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Why Not Abrogate  
SoO Agreements  
With Kuki Armed Groups  
to Prevent Destabilisation of India?



Published by Meitei Alliance



**GHOST of PEACE**  
**Why Not Abrogate**  
Suspension Of Operation Agreements With Kuki Armed  
Groups to Prevent Destabilisation of India?



Meitei Alliance

# GHOST of PEACE

## Why Not Abrogate

Suspension Of Operation Agreements  
With Kuki Armed Groups  
to Prevent Destabilisation of India?

Published by:  
Meitei Alliance

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*Meitei Alliance*, founded in November 2023, is an alliance of Meitei diaspora associations in India (Delhi Meitei Co-ordinating Committee; Meitei Heritage Society Delhi; MMAB – Bengaluru; AMAND – Pune; Meitei Association – Mumbai; Chennai Manipuri Forum; Hyderabad Manipuri Society; Manipuri in Kolkata; Manipuri Diaspora, Assam; Society for Meitei’s Chamber of Commerce, Assam; Tripura Meitei Association; Meitei Association in Sikkim; Manipuri Diaspora Association- Chandigarh) and UK, Europe, Canada, USA, Australia, and Nicaragua.

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## About this booklet

*In Manipur, Suspension of Operation Agreements (SoO) have been in effect since 2008, signed between the Union Government of India and the State Government of Manipur on one side and two major fronts of Kuki armed groups: the Kuki National Organisation and the United Peoples' Front. Despite widespread awareness of violations of laws by Kuki armed cadres, particularly on national highways and at developmental project sites, there has been limited attention given to questioning whether these actions constitute breaches of the SoO agreements. Many individuals have not been fully informed about the contents and implications of the SoO. However, the SoO agreements came under scrutiny in 2023, particularly following the regrettable events of May 3, 2023. During this incident, Kuki armed cadres, purportedly under the protection of the SoO, not only displayed sophisticated arms during a "peace march" but also engaged in armed attacks against civilians. Given the established roles of Kuki armed groups in the ongoing violence, the SoO has become a matter of concern. Despite this, there has been a lack of publication of available documents, memorandums, complaints, news reports, and opinions into a comprehensive booklet. This publication aims to address this gap by presenting a curated collection of selected documents, memorandums, and analyses in a single volume.*

I

MEMORANDUM

Submitted to the

Honourable Union Home Minister of India

Submitted by Meitei Alliance

on “*Why Suspension of Operation Agreements with Kuki National Organisation and United Peoples’ Front In Manipur Should be Abrogated to Prevent Destabilisation of India?*”

Ref. No. 20240220 Memo

Dated: New Delhi, Monday, February 20, 2024.

To,

***Shri Amit Shah,***

The Honourable Union Home Minister of India,

Ministry of Home Affairs,

North Block, New Delhi - 110001

Subject: ***Why the Suspension of Operation Agreements with Kuki National Organisation and United Peoples’ Front In Manipur Should Be Abrogated to Prevent Destabilisation of India? Memorandum on,***

Honourable Sir,

We, the undersigned, representing various allied Meitei diaspora organisations of the global consortia platform christened as Meitei Alliance, submit this memorandum for your honour’s kind consideration and necessary action. That;

**2. Expressing** our loyalty to the Constitution of India, the laws of the country, the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and justice;

**3. Expressing** our trust in the Government’s strategic and tactical actions to address the problems of internal security and external geostrategic threats in which the border state of Manipur in Northeast India is an essential focus because of the prevalence of many non-state recalcitrant armed organisations and a proven sphere of influence by powerful external forces;

**4. Expressing** our awareness of the Government's special initiatives to contain the non-state armed groups in Manipur through strategic actions such as (a) peace agreements and political talks with some armed groups, (b) offensive counter-insurgency actions against some armed groups, (c) relief and rehabilitation packages and economic investments, etc.;

**5. Reiterating** the fact that since 2008, there have been Suspension of Operation Agreements (SoO) between the Union Government of India and State Government of Manipur on the one side and two broad fronts of several Kuki armed groups namely Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and United People's Front (UPF) on the other and that these SoOs have been annually extended and the Agreed Ground Rules of SoO have been revised from time to time as per required;

**6. Reiterating** the fact that both the KNO and UPF agreed to several ground rules, a few of which are,

(a) They will abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land, and the territorial integrity of Manipur,

(b) They will completely abjure the path of violence and will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuring, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public, and imposing of 'tax' or 'fines,'

(c) Their cadres will stay in designated camps. At no point in time, will more than 20% of the cadres be out of the camp on leave, outpass, and PSO duties for leaders. Their cadres cannot move from one designated camp to another without the prior approval of the Joint Monitoring Group,

(d) Their weapons will be held within the camp's central armoury. Their cadres, individually or as a group, will not acquire any additional arms, ammunition, or military equipment,

(e) They will not carry out fresh recruitment of cadres or raise additional military / civil outfits/ front organisations or try to run their respective sovereign government,

(f) They will not undertake offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping, and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the security forces, other groups, and the public,

(g) They will not construct memorials, hoist flags, or carry out parades of armed cadres outside the designated camps. They will



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neither indulge nor incite the public to indulge in the blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertake any activity that would disturb the functioning of local and state Governments and economic or development activities as well as essential services and cause inconvenience to the public,

(h) They will not move either in uniform or with arms in public in the name of promoting peace and friendship. Their cadres are not permitted to operate anywhere outside their designated camps, and

(i) They will not extend any support or assistance, nor will they have any nexus with other militant groups or abet the formation of any new faction they arm;

**7. Reiterating** the fact that successive Governments have been committed to all possible means to bring back the misguided cadres and organisations by paying all the qualified Kuki armed cadres monthly allowances and rehabilitation initiatives and also ensuring the SoO terms and conditions that “The security forces (the Army, Para-military Forces, and the State Police) will not launch operations against KNO and UPF, as long as they abide by this agreement;”

**8. Reiterating** the fact that the Governments have also warned KNO and UPF signatories that if they were “found violating the Ground Rules repeatedly, the State Government of Manipur, on the recommendation of the Joint Monitoring Group (JMG), would be free to terminate the SoO arrangements and also take appropriate action including the use of force against the group;”

**9. Raising** our disappointment that despite all these peace initiatives by the Governments and the trust in them by peace loving citizens of Manipur, there have been repeated violations of the preamble to the SoOs and the Agreed Ground Rules by KNO and UPF as reflected by:

(a) the Revised Agreed Ground Rules of 2010 and 2011, which noted, “instances of violation of SoO Ground Rules have been reported and documented by various agencies, the Group agreed to strictly abide by the Ground Rules in letter and spirit;”

(b) A series of FIRs were registered against Kuki militants in the last six years between 2017 and December 31, 2023,

(c) Announcement of the Manipur government in March 2023 to abrogate SoO with the Kuki National Army and the Zomi Revolutionary Army, and

(d) Recommendation of the Government of Manipur in January 2024 for no further extension of SoO;

**10. Reiterating** our disappointment that the violation of the SoO by KNO and UPF includes;

(a) Not abiding by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land, and causing a direct threat to the territorial integrity of Manipur,

(b) Indulging in the path of violence and violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public and imposing of ‘tax’ or ‘fines,’ or offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the security forces, other groups and the public,

(c) Cadres individually or as a group acquiring additional arms, ammunition, or military equipment, and also carrying out fresh recruitment of cadres or raising additional military/civil outfits/ front organisations or trying to run their sovereign government,

(d) Constructing memorials, hoisting flags or carrying out parades of armed cadres, and moving in uniform, with or without arms, in public and operating anywhere wherever they could operate in the state,

(e) Indulging in blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertaking activities that disturbed the functioning of local and state Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services, and

(f) Extending support or assistance or having nexus with other militant groups in Manipur and Myanmar;

**11. Emphasising** our observation that the peace initiatives taken up by the Governments in general and the SoO, in particular, seem to have been misunderstood by the Kuki armed groups as the weakness of the Governments or special favourable treatment, and they have been carrying out activities that have been negatively contributing to;

(a) Infiltration into Indian soil by large-scale illegal immigrants from Myanmar who unscrupulously became Indian Scheduled Tribe, grabbed opportunities of India’s affirmative actions, bought land, founded settler colonies, and played important roles in ethnic demographic imbalance, deforestation and destruction of the harmonious ecosystem,

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(b) Illicit cross-border drug business and the spread of the menace drug addiction in Manipur and other parts of India,

(c) Invitation of foreign armed groups or cadres for additional manpower and training, injecting foreign funds and import of warlike arms, ammunition, and equipment, which are combined to exemplify their collusive sphere of influence by foreign elements that pose a threat to the internal security and geo-strategic interest of India,

(d) Creating an atmosphere of communal violence, widespread disturbances, ethnic militarisation of hitherto innocent citizens, obstructing the functioning of the governments, attack on the principles of the Constitution, democracy, justice, fraternity, and laws and institutions of the land;

**12. Emphasising** that the Kuki armed groups under SoO have a direct bearing on instigating, aggravating, and escalating the violence in Manipur since May 3, 2023;

**13. Endorsing** that there has been widespread demand for no further extension of the Suspension of Operation Agreements with Kuki armed groups namely the Kuki National Organisation and United People's Front. This is a legitimate democratic concern and demand of the people in Manipur and elsewhere. The Government of Manipur has also recommended the abrogation of the SoO;

Meitei Alliance, therefore, to uphold the Constitution of India and the laws of the land, protect and promote the sovereignty of the country and integrity of the state of Manipur, address the problem of internal security and enhance geostrategic interest, and address people's demand for peace and development and strengthen their trust in the rule of law, **would like to submit this Memorandum on “Why Suspension of Operation Agreements with Kuki National Organisation and United Peoples' Front in Manipur Should Be Abrogated to Prevent Destabilisation of India?”**

Ends.

## II

### Security Concerns Arising Out of the Ongoing Suspension Of Operation Agreements With Kuki Armed Groups In Manipur

To ensure that peace and tranquillity or the rule of law must prevail in India, the world needs to know the “Origin, Objectives and Functioning of SoO” as discussed in the next chapter. Perhaps, after prolonged intelligence inputs and research by Home strategists, Suspension of Operations Agreements (henceforth SoO) with armed groups in the Northeast were devised in the early 2000s. It clandestinely reached Manipur in 2005 and openly formalised by bringing on board several Kuki armed groups in 2008. The question is, what was the context with which these models reached Manipur?

#### **India’s Security Concern in 2008**

The *Annual Report 2007-2008* of the Ministry of Home Affairs reported, “The internal security scenario in the country can be broadly seen in terms of specific theatres which have been witnessing a mixed hue of separatist, ethnic and terrorist violence, viz., Jammu & Kashmir and various States in the North Eastern Region, particularly Assam, Manipur and Nagaland...” “The North Eastern region<sup>1</sup>, ... coupled with factors related to geographical location and connectivity, this, in turn, poses various challenges on the development and security fronts. The region also has extensive borders with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China and Myanmar, which has security implications. The regional aspirations of the different groups in various States of the region have added a further dimension to the complexity of the situation.”

The security situation in Assam and Manipur was a matter of concern. “In Assam, after a lull, following a period of Suspension of Operations against ULFA in 2006, ... there was an increase in violence... Violence attributable to some other insurgent groups has also been observed in areas of Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hill Districts... Manipur continues to be affected by the activities of a large number of militant/

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<sup>1</sup> Comprising of eight States, viz. Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura.

insurgent outfits divided on ethnic lines with competing demands... In Nagaland, the violence continued to be confined mostly to inter-factional clashes between different groups.”

To address the security concerns, “the Government has been open to talks with such groups which categorically abjure violence. As a result, Suspension of Operations, agreements have been entered into with a number of groups, who have shown willingness to give up violence and seek solutions for their problems peacefully within the framework of the Indian Constitution.<sup>2</sup> ... Some preliminary discussions regarding Suspension of Operations agreement with Kuki outfits in Manipur have also been held. ... the Government of India (GOI) had entered into formal Cease Fire with the Isak Muivah group of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM) w.e.f. August 1, 1997. The Government of India have also entered into formal Cease Fire with NSCN (Khaplang) since April 28, 2001.”

### **SoO Applied in Manipur**

On August 1, 2005, the Indian Army entered into Suspension of Operation Agreements (henceforth SoO) with two Kuki armed fronts<sup>3</sup> called Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and the United Peoples Front (UPF).<sup>4</sup> Later, it was agreed between the Government of India, the Government of Manipur on one side and Kuki armed groups on the other to formalise SoOs and cease hostilities with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2008. Accordingly, separate Agreed Ground Rules for the implementation of SoO were signed. Since then, SoOs have been annually extended, and the Agreed Ground Rules were revised many times.<sup>5</sup> The latest Revised Agreed Ground Rules, 2011 is organised into the following Sections/ Articles, namely (1) Preamble, (2) Joint Monitoring Group, (3) Camps, (4) Weapons, (5) Conduct of Cadres, (6) Enforcement of SoO Arrangements,

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2 In this background, Tripartite Suspension of Operations (SoO) agreements have been entered into with the United People’s Democratic Solidarity (UPDS), active in Karbi Anglong District, the Dima Halam Daogah (DHD), active in North Cachar Hills District in Assam, and the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), active in some parts of Lower Assam; and with the Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC), active in Garo Hills in Meghalaya.

3 Each front comprised of several Kuki armed groups. Refer Appendixes 1 and 2 on SoO, 2018.

4 Refer annexure for organisational compositions of KNO and KNF and shifting affiliation.

5 Refer to Appendixes 3, 4, 5, and 6 on revised SoOs in 2010 and 2011.

and (7) Durations. Each Section/ Article has Sub-sections/ Clauses with detailed explanations or descriptions.

According to the preamble of the SoOs, both KNO and UPF promised to abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur. They vowed to abjure the path of violence. They will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public and imposing of 'tax' or 'fines.' Their cadres are to stay in designated camps not close to highway and civilian population. A total strength of 2181 cadres<sup>6</sup> were sheltered in 14 designated camps in Chandel, Churachandpur, Kangpokpi, Pherzawl, and Tengnoupal districts. Their arms and ammunition are to be kept in the camp's central Armoury except for some specific arms for camp protection.

The cadres have been paid monthly stipends during the period of SoOs. Initially, the monthly stipend for cadres of the Kuki armed groups under SoOs was Rs.3000/- per month. The amount was increased to Rs.6000/- from April 2018.<sup>7</sup> The Indian security Forces (the Army, Paramilitary Forces and the State Police) will not launch operations against them as long as they abide by the Agreed Ground Rules. To oversee the implementation, Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) was set up and headed by the Principal Secretary/ Secretary<sup>8</sup> (Home), Government of Manipur and include the Inspector General of Police (Intelligence),<sup>9</sup> Manipur and representatives of the Ministry of Home Affairs, CPOs and Army and the Kuki armed groups.

While the JMG would be meeting once a month, both the KNO and UPF demanded political dialogues. For this, the Government of India have appointed an interlocutor. Political dialogues between the Interlocutor of the Government of India and the representatives of KNO and UPF were usually held without the representatives of the State Government of Manipur. The dialogues have been carried out clandestinely from time to

6 In a verification in 2013, KNO listed 1122 cadres and UPF listed 1059 cadres.

7 If any cadres of KNO and UPF under SoO Agreement is arrested for a crime, his stipend must be stopped till the decision of the Court. Further, the above amount is released subject to the condition that payment should not be made to cadres who have been arrested for crime and the decision of the Court is awaited.

8 Secretary (Home) was substituted by Commissioner (Home) in 2010.

9 An option was included by adding Additional Director General (Intelligence) in 2011.

time. The Manipur public has never been informed about the nature, contents, concerns and decisions of the political dialogues. It may be asked, if the Manipur State Government is a signatory in the tripartite SoO then why the dialogues have to be held without representation from the State Government of Manipur!

### **Problems of SoO from 2008 till Date**

Suspension of Operations has temporarily halted armed conflict between Kuki armed groups and Indian security forces (Military, Paramilitary, and State Police forces) for many years until the ongoing violence in Manipur started on May 3, 2023. However, they repeatedly violate the preamble to the SoOs and the Agreed Ground Rules.<sup>10</sup> The violations may be summarised thematically as follows.

**On Armed Militancy:** Kuki armed groups have never stopped from carrying out fresh recruitment of cadres. They continuously raised additional military/civil outfits/ front organisations or running their own government. They continuously procure warlike arms and ammunition. Their cadres do not always stay in designated camps. They move freely, brandishing sophisticated weapons. In the last nine months, they have carried out a series of offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping and attack, leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the security forces, other groups and/ or the public. Indigenous Tribal Leaders' Forum, Manipur, formed on June 9, 2022, reportedly works as the non-militant front of these Kuki armed groups under SoO. It even has a drone division and accepts funds from outside India. Kuki armed groups have constructed memorials, hoisted flags, or carried out parades of armed cadres outside their designated camps. Their militancy and assaults have threatened Meitei and caused the rise of widespread Meitei armed radicalism to an unprecedented scale ever in the history of Manipur. This is violation of the SoO clauses A and B of Article 1 on Preamble, clauses i and viii of Article 3 on Camps, Article 4 on Weapons, and clauses ii, iii, iv, vii, and viii of Article 5 on Conduct of Cadres,

**On Reign of Terror:** Kuki armed groups suppress dissent, assert hate politics, consolidate power, etc. They have indulged in murder, torture,

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<sup>10</sup> Refer to Appendix 7 on List of Relevant Sections of Laws Allegedly Violated by Kuki Militant Groups.

kidnapping, intimidation and coercion, extortion, highway blocking, etc. violating SoO clauses a and b of Article 1 on Preamble, and clauses iv and vi of Article 5 on Conduct of Cadres. In addition, they have not adhered to the Indian Constitutional Fundamental Rights such as *equality before the law* (Art. 14), *Prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth* (Art. 15), and *Protection of life and personal liberty* (Art. 21). They have shown indifference to Constitutional Fundamental Duties such as *to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women* (Art. 51A. (e)); *to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture* (51A. (f)); *to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife, and to have compassion for living creatures* (51A. (g)).

**On Economic Terrorism:** Taking advantage of the porous international border, community cover, armed strength, and their agents in the establishment, Kuki armed groups are allegedly involved in illicit business in timber, banned narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, smuggling of wildlife products and widespread illegal poppy plantations which is violation of clause b of Article 1 on Preamble. This illegal business for selfish profits is opposed to a sustainable development model. It has contributed to widespread drug menace in Manipur<sup>11</sup> and the rest of the country, affecting health, lives and wealth. They have encroached on indigenous tribes' land, committed deforestation, and destroyed ecological harmony. They have indulged in the blockade of National Highways and surface communication in general and undertaken activities that disturbed the functioning of Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services. They have enforced rampant extortion from goods trucks plying on the highways, companies engaging in construction and development activities in the hilly areas, and business establishments, causing price inflation of essential goods and economic coercion. These are violation of clause vi of Article 5 on Conduct of Cadres.

**On Demographic Incursion:** Kuki armed groups take advantage of free movement regimes along Indo-Myanmar borders to facilitate the

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<sup>11</sup> Refer to Appendix 8 on Narco-business and Threats.



infiltration of illegal immigrants from Myanmar. They obtained Indian citizenship through unscrupulous means brokered by Kuki profiteers, politicians and their agents, became members of Scheduled Tribes, appropriated public facilities and grabbed opportunities. All these added to the problem of unnatural demographic growth in Manipur. Furthermore, Kuki's demographic incursion with extraterritorial interest led to land grabbing and exhaustion of natural and forest resources at the cost of indigenous people or territorial occupation leading to the unnatural growth of villages in hills, enlarging communal vote banks, occupying key posts in the bureaucracy and legislative bodies, and subsequently devising communally motivated political pressures.

**On Representative Democracy:** SoO legitimises proliferation of Kuki secessionist nexus into the "Temple of Indian democracy". Kuki militant groups oppose free and fair representative democracy. They maintained a semi-feudal tradition where the elites enjoyed special customary privileges under the Haosa system. They oppose adult franchises and a free and fair representative election system. They use their gun power to ensure that their candidates win the election and capture legislative power. There are Kuki MLAs who are allegedly linked with Kuki armed groups. For instance, Kimneo Haokip Hangshing's (MLA, Saikul AC) husband is the chairman of the Kuki Revolutionary Army. Nemcha Kipgen's (MLA, Kangpokpi AC) husband is the President of the Kuki National Front.

**On Threat to Manipur Integrity:** Though Kuki armed groups have pledged to abide by SoO to defend the integrity of Manipur, their actions have proven that they are for carving out a separate Kuki territory from Manipur. Defending the integrity of Manipur would mean protecting and promoting peace and tranquillity, fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India, and addressing the collective civil, political, economic, cultural, spiritual, and territorial concerns of the people of Manipur. However, Kuki armed groups have adopted a Zionist sectarian line and have carried out several genocidal attempts on co-existing communities in the past, and the same designs have been continued till today. Therefore, they have openly violated the Preamble to the SoO. They have allegedly involved in the Kuki-Naga Clash (1992-1996), attack on Tamils at Moreh town (1995), Kuki-Paite Clash (1997-98), and Kuki-Meitei clash (since May 3, 2023). It disturbed

peaceful co-existence of diverse communities living in Manipur.<sup>12</sup> They provoked the religious sentiment of Meitei indigenous faith believers for retaliation and wrongly portray such retaliations as a religious assault by majority Meitei Hindus on minority Kuki Christians.<sup>13</sup> The objective is to cast a demonic image of Meitei as the aggressor and to win support for Kuki from misinformed sections in India and beyond. The threat to the integrity of Manipur violates clause A of the Preamble to SoO.

### **Conclusion**

Kuki armed groups have always kept their larger long-term political goal of carving out a sovereign territory called Zale'n-gam. They merely take advantage of the SoOs to systematically build up their strength to achieve prioritised goals achievable within the Constitution of India. In the long run, Kuki armed groups in the Indo-Myanmar borderland may shift allegiance and become the proxy of an entirely different globally powerful expansionist force to become a perennial threat to India's internal security and more extensive geo-strategic interests.

Defence or Home strategists might have thought that Kuki armed groups would help create a situation of peace. But it did not happen. Instead, the inability to implement SoO appropriately or violation of SoO has resulted in the rise of a much bigger armed volunteers who are now ready to die for the cause of their motherland! This problem may be addressed only when punitive actions are taken against those who do not abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land, and the territorial integrity and idea of a progressive Manipur.

Manipur is a geo-strategically significant component of India. British realised its significance and maintained a good relationship to ensure that peace, tranquillity and development were achieved for the benefit of all. The founders of modern India, having realised the geo-strategic significance of Manipur, took it over in 1949. Since India's neo-liberal structural reform (open door policy) in 1991, the geo-significance and importance of Manipur in India's outreach to Southeast Asia has considerably increased. This is exemplified by the proposition contents of India's Look East Policy, now known as Act East Policy. Manipur must also progress while India shines. An injured Manipur can't be left alone for self-recovery, as any delay would be at a huge cost to India. To win the confidence of Meitei in particular and all

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<sup>12</sup> Refer to Appendix 9 on Demography Of Manipur In 2011.

<sup>13</sup> Refer to Appendix 10 on Kuki Religious Vandalism...

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Manipuris in general, and to distract Meitei youth from looking for war-like support elsewhere, and to show that India does not tolerate violation of trusts or agreements by communal armed forces, it is highly advisable that the Government of India accepts and agree to the recommendation of the State Government of Manipur to abrogate SoO. In parallel, there has to be a focus on strengthening the dialogue with various stakeholders of Manipur to bring permanent peace and development path.

Abnormal Growth Of Villages In Manipur (1969-2023)

Districts	Number of Villages		Increase	<b>The abnormal growth of villages in Manipur is in Kuki-inhabited areas.</b>
	1969	2023		
Imphal (West)	181	201	20	
Imphal (East)	187	232	45	
Thoubal + Kakching	149	194	45	
Bishnupur	70	111	41	
Jiribam	102	79	23	
Chandel	164	460	296	
Tengnoupal	68	326	258	
Tamenglong	116	146	30	
Noney (Nungba)	62	73	11	
Kangpokpi	179	721	542	
Senapati	126	147	21	
Churchandpur	282	842	560	
Pherzwal	38	100	62	
Ukhrul	106	92	14	
Kamjong	127	132	5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1957</b>	<b>3856</b>	<b>1899</b>	

### III

## The Origin, Objectives, and Functioning of SoO

By Kuki Armed Groups In Manipur

Kuki armed groups strategised to carve out an exclusive territory called *Zale'n-gam*. Their origin and modus operandi are best understood as an extra-territorial project threatening communal harmony in Manipur and India's internal security and geo-strategic interest in Southeast Asia. This project is proposed for the sovereignty of people referred to interchangeably as Chin, Kuki, Mizo, Zo, Zomi, Chikim, Chin-Kuki-Zomi, etc. The protagonists used these terms interchangeably whenever necessary to give a collective singular identity to the tribes in the Indo-Myanmar-Bangladesh borderland region who identify themselves with any of these appellations that the organisers attempted to consolidate. Leading roles to achieve this goal have been taken up predominantly by leaders based in India's Manipur or Mizoram states.

It began with the Mizo movement for sovereignty in the 1940s in present-day Mizoram. The Kukis in Manipur in those days were demographically small and were loyal subjects of Manipur. However, the Mizo movement had spill-over impacts on generating an ambition to challenge the established territories. This would include an attempt to redraw new territorial maps to unite borderland tribes. Perhaps, in the 1950s and 1960s, there was a call to consolidate 'Chin' tribes. In 1961, the Mizo National Front was formed to carve out a sovereign Mizoram from Assam (India). It sought military assistance from Pakistan (1964-1971) and China (1972-1974) for armed insurrection. Other sections appealed to the Government of India to group 'Chin' people within one country.<sup>1</sup> In the 1970s, there were efforts to consolidate 'Zomi' tribes. For instance, in 1972, the Zomi National Congress was formed in Manipur. Meanwhile, the Government of India militarily subdued MNF's armed insurrection but awarded Mizoram statehood within the Indian Union in 1986.

While Mizoram state was created, there was a sudden growth of 'Chin-Kuki' armed and communal organisations in India and Myanmar.

1 Memorandum to the Prime Minister of India submitted by the Paite National Council for Re-unification of the Zomis of India, Burma and Pakistan under one Country, dated Churachandpur (Manipur), May 30, 1960.

Hmar People's Convention (1986)<sup>2</sup>, Zomi Liberation Front (June 20, 1987)<sup>3</sup>, Kuki National Army (February 24, 1988)<sup>4</sup>, and Kuki National Front (May 18, 1988)<sup>5</sup>. On May 19-21, 1988, Zomi National Congress (Manipur) and Peoples' Conference Party (Mizoram) organised the 1<sup>st</sup> World 'Zo' Reunification Convention<sup>6</sup> in Mizoram. The delegates formed Zo Re-Unification Organisation (ZORO) on May 20. However, the 'Chin-Kuki' suffered heavily due to military crackdown by the Government of Burma, particularly after the onset of the August 8 uprising. Many of them fled to India. In the subsequent period, several Kuki armed organisations were formed such as Kuki Liberation Army (1992), Hmar People's Convention – Democracy (1995), Zomi Reunification Organization (1993), Zomi Revolutionary Army (1997), Kuki Revolutionary Army (1999), United Kuki Liberation Front (2000), Komrem People's Army (2004), and others.

There are reasons for the sudden growth of 'Chin-Kuki' armed and communal organisations after 1986 that had serious communal consequences, particularly affecting Manipur. As by 1988, Kukis had gained a lot of demographic strength. There is a long story behind this sudden growth. Perhaps Kuki in Manipur have been recorded as migrants in various batches since the 1830s. British transplanted several Kuki villages in the surrounding hill ranges overlooking the Manipur valley. The population was small, and they settled as peaceful subjects of Manipur till 1949 when India took over Manipur. After 1949, the situation got changed. The Manipur permit system for regulating the exit and entry of foreigners was abolished on November 18, 1950. "Free Movement Regime," from 1950 to 2004, allowed those living within 40 km on

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2 To carve out a Hmar State (Hmar ram) consisting of Hmar-inhabited areas of Mizoram, Manipur and Assam.

3 To carve out a sovereign Zomi territory from Myanmar.

4 Kuki National Organisation is its political wing to carve out a territory called Zale'n-gam for Kukis from Myanmar and India.

5 To carve out Kukiland from the states of Manipur, Nagaland, and Assam in India.

6 It declared, "We, the people of Zo ethnic group, inhabitants of the highlands in the Chin Hills and Arakans of Burma, the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, the Mizoram State and adjoining hill areas of India are descendants of one ancestor. ... We sincerely pledge and affirm solidarity and integration to take on a just struggle for Zo Re-Unification under one administrative umbrella..."

either side of the Indo-Myanmar border to cross without any restrictions.<sup>7</sup> There were political instabilities, life insecurities, and economic challenges in Myanmar in the 1960s and 1980s. The situation was better in Manipur.

Therefore, push and pull factors encouraged new batches of Burmese Kuki to infiltrate Manipur either as refugees or illegal immigrants. They were welcomed, accommodated, covered up, and assimilated by Kuki hosts in Manipur, who, on the grounds of community affiliations, had demographic, territorial, economic, and political objectives of settling them. They obtained Indian citizenship through unscrupulous means brokered by Kuki profiteers, politicians and their agents, became members of Scheduled Tribes, appropriated public facilities and grabbed opportunities. All these added to Kuki's demographic growth. They became instruments of the land grabbing or territorial occupation policy, enlarging communal vote banks, occupying key posts in the bureaucracy (by misappropriating reserved quota for STs) and legislative bodies, and subsequently devising communally motivated political pressures. Inspired by the statehood of Mizoram, they formed several armed groups to carve out a separate territory called Zale'n-gam out of Manipur.

While the agenda of carving out a separate Kuki territory from Manipur has been the immediate objective, they continuously harbour the agenda of subsequently merging it with an overarching Zogam to be created by carving out territories from Myanmar, India and Bangladesh. In 1993, Zo Re-unification Organisation submitted a memorandum to President Bill Clinton of the USA to support "the case of all the Mizo/Zomi ethnic origin living now in India, Burma and Bangladesh for the rights to Re-unification under one Administrative unit."<sup>8</sup> In 2005, a letter from PS Haokip, the President of the Kuki National Organisation, demanded that the UNO help create two separate Kuki states, one each in India and Burma.

The Government of India was aware of the Kuki armed groups. However, it had to deal with internal security in the Northeast and geo-strategic interests in Myanmar. Since 1997, it has been engaging in a ceasefire with the Naga insurgent group National Socialist Council of Nagalim (IM). It was failing to bring on board Meitei insurgent groups

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<sup>7</sup> The limit of crossing was reduced to 16 km from around 2004. It was formalised in 2010.

<sup>8</sup> Also read Kukiforum Exclusive Interview with ZoRO President Raphael Thangmawia by Kukiforum Staff Reporter, Maryland (USA), June 18, 2006.

for a permanent ceasefire. Reportedly, to contain Meitei insurgents operating from bases in the Manipur hills and Myanmar, the Government of India entered into ceasefire mechanisms with Kuki armed groups that were subsequently grouped into two broader fronts: Kuki National Organisation and United People's Front. Therefore, on August 1, 2005, the Indian Army entered into an informal Suspension of Operation (SoO) Agreement with KNO and UPF. In 2008, on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, formal SoO Agreements were signed between the Union Government of India and the State Government of Manipur on one side and KNO and UPF on the other. Both the KNO and UPF agreed to abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur. The operational mechanisms of the Agreed Ground Rules were revised in 2010 and 2011.

Kuki armed groups readily accepted to enter into Suspension of Operation Agreements. They reportedly used the SoO Agreements as a blessing in disguise to systematically build their strength. This is because they had no supportive regime in Myanmar and Bangladesh. They needed backing from a more powerful strategic ally while they were weak. They might have thought about taking vengeance against NSCN-IM and to challenge Meitei insurgents who would otherwise defeat their Zale'n-gam project. They may have temporarily silenced their larger 'sovereignty' campaign but assert a separate Kuki homeland within India.

The SoO ended antagonistic competition and fratricide among clan-based Kuki armed groups to certain extent by grouping them into KNO and UPF. SoO ceased futile military punitive expeditions against them by the Indian armed forces. It ensured their security. It provided their cadres with monthly monetary allowances. It enabled their free movements for international outreach, home political campaigns, organisation building and fundraising. Therefore, since 2008, Kuki armed groups could overtly and covertly intensify their activities towards their prioritised goal. Overall, Kuki armed groups under the SoO have been pursuing interplaying strategies that may be summarised as follows:

(a) **Zionist Claim:** The Kuki migrants who entered Manipur after 1951 might not be going back to their land of origin.<sup>9</sup> Kuki refutes that

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<sup>9</sup> They will not migrate to Mizoram where they are not welcomed despite claiming to have common ethnic affinity and political aspirations. Though Mizoram supports a separate Kuki territory by Balkanising Manipur, it does not offer land for new Kuki colonies on their soil.

many of them are new settlers who migrated after 1951, either as refugees or illegal immigrants. Instead, they unscrupulously obtained Indian citizenship and claimed themselves as indigenous. They fabricated history writing to construe primordial connections between them and recently occupied lands or places, altered indigenous names of places with their new terms and destroyed indigenous symbols.

(b) **Exploiting Opportunities:** While they are weak, they might be feigning loyalty to Manipur and India and using constitutional rights and available opportunities to build strength. For this, they exploit parliamentary politics, legislative power, bureaucratic power, service opportunities, educational facilities, trade and business and democratic rights guaranteed by the Constitution. They use all these to increase their population and grab available opportunities.

(c) **Demographic Incursion:** They encourage infiltration of Burmese Kuki that contribute to the increase of population to disturb ethno-demographic balance to their advantage, increase the number of vote banks to capture legislative power, increase in reserve pool of potential militia and regular armed cadres for insurrection and communal attack, unnatural growth of villages and expansion of territorial occupation in the hills at the cost of indigenous people, etc.

(d) **Prioritising Homelands:** The agenda of a sovereign Zale'n-gam cannot be immediately achieved. Therefore, they strategised on carving out separate communal territories, one each in Bangladesh, Myanmar, and India. These different communal territories are expected to form a belt of contiguous Kuki territories. If this could be realised, they have a larger vision of uniting these continuous territories for sovereignty. That is why they including the Government of Mizoram continue to oppose the abrogation of Free Movement Regime by the Ministry of Home Affairs. This project must be achieved first by targeting the weak spots of Manipur to create a separate Kuki State, if not a Union Territory or a Kuki Territorial council within Manipur.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Substantiated by documents such as (1) Manifesto of the Kuki National Organisation; (2) Letter from PS Haokip President, Kuki National Organisation to Senior Gen Than Shwe Chairman State Peace and Development Council, Burma, Ref. No. ZG/GEN 02-672, dated Camp Geneva, August 9, 2006; (3) Letter from PS Haokip President, Kuki National Organisation to Mizo National Front, Ref. No. ZG/LT No. 01-66/06, dated Manmasi, April 10, 2006; (4) Memorandum to The Chairman, United Nations Human Rights Council submitted by The Zo Re-unification Organisation (ZORO) Aizawl, Mizoram, India, Refer No. ZORO/HR/2023/2, Dated Aizawl, May 13, 2023; (5) Memorandum to the



(e) **Manufacturing International Propaganda:** Kuki leaders know that SoO is a temporary respite while building their strength. Disturbing the established boundary of Manipur and carving out a Kuki separate homeland within India can take lots of effort. They doubted the Government of India would hastily and easily fulfil such a demand. Therefore, they use external propaganda for international moral, political, financial and logistic support, presuming that international pressures on the Government may have favourable impacts.<sup>11</sup>

(f) **Aggressive Victimhood:** Kuki leaders needed confrontation with projected enemies to organise their people and consolidate external solidarities. Therefore, they orchestrated the ethnic cleansing of Meitei from Kuki-dominated hills. They carried out coordinated armed aggression in the Manipur valley. They forced Meitei to retaliate and dragged them into a prolonged violent conflict. They trumped up victimhood cards and spread the propaganda of lies to misrepresent the scenario as Meitei (majority or non-tribal or Hindu) attacking Kuki (minority or tribal or Christian). The objective is to cast a demonic image of Meitei as the aggressor and to win support for Kuki from misinformed sections in India and beyond. They continuously carried out armed aggression to create a conflict scene to construe that the conflict would continue until the Kuki homeland was achieved.

(g) **Militarisation and Funding:** Kuki leaders have not disbanded their armed groups. They continuously build their strength by recruiting new armed militia and regular cadres, manufacturing and importing sophisticated warlike arms, ammunition and equipment. They did it for defensive and offensive actions. For this, they raise funds by any means at any cost. Apart from organising crowdfunding and discreet channels of international funding, they also allegedly indulge in extortion, kidnapping for ransom, and illicit trade in timber and narco-business, including poppy plantation.

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Secretary General of the United Nations by World Kuki-Zo Intellectual Council (WKZIC), Ref. No... 05/02/WKZIC/(Memo)/2023, dated June 29, 2023.

<sup>11</sup> Substantiated by the latest propaganda memorandums such as (1) Memorandum to The Chairman, United Nations Human Rights Council submitted by The Zo Re-unification Organisation (ZORO) Aizawl, Mizoram, India, Refer No. ZORO/HR/2023/2, Dated Aizawl, May 13, 2023; (2) Memorandum to Mr. Netanyahu, the Prime Minister Of Israel by World Kuki-Zo Intellectual Council (WKZIC), Ref. No. 04..02/WKZIC/( Memo)/2023, dated June 30, 2023.

**Appendix 1**  
**Agreed Ground Rules For Implementation**  
**Of The Suspension Of Operation (SOO) With**  
**Kuki National Organisation (KNO) In Manipur, 2008**

Suspension of Operation (SoO) Agreements between Army and constituents of UPF and KNO have been in force since 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2005. It has been agreed between Government of India, Government of Manipur and Kuki National Organisation (KNO) to formalise these Suspension of Operations and cease hostilities with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008. To give effect to the Suspension of Operations arrangements, following Ground Rules are agreed to:-

**(1) Preamble**

\* The Kuki National Organization (KNO) comprising (i) Kuki National Front (Military Council) (KNF(MC)), (ii) Kuki National Front (Zogam)- KNF (Z), (iii) United Socialist Revolutionary Army (USRA), (iv) United Minority Liberation Army (Old Kuki), (v) United Komren Revolutionar Army, (vi) Zomi Reunification Front, (vii) Zou Defence Volunteer (KNO), (viii) Hmar National Army, (ix) Kuki Revolutionary Army (Unification), (x) Kuki Liberation Army (KNO), (xi) Kuki National Army will abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur.

\* The KNO will completely abjure the path of violence and will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public and imposing of 'tax' or 'fines'.

\* The Security Forces (the Army, Para-military Forces and the State Police) will not launch operations against the Group, as long as they abide by this agreement.

**(2) Joint Monitoring Group**

\* All the sides agree to set up Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) headed by Principal Secretary/ Secretary, Home Department, Government of Manipur and include the Inspector General of Police (Intelligence), Manipur and representatives of Ministry of Home Affairs, CPOs and Army and the UG Groups to oversee the implementation of the SoO. The JMG would meet once in a month.

**(3) Camps**

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\* The cadres of the groups will stay in designated camps. The routine administration of the camp will be in the hands of the group.

\* The location and number of designated camps will be decided by the JMG. Liaison officers of the group camp will be designated for interaction with Security Forces.

\* The Designated camps will not be located close to populated areas and National Highways. These camps will be located at reasonable distance from the International border as well as Inter-State boundaries.

\* Cadres will protect their own camps. The environmental security of the camps will be provided by the Security Forces.

\* A complete list of the cadres of the UG group will be provided to the State Police/ IG Special Branch with name & date of birth along with latest photographs. All the cadres will be issued identity cards.

\* Movement of cadres from one designated camp to another will be for mutually agreed purposes and with prior approval of the nominated Security Forces/ State Police.

\* Leaders/ cadres from the group requiring to move frequently, will be given different photo identity cards by IGP (Intelligence) Manipur. The JMG will decide the list of the leaders of the group who shall be allowed to have PSOs.

#### **(4) Weapons**

\* All weapons will be held within the Camp's Central Armoury in a double locking system, with one key being with the Group and other with the concerned Security Force. Records of the same will be made available to the Police and maintained at the Armoury.

#### **(5) Conduct of Cadres during the course of the Suspension of Operations arrangements.**

\* The Cadres individually or as a Group will not acquire any additional arms, ammunition or military equipment.

\* The UG Group will not carry out fresh recruitment of cadres or raise additional military / civil outfits/ front organisations or try to run its own sovereign government.

\* They will not undertake offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the Security Forces, other groups and/ or the public.

\* They will not construct memorials, hoist flags or carry out parades of armed cadres. They can, however, celebrate their Raising Day within the camps.

## *GHOST of PEACE*

\* They will not indulge in blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertake any activity which would disturb the functioning of local and State Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services.

\* They will not move in uniform, with or without arms in public in the name of promoting peace and friendship. No armed cadres will be permitted to operate anywhere in the State.

\* The Group will not extend any support or assistance nor will have any nexus with other militant groups or abet the formation of any new faction which is armed by such group. This will invite appropriate action by the Security Forces including the use of force against the group.

\* In case of groups found violating the Ground Rules repeatedly, State Government on the recommendation of the Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) would be free to terminate the SoO arrangements and also take appropriate action including use of force against the group.

\* Reasonable amount as per Government norm would be paid by the Government for maintenance of the cadres of the group who stay in the designated camps. In addition, cadres will be provided vocational training at Government expense. On their part, the group and its cadres shall not accept donations in cash or kind.

### **(6) Duration of the SoO Arrangements**

\* The Suspension of Operations is initially agreed upon for a period of one year. The suspension of Operations may be extended by mutual agreement thereafter.

### **(7) Enforcement of the Suspension of Operations Arrangements**

\* State Government will be responsible to enforce the agreed Ground Rules with the help and assistance of the CPOs, Assam Rifles and Army.

1. Sd/- (Lalminthang Vaiphei), Vice President, KNO.

2. Sd/- (T.S. Haokip), Secretary, Defence, KNO.

3. Sd/- (Th. German H. Kuki), Cabinet Member, KNO.

4. Sd/-(Joshua H. Kuki), Cabinet Member, KNO.

Sd/- (D.S. Poonia), Principal Secretary (Home), Govt. of Manipur.

Sd/- (Naveen Verma), Joint Secretary (NE),  
Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

New Delhi: 22 August, 2008.

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## **Appendix 2**

### **Agreed Ground Rules For Implementation Of The Suspension Of Operation (SOO) With Kuki United Peoples' Front (UPF) In Manipur, 2008**

Suspension of Operation (SoO) Agreements between Army and constituents of UPF and KNO have been in force since 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2005. It has been agreed between Government of India, Government of Manipur and United Peoples' Front (UPF) to formalise these Suspension of Operations and cease hostilities with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008. To give effect to the Suspension of Operations arrangements, following Ground Rules are agreed to:-

#### **(1) Preamble**

\* The United Peoples' Front (UPF) comprising (i) Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA), (ii) Kuki National Front (KNF), (iii) United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF), (iv) Kuki Liberation Army (UPF), (v) Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA), (vi) Kuki National Front (S), (vii) Hmar Peoples Conference-Democratic (HPC(D)), (viii) ZDV (UPF) will abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur.

\* The UPF will completely abjure the path of violence and will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public and imposing of 'tax' or 'fines'.

\* The Security Forces (the Army, Para-military Forces and the State Police) will not launch operations against the Group, as long as they abide by this agreement.

#### **(2) Joint Monitoring Group**

\* All the sides agree to set up Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) headed by Principal Secretary/ Secretary, Home Department, Government of Manipur and include the Inspector General of Police

(Intelligence), Manipur and representatives of Ministry of Home Affairs, CPOs and Army and the UG Groups to oversee the implementation of the SoO. The JMG would meet once in a month.

### **(3) Camps**

\* The cadres of the groups will stay in designated camps. The routine administration of the camp will be in the hands of the group.

\* The location and number of designated camps will be decided by the JMG. Liaison officers of the group camp will be designated for interaction with Security Forces.

\* The Designated camps will not be located close to populated areas and National Highways. These camps will be located at reasonable distance from the International border as well as Inter-State boundaries.

\* Cadres will protect their own camps. The environmental security of the camps will be provided by the Security Forces.

\* A complete list of the cadres of the UG group will be provided to the State Police/ IG Special Branch with name & date of birth along with latest photographs. All the cadres will be issued identity cards.

\* Movement of cadres from one designated camp to another will be for mutually agreed purposes and with prior approval of the nominated Security Forces/ State Police.

\* Leaders/ cadres from the group requiring to move frequently, will be given different photo identity cards by IGP (Intelligence) Manipur. The JMG will decide the list of the leaders of the group who shall be allowed to have PSOs.

### **(4) Weapons**

\* All weapons will be held within the Camp's Central Armoury in a double locking system, with one key being with the Group and other with the concerned Security Force. Records of the same will be made available to the Police and maintained at the Armoury.

### **(5) Conduct of Cadres during the course of the Suspension of Operations arrangements.**

\* The Cadres individually or as a Group will not acquire any additional arms, ammunition or military equipment.

\* The UG Group will not carry out fresh recruitment of cadres or raise additional military / civil outfits/ front organisations or try to run its own sovereign government.

\* They will not undertake offensive operations like ambush, raid,

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sniping and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the Security Forces, other groups and/ or the public.

\* They will not construct memorials, hoist flags or carry out parades of armed cadres. They can, however, celebrate their Raising Day within the camps.

\* They will not indulge in blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertake any activity which would disturb the functioning of local and State Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services.

\* They will not move in uniform, with or without arms in public in the name of promoting peace and friendship. No armed cadres will be permitted to operate anywhere in the State.

\* The Group will not extend any support or assistance nor will have any nexus with other militant groups or abet the formation of any new faction which is armed by such group. This will invite appropriate action by the Security Forces including the use of force against the group.

\* In case of groups found violating the Ground Rules repeatedly, State Government on the recommendation of the Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) would be free to terminate the SoO arrangements and also take appropriate action including use of force against the group.

\* Reasonable amount as per Government norm would be paid by the Government for maintenance of the cadres of the group who stay in the designated camps. In addition, cadres will be provided vocational training at Government expense. On their part, the group and its cadres shall not accept donations in cash or kind.

**(6) Duration of the SoO Arrangements**

\* The Suspension of Operations is initially agreed upon for a period of one year. The suspension of Operations may be extended by mutual agreement thereafter.

**(7) Enforcement of the Suspension of Operations Arrangements**

\* State Government will be responsible to enforce the agreed Ground Rules with the help and assistance of the CPOs, Assam Rifles and Army.

1. Sd/- (S.T. Thangboi Kipgen), General Secretary, UPF.

2. Sd/- (Calvin H.), Member, UPF.

3. Sd/- (T. L. Jacob Thadou), Member, UPF.

4. Sd/- (David Hangshing), Member, UPF.

Sd/- (D.S. Poonia), Principal Secretary (Home), Govt. of Manipur.

Sd/- (Naveen Verma), Joint Secretary (NE),  
Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

New Delhi: 22 August, 2008.

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### **Appendix 3**

## **Revised Agreed Ground Rules, 2010 For Implementation Of The Suspension Of Operation (SOO) With Kuki National Organisation (KNO) In Manipur**

Suspension of Operations (So) Agreements between Army and constituents of UPF and KNO have been in force since 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2005. It was agreed between Government of India, Government of Manipur and Kuki National Organisation (KNO) to formalise these Suspension of Operations and cease hostilities with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008. The “Agreed Ground Rules for implementation of the Suspension of Operations” was signed between the Government of India and the State Government of Manipur on one side and the Kuki National Organisation (KNO) on the other on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008, for a period of one year. The Agreement was extended by one year on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2009. After having reviewed the progress made so far regarding implementation of the “Agreed Ground Rules” today (20-08-2010) in New Delhi, the parties agreed to renegotiate and to extend the Suspension of Operations for 45 days period with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2010. To give effect to the Suspension of Operations arrangements, following Revised Ground Rules, 2010 are agreed to:-

#### **(1) Preamble**

1. The Kuki National Organization (KNO) comprising (i) Kuki National Front (Military Council) (KNF(MC)), (ii) Kuki National Front (Zogam)- KNF (Z), (iii) United Socialist Revolutionary Army (USRA), (iv) United Minority Liberation Army (Old Kuki), (v) United Komren



Revolutionary Army, (vi) Zomi Reunification Front, (vii) Zou Defence Volunteer (KNO), (viii) Hmar National Army, (ix) Kuki Revolutionary Army (Unification), (x) Kuki Liberation Army (KNO), (xi) Kuki National Army will abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur. Three organizations, namely Kuki National Front (Samuel), Kuki Revolutionary Army and Kuki Liberation Army have submitted application to join KNO from UPF and this is under consideration.

ii. The KNO will completely abjure the path of violence and will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public and imposing of 'tax' or 'fines'.

iii. The Security Forces (the Army, Para-military Forces and the State Police) will not launch operations against the Group, as long as they abide by this agreement.

## **(2) Joint Monitoring Group**

i. All the sides agree to set up Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) headed by Principal Secretary/ Commissioner (Home), Government of Manipur and include the Inspector General of Police (Intelligence), Manipur and representatives of Ministry of Home Affairs, CPOs and Army and the UG Groups to oversee the implementation of the SoO. The JMG would meet once in a month.

## **(3) Camps**

i. The cadres of the groups will stay in designated camps. The routine administration of the camp will be in the hands of the group.

ii. The cadres will move to designated camps by 20<sup>th</sup> September 2010.

iii. State Police and security forces will inspect the camps to check whether all cadres are staying at their designated camp.

iv. Proper outpass/ certificates will be issued by the Camp Commander to cadres when they move out of the camp.

v. The location and number of designated camps will be decided by the JMG. Liaison officers of the group camp will be designated for interaction with Security Forces.

vi. The Designated camps will not be located close to populated areas and National Highways. These camps will be located at reasonable distance from the International border as well as Inter-State boundaries.

vii. Cadres will protect their own camps. The environmental security of the camps will be provided by the Security Forces.

viii. A complete list of the cadres of the UG group will be provided to the State Police/ IG IINT) with name & date of birth, etc along with latest photographs. All the cadres will be issued identity cards. The Group will be responsible for immediately furnishing a list of these cadres who leave the Organisation.

ix. Movement of cadres from one designated camp to another will be for mutually agreed purposes and with prior approval of the nominated Security Forces/ State Police.

x. Leaders/ cadres from the group requiring to move frequently, will be given different photo identity cards by IGP (Intelligence) Manipur. The JMG will decide the list of the leaders of the group who shall be allowed to have PSOs.

#### **(4) Weapons**

i. All weapons will be held within the Camp's Central Armoury in a double locking system and records of the same will be made available to the Police and maintained at the Armoury.

ii. Construction of Arms Kote should be completed immediately and all arms and ammunition should be deposited by 20<sup>th</sup> September 2010. In case Arms Kote of the designated camps are not ready, weapons would be deposited at nominated Police/ SF Arms Kote in a double locking system.

#### **(5) Conduct of Cadres during the course of the Suspension of Operations arrangements.**

i. An updated list of cadres and arms would be submitted to IGP (Int.) Manipur by 20<sup>th</sup> September 2010.

ii. The Cadres individually or as a Group will not acquire any additional arms, ammunition or military equipment.

iii. The UG Group will not carry out fresh recruitment of cadres or raise additional military / civil outfits/ front organisations or try to run its own sovereign government.

iv. They will not undertake offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the Security Forces, other groups and/ or the public.

v. They will not construct memorials, hoist flags or carry out parades of armed cadres. They can, however, celebrate their Raising Day within the camps.

vi. They will not indulge in blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertake any activity which would disturb the

functioning of local and State Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services.

vii. They will not move either in uniform or with arms in public in the name of promoting peace and friendship. No armed cadres will be permitted to operate anywhere in the State.

viii. The Group will not extend any support or assistance nor will have any nexus with other militant groups or abet the formation of any new faction which is armed by such group. This will invite appropriate action by the Security Forces including the use of force against the group.

ix. Noting that instances of violation of SoO Ground Rules have been reported and documented by various agencies, the Group agreed to strictly abide by the Ground Rules in letter and spirit.

x. In case of groups found violating the Ground Rules in *future*, State Government on the recommendation of the Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) may terminate the SoO arrangements and also take appropriate action including use of force against the group.

xi. Reasonable amount as per Government norm would be paid by the Government for maintenance of the cadres of the group who stay in the designated camps. In addition, cadres will be provided vocational training at Government expense. On their part, the group and its cadres shall not accept donations in cash or kind.

#### **(6) Enforcement of the Suspension of Operations Arrangements**

State Government will be responsible to enforce the agreed Ground Rules with the help and assistance of the CPOs, Assam Rifles and Army and for this purpose, detailed procedures would be worked out with approval of JMG

#### **(7) Duration of the SoO Arrangements**

The Revised "Ground Rules" 2010 shall come in force w.e.f. 22-08-2010 for another period of 45 days.

1. Sd/- (Lalminthang Vaiphei), Vice President, KNO.
2. Sd/- (T.S. Haokip), Secretary, Defence, KNO.
4. Sd/- (Joshua H. Kuki), Secretary/ Development/ Education, KNO.

4. Sd/- (Th. German), Secretary (Intl & Analysis), KNO.

Sd/- Commissioner (Home), Govt. of Manipur.

Sd/- Joint Secretary (NE), Ministry of Home Affairs,  
Government of India.

New Delhi: 22 August, 2010.

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**Appendix 4**  
**Revised Agreed Ground Rules, 2010**  
**For Implementation Of The Suspension Of Operation**  
**With United Peoples' Front (UPF) In Manipur**

Suspension of Operations (So)) Agreements between Army and constituents of UPF and KNO have been in force since 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2005. It was agreed between Government of India, Government of Manipur and United Peoples' Front (UPF) to formalise these Suspension of Operations and cease hostilities with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008. The "Agreed Ground Rules for implementation of the Suspension of Operations" was signed between the Government of India and the State Government of Manipur on one side and the United Peoples' Front (UPF) on the other on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008, for a period of one year. The Agreement was extended by one year on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2009. After having reviewed the progress made so far regarding implementation of the "Agreed Ground Rules" today (20-08-2010) in New Delhi, the parties agreed to renegotiate and to extend the Suspension of Operations for 45 days period with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2010. To give effect to the Suspension of Operations arrangements, following Revised Ground Rules, 2010 are agreed to:-

**(1) Preamble**

i. The United Peoples' Front (UPF) comprising (i) Kuki National Front (KNF), (ii) United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF), (iii) Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA), (iv) Hmar Peoples Convention/ Democratic (HPC(D)), and (v) ZDV (UPF) will abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur.

ii. The UPF will completely abjure the path of violence and will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, carrying of arms in public and imposing of

‘tax’ or ‘fines’.

iii. The Security Forces (the Army, Para-military Forces and the State Police) will not launch operations against the Group, as long as they abide by this agreement.

## **(2) Joint Monitoring Group**

i. All the sides agree to set up Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) headed by Principal Secretary/ Commissioner (Home), Government of Manipur and include the Inspector General of Police (Intelligence), Manipur and representatives of Ministry of Home Affairs, CPOs and Army and the UG Groups to oversee the implementation of the SoO. The JMG would meet once in a month.

## **(3) Camps**

i. The cadres of the groups will stay in designated camps. The routine administration of the camp will be in the hands of the group.

ii. The cadres will move to designated camps by 20<sup>th</sup> September 2010.

iii. State Police and security forces will inspect the camps to check whether all cadres are staying at their designated camp.

iv. Proper outpass/ certificates will be issued by the Camp Commander to cadres when they move out of the Camp.

v. The location and number of designated camps will be decided by the JMG. Liaison officers of the group camp will be designated for interaction with Security Forces.

vi. The Designated camps will not be located close to populated areas and National Highways. These camps will be located at reasonable distance from the International border as well as Inter-State boundaries.

vii. Cadres will protect their own camps. The environmental security of the camps will be provided by the Security Forces.

viii. A complete list of the cadres of the UG group will be provided to the State Police/ IG (INT) with name & date of birth, etc along with latest photographs. All the cadres will be issued identity cards. The Group will be responsible for immediately furnishing a list of these cadres who leave the Organisation.

ix. Movement of cadres from one designated camp to another will be for mutually agreed purposes and with prior approval of the nominated Security Forces/ State Police.

x. Leaders/ cadres from the group requiring to move frequently, will be given different photo identity cards by IGP (Intelligence) Manipur. The JMG will decide the list of the leaders of the group who shall be allowed to have PSOs.

**(4) Weapons**

i. All weapons will be held within the Camp's Central Armoury in a double locking system and records of the same will be made available to the Police and maintained at the Armoury.

ii. Construction of Arms Kote should be completed immediately and all arms and ammunition should be deposited by 20<sup>th</sup> September 2010. In case Arms Kote of the designated camps are not ready, weapons would be deposited at nominated Police/ SF Arms Kote in a double locking system.

**(5) Conduct of Cadres during the course of the Suspension of Operations arrangements.**

i. An updated list of cadres and arms would be submitted to IGP (Int.) Manipur by 20<sup>th</sup> September 2010.

ii. The Cadres individually or as a Group will not acquire any additional arms, ammunition or military equipment.

iii. The UG Group will not carry out fresh recruitment of cadres or raise additional military / civil outfits/ front organisations or try to run its own sovereign government.

iv. They will not undertake offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the Security Forces, other groups and/ or the public.

v. They will not construct memorials, hoist flags or carry out parades of armed cadres. They can, however, celebrate their Raising Day within the camps.

vi. They will not indulge in blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertake any activity which would disturb the functioning of local and State Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services.

vii. Will not move either in uniform or with arms in public in the name of promoting peace and friendship.

viii. The Group will not extend any support or assistance nor will have any nexus with other militant groups or abet the formation of any new faction which is armed by such group. This will invite appropriate action by the Security Forces including the use of force against the group.

ix. Noting that instances of violation of SoO Ground Rules have been reported and documented by various agencies, the Group agreed to strictly abide by the Ground Rules in letter and spirit.

x. In case of groups found violating the Ground Rules in *future*, State

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Government on the recommendation of the Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) may terminate the SoO arrangements and also take appropriate action including use of force against the group.

xi. Reasonable amount as per Government norm would be paid by the Government for maintenance of the cadres of the group who stay in the designated camps. In addition, cadres will be provided vocational training at Government expense. On their part, the group and its cadres shall not accept donations in cash or kind.

**(6) Enforcement of the Suspension of Operations Arrangements**

State Government will be responsible to enforce the agreed Ground Rules with the help and assistance of the CPOs, Assam Rifles and Army and for this purpose, detailed procedures would be worked out with approval of JMG

**(7) Duration of the SoO Arrangements**

The Revised “Ground Rules” 2010 shall come in force w.e.f. 22-08-2010 for another period of 45 days.

1. Sd/- (T.L. Jacob Thadou) UKLF.
2. Sd/- (Calvin H), ZRA.
4. Sd/- (L. Sanga Hmar), HPC-D.
4. Sd/- (Seilal), KNF.
5. Sd/- (Kamkhanpau), ZDV

Sd/- Commissioner (Home), Govt. of Manipur.

Sd/- Joint Secretary (NE), Ministry of Home Affairs,  
Government of India.

New Delhi: 20 August, 2010.

**Appendix 5**

**Fourth Extension Of Suspension Of Operation  
With Kuki National Organisation (KNO)  
And Revised Agreed Ground Rules, 2011**

Suspension of Operations (So) Agreements between Army and constituents of UPF and KNO have been in force since 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2005. It was agreed between Government of India, Government of Manipur and Kuki National Organisation (KNO) to formalise these Suspension of Operations and cease hostilities with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008. The “Agreed Ground Rules for implementation of the Suspension of Operations” was signed between the Government of India and the State Government of Manipur on one side and the Kuki National Organisation (KNO) on the other on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008, for a period of one year. The Agreement was extended by one year on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2009. The Agreement was further extended by 45 days w.e.f. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2010. After reviewing the progress regarding implementation of the Revised “Agreed Ground Rules” 2010, the Suspension of Operation was extended for one year with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2010 on 01-10-2010.

After reviewing the progress regarding implementation of the Revised “Agreed Ground Rules” signed on 01-10-2010, the Tripartite Meeting held on 16-8-2010 at New Delhi agreed to sign the fourth extension of the SoO for another period of one year. To give effect to the Suspension of Operations, following Revised Ground Rules, 2011 are agreed to:-

**(1) Preamble**

- a. The Kuki National Organization (KNO) comprising
- (i) Kuki National Front (Military Council) (KNF(MC)),
  - (ii) Kuki National Front (Zogam)- KNF (Z),
  - (iii) United Socialist Revolutionary Army (USRA),
  - (iv) United Minority Liberation Army (Old Kuki),
  - (v) United Komren Revolutionar Army,
  - (vi) Zomi Reunification Front,
  - (vii) Zou Defence Volunteer (KNO),
  - (viii) Hmar National Army,
  - (ix) Kuki Revolutionary Army (Unification),



- (x) Kuki Liberation Army (KNO),
- (xi) Kuki National Army,
- (xii) Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA),
- (xiii) Kuki National Front (S)
- (xiv) Kuki Liberation Organisation (KLO)/ Kuki Liberation Army (KLA)

will abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur.

b. The KNO will completely abjure the path of violence and will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public and imposing of 'tax' or 'fines'.

c. The Security Forces (the Army, Para-military Forces and the State Police) will not launch operations against the Group, as long as they abide by this agreement.

## **(2) Joint Monitoring Group**

All the sides agree to set up Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) headed by Principal Secretary/ Commissioner (Home), Government of Manipur and include the ADG/ Inspector General of Police (Intelligence), Manipur and representatives of Ministry of Home Affairs, CPOs and Army and the UG Groups to oversee the implementation of the SoO. The JMG would meet once in a month.

## **(3) Camps**

i. The cadres of the groups will stay in designated camps. The routine administration of the camp will be in the hands of the group. The stipend shall be restricted to the number of cadres found present during inspections.

ii. State Police and security forces shall inspect the camps to check whether all cadres are staying at their designated camp at least once a month.

iii. Proper out pass/ certificates shall be issued by the camp Commander to cadres, when they move out of the camp. At no point of time more than 20% of the cadres should be out of the camp on leave, outpass, pso duties for leaders.

iv. The location of the designated camps has already been decided and the number will be fixed at 7 (seven). Liaison officers of the group

camp will be designated for interaction with Security Forces.

v. The Designated camps will not be located close to populated areas and National Highways. These camps will be located at reasonable distance from the International border as well as Inter-State boundaries.

vi. Cadres will protect their own camps. The environmental security of the camps will be provided by the Security Forces. The number of arms for camp protection would be rationalised in consultation with the Police/ AR/ Army and finalised by JMG.

vii. A complete list of the cadres has been provided to the State Police with name & date of birth along with latest photographs. Fresh ID cards will be issued by the CID/SB. The groups shall provide such information about cadres as may be required by CID/SB. The group will be responsible for immediately furnishing a list of those cadres who leave the Organisation.

viii. Movement of cadres from one designated camp to another shall be only with prior approval of the JMG.

ix. Leaders/ cadres from the group requiring to move frequently, will be given different photo identity cards by CID/SB, Manipur. The JMG will decide the list of the leaders of the group who shall be allowed to have PSOs. The numbers of PSOs will be restricted to 5 (five) per group.

#### **(4) Weapons**

All weapons will be held within the Camp's Central Armoury in a double locking system, and records of the same will be available to the Police and maintained at the Armoury.

#### **(5) Conduct of Cadres during the course of the Suspension of Operations arrangements.**

i. The list of cadres with all details shall be resubmitted to CID/SB Manipur by 31<sup>st</sup> August, 2011.

ii. The cadres individually or as a group shall not acquire any additional arms, ammunition or military equipment.

iii. The UG Group shall not carry out fresh recruitment of cadres or raise additional military / civil outfits/ front organisations or try to run its own sovereign government.

iv. They shall not undertake offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the Security Forces, other groups and/ or the public.

v. They shall not construct memorials, hoist flags or carry out parades

of armed cadres. They can, however, celebrate their Raising Day within the camps.

vi. They shall not indulge nor incite public to indulge in blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertake any activity which would disturb the functioning of local and State Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services and causing inconvenience to public.

vii. They shall not move either in uniform or with arms in public in the name of promoting peace and friendship. No armed cadres will be permitted to operate anywhere.

viii. The Group shall not extend any support or assistance nor will have any nexus with other militant groups or abet the formation of any new faction which is armed by such group. This will invite appropriate action by the Security Forces including the use of force against the group.

ix. Noting that instances of violation of SoO Ground Rules have been reported and documented by various agencies, the Group agreed to strictly abide by the Ground Rules in letter and spirit.

x. In case of groups found violating the Ground Rules in *future*, State Government on the recommendation of the Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) *may* terminate the SoO arrangements and also take appropriate action including use of force against the group.

xi. Reasonable amount as per Government norm would be paid by the Government for maintenance of the cadres of the group who stay in the designated camps. On their part, the group and its cadres shall not accept donations in cash or kind.

xii. The cadres will be provided vocational/ skills training at Government expense. The group shall provide necessary information like preference of trades/ skills/ vocation to the CID/SB by 15<sup>th</sup> of Sept., 2011. The Banks and Financial Institutions may be approached to participate in the rehabilitation of the cadres.

## **(6) Enforcement of the Suspension of Operations Arrangements**

State Government will be responsible for enforcing the Agreed Ground Rules with the help and assistance of the CPOs, Assam Rifles and Army and for this purpose, detailed procedures will be worked out with approval of JMG. The Suspension of Operations may be extended by mutual agreement.

**(6) Duration of the SoO Arrangements**

The Revised “Ground Rules” 2011 shall come in force w.e.f. 22-08-2011 for a period of twelve months, i.e., upto 21-08-2012.

1. Sd/- (Lalminthang Vaiphei), Vice President, KNO.
2. Sd/- (T.S. Haokip), Secretary, Defence, KNO.
4. Sd/- (Joshua H. Kuki), Secretary/ Development/ Education, KNO.
4. Sd/- (Th. German), Secretary (Intl & Analysis), KNO.

Sd/- Commissioner (Home), Govt. of Manipur.

Sd/- Joint Secretary (NE), Ministry of Home Affairs,  
Government of India.

New Delhi: 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2011

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**Appendix 6**

**Fourth Extension Of Suspension Of Operation  
With United Peoples’ Front (UPF) And Revised Agreed  
Ground Rules, 2011**

Suspension of Operations (So) Agreements between Army and constituents of UPF and KNO have been in force since 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2005. It was agreed between Government of India, Government of Manipur and United Peoples’ Front (UPF) to formalise these Suspension of Operations and cease hostilities with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008. The “Agreed Ground Rules for implementation of the Suspension of Operations” was signed between the Government of India and the State Government of Manipur on one side and the United Peoples’ Front (UPF) on the other on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2008, for a period of one year. The Agreement was extended by one year on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2009. The Agreement was further extended by 45 days w.e.f. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2010. After reviewing the progress regarding implementation of the Revised “Agreed Ground Rules” 2010, the Suspension of Operation was extended for one year with effect from 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2010 on 01-10-2010.

After reviewing the progress regarding implementation of the Revised “Agreed Ground Rules” signed on 01-10-2010, the Tripartite Meeting held on 16-8-2010 at New Delhi agreed to sign the fourth extension of the SoO for another period of one year. To give effect to the Suspension of Operations, following Revised Ground Rules, 2011 are agreed to:-

**(1) Preamble**

a. The United Peoples’ Front (UPF) comprising

- (i) Kuki National Front (KNF),
- (ii) United Kuki Liberation Front (UKLF),
- (iii) Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA),
- (iv) Hmar Peoples Conference-Democratic (HPC(D)),
- (v) ZDV (UPF)

will abide by the Constitution of India, the laws of the land and the territorial integrity of Manipur.

b. The UPF will completely abjure the path of violence and will not engage in violent or unlawful activities like killing, injuries, kidnappings, ambush, extortions, intimidations, carrying of arms in public and imposing of ‘tax’ or ‘fines’.

c The Security Forces (the Army, Para-military Forces and the State Police) will not launch operations against the Group, as long as they abide by this agreement.

**(2) Joint Monitoring Group**

All the sides agree to set up Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) headed by Principal Secretary/ Commissioner (Home), Government of Manipur and include the ADG/ Inspector General of Police (Intelligence), Manipur and representatives of Ministry of Home Affairs, CPOs and Army and the UG Groups to oversee the implementation of the SoO. The JMG would meet once in a month.

**(3) Camps**

i. The cadres of the groups will stay in designated camps. The routine administration of the camp will be in the hands of the group. The stipend shall be restricted to the number of cadres found present during inspections.

ii. State Police and security forces shall inspect the camps to check whether all cadres are staying at their designated camp at least once a month.

iii. Proper out pass/ certificates shall be issued by the camp Commander to cadres, when they move out of the camp. At no point of time more than 20% of the cadres should be out of the camp on leave, outpass, pso duties for leaders.

iv. The location of the designated camps has already been decided and the number will be fixed at 7 (seven). Liaison officers of the group camp will be designated for interaction with Security Forces.

v. The Designated camps will not be located close to populated areas and National Highways. These camps will be located at reasonable distance from the International border as well as Inter-State boundaries.

vi. Cadres will protect their own camps. The environmental security of the camps will be provided by the Security Forces. The number of arms for camp protection would be rationalised in consultation with the Police/ AR/ Army and finalised by JMG.

vii. A complete list of the cadres has been provided to the State Police with name & date of birth along with latest photographs. Fresh ID cards will be issued by the CID/SB. The groups shall provide such information about cadres as may be required by CID/SB. The group will be responsible for immediately furnishing a list of those cadres who leave the Organisation.

viii. Movement of cadres from one designated camp to another shall be only with prior approval of the JMG.

ix. Leaders/ cadres from the group requiring to move frequently, will be given different photo identity cards by CID/SB, Manipur. The JMG will decide the list of the leaders of the group who shall be allowed to have PSOs. The numbers of PSOs will be restricted to 5 (five) per group.

#### **(4) Weapons**

All weapons will be held within the Camp's Central Armoury in a double locking system, and records of the same will be available to the Police and maintained at the Armoury.

#### **(5) Conduct of Cadres during the course of the Suspension of Operations arrangements.**

i. The list of cadres with all details shall be resubmitted to CID/SB Manipur by 31<sup>st</sup> August, 2011.

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ii. The cadres individually or as a group shall not acquire any additional arms, ammunition or military equipment.

iii. The UG Group shall not carry out fresh recruitment of cadres or raise additional military / civil outfits/ front organisations or try to run its own sovereign government.

iv. They shall not undertake offensive operations like ambush, raid, sniping and attack leading to death/ injury/ damage or loss of property against the Security Forces, other groups and/ or the public.

v. They shall not construct memorials, hoist flags or carry out parades of armed cadres. They can, however, celebrate their Raising Day within the camps.

vi. They shall not indulge nor incite public to indulge in blockade of roads and surface communication in general and undertake any activity which would disturb the functioning of local and State Government and economic or development activities as well as essential services and causing inconvenience to public.

vii. They shall not move either in uniform or with arms in public in the name of promoting peace and friendship. No armed cadres will be permitted to operate anywhere.

viii. The Group shall not extend any support or assistance nor will have any nexus with other militant groups or abet the formation of any new faction which is armed by such group. This will invite appropriate action by the Security Forces including the use of force against the group.

ix. Noting that instances of violation of SoO Ground Rules have been reported and documented by various agencies, the Group agreed to strictly abide by the Ground Rules in letter and spirit.

x. In case of groups found violating the Ground Rules in *future*, State Government on the recommendation of the Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) *may* terminate the SoO arrangements and also take appropriate action including use of force against the group.

xi. Reasonable amount as per Government norm would be paid by the Government for maintenance of the cadres of the group who stay in the designated camps. On their part, the group and its cadres shall not accept donations in cash or kind.

xii. The cadres will be provided vocational/ skills training at Government expense. The group shall provide necessary information like preference of trades/ skills/ vocation to the CID/SB by 15<sup>th</sup> of Sept., 2011.

*GHOST of PEACE*

The Banks and Financial Institutions may be approached to participate in the rehabilitation of the cadres.

**(6) Enforcement of the Suspension of Operations Arrangements**

State Government will be responsible for enforcing the Agreed Ground Rules with the help and assistance of the CPOs, Assam Rifles and Army and for this purpose, detailed procedures will be worked out with approval of JMG. The Suspension of Operations may be extended by mutual agreement.

**(6) Duration of the SoO Arrangements**

The Revised “Ground Rules” 2011 shall come in force w.e.f. 22-08-2011 for a period of twelve months, i.e., upto 21-08-2012.

1. Sd/- (T.L. Jacob Thadou), UKLF.

2. Sd/- (Calvin H), ZRA.

3. Sd/- (L. Sanga Hmar), HPC/D.

4. Sd/- (Seilal), KNF.

Sd/- (Binod Kispotta), Commissioner (Home), Government of Manipur.

Sd/- (Shambhu Singh), Joint Secretary (NE),  
Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

New Delhi: 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2011



## Appendix 7

### List of Relevant Sections of Laws Allegedly Violated by Kuki Militant Groups

Between August 22, 2008 and February 13, 2024, Manipur Police registered several FIRs against several Kuki armed cadres for violating the Agreed Ground Rules of Suspension of Operation Agreements. Kuki armed cadres either were charged or could have been charged under relevant sections of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (IPC), the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958 (AMASRA), the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991 (PWPA), the Prevention of Damage to Public Property Act, 1984 (PDPPA), the Arms Act, 1959 (AA), the Explosive Substance Act 1908 (ESA), the National Highways Act, 1956 (NHA), and for violating the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985 (ND&PSA), the Environment Protection Act, 1986 (EPA), Indian Forest Act, 1927 (IFA), etc. listed below.

#### **Indian Penal Code, 1860**

**34. Acts done by several persons in furtherance of common intention.**—When a criminal act is done by several persons in furtherance of the common intention of all, each of such persons is liable for that act in the same manner as if it were done by him alone.

**120 -B. Punishment of criminal conspiracy.**—(1) Whoever is a party to a criminal conspiracy to commit an offence punishable with death, 1[imprisonment for life] or rigorous imprisonment for a term of two years or upwards, shall, where no express provision is made in this Code for the punishment of such a conspiracy, be punished in the same manner as if he had abetted such offence. (2) Whoever is a party to a criminal conspiracy other than a criminal conspiracy to commit an offence punishable as aforesaid shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, or with fine or with both.]

**121. Waging, or attempting to wage war, or abetting waging of war, against the Government of India.**—Whoever wages war against the [Government of India], or attempts to wage such war, or abets the waging of such war, shall be punished with death, or [imprisonment for life] [and shall also be liable to fine].

**121 A. Conspiracy to commit offences punishable by section 121.**—Whoever within or without [India] conspires to commit any of the offences punishable by section 121, or conspires to overawe, by means of criminal force or the show of criminal force, 11[the Central Government or any [State] Government], shall be punished with [imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment of either description which may extend to ten years, [and shall also be liable to fine].

**143. Punishment.**—Whoever is a member of an unlawful assembly, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, or with both

**144. Joining unlawful assembly armed with deadly weapon.**—Whoever, being armed with any deadly weapon, or with anything which, used as a weapon of offence, is likely to cause death, is a member of an unlawful assembly, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

**148. Rioting, armed with deadly weapon.**—Whoever is guilty of rioting, being armed with a deadly weapon or with anything which, used as a weapon of offence, is likely to cause death, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

**153A. Promoting enmity between different groups on ground of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, etc., and doing acts prejudicial to maintenance of harmony.**—(1) Whoever— (a) by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote, on grounds of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, caste or community or any other ground whatsoever, disharmony or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill- will between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes or communities, or (b) commits any act which is prejudicial to the maintenance of harmony between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes or communities, and which disturbs or is likely to disturb the public tranquillity, [or] [(c) organizes any exercise, movement, drill or other similar activity intending that the participants in such activity shall use or be trained to use criminal force or violence or knowing it to be likely that the participants in such activity will use or be trained to use criminal force or violence, or participates in such activity intending to use or be trained to use criminal force or violence

or knowing it to be likely that the participants in such activity will use or be trained to use criminal force or violence, against any religious, racial, language or regional group or caste or community and such activity for any reason whatsoever causes or is likely to cause fear or alarm or a feeling of insecurity amongst members of such religious, racial, language or regional group or caste or community,] shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

**295. Injuring or defiling place of worship, with intent to insult the religion of any class.**—Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

**295 A. Deliberate and malicious acts, intended to outrage religious feelings of any class by insulting its religion or religious beliefs.**—Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of [citizens of India], [by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise], insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to [three years], or with fine, or with both.]

**302. Punishment for murder.**—Whoever commits murder shall be punished with death or [imprisonment for life], and shall also be liable to fine.

**307. Attempt to murder.**—Whoever does any act with such intention or knowledge, and under such circumstances that, if he by that act caused death, he would be guilty of murder, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine; and if hurt is caused to any person by such act, the offender shall be liable either to [imprisonment for life], or to such punishment as is hereinbefore mentioned.

**325. Punishment for voluntarily causing grievous hurt.**—Whoever, except in the case provided for by section 335, voluntarily causes grievous hurt, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**336. Act endangering life or personal safety of others.**—Whoever does any act so rashly or negligently as to endanger human life or the personal safety of others, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months or with fine which may extend to two hundred and fifty rupees, or with both.

**340. Wrongful confinement.**—Whoever wrongfully restrains any person in such a manner as to prevent that person from proceedings beyond certain circumscribing limits, is said “wrongfully to confine” that person.

**342. Punishment for wrongful confinement.**—Whoever wrongfully confines any person shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

**353. Assault or criminal force to deter public servant from discharge of his duty.**—Whoever assaults or uses criminal force to any person being a public servant in the execution of his duty as such public servant, or with intent to prevent or deter that person from discharging his duty as such public servant, or in consequence of anything done or attempted to be done by such person to the lawful discharge of his duty as such public servant, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

**365. Kidnapping or abducting with intent secretly and wrongfully to confine person.**—Whoever kidnaps or abducts any person with intent to cause that person to be secretly and wrongfully confined, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**380. Theft in dwelling house, etc.**—Whoever commits theft in any building, tent or vessel, which building, tent or vessel is used as a human dwelling, or used for the custody of property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**384. Punishment for extortion.**—Whoever commits extortion shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

**395. Punishment for dacoity.**—Whoever commits dacoity shall be punished with [imprisonment for life], or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**400. Punishment for belonging to gang of dacoits.**—Whoever, at any time after the passing of this Act, shall belong to a gang of persons associated for the purpose of habitually committing dacoity, shall be punished with [imprisonment for life], or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**427. Mischief causing damage to the amount of fifty rupees.**—Whoever commits mischief and thereby causes loss or damage to the amount of fifty rupees or upwards, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

**436. Mischief by fire or explosive substance with intent to destroy house, etc.**—Whoever commits mischief by fire or any explosive substance, intending to cause, or knowing it to be likely that he will thereby cause, the destruction of any building which is ordinarily used as a place of worship or as a human dwelling or as a place for the custody of property, shall be punished with [imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**440. Mischief committed after preparation made for causing death or hurt.**—Whoever commits mischief, having made preparation for causing to any person death, or hurt, or wrongful restraint, or fear of death, or of hurt, or of wrongful restraint, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**447. Punishment for criminal trespass.**—Whoever commits criminal trespass shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees, or with both.

**448. Punishment for house-trespass.**—Whoever commits house-trespass shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

**457. Lurking house-trespass or house-breaking by night in order to commit offence punishable with imprisonment.**—Whoever commits lurking house-trespass by night, or house-breaking by night, in order to the committing of any offence punishable with imprisonment, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, and shall also be liable to fine; and, if the

offence intended to be committed is theft, the term of the imprisonment may be extended to fourteen years.

**506. Punishment for criminal intimidation.**—Whoever commits the offence of criminal intimidation shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both; **If threat be to cause death or grievous hurt, etc.**—and if the threat be to cause death or grievous hurt, or to cause the destruction of any property by fire, or to cause an offence punishable with death or [imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, or to impute unchastity to a woman, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

**Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958**

**30 A.** Punishment for construction, etc., in prohibited area.—Whoever raises, on and after the date on which the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment and Validation) Bill, 2010, receives the assent of the President, any construction in the prohibited area, shall be punishable with imprisonment not exceeding two years or with fine which may extend to one lakh rupees or with both.

**Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991**

**6. Punishment for contravention of section 3.**—(1) Whoever contravenes the provisions of section 3 shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine. Section 3, “**Bar of conversion of places of worship.**—No person shall convert any place of worship of any religious denomination or any section thereof into a place of worship of a different section of the same religious denomination or of a different religious denomination or any section thereof.”

**Prevention of Damage to Public Property Act, 1984**

**3. Mischief causing damage to public property.**

**4. Mischief causing damage to public property by fire or explosive substance.**

**Arms Act, 1959**

**25 (1C).** Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1B),

whoever commits an offence punishable under that sub-section in any disturbed area shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than three years but which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine.

### **Explosive Substance Act 1908**

**3. Punishment for causing explosion likely to endanger life or property unlawfully and maliciously causes by** (a) any explosive substance an explosion of a nature likely to endanger life or to cause serious injury to property shall, whether any injury to person or property has been actually caused or not, be punished with imprisonment for life, or with rigorous imprisonment of either description which shall not be less than ten years, and shall also be liable to fine; (b) any special category explosive substance an explosion of a nature likely to endanger life or to cause serious injury to property shall, whether any injury to person or property has been actually caused or not, be punished with death, or rigorous imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine.

**4. Punishment for attempt to cause explosion, or for making or keeping explosive with intent to endanger life or property.** Any person who unlawfully and maliciously— (a) does any act with intent to cause by an explosive substance, or conspires to cause by an explosive substance, an explosion in [India] of a nature likely to endanger life or to cause serious injury to property; or (b) makes or has in his possession or under his control any explosive substance with intent by means thereof to endanger life, or cause serious injury to property in [India], or to enable any other person by means thereof to endanger life or cause serious injury to property in [India]; shall, whether any explosion does or does not take place and whether any injury to person or property has been actually caused or not, be punished with transportation for a term which may extend to twenty years, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, to which fine may be added.

### **National Highways Act, 1956**

**8B. Punishment for mischief by injury to national highway.**— Whoever commits mischief by doing any act which renders or which he knows to be likely to render any national highway referred to in sub-section (1) of section 8A impassable or less safe for traveling or conveying

property, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to five years, or with a fine, or with both.

**Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985.**

**8. Prohibition of certain operations.**—No person shall— (a) cultivate any coca plant or gather any portion of coca plant; or (b) cultivate the opium poppy or any cannabis plant; or (c) produce, manufacture, possess, sell, purchase, transport, warehouse, use, consume, import inter-State, export inter-State, import into India, export from India or transship any narcotic drug or psychotropic substance, except for medical or scientific purposes and in the manner and to the extent provided by the provisions of this Act or the rules or orders made thereunder and in a case where any such provision, imposes any requirement by way of licence, permit or authorisation also in accordance with the terms and conditions of such licence, permit or authorisation:

**Environment Protection Act, 1986 (EPA)**

Refer to the entire Act.

**Indian Forest Act, 1927**

Refer to the entire Act.

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**Appendix 8**  
**Narco-Business And Threats**

Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances pose a severe threat to the indigenous people of Manipur. Manipur has become a hub for the export of opium to Myanmar. Semi-processed, processed and improvised narcotic substances from Myanmar spread to other parts of India via Manipur. There is a fear that the infamous drug Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia has been extended to Manipur. To overcome this problem, the Government of Manipur and several mass organisations have been carrying out various measures.

Between 2017 and early 2023, Manipur police, along with mass organisations, destroyed 19664.5 acres of poppy plantation. District-wise destruction of poppy plantation was 733.9 acres in Imphal East, 395 acres in Bishnupur, 39.5 acres in Kakching, 2699.8 acres in Churachandpur, 12 acres in Noney, 77 acres in Tamenglong, 4397.4 in Kangpokpi, 1682 acres Senapati, 30108 acres in Ukhrul, 1048.5



acres in Kamjong, 2575 acres in Tengenoupal, and 1982.5 acres in Chandel (1982.5). Community wise approximate poppy cultivated area destroyed between 2017-2023 was: (a) Kuki-Chin, 13121.8 acres, (b) Nagas, 2340 acres, and (c) others, 35 acres. These were small portions of the vast areas under poppy farming, which could not be accessed due to a lack of funds, manpower, and obstructions by drug lords.

Manipur police have carried out an extensive drive against illicit drug business. Items and quantities of drugs seized by Manipur police between March 1, 2017, and May 2, 2023, were; No. 4 (Heroin) Powder (270.4 kgs), Ganja (7993.083 kgs), Opium (1744.193 kgs), Spasmo Proxivon (SP) (471.011 kgs), Nitrosun (N-10) (48,740 tabs), WY Tablets (1695.854 kgs), Cough Syrup (84268 bottles), Brown Sugar (1116.424 kgs), Pseudo-ephedrine (215.499 kgs), Crystal Methamphetamine (229.431 Kgs). The community-wise number of persons arrested between 2017 and 2023 under the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act was (a) Kuki-Chin, 873, (b) Muslims (possibly Meitei Pangal), 1083, (c) Meitei, 381, (d) Others, 181. Total 2,518. Altogether 2,518 persons were booked under the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985.

The fight against the drug menace has been deliberately obstructed by a section of the Kukis who deliberately misinterpreted it with communal colouring. Some of them justified poppy cultivation, citing economic reasons. Many suspected that Kuki drug lords operate across the Indo-Myanmar international border. Illegal immigrants from Myanmar have been used as either labourers in poppy farms or as drug peddlers. There is suspicion that illegal migrants also added to manpower, which has been instrumental in territorial occupation and expansionism. There are also allegations that profit from the drug business has been used to fund Kuki armed militants to carve out a separate territory. All of these can pose severe threats to the indigenous people.

## Appendix 9

### Demography Of Manipur In 2011

The population of Manipur, as per the 2011 Census, is 28.6 lakhs. It consists of 14.4 lakh males and 14.2 lakh females. In absolute terms, the population of Manipur has increased by 5.62 lakhs between 2001 and 2011, a growth rate of 24.50 %. This growth rate is higher than India's average growth rate, which is 17.70 %. The sex ratio of the State has improved from 974 females per 1000 males in 2001 to 985 females per 1000 males in 2011. The population density per sq. km. on the hills is 61 persons against 730 persons in the valleys. Population pressure has been mounting by the day, as shown by the reduction of the man-land ratio from about 1 : 7.85 hectares in 1901 to 1 : 0.78 hectares in 2011.

The population of Manipur may be grouped into various constitutional categories such as the General, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes. The Schedule Tribes (ST) population constitutes 40.88 % of the total population, while that of the Schedule Caste (SC) is 3.41 %. The percentage share of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes populations has increased since 1961. In 1961, the percentage shares of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes were 31.93% and 1.76 % respectively. In 2001, the shares increased to 34.20% and 2.77% respectively. In 2011, the shares were 40.88% and 3.41% respectively. According to the 2011 Census, about 95 % of the Scheduled Tribes population lives in the hill districts, while the remaining 5 % lives in the valley districts. In the case of the Scheduled Caste population, about 98 % live in the valley districts as against 2 % in the hill districts.

The 39 Scheduled Tribes are mostly identified with either Naga or Kuki nomenclatures. Otherwise, some remain oscillating between the two nomenclatures. Others prefer to maintain their original identities and stay neutral. (a) Those who organisationally identified with **Naga** (674058 heads, 23% of the total population) are Anal, Angami, Chiru, Chothe, Inpui, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Lamkang, Liangmei, Mao, Maram, Maring, Monsang, Moyon, Poumai, Rongmei, Sema/Sumi, Tangkhul, Tarao, Thangal, and Zeme. (b) Those organisationally identified with **Kuki** (360314 heads, 12.61% of the total population) are Any Kuki tribes, Gangte, Ralte, Suhte, and Thadou. (c) Those who maintain separate identities but act as Kuki's allied cognates or Zomi (136275 heads, 4% of the total population) are Any Mizo Tribes, Hmar, Mate, Mizo,

Paite, Simte, Vaiphei, and Zou. (e) Those intermediaries who want to maintain separate identities (25489 heads, 0.89% of the total population) and shift organisational affiliation depending on time and situation are Aimol, Kharam, Koireng, Kom, Purum, and Koirao.

The names of the communities and the tentative population size of each of them as per the 2011 Census in comparison against the 2001 Census are Meitei (1282296 persons; +19.26%), Meitei Pangals (239836 persons; +25.60%), 39 Scheduled Tribes, and other linguistic communities. The 39 Scheduled Tribes, according to 2011 census, are Aimol (3190 persons; +26.13%), Anal (23509 persons; +10.67%), Angami (95 persons; -28%), Any Kuki tribes (28342 persons; No data in 2001), Any Mizo /Lushai Tribes (8064 persons; -46.82%), Chiru (8599 persons; +52.9%), Chothe (3585 persons; +29.79%), Gangte (17178 persons; +81.93%), Hmar (48375 persons; +12.67%), Kabui (+ Inpui & Rongmei. 103908 persons; + 26.12%), Kacha Naga (+ Liangmai & Zeme: 66158 persons; + 57.47%), Kharam (1145 persons; No data in 2001), Koirao (+Thangal: 4475 persons; + 90.58%), Koireng (1873 persons; + 32.83%), Kom (14528 persons; -0.50%), Lamgang (7770 persons; +31.82%), Mao (93343 persons; no accurate data in 2001), Maram (27524 persons; no accurate data in 2001), Maring (26424 persons; +13.71%), Monsang (2427 persons; +13.94%), Moyon (2516 persons; -15.28%), Paite (55542 persons; +12.72%), Poumai (127381 persons; no accurate data in 2001), Purum (278 persons; -51.31%), Ralte (17 persons; +240%), Sema (40 persons; +207.69%), Simte (6728 persons; -39.19%), Suhte (804 persons; -57.79%), Tangkhul (178568 persons; +22.24%), Tarao (1066 persons; no separate data in 2001), Thadou (215913 persons; +18.24%), Vaiphei (42957 persons; +12.25%), Zou (24294 persons; +18.12%), Generic tribes etc. (20806 persons; +159.10%). Other linguistic communities with a population above 500 persons are Assamese, Bengali, Dogri, Hindi, Bhojpuri, Garhwali, Gurkha/ Nepali, Kumauni, Khasi, Marwari, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Odia, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu, etc. Out of these, the population size of Nepali (Gurkha) is 63756 persons (+38.60%), and the rest clubbed as Mayang is 102655 persons (+39.67%).

**Appendix 10**  
**Kuki Religious Vandalism;**  
**Desecrated The Holy Shrine Of**  
**Meitei Lord Thangjing And Installed Christian Cross**

**Who is Lord Thangjing?**

Indigenous Meitei are polytheists. Apart from the Supreme creator, Sail-aillel Sidaba, they worship its many *sakhais* (tangible abstracts) and *langwols* (incarnates). Among the four *sakhais* identified with four directions, there is Lord Thangjing Koilellai of the southwest with its consort Koilel Leima.

**Where is the original abode?**

The original abode attached to mythological narratives of creation is located at Thangjing Hill Range.<sup>1</sup> in Churachandpur District. The abode is associated with the Meitei folklore of the earth's Creation and human beings' procreation. Every year, Meitei go on a pilgrimage at this abode on the first Sunday after Meitei New Year or the first day of the Meitei lunar month Sajibu (usually in March-April). This site comprises an area of about 4 hectares vide Manipur Gazette Notification No. 376, dated November 14, 2022.

**What is the mythological narrative?**

There can be many mythological accounts. The following is the excerpt from a narrative translated, compiled and reproduced by Dr. Mangangcha Thoudam Laiba in his article 'The God Lainingthou Thangjing Koylellai.' Laiba writes;

“**Thangjing Chingoirol** (Prayer): The mighty God Thangching, supreme ruler of the Kege Kasalel and residing at the ancient Langpum of Moirang, sitting at Nungmu Tumdaba (imperishable block stone), sleeping at Nungpi Sidaba (immortal stone), ruler of the South Western Realm, supreme in (size) magnitude, in length, in height, and has been reigning as such. The mighty God Thangching, being the lord of the wind and always associated with gentle breezes, and sitting alone

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1 The Thangching mountain is about 2,109 metres above sea level. The mountain range spreads between the Barail range (from Oligocene to Miocene, i.e., around 35 to 50 million years) and the Disang range (Tertiary period from Pleistocene to Eocene, i.e., 1.8 million to 58 million). It falls under the Churachandpur Khoupum Protected Forest Area.

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on Khuyol Fak (a divide mat) and also known as the king of Thanga Tolpal, Kege Laishapung including all the demigods, is the supreme God of the Southern Realm of the state (Lainingthou), and the Lainingthou lives at the elevated southern hill ranges. He is described as the first ruler of the civilisation of Moirang, which comes on the banks of Loktak Lake having nine branches. He approached the region along with his consort Koilel Leima and son Tampak Ningthouba from Kangkalu Leihou Pokpi and through the plains of Nangkha village in the middle and founded the kingdom of Moirang. And this is the glory that has been sung through the ages.

The only Creator, who in the dispenser of destiny for all, having decided to create the world and enjoy the festival of life asked the Lainingthou Thangching Koylulai, an incarnation of the God Konchil Tukthapa Pakhangba, to come down from heaven and settle on earth. Then, after searching for a good place to live, the Lainingthou ultimately selected the mountain of Thangching to be the first place for his abode. The Lainingthou has been guarded by the seventeen deities, viz, (i) Paote, ((ii) Polang, (iii) Ipunlen, (iv) Itailen, (v) Ikan-glen, (vi) Nungchongpa, (vii) Nungkapa, (viii) Nungkacheng, (ix) Laikacheng, (x) Wantoupa, (xi) Wangngoupa, (xii) Wanmupa, (xiii) Chali Shenpa, (xiv) Makukuloi, (xv) Shalung Laitang, (xvi) Langchensen, and (xvii) Leinai. And besides, he has also been attended by sixtyone Salois (generally regarded as mischievous Spirits) being led by Ngoupa.

...

There is the shrine of Lainingthou Thangching Koylulai at the peak of the mountain of Thangching. But there is also a story that Khuyoi Tompok (154-264 A.D.), a king of the Mangang clan brought down Lainingthou Thangching from the hills to the plains for the convenience of the people for performing Lai Haraob religious festivals (to please the God)...According to the ancient texts Chingoirol, Chinglon Laihui and Nunglon, it is said—"Now it is to be said to know Thangching. The Shrine of Thangching Koylel king is at the top of the hill of the Thangching. There, at that site, is also the Sanggai Imphal (the royal courtyard); near it is the sanctorum; and that sanctum is called Sanggulei Pokpi (birthplace of Sanggulei). Three stones are lying there. One stones covers the precious gem of Thangching. Another stone covers a Choinou (gold) smoking pipe, a Choinou

(gold) knife and a Choinou (gold) walking stick. Another stone is the breeder of Choinou Yalanchai (gold and silver). Near it grows the immortal tree, U Talu (a big and beautiful tree). A Choinou Khongnang (golden banyan tree) is also there. Near it, is another sanctum too. Water comes out from there. The evergreen immortal tree oozes a fluid, it has branches, having seven leaves. There are two stones—one white and another red—beside the tree. The white one is the altar of the Salailen [Supreme creator], it is the rock that breeds the white elephant. It is divine; its name is Nongdrengkhomba. The red rock is the altar of Thongnang Ningthou (King); it breeds the Lion. There are seven colours among the rocks nearby. These rocks breed gold, silver, gems, precious stones, metals, brass, etc. One of the names of the rocks is Leihingnu Chasoubi. The name of another rock is Tekki Leihing Chi. It is also the name of the red rock...”

#### **Why did Kuki attack the indigenous abode?**

Kuki have been systematically attacking Meitei indigenous beliefs, religious traditions and symbols for some decades. The recent attacks on the abode of Lord Thangjing have some interplaying reasons.

(a) Kuki have largely been migrants in different hordes since around the 1830s. British settled them in colonies in the surrounding hills overlooking the valley. Kuki migrations have been continued throughout the period after 1950. Being migrants, they are either ignorant about or have no emotional attachment with and respect for pre-existing indigenous religions and traditions.

(b) Kuki are followers of Abrahamic religions such as Christianity and Judaism. They have been primarily responsible for converting many Meiteis to Christianity since the 1980s. They have no respect for indigenous beliefs and religious traditions.

(c) Kuki want to occupy and dominate the hills of Manipur. They claim they are the original inhabitant of the hills of Manipur. They assert exclusive territorial rights over the hills. The abode of Lord Thangjing and the annual pilgrimage are proven antithesis to their indigenous claims. They are worried by regular exposure by Meitei pilgrims of their clandestine illicit poppy farming in the Thangjing Hill Ranges. They, therefore, want to forbid pilgrimage.

(d) Kuki want to provoke the religious sentiment of Meitei indigenous faith believers to retaliate by attacking Kuki churches. Such retaliations would be used to spread the lies of religious assault by majority

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Meitei Hindus on minority Kuki Christians. Such lies are meant to cast a wrong image of Meiteis as the offensive aggressor and to justify their demand for a separate homeland.

#### **How did they attack?**

First, they arbitrarily changed the name Thangjing to Thangting to claim that Thangjing Hills belonged to them.

Second, they obstructed the Meitei pilgrimage. For instance, on May 5, 2022, the Kuki Students' Organization of Henglep Sub-division restricted Meiteis from entering the Thangjing Hill Ranges without their permission.

Third, around September 11, 2023, some video footage of the abode of Lord Thangjing having been defiled by installing a Christian cross and flag of the Zomi Revolutionary Army, as well as another unknown flag, was widely circulated in social media.

Fourth, on September 15, 2023, a Kuki students' body sent a letter to the Superintendent of Churachandpur Police Station with the subject "Request to cease and desist any activity on Thanjing Hill." It says, "Our people themselves have created our religious symbol (Cross) and hoisted our cultural flag on the hill." It directed the SP to recall the instructions to remove those things and warned of dire consequences if their directives were violated.<sup>2</sup> After that, police made two attempts to remove Cross, but they were stopped and warned by people not to go and were threatened with dire consequences, including firing on the police team.

Fifth, on February 2, 2024, "a video clip was found circulating on social media in which a group of persons, who claimed themselves to be members of Lomlhang Som, were seen engaging in the erection of a huge Christian Cross at the holy abode of Lord Thangjing ... Some of the persons were seen carrying firearms. ... The incident is said to have been held on 26 January 2024 at about 11:00 AM."

#### **What are the violations?**

As per the FIRs such as FIR No. 25(9) 2023 HLP-PS, FIR No. 1552(9) 2023 MRG-PS, FIR No. 29(10)2023 HLP-PS, FIR No. 38(11) 2023 HLP-PS, etc. investigation have to be initiated against Kuki miscreants under relevant sections of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (IPC), the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958

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<sup>2</sup> FIR No. 29(10)2023 HLP-PS U/S 153-A/506/34 IPC.

(AMASRA), the Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991 (PWPA), the Arms Act, 1959 (AA).

### **Indian Penal Code, 1860**

**34. Acts done by several persons in furtherance of common intention.**—When a criminal act is done by several persons in furtherance of the common intention of all, each of such persons is liable for that act in the same manner as if it were done by him alone.

**120 -B. Punishment of criminal conspiracy.**—(1) Whoever is a party to a criminal conspiracy to commit an offence punishable with death, 1[imprisonment for life] or rigorous imprisonment for a term of two years or upwards, shall, where no express provision is made in this Code for the punishment of such a conspiracy, be punished in the same manner as if he had abetted such offence. (2) Whoever is a party to a criminal conspiracy other than a criminal conspiracy to commit an offence punishable as aforesaid shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding six months, or with fine or with both.]

**153A. Promoting enmity between different groups on ground of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, etc., and doing acts prejudicial to maintenance of harmony.**—(1) Whoever— (a) by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote, on grounds of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, caste or community or any other ground whatsoever, disharmony or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill- will between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes or communities, or (b) commits any act which is prejudicial to the maintenance of harmony between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes or communities, and which disturbs or is likely to disturb the public tranquillity, [or] [(c) organizes any exercise, movement, drill or other similar activity intending that the participants in such activity shall use or be trained to use criminal force or violence or knowing it to be likely that the participants in such activity will use or be trained to use criminal force or violence, or participates in such activity intending to use or be trained to use criminal force or violence or knowing it to be likely that the participants in such activity will use or be trained to use criminal force or violence, against any religious, racial,



language or regional group or caste or community and such activity for any reason whatsoever causes or is likely to cause fear or alarm or a feeling of insecurity amongst members of such religious, racial, language or regional group or caste or community,] shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with fine, or with both.

**295. Injuring or defiling place of worship, with intent to insult the religion of any class.**—Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

**295 A. Deliberate and malicious acts, intended to outrage religious feelings of any class by insulting its religion or religious beliefs.**—Whoever, with deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of [citizens of India], [by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise], insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to [three years], or with fine, or with both.]

**400. Punishment for belonging to gang of dacoits.**—Whoever, at any time after the passing of this Act, shall belong to a gang of persons associated for the purpose of habitually committing dacoity, shall be punished with [imprisonment for life], or with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine.

**506. Punishment for criminal intimidation.**—Whoever commits the offence of criminal intimidation shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both; **If threat be to cause death or grievous hurt, etc.**—and if the threat be to cause death or grievous hurt, or to cause the destruction of any property by fire, or to cause an offence punishable with death or [imprisonment for life], or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years, or to impute unchastity to a woman, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, or with fine, or with both.

**The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958**

**30 A.** Punishment for construction, etc., in prohibited area.—Whoever raises, on and after the date on which the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment and Validation) Bill, 2010, receives the assent of the President, any construction in the prohibited area, shall be punishable with imprisonment not exceeding two years or with fine which may extend to one lakh rupees or with both.

**The Places of Worship (Special Provisions) Act, 1991**

**6. Punishment for contravention of section 3.**—(1) Whoever contravenes the provisions of section 3 shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and shall also be liable to fine. Section 3, “**Bar of conversion of places of worship.**—No person shall convert any place of worship of any religious denomination or any section thereof into a place of worship of a different section of the same religious denomination or of a different religious denomination or any section thereof.”

**The Arms Act, 1959**

**25 (1C).** Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1B), whoever commits an offence punishable under that sub-section in any disturbed area shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than three years but which may extend to seven years and shall also be liable to fine.



