

# Manipur Violence, May 2023

## A PREMEDITATED AGENDA BY KUKIS TOWARDS ACHIEVING

SADAR HILLS ✓

SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION?

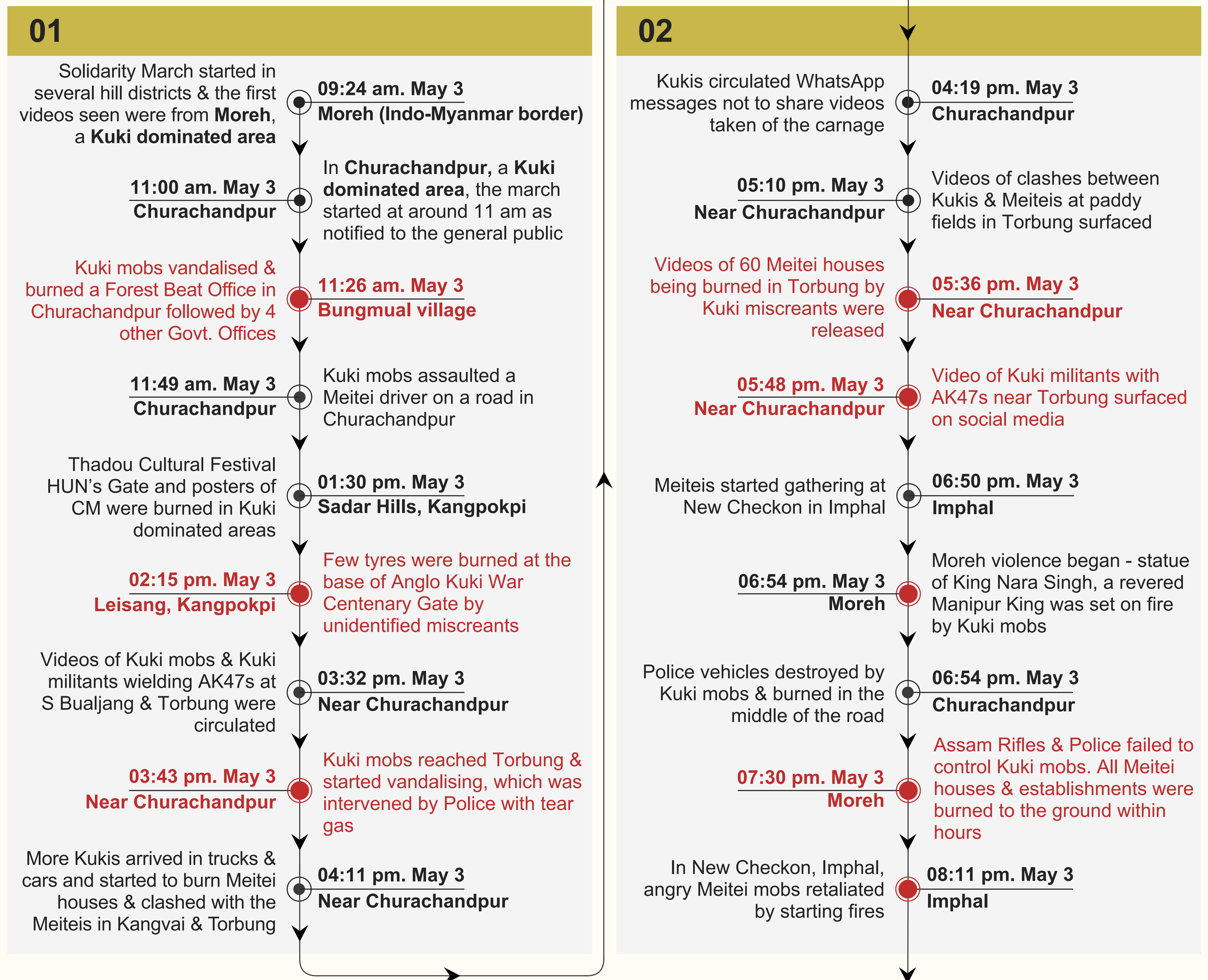
SEPARATE COUNTRY???

### INTRODUCTION:

In the aftermath of the May violence, various narratives have emerged. Some intellectuals and civil society organisations with vested interests have fabricated narratives to depict the clashes as a tribal VS Meitei conflict, using terms like 'Christian Tribal vs Hindu Meitei' or 'Hills vs Valley.' However, the reality is that the violence stems from an ethnic conflict solely between the Kukis and Meiteis. It is important to understand several questions such as:

- Was the violence that erupted on 3rd May from **Churachandpur** a sudden one-off incident or an evil **machination of groups with vested interests**?
- The violence against Meiteis in Churachandpur, that began on 3rd May as a retaliation following the burning of the Anglo-Kuki War Centenary Gate by unidentified miscreants - **was this justified**?
- Was this violence designed to **fulfill the Kuki aspiration** of a **broader KukiLand** to serve the interests of various Kuki groups - **poppy cultivators, illegal migrants, politicians, Kuki militants, CSOs, student bodies and even academicians**?

### CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS:



Violence continues unabated with Kuki militants attacking Meitei villages in the valley areas adjoining hills...





# Manipur Violence, May 2023



01. Kuki miscreants burning PM Modi's poster in Churachandpur

Similar to the eruption of a volcano, a **series of violence** took place **before** the start of the **ethnic clash** on **3rd May**. For example, on **27th April**, the **Kuki miscreants** burned the **poster** of Honourable Prime Minister of India, **Shri Narendra Modi Ji** in Churachandpur.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS WITH EVIDENCE:

### Q1. What is the Order from the Manipur High Court? Is this large scale violence justified?

- In May 2013, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, requested a recommendation from the Government of Manipur regarding the inclusion of the Meitei community in the Scheduled Tribes list. When the Manipur Government failed to respond, a writ petition was filed in the High Court of Manipur. Based on the merit, the court ordered the Government of Manipur to submit its recommendation to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs on March 27, 2023, preferably within 30 days from the day of the order as the matter had been pending for more than 10 years.
- The All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM) organised a Tribal Solidarity Rally on May 3, 2023, to protest against the Meitei Scheduled Tribe (ST) demand. Violence ensued during the protest, but the opposition to the Meitei ST demand was not the main cause. The **attack on forest beat offices** and the Meitei community suggests that there were other underlying issues driving their **violent actions**. This is evident from the statements released by Kuki organisations supporting the solidarity march, which went beyond opposing the Meitei ST demand. **No reason can justify attacks on civilians**, the **burning of villages** with **more than 400 houses** in just 24 hours by Kuki miscreants and taking many innocent lives based on the Order of the High Court or any other reason.
- May 1, Indigenous Tribal Leaders' Forum (Kuki) warned the Manipur Government that they will continue to fight more vigorously. Joint Co-ordination Committee on Tribal Rights Manipur took a stand against "the step-motherly treatment of the tribals by the BJP-led Government of Manipur, underestimating the tribal rights including the encroachment drive in the forest and other parts of the State. On May 2, Joint U-NAU Delhi Tribal Students' Forum (Kuki) warned the government of Manipur against some of the crackdown of illegal activities including the encroachment drive in protected forests, reserved forests, or wetlands."

02. Rally Protestors verbally abusing CM Biren. 11 am. 3 May 2023



03. Mualtam Forest Beat Office burned. 12:15 pm. 3 May 2023



04. Rally Protestors with assault rifles. 5:48 pm. 3 May





# Manipur Violence, May 2023

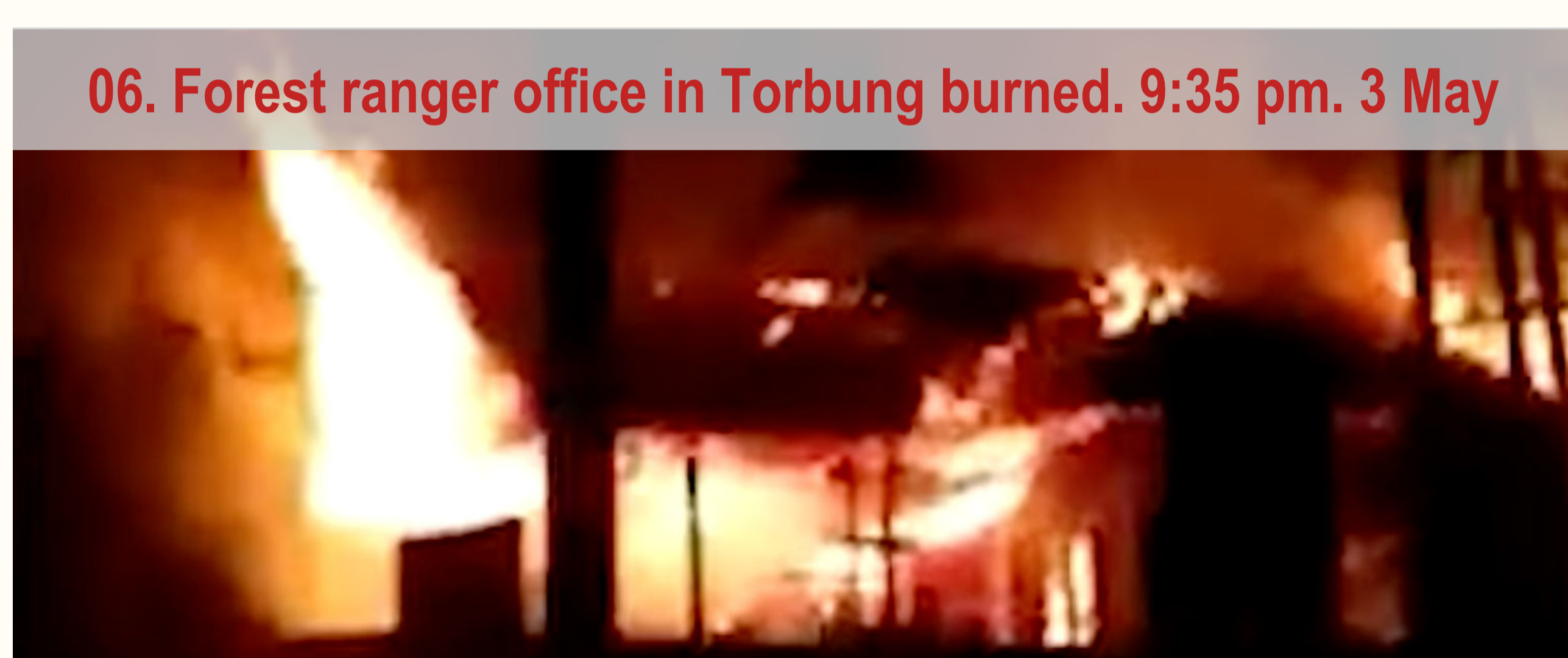
## Q2. Why did Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Kuki intellectuals collectively exert efforts to attribute the outbreak of violence to an alleged attempted burning of the Kuki Centenary Gate at Leisang Village?



• For clarity, the burning of the war centenary gate happened at 2.15 pm, in Leisang village with no Meitei settlement, whereas the Kuki mob violence started from 11.30 am by burning the Forest Beat Office, assaulting Meitei pedestrians on Churachandpur roads and setting fire to posters of the Chief Minister. Since acts of Kuki violence started almost 3 hours prior to the outbreak of violence, it therefore cannot be attributed to the incident of burning the War Centenary Gate. Rather, what should be investigated is whether the **Kukis** themselves had **set fire** to it to **misdirect the violence towards the Meitei community** as part of a larger conspiracy. It should be noted that, at his press conference, the Hon'ble Home Minister stated that the case would be taken up by the CBI to investigate whether a larger conspiracy by vested groups had resulted in such large scale violence.

## Q3. Why were the forest offices targeted on 3rd May starting at 10.30 am, way before the burning of houses in Torbung?

- Burning down several forest offices (at Bungmaul Village, Mata Maultam Village, Saikot Village, Maullam Village, Singhat Mission Veng, Kotlian Village, and Henglep) on 3rd May 2023 shows that a **well-planned and targeted act of burning** was **engineered** by **vested groups** among the **Kukis**. The **objective of burning of forest offices** was to **destroy government records** on land and forest areas, as the government had started a drive against forest encroachment by **illegal Kuki immigrants**.



## Q4. Although the tribal solidarity rally took place in many areas including Ukhrul, why did the burning of Meitei houses and widespread violence start only in Kuki dominated areas?

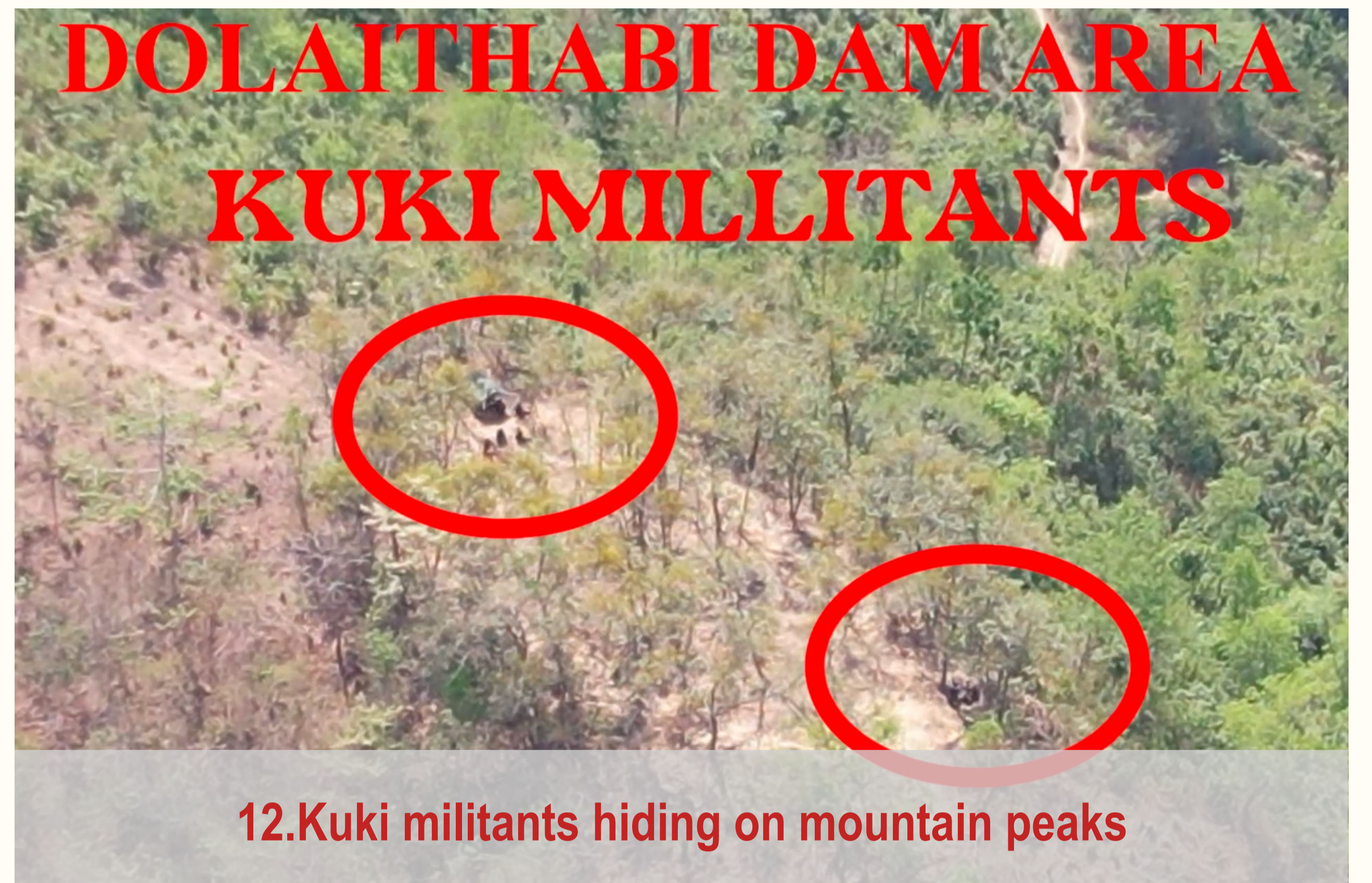
- The tribal solidarity rally was organised under the banner of the All Tribal Students' Union, Manipur (ATSUM) and the rally took place in most of the hill areas dominated by Kukis like Churachandpur, Tengnoupal etc. and Naga dominated areas like Ukhrul. However, the **violence occurred** only in **Kuki dominated areas** such as **Torbung, Churachandpur and Moreh**. There are **no reports of any violent activity** at any of the **Naga dominated tribal areas**.
- From this it is **crystal clear** that the **tribal solidarity rally** was just a **false pretence and disguise** to **perpetrate widespread violence** by the **Kukis** against the Meitei community. Even the first incident of Arms looting from a Gun shop and a Police station committed by Kuki mobs in Churachandpur was confirmed, where more than 600 weapons and thousands of ammunitions were looted on the 4th of May.





## Q5. What is the role of the SoO militants in the ongoing violence and what is their ultimate goal?

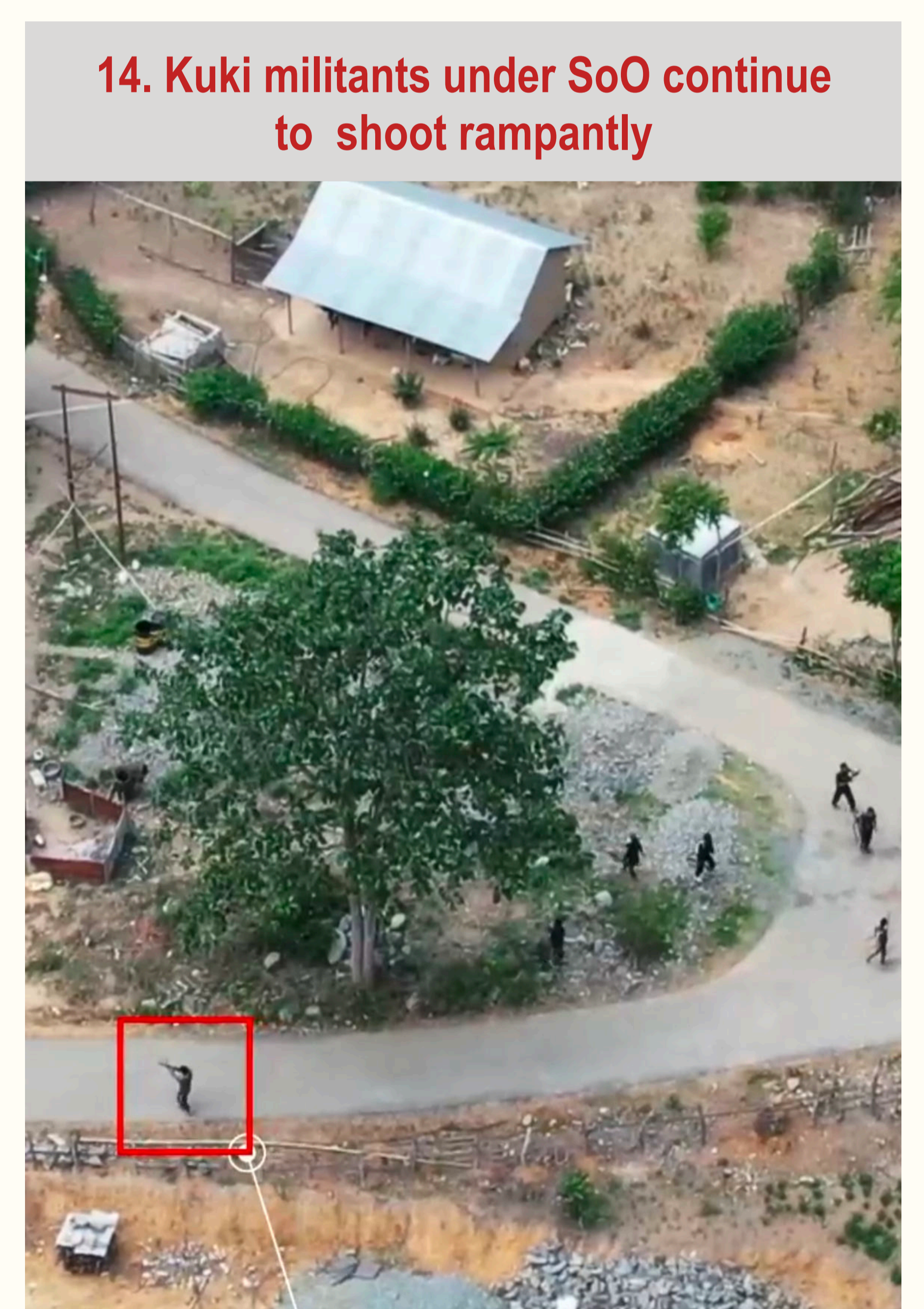
- From the late 1980s many Kuki armed organisations emerged. They have a common objective to militarily expand territorial occupation to assert a homeland either within India or outside. The expansionist course led to violent ethnic clashes with the Naga (1992-1996), Paite (1997-1998), etc. To fulfill common objectives step by step, Kuki armed organisations cooperated to group under broader united fronts, such as the Kuki National Organisation and the United People's Front. The **ultimate objective** of these **SoO militants** is a **separate independent Kuki nation**.
- Both the KNO and UPF took advantage of "peace" to clandestinely pursue its hidden agenda of expanding their mass base, increasing manpower and territorial occupation, increasing resources and their agenda, both the KNO and UPF reportedly **broke the ground rules of the SoO** from time to time. For instance, under the SoO they were to "completely abjure the path of violence and not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuring, kidnapping, ambushing, extorting, intimidating nor the carrying of arms in public and imposing 'tax' or 'fines.'" They would "not construct memorials, hoist flags or carry out parades of armed cadres." These rules were not followed. They reportedly indulged in extortion, kidnapping for ransom, killing, displaying of arms, etc. Is this the right time for the **government to review the SoO agreement** with the **Kuki militants**? The most important question is what is the objective of the SoO with Kuki militant groups? Why do we need SoO when these groups have become extremely brutal in terrorising innocent villagers? What is the interest of the Indian Govt in extending the SoO when the State Govt. has recommended to cease it, as there has been a breach of the terms of Agreement on numerous accounts by Kuki militant groups?



## Q6. Why are SoO militants with sophisticated weapons continuing to terrorise innocent Meitei Villagers in the areas adjoining the hills?

In the scenario where we consider these individuals as Kuki villagers with rudimentary weapons (as Kuki propaganda claims), how have they managed to sustain such a prolonged exchange of gunfire with security forces for nearly a month?

- The **involvement of Kuki SoO militants** in the ongoing conflict is an **open truth**. There is irrefutable proof of this fact, and these are attached with this report.
- The ongoing attacks by Kukis assisted by SoO militants on Meitei villages located in the hill-adjointing areas such as Sugnu, Sekmai, Dolathaibi etc. is clear evidence that the Kukis are not looking for peace. They have two clear strategies here:
  - a. Extend the duration of the violence to portray a narrative of the state government and its machinery's failure in restoring peace.
  - b. **Expel Meitei villagers** deep into the valley regions to **maximise their gains** in pursuing their malicious agenda of establishing a **separate administration**.
- It is evident that the Kuki elite, in coordination with Kuki militants, has orchestrated a prolonged and intense exchange of gunfire with security forces. Such a level of preparedness and firepower could only have been achieved through **meticulous preplanning** and **strategic stockpiling** of firearms, ammunition, and essential provisions months in advance.





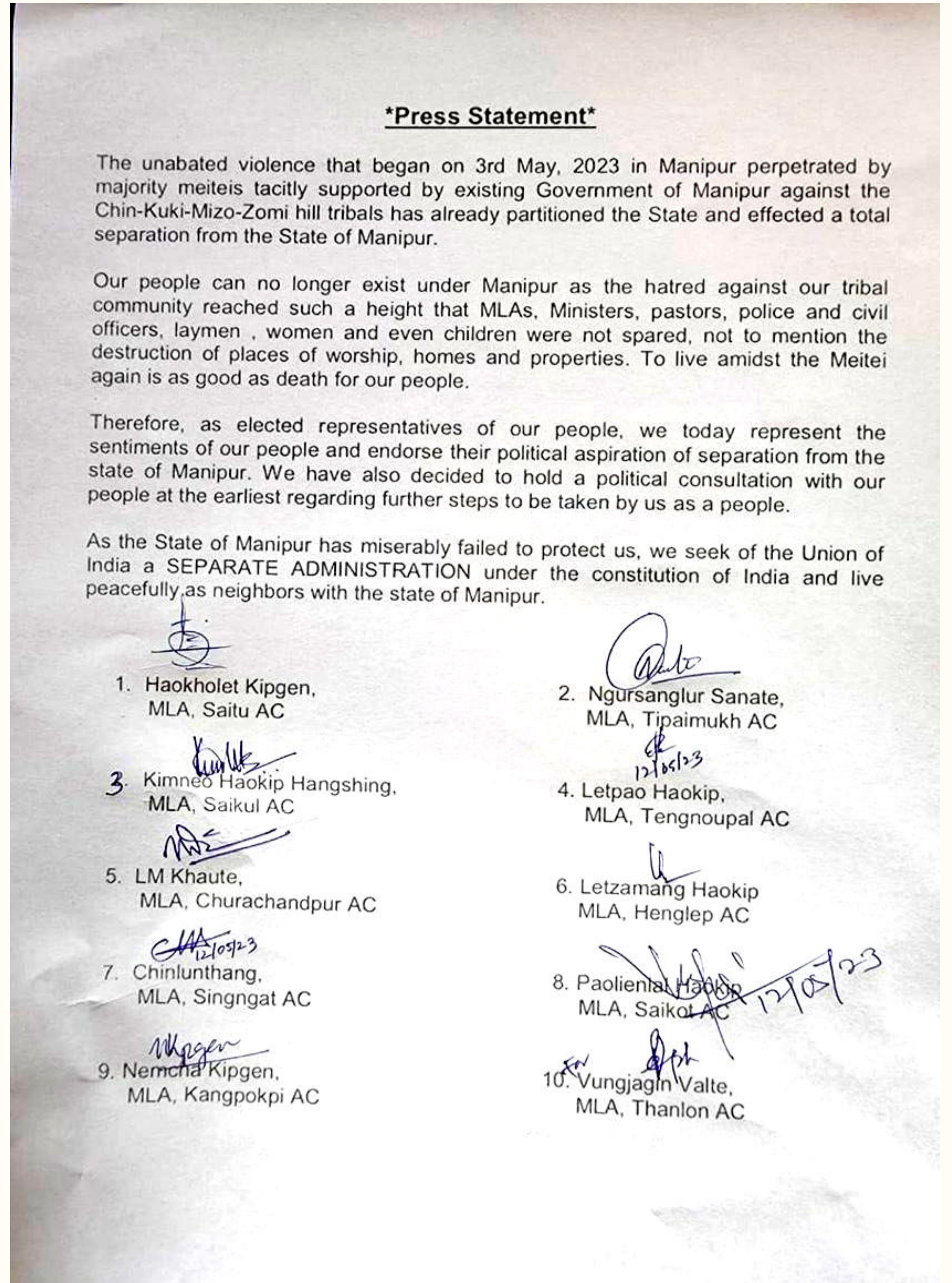
# Manipur Violence, May 2023

**Q7. What is the nexus between Kuki MLAs, drug cartels and banned militant outfits? Has this Kuki elite group premeditated this violence for their selfish agendas? An endgame demand of a separate administration?**

- 10 Kuki MLAs without resigning from the Manipur legislative assembly submitted a memorandum for a separate administration on 12th May 2023. Ironically, each of these **10 MLAs** are directly or indirectly **related to the Kuki militant groups** as per multiple news reports.

01. Kimneo Haokip Hangshing, MLA Saikul AC: Her husband David Hangshing is the chairman of the Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA). Her party Kuki People's Alliance (KPA) was established by a militant organisation KNA/KNO under the chairmanship of PS Haokip, of Myanma origin.
02. Chinlunthang Zou, MLA Singhat AC: Is a KPA candidate and member of the KNA
03. Vungzagin Valte, MLA Thanlon AC: is a representative of and sponsored by the Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA). ZRA is a militant outfit under the chairmanship of Thanglianpau Guite, an ex-MP candidate from Myanmar and presently living in Churachandpur.
04. Paulienlel Haokip, MLA Saikot AC: is an advisor of the Kuki National Army (KNA). He is a person of Myanma origin and recently joined Manipur politics.
05. Nemcha Kipgen, MLA Kangpokpi AC and cabinet minister: Her husband ST Thangboi Kipgen is the president of the militant group Kuki National Front (KNF).

- What is the hidden agenda of these Kuki MLAs? Did these 10 MLAs play a major role in this conspiracy to instigate an orchestrated violence towards achieving their nefarious political goals?



5 of the 10 Kuki MLAs who are connected to the Kuki militants are demanding a separate administration.

**Q8. What could be the reason behind some influential people from Mizoram openly supporting a separate administration for Kukis in Manipur?**

- It has been learnt that poppy plantation is also rampant in the State of Mizoram. It is valid to ask if there is a nefarious nexus between political leadership, armed militants, and drug lords in Mizoram as well. It may also be noted that the poppy cultivators and stakeholders in Mizoram, Churachandpur, Tengnoupal, and Kangpokpi are exclusively tribes of the Kuki-Chin-Mizo fraternity. An underground, illegal, narco-economy is flourishing in this region, which needs to be unearthed and checked. This is a **threat to the country's economy and national security**.





# Manipur Violence, May 2023

**Q9. Is it humanly possible to shape public opinion and control narratives on a large scale without a well-planned propaganda machine?**

- A **synchronised and coordinated effort** was made to engage **multiple international** platforms including Christian organisations, the US Senate, the UN, the Israeli embassy, pro-minority media outlets, while having simultaneous protests in various countries, and disseminating one-sided narratives supported by extensive documentation. Additionally, two petitions were filed in the Supreme Court against the government of Manipur, accusing them of ethnic cleansing, accompanied by comprehensive reports comprising hundreds of pages **within 60 hours** of the **tribal solidarity rally!**



As fake Kuki IT cell runs false propaganda to protect Kuki militants, they are blindly replying the same propaganda on our different tweets, which has nothing to do with Manipur violence. A clear example of #toolkit. These bots don't even read the tweets they are countering. (5/7)

**ANALYSIS: Misleading**

**FACT:** A false propaganda is being circulated by Sehar Shabir Shah, daughter of separatist Shabbir Shah about #G20Kashmir, she claimed that Kashmir police harassed her during the search operation, Srinagar Police clarified that it was search of 20 houses (1/3)

**re tweets by daughter of sep Shah claiming harassment operation. It is clarified that arch of 20 houses, when impment of terrorists in this loc his has nothing to do with G routine in case of inputs 1/3**

**May 23 - 31.9K Views**

**Vungboi Paite**  
@vungboi\_paite

Replying to @dintentdata

The inhuman act of the Meitei to the tribals of Manipur

**Use of numerous illegal bots proving the presence of an organised IT cell for spreading false propaganda**

**Fake accounts engaging in a massive disinformation campaign**

**Meitei caught in Mizoram with drugs weighing 9.750 kg**

**MISLEADING**

**9.750 Kgs (100000 tablets) of meth was seized in Mizoram.**

**News shared of a false claim that a Meitei was caught with drugs. The fact is that Mizoram police had arrested a 32-year-old man named Zothanmawia s/o F. Zaithanpuia of Zokhawthar, Champhai district, Mizoram.**

**#Collaboration always pay rich dividends in #WarOnDrugs. Another huge seizure of #Narcotics. Acting on an input, this morning around 10:45AM, #SpecialNarcoticsPS and #2ndAssamRifles conducted joint operation and seized 9.750 Kgs (100000 tablets) of Methamphetamine, valued about**

**UPI Money Transfer**

Enter New Mobile / UPI Number or Search Name

8729901636

**Deepak Singh**  
+91 87299 01636

**Verified Details**

Lamnelthem Sthhou  
+91 8729901636  
Bank A/C linked on Paytm

This is a business account.

This is my private business account

**Q10. Who stands to gain from initiating and prolonging this violence?**

It is essential to reflect upon the motives behind the alleged incitement of violence by the Meiteis, as claimed by the Kukis. Throughout history, the Meiteis have consistently strived to protect the territorial integrity of Manipur. Considering this, one must question what the Meiteis stand to gain from engaging in this violence against the Kukis. In fact, such acts of violence are more likely to impede the process of ST inclusion, as we are witnessing presently. **Meiteis have nothing to gain from initiating and prolonging this violence.**

**Q11. Is it a majority (Meitei) attack on minorities (Kuki tribes)?**

No. It is a onesided misinformation. Such a generalisation is factually incorrect.

**a.** One needs to see which community is dominant in which area. The Meiteis are a minority in the hill districts (Census 2011). In Kangpokpi district, the Meiteis are 1,476 compared to 1,90,988 Kuki and 4,911 Kuki-allied cognates. In Churachandpur district, Meiteis are 6,594 compared to 1,16,163 Kukis and 1,07,490 Kuki-allied cognates. In Tengnoupal district, the Meitei-speaking population is 4,663 compared to 20,259 Kuki and 1,536 Kuki-allied cognates.

**b.** On May 3, 2023, the Meitei minority in Kuki-dominated hill districts was attacked by Kukis. It was followed by an attack on the Kuki minority by Meiteis in the Meitei-dominated valley districts only. At the same time, microscopic teams of Kuki militants with sophisticated arms continuously attacked vulnerable Meitei villages on the peripheries of Meitei-dominated valley districts in the foothills. Therefore, this generalisation of the Meitei majority attacking the Kuki minority is incorrect.





# Manipur Violence, May 2023

## Q12. Is this violence about ethnic cleansing or ethnic eviction?

- In J&K, ethnic eviction of Kashmiri Pandits took place over years. But in Churachandpur, Tengnoupal, Moreh, Kangpokpi where Kukis are overwhelmingly dominant, the ethnic eviction happened in just two days i.e. 3rd and 4th May. Not only were Meitei houses in Moreh and Churachandpur completely destroyed by fire, but they were also systematically demolished and levelled to the ground using earth-moving equipment and heavy machinery. Disturbing reports have emerged of Kuki individuals demanding evicted Meitei residents of Churachandpur on 3rd May to surrender their land records. These actions strongly suggest a **deliberate** and **organised propaganda** or **campaign to evict all Meiteis** from areas dominated by the **Kuki community**, with the ultimate objective of establishing a territorial division, which was executed in totality and with speed in just two days.

16. 200-year-old Shiva temple destroyed. 19 May



15. Houses at Khumukjam Meitei Leikai in Churachandpur burned down and then completely flattened using earthmovers



17. Meitei houses are burned to the ground in Prem Nagar, Moreh



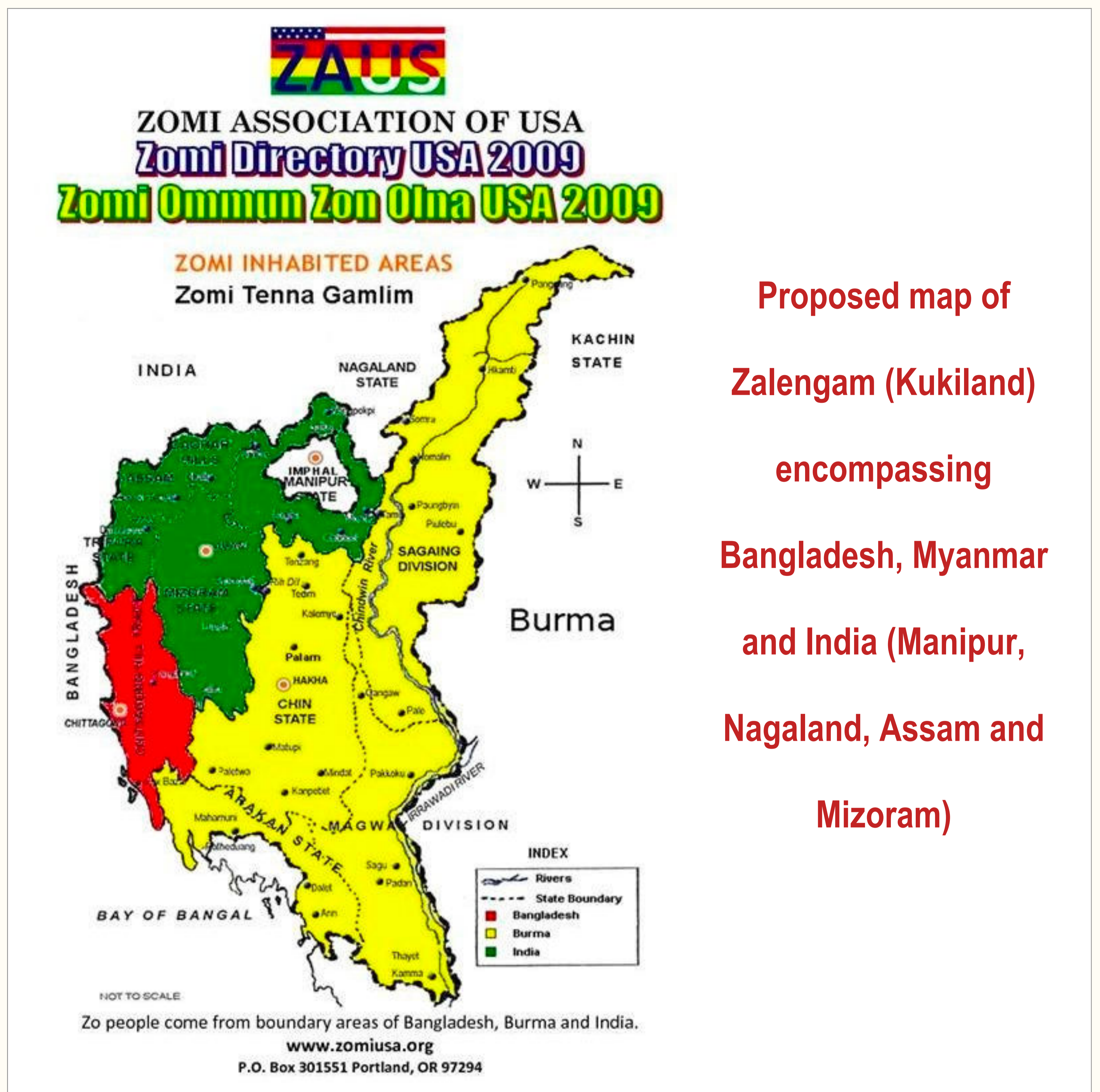
## Q13. Now if we go back before all this started, what strategic initiatives were taken up by the Government of India for the Northeast?

- The northeast region of India holds significant strategic importance, serving as a crucial link between Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Thailand, and China, providing access to Southeast Asia. Recognizing its potential, the current BJP Government has plans to invest 45,000 crores in Northeast India for comprehensive development.
- The government has undertaken massive infrastructure projects aimed at enhancing road infrastructure, bridges, and railways in remote areas. These projects have both economic and defence implications, fostering connectivity and opening up opportunities for growth.
- The Manipur government has also taken proactive measures to establish law and order in the region. An aggressive drive against illegal drugs was launched, resulting in the destruction of numerous poppy plantations. This initiative is crucial in curbing transnational organised crime that poses a threat to national security.
- Furthermore, the recommendation to cease the Suspension of Operation (SoO) with Kuki militant groups, namely the Kuki National Army, Kuki Revolutionary Army, and Zomi Revolutionary Army, is a significant step. These groups have been under SoO since 2005, and the decision reflects the government's commitment to addressing insurgent activities and promoting peace and stability.
- Regarding the National Register of Citizens (NRC), the Manipur government has expressed readiness to initiate measures to implement it, with 1961 as the cut-off year. They have conveyed their willingness to introduce the NRC once they receive approval from the central government.
- These efforts highlight the government's commitment to socio-economic development, infrastructure enhancement, law enforcement, and addressing security concerns in the northeast region of India.



**Q14. Finally one might question whether the incurred losses are ultimately justified in pursuit of achieving a nefarious political gain.**

- It is evident that certain government actions have directly affected Kuki militants and drug cartels, resulting in significant financial losses amounting to approximately USD 281 million annually. Exploiting this disruption, some influential leaders have seized the opportunity to rebel against the state, driven by **ulterior motives of demanding an independent Kukiland**, disregarding the loss of innocent lives. However, they have failed to realise that the government will never endorse any individual or group resorting to violence and bloodshed to achieve their goals.
- India is the largest democratic country and a rising superpower, and it will respond firmly to such miscreants and militants. Establishing peace, law, and order is fundamental for any development to take place. Sustainable development can only be achieved through dialogue, political engagement, and democratic processes. The violence that has already occurred has caused significant and irreversible loss of lives and property for both communities. It is crucial that wisdom prevail and violence abandoned in favour of a peaceful resolution.



**Proposed map of  
Zalengam (Kukiland)  
encompassing  
Bangladesh, Myanmar  
and India (Manipur,  
Nagaland, Assam and  
Mizoram)**

## CONCLUSION:

The **Kuki community has long pursued the creation of their own homeland**, adopting strategies of armed insurrection and manipulation of governance. The Kuki elites have long colluded with other forces to extract personal and communal benefits. Through the exploitation of tribal victimhood and misinformation campaigns, they promote activities such as infiltration, narco-terrorism, and poppy plantation.

Recent government initiatives aimed at addressing cross-border infiltration, drug trafficking, and preserving forests have threatened the Kuki elites' strategies. They engage in aggressive communal politics to obstruct these actions, fearing a loss of their dominance and opportunistic advantages. The abrogation of the Suspension of Operations (SoO) by the Manipur government poses a significant challenge to their covert armed insurrection plans. They seek to exploit minority victimhood narratives, fabricate information, and provoke a communal spiral to justify their aggression and claim for a **Separate Administration**.

The Kuki militants planned a surprise armed aggression against the Meiteis with an aim to create exclusive Kuki-dominated areas, using propaganda to depict any Meitei retaliation as an attack on minorities. The **Kuki elites** have orchestrated a **coordinated misinformation campaign** to **conceal** facts, **distort** public opinion, and portray the **Meitei community** and the **Manipur Government** in a **negative light**. This is a **premeditated agenda** by the **Kuki Deep State** towards achieving a **Separate Kukiland** and **destabilising** the **Northeast Region of India**, which is a **threat** to **National Security**.





## LIST OF DEMANDS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TOWARDS RESTORING LASTING PEACE & DEVELOPMENT:

In order to address the concerns of both the Meitei and Kuki communities while upholding national integrity and security, the following demands have been presented with the goal of fostering a peaceful, secure, and inclusive environment that promotes equitable development for all communities.

- 01. Suspension of SoO:** Prompt and decisive action must be taken against the armed Kuki militants who are freely attacking and terrorising innocent villagers residing in the outskirts of the valley and foothill areas. By doing so, their acts of violence, including burning houses and forcibly evicting people based on ethnicity, can be halted. This will effectively prevent further bloodshed and the escalation of violence.
- 02. Open National Highways:** Prioritising the opening of the two national highways that are Manipur's lifeline is extremely crucial. Immediate action should be taken to ensure that these highways are free from any extortion and intimidation activities. The government must take decisive action against any miscreants or militant organisations seeking to block the highways now and in the future.
- 03. Independent Judicial Enquiry:** In order to establish enduring peace, uphold law and order, and ensure justice, it is imperative to initiate an independent investigation led by a retired judge to uncover the complete truth. This approach is necessary to avoid hasty decisions that may lead to further tragedies. It is crucial to hold perpetrators accountable, including those responsible for spreading false propaganda and inciting violence, by imposing stringent legal consequences. Undertaking this crucial step will contribute to the restoration of trust in the rule of law. The establishment of a centralised cyber security cell to combat misleading information and propaganda is essential.
- 04. Reconstruction of Homes and Assistance in Resettlement:** The government should provide assistance in reconstructing homes for all affected families, including both Meitei and Kuki communities, whose houses have been razed and destroyed. It is essential to take necessary measures to ensure their safety and security, instilling confidence in their ability to return to their homes and initiate the process of healing.
- 05. Development Programmes in Manipur:** Urgent and robust measures should be implemented to halt poppy plantation and crack down on all illicit drug activities. To achieve this, it is crucial to initiate non-differential patterns of development programs in Manipur, specially in the impacted areas that offer alternative sources of income for individuals involved in poppy cultivation. These efforts should include substantial investments in education, healthcare, and alternative agricultural practices.
- 06. Implementation of NRC followed by Census:** The implementation of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) or the establishment of a dedicated committee to identify and address the presence of illegal immigrants is of utmost importance. Subsequently, conducting a comprehensive census with physical verification becomes a crucial step in identifying the right tribes and their population, and effectively tackling the issues of illegal immigration.
- 07. Strengthening International Border Security:** It is imperative to conduct a proper demarcation and construct necessary border fences to ensure clear boundaries. Additionally, establishing necessary mechanisms and legal processes is crucial to effectively prevent unchecked illegal immigration in the future.
- 08. Constitutional Protection and Scheduled Tribe Status for Meitei Community:** By granting constitutional protection and Schedule Tribe status to the Meitei community, their rights and representation can be effectively safeguarded.

