (nine killed & one injured; January 1995), Bashikhong (three killed & nine injured; February 1995), Tabokpi Khong (five killed; August 1997), Nungleiban (nine killed & three injured; October 1997), Kwakeithel (five killed; August 1998), Churachandpur (five killed & three injured; July 1999), Tonsen Lamkhai (ten killed; September 1999), Malom (ten killed and several tortured; November 2000), etc. and

several other instances of brutal suppression of democratic voice for development and control over resources were perpetrated in utter disrespect to the dignity and fundamental rights of the people of Manipur.

Besides imposition of the draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958) and terror laws that boosts the *morale* of the Indian army and paramilitary forces in carrying out reign of terror with impunity; *divide and rule* over the oppressed people as it is manifested in deployment of underpaid irregular forces, if not forced labour of the mercenaries who are primarily lured towards conscription with false promise for job and privilege, such as Village Volunteer Force (VVF) among the Nagas and Special Police Officers (SPOs) in the four valley districts; *modus operandi* of killing spree unleashed by morally corrupted commandoes and undergrounds suspected of having close operational links with the government; all these constitute varying facets of an overarching war strategy orchestrated by the Indian government to weaken democratic force constituted by people, thereby, strengthening its imperialist grip over the resource of the region. If India had to prove that it is democratic and committed for peace; it must bring a halt to its imperial war game, repeal AFSPA, stop state terrorism and show respect for the democratic aspiration of the people of the Northeast.

We believe that prosperous future of the oppressed and exploited peoples lies in the collective struggle of the democratic forces across the globe. It is high time that progressive forces across the globe unite and fight together to bring a halt to all forms of unjust war against humanity and establish an order of peace and democracy.

**Say No to War
Stop India's War in the Northeast**

Pamphlet released by Manipur Students' Association Delhi
New Delhi: 10 January 2009

Appeal for the Relief of Shirui Residents

Ref. No. PR/31/January/ 2009

MSAD expresses heartfelt concern over the week long psychological insecurity and economic grievances superimposed upon the residents of Shirui Village in Manipur's Ukhrul District as an integral tactics of the ongoing collusion course and strategic bargaining between NSCN (IM) and Assam Rifles. It is not the first time that India's strategic interest and security paradigm in Manipur had bent on such conspiracy and had suspended fundamental rights of the people. MSAD does not support any *modus operandi* that would generate psychological and physical insecurity and undermine integrity of the people of Manipur. MSAD appeals that forces that do not adhere to the principle of integrity and sovereignty of the people of Manipur but created much political instability and insecurity upon the people do not operate in Manipur. We heard that routine activities of the students and peasants of Shirui Village are badly affected as there is suspension of freedom to move freely and enforcement of psychological threat as well. MSAD feels sorry for those residents who could not perform their sacred seed showing festival due to the aberration. MSAD reminds that Miss Rose (March 1974), Ms. Luingamla (January 1986), Yarunui (August 1994) Kachai Village (April 1991), Ukhrul town (May 1994) and several others of Ukhrul District had been victims of state terrorism. The ongoing situation in Shirui is an extension of state terrorism in a collusion format. MSAD expresses solidarity to the Shirui Village Non Violence Committee (SVNVC) on the issue of defending human rights. MSAD appeals to fraternal organisations, democratic forces, concerned authorities and individuals who stand for a united and progressive people of Manipur that they be united and fight for relief of the affected people; that, the residents of Shirui Village whose routine economic activities are being affected and students whose academic activities are being obliterated be rehabilitated with adequate material compensation and proper counselling.

Apunbana Yaifarae.
(Unity is Victory)

Sd/-
Human Rights Committee
Manipur Students' Association Delhi
31 January 2009

Resolution of the Collective On the Occasion of the Condolence to Victims of Assassination Dr. Dr. Thingnam Kishan, Aribam Rajen and Yumnam Token

Dated; Sunday, 22nd February 2009
Arts Faculty University of Delhi (North), Delhi-7

Organised by Manipur Students' Association Delhi

Reference No.:
MSAD/Resolution Collective/1/22-02-2209

Resolution New Delhi

We, the undersigned, constituting a collective, on this occasion of condolence in honour of the victims of assassination, dated 22 February 2009, have strongly condemned the act of cold blooded assassination of Dr. Thingnam Kishan, Aribam Rajen and Yumnam Token in Manipur on 17 February 2009 after they were being kidnapped on 13.

The collective, having gone through testimonies and narratives related to the assassination and having observed the intensity of the widespread protest against the assassination and the nature of response by the government as well (annexation), have decided to appeal that;

- (1) the Indian state may not play with compensation game and emergency law to cover up political conspiracy
- (2) the Deputy Commissioner of Ukhrul District of Manipur and those who were involved in the crime be booked and prosecuted under criminal law
- (3) the people of Manipur should be aware of and avoid from communal representation of crimes, which will divide them and become an impediment to progressive functioning of their society
- (4) the people of Manipur must collectively defeat reactionary politics played by any institutionalised forces and work collectively under a common goal to achieve a longlasting, progressive and peaceful society

The resolution was signed by the following individuals listed below:

Sl. No.	Name	Organisation
1.	O. Sandhayrani Chanu	Manipur Students' Association Delhi
2.	Paari Vendhan	Delhi Tamil Student Union
3.	Surendra Kumar	Gandhi Peace Foundation
4.	Th. Jihmak Thomas	Monsang Students Delhi
5.	Dr. Anuradha Ghosh	Jamia Teachers' Solidarity Group
6.	Pravin R.	Lok Raj Sangathan
7.	Wilson	Zelianrong Students' Union Delhi
8.	Sharmila P.	People's Union for Democratic Rights
9.	N. Kamal	United Manipur Research Organisation
10.	Malem Ningthouja	Campaign for Peace & Democracy Manipur
11.	Tarunkumar Thounaojam	Eastern Quarterly
12.	Dr. Bhagat Oinam	Manipur Research Forum
13.	Binalakshmi Nepram	Women Gun Survivors' Network
14.	Vijay Singh	Revolutionary Democracy
15.	Kshetrayum Dayabati, Romeshchandra, M. Bimol Singh, Asish Hidam, Pamei Gaingamlung, Chinglenkhomba, Monalisa Maibam, Girija Maibam, Rosy Yumnam, R.K. Nonibala, Surmani, Kumar Sanjay Singh, Sadokpam Ranjeeta, Heikham Sarita, Heikham Zhalakit, Chandrajeevan Yumnam, Koshoni Phimu, Champ Yumnam, Usham Rojio Singh, S. Rita, Abdullah Usman Khan, Kshitij Rawal, S. Somorendro Singh, L. Ingocha Meetei, Ashis Gupta, Naorem Ingo Singh, N. Amarjit Singh, N. Sarju Singh, Y. Ramchandra Singh, Ksh. Premchandra Singh, Y. Jilangamba, Dhiren Sadokpam, Bidhan Laishram, A. Bimol Akoijam, A. Subhash, Elangbam Bikramjit, Nelson, shin Pamei, Ahenpou Golmei, Kailadbon Daimai, Gaisinlung Gonmei, Deepika Tandon, Seram Rojesh, Krispa Ningombam, Farnaz Makak and W. Premchand Singh.	Nongmaithem Manishwar, Yambem

MSAD Statement for the Nagas in NC Hills

On the occasion of the rally against the Malevolent Politics of the Government of India (GOI) in North Cachar Hills, Assam on 6 July 2009, at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi.

Dear friends,

At the very outset MSAD would like to express solidarity to the rally against the Malevolent Politics of the Government of India (GOI) in North Cachar Hills, Assam. MSAD is grateful to the Naga Students' Union Delhi for inviting to a common platform where Northeast peoples could come together on issue of common concern.

MSAD would like to reiterate that in Northeast India there are several administrative jurisdictions where communities co-exist for long period of time and are interdependent. In these jurisdictions, any arbitrary attempt by a particular community to identify its community boundary with administrative boundaries; thereby, excluding territorial rights of the rest of the co-existing communities, necessarily invoke communal feeling and created conflict. In other words, claims and counter-claims over territorial possession among co-existing communities that share common territory has led to killings, destruction of property, eviction or forced displacement of persons, and endless trauma among the victims.

The ongoing conflict in the North Cachar Hills that have led to killing of Zemes and Dimasas and forced eviction of several villages of Zemes constitutes one of the several communal conflicts and displacements that have been taking place in the Northeast over the last few decades. At present hundreds of displaced Zemis are trying to find relief in Nagaland and Manipur states. MSAD can feel the difficulties and hardships that are being faced by the displaced Zemis. In Manipur, several victims of Naga Kuki Clash (1992-1997), Meetei – Panggal Clash (1993), Kuki- Paite Clash (1997-98), and sporadic incidents of cold blooded communal killings have been living without adequate rehabilitation. All these brutal courses of history have resulted into further marginalisation & impoverishment of peasants and workers or marginal villages. Only the Indian ruling class and state corroborated communal agents benefitted from such genocidal criminal assaults.

Having said all these, MSAD, on this occasion, would like to appeal:

- * Zemi and Dimasa residents of North Cachar Hills to collectively resolve the matter as they have nothing to gain from prolong communal conflict.

- * The Governments of Manipur and Nagaland must provide adequate rehabilitation facility to the displaced Zemis who are seeking relief in these states and attempt should be initiated to resettle them to their original homes.
- * Civil societies in Manipur must collectively work towards finding an amicable solution to the issue mentioned above.

Thanking you all who have gathered here today.

Apunbana Yaifarae

Sd/-
 Manipur Students' Association Delhi,
 New Delhi.
 6 July 2009

Protest State Terrorism in Manipur

3 August 2009

Dear friends,

In Manipur right to life is under suspension as security personnel have become perpetrator of extra-judicial killing of civilians or fake encounter. MSAD considers that practically there is no difference between warlordism and state terrorism under the regime of Chief Minister of Manipur O. Ibobi. The gang under the leadership of Chief Minister O.Ibobi, rechristened as COMMANDO, has become commission seekers and looters who would kill anyone for money and promotion. Several individuals were falsely implicated in the past after they were killed in fake encounter, making many civilians terrorists only posthumously. The fake encounter of 23 July 2009 is a glaring example of this.

On that gruesome day a killing spree was unleashed at the heart of the crowded Imphal City in the broad daylight. It led to the killing of a pregnant woman Ms Rabina and a medical attendant Mr. Ch. Sanjit and injury of five others. In order to cover up the crime Ibobi had immediately responded with a fabricated report of the incident in the Manipur Assembly. He had charged the insurgents operating in Manipur as responsible for it. Not a single MLA in Assembly including the opposition party had raised voice for a judicial enquiry into the incident. They unanimously accepted the fabricated report prepared by O. Ibobi and his handpicked policemen. Truth was totally silenced as a result of witnesses fearing to speak out openly and there was deliberate denial of a transparent judicial enquiry. Justice was denied to the victims and those who demanded judicial enquiry were arrested. However, state terrorism in the name of suppressing insurgency orchestrated by the Government of Manipur under the leadership of O. Ibobi is being exposed once again. A detail visual report of the incident is now available at Tehelka Vol.6 Issue 31, New Delhi. (<http://www.Thelka.com>).

- * MSAD condemns terrorism in any form in any part of Manipur and any further attempt to extend state terrorism in the hills or any other parts of Manipur.
- * MSAD demands that the false statement of 23 July be revoked.
- * MSAD demands that the terrorists responsible for killing unarmed civilians must be dismissed from serving in the Police Department and they must be punished.

Sd/-

O. Sandhyarani Chanu, President, Manipur Students' Association Delhi

Question to the Editorial Board and Response

Panthoi Sorokhaibam, BA (h) Sociology, 1st Year, Janaki Devi Memorial College: What benefit does MSAD render in my career if I join as a volunteer. What will be its outcome for girls?

Editorial board: We believe that a student, apart from class room activity, is a social being and has diverse roles in the society. We would like to say that one can gain a lot from any organized body that provides a platform to carry out collective works. According to the Constitution of MSAD the association stands “to safeguard and further the interests of the members of this Association, to strengthen and promote unity, integrity, and understanding and to enhance socio-cultural, educational development of the students.” Structurally, there is an Executive Committee elected by the students and Committees supervised by concerned members of the EC. To cite few examples, there are Committees such as Human Rights Committee, Academic Committee, Sport Committee, Cultural Committee, Women Committee, and Human Ad-hoc Committee. The activities of MSAD are carried out on the basis of voluntary unionism, democratic consensus and coordination among the EC, Committees and Advisory Board. We have had many women activists in MSAD who have now become prominent figures in the government and non-government sectors. We would appreciate if one would associate with MSAD, learn from it and become a successful person in the long run.

Kanaka Akham, BA (h) Philosophy, 2nd Year, Indraprastha College: Is there any volunteer from other communities other than Meetei community in MSAD? Why is the number of participation from other communities of Manipur very less in MSAD programme?

Editorial board: MSAD is not a community based organisation. MSAD has broader understanding in terms of recognising any student from Manipur as a member. Article 2 Clause (a) of the MSAD Constitution clearly stipulates that “any student from Manipur enrolled in any recognised institutions in Delhi who holds a valid identity card shall be a voting member of the Association.” However, against the backdrop of individual loyalty to community based organisations prevalent in Manipur, the students from Manipur who have come here to study usually get themselves enrolled to the respective community organisation and have neglected broad based organisation such as MSAD.

Moreover, working in MSAD involves the arduous task of fund raising, commitment, dedication, transparency, ideological debate, compromise and physical role without any payment in terms of money and reward. Those who are directly associated in MSAD are in this sense committed in fulfilling the progressive aims and objectives of MSAD. However, we are hopeful that if community based organisations would encourage their members to get associated with MSAD the number of student participation in MSAD would be tremendous.

Section V

AWARD WINNER ESSAYS

Manipur in Your Vision

1st position

Essay Writing Competition held on 26 July 2009 at the Open Air Theatre, Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Mr Yumkhaibam Sabir
Khalsa College, DU

When it rains in Delhi my thought often sail through the nightmares of drought in Manipur. If not, it disturbed my daydreaming. I continue to ponder on the economic hardships that Manipur faces. But this does not mean that I share the chauvinistic ideas, separatist tendencies and the prejudices that Manipur often foster and give vent to in their words and action. While I reflect on what I see and what I want to see about Manipur I deny my ability to be just a Manipuri, rather and foremost. I am a human on earth still believing in the theory 'God' did not create countries. I am someone who is lamenting about the unpleasant truth that we have a divided world.

Doing injustice to utopian philosophies, when I see Manipur as it is visible nakedly to the Manipuri's eyes (though often sun distorted by others), I see it as a battlefield, a place infected with the worst human made calamities, a state of chaos as a consequence of the breakdown of law and order. A simple man has little concern about the structure of government, its planning and other state activities. But he is compelled to think of its complicacies being left with no option when many forces disturb the prochain towards his stomach.

Let the present Manipur be not as bad as it is painted by a poor civilian Manipuri. She is an abode of rich and powerful few who can get almost all the things they desire because they know clearly that they are the ones who make laws and can trample on anything anytime using power in many ways. But majority of the civilians who belong to the unlucky class of victimized souls will claim that Manipur is a hell composed of bandhs, strikes, killings and fighting. To see Manipur through their eyes, it's a place where life is extremely insecure, where we don't know whether the price of sweating will be paid. Yet for the 'lucky few who holds the bullets and accounts', they are more than satisfied even though they sometime are compelled to call for change. Nevertheless, all of us are seeing Manipur as not something as we would like to see.

A vision of Manipur will be held differently by different minds – e.g., from an independent country to a quiet and prosperous state regardless

of who holds authority. Many desire to see Manipur as an independent or at least autonomous state though they are not refuting that the idea will be a utopia, and that all the problems will not be solved just by that. Some would demand for more recognition and consideration by the centre. But as human beings we want safe, secure, peaceful, and prosperous conditions in Manipur. Who rules in Manipur matters the least.

It's encouraging that some Manipuris are able to bring laurels to the state through sports. And some have excelled others in certain fields. It's good to hear good news about achievements by the Manipuris. It won't be ignorance or exaggeration to claim that the soil of Manipur has given birth to several talented persons. But how much will all these count as we make a picturisation of Manipur. Can Manipur be famous just because of the Shiroi Lily or Sangai? It will be stupidity to harp on minor things as great achievement while the house is under fire. Of course, we need to improve a lot.

One more unpleasant reality is that we are unable till now to be unified. In such a small area many communities and cultures coexist. It is blissful! But for now, it has been causing discomforts as many see 'many Manipurs' within the state. Lamenting and criticizing alone won't do. Actions need to be taken in synchronized manners and not in separate and individualistic manners. We are mostly self styled leaders who want to be leaders without possessing the charisma, talent and an unblemished image.

Of course the desire for change is evolving as the light of education is gradually touching on the unwise minds. We are becoming aware of how the situation is and what can we do. This could have happened much earlier and the results could have been seen. It evolves lately (not never), but war for change is occurring in the individual minds. All we can do is synchronise our thinking towards a unified voice. As the saying goes, 'what I dream alone is just a dream but what we dream together is a reality'. In our unified action, we cannot rule out the possibility of shedding blood. Many have given sacrifices but the need is to do it in a right way. It's unfortunate that we don't have a commonly accepted leader. Gun still wills power. Yet, Manipuris are aware that they need peace and prosperity- not the UGs, the government, bandhs, strikes, silent tolerance under injustice. While it may take time to realize our dream it's good that we are at least dreaming. We have to contribute to make the dream more beautiful. It must evolve from the soil of Manipur or from across its nine concentrated hills.

Manipur in Your Vision

2nd position

Essay Writing Competition held on 26 July 2009 at the Open Air Theatre, Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Mr. S. Asker

Hindu College, DU

Manipur which is rightly called "Jewels of India" and "Switzerland of the East," has now become a dormant volcano due to law and order problems, political crisis, corruption, moral degradation of youths, and AIDS etc. It means that Manipur has become a state dependent on others to promote her rich art, culture, and history.

Law and order problem in Manipur at present: The law and order situation in Manipur is in the worst condition. Ever since Manipur lost its independent to the British and merged with India, the law and order has been ineffective and uncertain. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958) had a hostile root in our state. Many civilians had lost lives at the hand of the Army. Rape cases have also increased to a great extent. Manorama's case had provoked a grave situation in own state. The Justice Jeevan Reddy Committee had recommended repealing of the Act. However, the central government made no significant response to the recommendation. This is how India shows disrespect towards Manipur. The situation is crucial. We need to think for a solution.

Corruption in Manipur at present: Corruption has become deep rooted in our society. From peon to the Chief Minister, there is no exception for the matter. Almost all the officials are corrupted. Majority of the population of Manipur, who are poor, suffer unbearable impact due to corruption in the society. Their future is becoming dimmer and unpredictable. If corruption continues, all will suffer at last. So, at present corruption acts as obstruction to the developmental process and creates disharmony between the rich and the poor.

Tourism in Manipur: Despite a great prospect of tourism in Manipur, there is no remarkable achievement in this sector. The state government and the central government are not taking up appropriate steps to improve tourism. We are proud to have Siroy Lily in Ukhrul District and the Sangai (brow antlered deer) in our state. However, only a few people across the globe are

Manipur in Your Vision

3rd position

Essay Writing Competition held on 26 July 2009 at the Open Air Theatre, Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Mr. Hemchandra Nameirakpam
Shivaji College, DU

aware of these flower and animal which are not found elsewhere in the world. How misfortune we are? Who is responsible for this? We have raised this question several times. Till today there is no satisfactory solution to these questions. The state government should understand the sentiments of the people of Manipur and act work accordingly. Otherwise, the gap between the government and people will be furthered widened.

Arts and culture of Manipur: Manipur is dazzled and shined with rich arts and culture. The Rasa Dance of the Meetei Hindu is one among the most famous four classical dances in India. Polo had its origin in Manipur. Several folk dances such as Khamba – Thoibi dance, Lai – Haraoba, etc constitute important ingredients of the art and culture of Manipur. We expect the concerned ministry to take up pro-active measures to promote the art and culture.

Games and sport: People all over in the world are aware of the significant role of Manipuri sportspersons. M.C. Mary Kom, a Manipur pugilist won the world championship for women boxing consecutively four times in a row. She is conferred the prestigious Khel Ratna Award this year. Suranjoy singh, N. Dingku, Sarita, Renedy, Neela Kamal, Kunjarani etc. are some of the formidable players of the world. In the very near future, Manipur sport stars will become dominant in the Asian Games and in the world at large.

From the above, it becomes clear to us that that if there is a reasonable interlink between law and order, games and sports, art and culture and all other fields, Manipur will surely become a state that does not depend on other states and India. Since education system accelerates towards the way of exploiting inner talents and skills of the Manipuris, I am hopeful that peace and development will take place in the near future.

We, the people of Manipur have been fighting against corruption, regionalism, communalism and dishonesty for the welfare and development of our state. If we fight with committed enthusiasm, determination along with hard work and sincerity, Manipur will become a heaven in the world.

Let's hope for the best. Every one could have a silver living and accordingly let's explore the rich heritage of Manipur and contribute to develop those rich heritages, arts and culture. For the present, Manipur has miles to go for peace and development.

The meaning of the term Jewel of India coined for Manipur by the former Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru still holds true. There is no second opinion when we say, 'Manipur is the Switzerland of India'. Manipur is a land blessed with natural beauties that there can be no word that could match it. Manipur has every bit of natural gifts that make it a famous tourist destination. That is the reason why tourists all over the world are so enthusiastic when it comes to Manipur and its scenic beauty.

Manipur possesses unique blend of cultures which make it stands out brightly from the rest. Be it the Lai –Haraoba, Folk Dance, the Ras- Leela, Pung Cholom, Manipur has made a distinguished mark of itself all over the world. There is also a quality. Despite small in size Manipur is a land full of talented sportsperson. Khunjarani, Dinko, Mary Kom, Nanao, Bonbila, Monika, etc may be mentioned. They make us proud.

However the maxim 'reality is no fairy tales' hold true as well. For the last couple of decades Manipur is in the news for several unfortunate happenings. There are widespread problems ranging from irregularity in the payment of salaries, unemployment and so on and so forth.

Killing has become the order of the day. When a woman is shot dead in the crowded market, many perceive the incident as a normal affair. The killing is no longer considered a serious matter. When a child is kidnapped and killed, it doesn't become a news headline. When a young girl is brutally raped by the armed forces the matter is not considered a serious issue. Such a situation explains the plight of Manipur today.

Humanitarianism gets either underplayed or washed away. Miss Irom Sharmila has been fasting for almost nine years. There are no politicians around to rescue her. Our politicians are more concentrated on feeding their bank account. Despite scenic beauties and rich culture Manipur has become infamous because of killings and insurgency.

We need forward thinking. Whatever has happened has happened. Whatever suffering one could tolerate has been tolerated. Manipur must move

towards development. It just cannot be thunder and shower all the time. Spring should come. Good things must come along. I am referring to the students. We are the future of Manipur or rather the ray of hope. We as students must restore the lost fragrance of peace in Manipur. Many Manipur at present do not need politicians but good administrators. As Manipuri students particularly in Delhi are working day and day to get into the administrative service such as the IAS officers, I can predict that the future of Manipur is bright.

The loss of one Kishan who was brutally killed for doing goods amidst the den of wrong doers, has set a marvelous example of a good administrator. His message to his colleagues to perform duty on the right track is very clear. Manipur has suffered a lot. Now it is time that the spring should be knocking at the door of Manipur.

Strike in Manipur

First position
Essay Writing Competition held on 3 September 2011 at the Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Miss. Chabungbam Babina

Manipur as the name suggests refers to a land full of values, culture, and resources and a unique identity. Purity of heart, treasured legends, scenic beauties, folks and traditions constitute priceless heritage of our motherland Manipur.

Despite all these qualities, we are unfortunate to face with worries, pains, crimes, and continuous deterioration of law and order condition. Daily killing, inter community tension, rise of prices, corruption, and the draconian AFSPA are the factors that had created tension and agitating. General strikes, dharnas, and economic blockades are few examples of the restless situation in Manipur.

In my opinion, the common means that the people adopt to assert demands are not appropriate. As per the topic, I would like to emphasis on general strike that has become a part of everyday life in Manipur. I consider that every untoward incident in Manipur is followed by a general strike. My point is “When an incident such as killing happens can general strike be far behind?” The frequency of strikes is very high in Manipur.

Everyone is aware of the causes, consequences and popularity of strike. However, we need to concentrate more on the prevention than curing. I would like to suggest that analyzing the causes of unwanted incidents and proper execution of justice to deal with the causes should be upheld as these would help in preventing the causes.

I am of the opinion that everything can be addressed if we stick ourselves to the reality and integrity. In this regard I would like to refer to Pablo Neruda’s *Keeping Quite* i.e., we as a social being should keep still for a few moments, introspect ourselves so that we can realise our own identity. If we would maintain this principle, we would recuperate and the enmity prevailing within us would surely create a sense of integrity which would ultimately bring peace in our state. My understanding is that discussions on how we can solve the problems in Manipur do not lie on what we should do. First, we need to have a hope to our action that we think will result into what

is desirable and acceptable to all. Our analysis must primarily focus on the people.

It is commonly observed that those who are affected by the *bundh* are the daily wage earner, the middle class people and of course the upper class. One may ask why the upper class should suffer. The answer is very simple. The upper class may have wealth but their condition is somewhat similar to the condition of “Water everywhere but not a drop to drink.” What can their money do when the required items are not available for purchase? The main point is that strike in any form affected the livelihood of everyone irrespective of any status. One can correctly imagine the hardships faced in the course of a single day strike. The heaviest burden of strike is born by the daily wage earners. Rickshaw drivers and women vendors in the Nupi Keithel are the few examples of those who are the most vulnerable section during strike. Their lives become a living piece of hell when their hungry stomachs cried for food.

Focusing only on the consequences of strike will not satisfy the present need of Manipur. As a student, we need to play important role in stabilizing the situation of Manipur. My points may not be comprehensive but I feel it as an addition to the droplets that constitute the fabulous oceans. As a young student, there is always a quest and a burning enthusiasm to contribute something for the improvement of our society. My essay is a perspective, an opinion and a voice of a young student from Manipur who have come to Delhi to nurture myself as a strong pillar of Manipur. My hope, patience and courage will surely help me to achieve my goals.

Last but not the least, I would like to say, dear friends the time has come to strike against strike. Lets raise the voice together.

Strike in Manipur

1st position

Essay Writing Competition held on 3 September 2011 at the Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Mr. Hanglem Rojit Singh

It has become common to use negative means such as strike, *bundh*, and blockade to achieve demands. It reflects the sentiment of locking out as a form of protest directed against governmental or public institutions. The main feature is total paralysis of the state or country. It leads to destruction of private and governmental properties. It has more negative implication than positive result. Strikes or *bundhs* are very common in Manipur. Among the 28 Indian states, Manipur is on the top list of frequent strike and *bundhs*, which are being carried out by certain groups, organizations and JACs.

There are certain reasons behind strikes or *bundhs* in Manipur. Most of the strikes are carried out by civil society against what they had considered injustice. Sometimes the strikes or *bundhs* are the result of instigation from outside. For example, some Manipuri students in collaboration with people from Nagaland had carried out prolonged economic blockade few years back. They had imposed more than two months of blockade on National Highway 39 which is the lifeline of Manipur. Manipur had suffered a lot. There was famine of essential commodities such as petrol, medicine and foodstuffs. The price of petrol had risen between Rs 150- 180 Rupees per litre. It had created terrible misery.

We need to rely on more productive or constructive peaceful solution rather than simply relying on strike and *bundh*. Those who use such negative means seem to be ignorant of the miserable effects. They don't seem to know of any other forms of demand than the means of catastrophic strike and *bundh*. I would not brand those who use strike or *bundh* as means of demand as evil. I would like them to know that these negative means do not bring good result. It severely affected economy and educational atmosphere. There is economic, political and educational retardation because of frequent strikes and *bundhs*. Thousands of students had to emigrate, which have led to economic drain in terms of lakhs of rupees per month in order to study in other places. This is what we are in today's Manipur. This is foolishness. We reap no good fruit out of folly. We need to give up such means of agitations which have caused

damages to the socio-political life of Manipur. All the people should be aware of it. We must learn to use positive and constructive peaceful means of agitations.

The crux of the problems associated with strikes and bundhs lies with our government. Our government is not adopting good governance that is being practiced in the advanced countries. Our government is like the puppet of some monstrous overlord. The government is comparable to someone who is deaf and dumb. It is arrogant in nature and fails to address people's grievances. The government is not interested in addressing public issues. This condition has encouraged some people to adopt violent and devastating means in order to target the government. It has created a vicious cycle of problems in Manipur.

We are in a dilemma. But everything lies in the people, in their hearts and in their wisdom. Strike or bundh should not be called for personal and sectarian interest. It should be called for the unity of the people. In the same manner we don't encourage to manufacture compose that is poisonous, we should give up devastating means of agitation. We need to give up negative means of agitation in order to build a robust generation which can boldly compete with others.

Strike in Manipur

2nd Position

Essay Writing Competition held on 3 September 2011 at the Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Mr. Rajesh Ngangbam

"I'm interest in doing anything that create decoders choose disturbance because it seem to be the part of freedom"-Jim Horisson (1943-1971)

Situated in the north eastern part of India, Manipur is endowed with beautiful scenery, hills, surroundings etc. Referred to as the 'Switzerland of India' she has a history from time immemorial.

According to available documents, Manipur was an independent country that was first ruled by King Nongda Lairen Pakhangba in 33 A.D. From that year onwards she had many powerful and able kings and queens. Unfortunately on 23 April, 1891 the British occupied Manipur and ruled upon till they left Manipur and India on 15 Aug 1947. She became an independent country again. It may be mentioned here that Manipur was the first South Asian country to conduct universal adult franchise in 1948 and formed a responsible government.

But, after the merger agreement was signed between King Buddhachandra and the Dominion of India on 21 September 1949, Manipur came under the rule of the Government of India. That event was the harbinger of the 'general strike' in Manipur. In present Manipur, 15 October, i.e., the day when the Government of India formally took over the administration of Manipur, has been declared a 'black day' by insurgents organisations. Every year a 'general strike' is called on this day.

Before going deeper into the matter, I would like to elaborate the idea of general strike. General strike is an act of protest being called by a group of community or people in a city, town, region or a country to show contempt to or assert demands against certain institution or govt. It was first started in the mid-19 century. Switching over to Manipur, general strike has become an indispensable or inseparable way of protest directed against or demand raised to the government. The Nupi Lan of 1904 and 1939 are few examples of general strikes directed against the British colonial authority. General strikes were called on various occasions such as the Manorama incident, June 18 uprising, 27 August hunger marchers' day, visit of Prime

minister or Mrs. Sonia Gandhi or the President. All these strikes are demand oriented. It has become very common to carry out strike on any issue. But one need to have second thought to see that general strike has also negative repercussion on the society.

The negative effect of general strike is very clear to all of us. The weaker people or the poor people, particularly daily wage earners, are most affected by general strike. A general strike cuts them off their economic earning. To impose economic blockade or bundh in every week or for several consecutive days severely disturbs the normal functioning of economic livelihood of the people. I don't think it can bring any solution. We must reconsider the approach towards upholding general strike as a means of political bargaining. Jim Morrison's understanding, 'everyone is interested in creating havoc because we think it is the best way to get what we want,' seems to be the situation in Manipur. It is high time that we phase out destructive means to achieve certain vested demands.

Let's unite and work collectively.

Sharmila

2nd position

Essay Writing Competition held on 3 September 2011 at the Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Miss Nongmaithem Abita

Wahoudok: Irom Chanu Sharmila asi Manipur gi damak katthoklabi Meitei nupi amani. Mahakna meeyam amadi leibakkidamak punshi chuppa chara henbagi khongjang changsilli. Manipur gi houjik oiriba phivam asi asukki matik phattere. Meehat meeneitana thallaba leibak ama oire. Manipurda nongma kangdana meeoibana meeoibabu hattokpa, angam ngamba hatoknaba, asigumba hingsagi mawong kaya leptana chattharakpa chatnabi ama oirakli.

Sharmila amasung AFSPA: Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1958 hairiba Act asi Bharat sarkarna awang nongpok lamdam Manipur yaona phivam phattere haiduna chalaiba houkhi. Act asina chatnahnbagi noonggi oiba wahanthokti leibak amada law na yadaba lupnachingba lingkhatlakpa amsung maduna meeyoibabu nungaitaba khudong chadaba misi mina thok-hanba maphamda Act asi chalaigadbani haiba wafam asini. Act asina Bharat siphaisingda ka henna hak kaya ama fanghalli. Chingnaba meeyoi am maral leitrabasu khudakta nongmeina kaptuna hatpa yabagi ayaba adu pee. Kanagumba meeyoi amatana Act asigi mayokta yaningdaba thabak chattharabadi meeyoi adubu chingnei haijillaga hatpaga ayabagi hak pumanmak Bharatki siphaisingi maphamda leihnabaga chap mannei. 2 Nov, 2000 da Malomgi bus khamphamda maral leitaba chamjaraba meeyoi tarabu Assam Rifles khutpu amana khudakta nongmeina kaptuna hatkhi. Numit adugi thoudok asina Manipur gi meeyambu asukki matik nungaihankhide.

AFSPA 1958 asi Manipurda eehan hanna chalairaba matamda Manipurda hingsagi thabak, hatna-sunaba, angam-angamba chatthoknabagi thabak amadi thoktari haiba yai. Matam asida Manipurda lalhoubagi lup su mapung fana sagatpa houdari. Manipur asi eengna-tapna shanti leina panba leibak ama oiri. Adubu AFSPA asi karigidamak Manipurda matam aduda chalaikhibano haiba wahang ama Bharat sarkarda hangnigai oi amasung masigi chapchaba paokhumsu pipham thok-ee.

Manipurda AFSPA lakkhibadagi Manipur gi phivam asukki matik sokkhre. Hannagum ning-tamba shanti leiba leibak haibadu oikhidre. Bharat

siphaisingda Manipur prajagi hak pumnamak sinnabagum thokkhi. Maral leitaba chamjaraba meeyoi kaya tattana hatli. Chamjaraba chanura kaya amagi ejat pikhamnaxhi. Asigumlaba yengheidraba, taheidraba thoudok kaya Manipurda tattana thokkhi. Houjixu asigumba thoudok kaya asi thokpa lepri. Manipurda AFSPA na leiriba makhei henna sathiba thoudok wathok meekap meeraokhol kaya ama thoklakkhigani haibagi mipainaba adu Manipur prajada leiri.

Sharmila meeyam amadi leibakkidamak thawai hakchang kathoklaba meeyoi amani. Malomgi thoudokta chamjaraba nongmagi suraga chara tallaga chajaba meeyoi tara adubu karisu leitana minungshi yaodabagi thoudokkum hatokpikhi. Sharmila amadi Manipurgi meeyam pumnamak thammoi sokna nungaihide. Asigumba thoudok asi tungda hourakliba naharolsingda thoktanaba Sharmila na chara henbagi khongjang changsinkhi. Sharmila leisabini adubu mahak masagi nungaiaba oijaba pumnamak thadoklaga meeyamidamak chara helli amasung khongjang kaya changsilli. Malomgi thoudok adudagi Sharmila ngasi phaoba lepnana chara hellakli amasung henkhigani,

Waroisin: Mareibak maramdambu nungsijabagi meeyoi kayana Sharmila gi damak amadi leibakkidamak khongjang kaya changsillakli. Mahakpu kannabagi damak changsilliba meeyamgi khollao amadi Sharmila gi khollao asibu leibak asibu ngakpi senbiribani hairibiba achou-asang amadi Bharat sarkarna tabide amadi ubide. Leibakki angam-athoubasingna tana-tana tasinnade, una-una usinnade. Adubu khongjangdi hanba leite. Eikhoi pumnamak meeyamgi tunggi amadi Sharmilagi damak hanba leitana eesa-eesana vap tanaduna thabak kaya paikhatminnabagi tangai fadba lei.

Sharmila

3rd position

Essay Writing Competition held on 3 September 2011 at the Arts Faculty, University of Delhi.

Mr. Akoijam Premchand Singh

The first thing that strikes our mind when we talk about Irom Sharmila Chanu is the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 (AFSPA) that has been imposed in the north-eastern part of India and Jammu and Kashmir. This Act was enacted in 1958 on the pretext of controlling insurgencies in the then Assam and Manipur.

Irom Sharmila Chanu is a woman human right activist. She has been fasting since 5 November, 2000 demanding repeal of AFSPA. She is a denizen of Kongpal in Imphal East, Manipur. She is one of the leading activists who had come out with courage to fight against the draconian Act that permits army to arrest or shoot a suspect without issuing a warrant.

It was in November 2000 when the Indian paramilitary personnel mowed down innocent civilians at the Malom bust stop including two national gallantry award winners. In response to the massacre, Sharmila began the fast unto death, demanding punishment of the guilty personnel and repealing of the Act. She was arrested on the charge of attempt to commit suicide. Then, she was kept under custody at the Jawaharlal Nehru Hospital where she was forcibly nasal fed. In the meanwhile the people of Manipur carried out widespread agitation demanding the repeal of AFSPA. The news about the protest and agitation was more or less confined in Manipur due to comparative absence of coverage by the 'national' media and discriminatory attitude of the central government.

In 2006 Sharmila went to Delhi for protest at Jantra Mantra against the Act. Before she began her fast at Jantar Mantar, she paid tribute to her idol Mahatma Gandhi at the Raj Ghat. Then she moved to Jantar Mantar along with her supporters from different sections of society. Unfortunately, she could not draw the attention of the 'mainstream' Indians, media, and the attention of the central government as well. There is media discrimination on her. She was arrested and kept under custody at the AIIMS. But, she did not lose courage and continued the struggle in Delhi for about six months.

Sharmila has received several prestigious awards for her courage. The awards were conferred by several organizations of India and some renowned international organizations. However, she has not won widespread support from amongst the 'mainstream' Indians as it was in the case of Anna Hazare who had launched anti-corruption campaign in Delhi. This is largely due the lack of awareness. However, it has raised a big question in regards to the mentality of the mainstream Indians. Many in Manipur began to ask if the people of mainland India consider the people of Manipur and Northeast as Indians. This has become a burning question these days.

An interesting fact is that is that Anna Hazare had invited Sharmila to join his campaign against corruption. Bollywood stars like Amir Khan expressed solidarity to Sharmina and her demand to repeal AFSPA. Gradually, many among the people of mainland India began to know and concern about Sharmila and her cause. Interaction program on Sharmila has been telecasted in a news channel CNN. Through such channel one of the woman activists Binalakmi informed the audience about the situation prevailing in Northeast under the provisions of AFSPA. Important issues are being raised related to economic development and employment opportunities. The message is that the people want development and not military rule.

The important task is to carry out the task of worldwide campaigns to repeal AFSPA 1958 and to save Sharmila. We need to highlight the grievances of the people whose rights are being violated under this Act. This Act has violated the right to life supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution of India. Where there is no right to life it is difficult to say that democracy exists. It is a right time for us to unite and show to the world our unity and strength. The united strength can be a powerful pressure upon the Central Government to make them pay attention to our demand. Sharmila has been quite vociferous in building up the momentum towards unity.



Sitting row (L-R): Seram Rojesh, R.K Gunamani (Games & Sports Secy.), Malem Ningthouja, Dayabati Ksh., Krispa Ningombam, Shafikul Haque. **Standing row (L-R):** Boyamayum Altaf, Ashok Khuman (Cultural Secy.), Damudor Arambam, R.K Sanayaima (General Secy.), Manishwar Nongmaithem, Beerjureka Samom (President), Chitaranjan Taorem (Finance Secy.), Chongtham Gunamani, Johnson Soibam



Annual Sports Siroy Meet 2011, October 4-5, 2011



Irbot Day Observation, September 30, 2011



Annual Literary Meet Maheiroigi Khonjel, September 3, 2011



People's demonstration for Peace in Manipur, August 8, 2011

Apunbana Yaipharae

Long Live MSAD