

**INNER LINE PERMIT SYSTEM IN THE NORTH-EAST INDIA: CRITICALLY
UNDERSTANDING THE CONTROVERSY IN MANIPUR**

Dissertation submitted to Lovely Professional University in partial fulfillment for the award of

Master of Political Science

By

KONTHOUJAM ASHOK MEETEI

Regd. No. 11509501

Under The Guidance of

Mr. SATYABRATA KAR (Assistant professor)

School of Arts and Languages

Department of Political science



**SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY
PHAGWARA, PUNJAB,
INDIA.**

APRIL 2017

DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “*INNER LINE PERMIT SYSTEM IN THE NORTH-EAST INDIA: CRITICALLY UNDERSTANDING THE CONTROVERSY IN MANIPUR*” submitted in partial fulfillment of requirement for the award of degree of Master of Arts in Political Science is entirely my original work, and all the ideas and references have been duly acknowledged. It does not contain any work that has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university.

DATE: _____

KONTHOUJAM ASHOK MEETEI
Regd. No. 11509501

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled ***“INNER LINE PERMIT SYSTEM IN THE NORTH-EAST INDIA: CRITICALLY UNDERSTANDING THE CONTROVERSY IN MANIPUR”*** by KONTHOUJAM ASHOK MEETEI bearing registration no. 11509501 is an original piece of research work done under my guidance and supervision in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of M.A. in Political Science to the school of Arts and Language, by Lovely Professional University/Institute for any degree. The candidate has fulfilled all the statutory requirements for the submission of this dissertation.

Dated: _____

Mr. SatyabrataKar

Assistant Professor

School of Arts and Languages

Department of Political Science

Lovely Professional University, PUNJAB

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Firstly, I would like to incline my vow to my parent and my brothers for always keeping the ocean of graceful eyes on me in accomplishment of this project work and without their blessing my work would not have been complete.

Secondly, I would like to thank the University i.e., Lovely Professional University for giving me this opportunity to experience in a research work and also I express my deepest gratitude' to my supervisor, Mr. Satyabrata Kar, Assistant professor of Department of political science for his excellent guidance, caring and patience toward my research. Moreover, he providing me with an excellent atmosphere to finish my project work without which my work would not have been possible and come to such positive end.

ABSTRACT

India is a diverse country within its 29 states sharing resources, culture, and identity. But today there is restriction of entry without proper permit from government to enter certain Indian states for their economic or domestic purpose. This permit is known as Inner line permits (ILP). ILP was demanded mostly by northeast state region to protect their cultural identity and to control the population of their tribes, race of its own state by banning of entry outsiders to their state. It has already been implemented in some state of north-east (Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland) but still in some state of north-east was demanding to implement ILP system on their state. Consequently, Manipur state was on demand to central government to implement the ILP system on the state. Indian citizens, resident or non-resident, require ILPs to visit most such restricted/protected areas. However, the requirement of having a minimum number of travelers and limiting the duration of travel to certain restricted/protected areas are either absent or majorly relaxed for obtaining ILP but there is no restriction to central employees in those states. The present work makes an attempt to discuss the major issues of ILP in north-east state and understand wider controversy in Manipur on the issues for ILP implementation.

KEYWORD: -Inner Line Permit (ILP), Manipur, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland

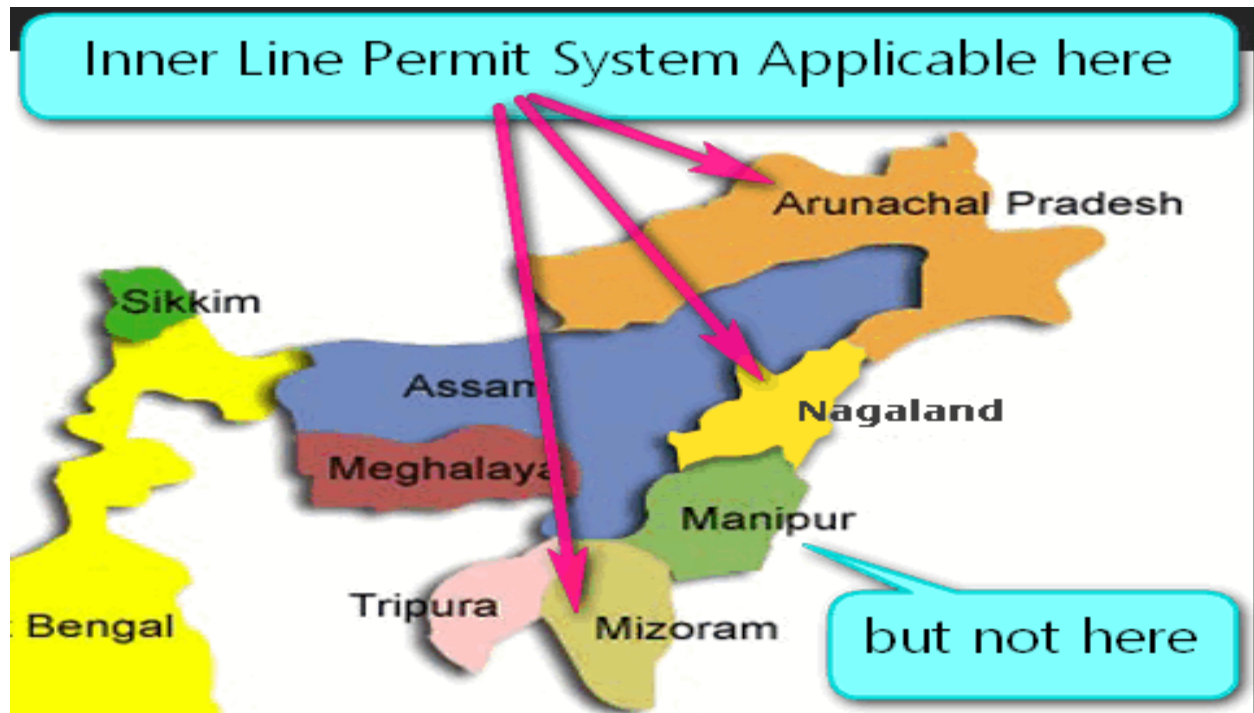
List of Descriptions	Page No
DECLARATION.....	2
CERTIFICATE.....	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	4
ABSTRACT.....	5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1- Introduction.....	7-8
Literature Review.....	9-10
Research Problem and Aims & Objectives of the study.....	10
Research Methodology.....	11
CHAPTER 2- North-East State of Indi.....	12-17
CHAPTER 3- Manipur: The Historical, Cultural and Social profile.....	18-36
CHAPTER 4-Understanding the rationale of ILP.....	37-41
CHAPTER 5- The politics of ILP in Manipur.....	42-53
CHAPTER 6- Conclusion and Discussion.....	54-55
BILOBIGRAPHY/REFERENCES.....	56

**INNER LINE PERMITS SYSTEM IN THE NORTH-EAST INDIA:
CRITICALLY UNDERSTANDING THE CONTROVERSY IN MANIPUR**

**CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION**



Inner Line Permit is a legal travel certificate provided by the Government of India to Indian citizen to travel into a protected area for a limited time. It is compulsory for all the Indian citizens as well as for foreigners except some areas of north east states, to get such a travel permit. ILP is a British time document. This travelling condition was established by Britishers under an Act called as the Bengal Frontier Provision Act, 1873. But it is still used in democratic India to protect the tribal cultures, customs, values and tradition of the North East India.

At present scenario, the ILP is implemented in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland and the people of Manipur are also demanding for the implementation of inner line permit for years. Under this systems, a certificate can only be issued to the those travelers who are not the part of north eastern states covered by ILP and also the outsiders from other states cannot buy any

property in these north eastern states covered under inner line permit for any use. However, people residing in these states for a long time can buy property under certain terms and conditions provide under ILP policy. Despite of certain provisions the entry of central government employees and security personnel's is not restricted in these areas. In 2012, a resolution seeking the implementation of ILP in Manipur passed by state legislative assembly and put forward its demand to the union government to take some steps regarding the implementation of ILP for the protection of its indigenous people.

The people of Manipur demanding the implementation of inner line permit and this demand become popular over the last few years. The ILP is a special permit that is required to enter the Northeastern states of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram. This permit system was first introduced by the British to protect their monopoly over economic and trade interests in these areas, specially, oil and tea, and this system is still there to protect the culture of tribal people from the influence of outsiders.

Increasing tourism and migration is a great threat to the demographic condition of the state so the people of Manipur demanded its implementation in any ways. Following the demand of ILP in Manipur, the **Regulation of Visitors, Tenants and Migrant Workers' Bill** was introduced in 2016 by the Manipur government. This Bill was proposed to establish visitor registration centers in the state. Owners of the hotels have to submit all the details including identifying document of the visitors from other states to the government of Manipur and these rules are also equally applicable to the contractors hiring labour from other state. This Bill fulfilled the demand of the people of Manipur state, but it has failed to satisfy the people who wanted nothing short of the ILP system. Subsequently the bill was withdrawn after fear agitations and violent protests in the state. The fear agitations and violent protests and growing unrest among the people of Manipur pressurize the government and the Manipur government passed three other bills in 2015. These bills were Protection of Manipur People Bill, the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Bill (Seventh Amendment) and the Manipur Shops and Establishments (Second Amendment) Bill — but these three bills were again receive a severe protest by the tribal communities living in hilly area of Manipur, because tribal communities of Manipur think that these laws can affect their land and rights.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Garg Ibu Sanjeeb (2016) conducted the study on “The complex politics of Inner line permit Manipur” in 2016. In the study author enumerates that ILP cannot solve any problems and issues prevailing in Manipur — neither the development nor the question related to the ethnic lands of Manipur. This ILP may or may not be successful as a tool for protecting the interest of meetei communities. This issue can be solved only when there is mutual co-operation amongst different communities living in Manipur. ILP is the major issues in present scenario but it cannot solve all the issues prevailing in the society. To bring about the development and for the successful future of Manipuris the cooperation among the people along with implementation of ILP is must.

Joshi Pranav (2015) publishes the report on” All you need to know about the Inner Line Permit issue in Manipur” 2015. In the study the author explain the reason of agitation, violent protests, structurefunctioning and historical background of Inner line permit in India especially north east. The author also talks about the views and arguments of JCILPS. The JCILPS was and thirteen members committee which was established in 2014 to watch in the demands of various social and student organisation for the introduction of inner line permit in Manipur. Since, Manipur cannot be longer protecting its indigenous culture and distinctiveness after the 1949 merger, the ILP system must be put in place of Manipur.

Sanatombi Angomcha (2015) publishes the thought paper “*Implement ILP System in Manipur*” 2015. In the paper author stressed out that ILP issue is not meant for a particular community or locality of the people. It is a common issue. In author’s opinion, it should tickle the conscience of each and every person in the state. Author stressed the need of ILP to preserve and protect their land, to have a control on our economy, to build our business and most significantly to defend our cultural identity

Mr. Gandhi Neba (2015) conducted the study on “*Applicability and Relevance of Inner Line Permit (Ilp) in Arunachal Pradesh.*” 2015. In the study the author questions the elating of ILP from state author argue it is a serious concern for people of the state. It is not all about its authority and relevance in modern global era but it is for question of their culture, identity and rights of the tribal people. People needs certain constitutional mechanism to protect their

indigenous identity however the constitution of India have not granted any such machinery other than the ILP. The IPL system is not a mechanism to curtail the freedom of movement; ILP is only legal permit which is issued by the Government of Arunachal Pradesh to mainland Indian visitors in order to prevent any kind of anti-social elements that would harm the peace loving people of the state. Therefore author concluded that lifting of ILP from state at this phase may create more unsafe for extinction of tribal culture and rights. This should be kept in mind as Arunachal Pradesh is a responsive border state located in a conflict prone region. Author also stressed the demand for states like Manipur and Meghalaya for the ILP systems in the north east.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Many scholars work less on the issues of ILP in north east, there is not enough article related on the issues of ILP. There are lots of issues, such as problem on the implementation of ILP in the Manipur state. But not any scholar has done any researches yet, due to this problem the present could not find out the real issues of the study. But the present study aims to explore the critically understanding of the controversy in Manipur regarding the Inner Line Permit system [ILP] in the north-east India: Therefore the present study is Entitled as; *INNER LINE PERMIT SYSTEM IN THE NORTH-EAST INDIA: CRITICALLY UNDERSTANDING THE CONTROVERSY IN MANIPUR.*

AIMS & OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To evaluate and examine the Inner Line Permit system in North East India.
- To eradicate how the inner line permits system will operate and how it will stop the immigration in the state of Manipur.
- To understand how the inner line permits system will protect the indigenous people and their culture in the state.
- To analyze the communal controversies in the state on the issue of implementation of ILP system in the state.
- To understand the role of regional and national political parties on the implementation of ILP in the state

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A research methodology is a method use to solve the research problem. It may be understood as a discipline of studying how research can be done analytically. Methodology is a strategy or plan of action. Secondary sources are sources which data have been translated to meaningful conclusion by the researchers. Secondary sources can include journals, article and statistical records. In the present study the secondary sources such as books, journals, newspapers, and articles were used thoroughly to come to a conclusion. It is a library research.

CHAPTER 2

NORTH EAST STATE OF INDIA



Retrieved from <http://www.mapsofindia.com> on 29.03.2017

The North East region of India is a strategic geopolitical location because of sharing international border with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Nepal. Earlier it comprised of seven states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, and Tripura, popularly known as the 'Seven Sisters.' Newly created the State of Sikkim also comes under the of north east region due to its closeness to the north eastern area and somehow it is similar in the various types of developmental and other problems. Geographically, the north eastern region is almost apart from the rest of the state of India. North- East region is surrounded by the international countries such as Tibet, Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Bangladesh. A narrow corridor of West Bengal connects it with the rest of India. (Sharma S.K.2005)

The word "North east Frontier" connotes with reference in present days, British India was completely different from what it is present with observe to the Mughal Empire during the 16th and 17th centuries. Today it is still relevant in the hilly areas located in the north and east of Sadiya, which instruct the route to China, it means that during the Mughal periods the Mongoloid states of Koch Bihar, Kamrup and Assam, were surrounded consecutively on the province of Bengal in the north east.

The north eastern region were sheltered by its principalities in much strange shape- it has great length by very little breath, and like it again, it can be said that the watered by one life-giving river (the Brahmaputra). The larger part of the country is close between hilly and remote hills, which surrounded by three sides- north, south and east, while on the west there is a river called Karatoya. The only way to reach outside world is on the west, and mostly south- west, and it is here that the Mughal Sarkar of Ghoraghat reached the fringe of Koch domain which was naturally the first to come within the jurisdiction of Imperial foreign policy.

North East India is mostly hilly and there are streams and rivers. Most of the hilly area is covered with dense forests due to the heavy rain falls. In some areas, the ridges rise one after another. The valleys are deep, narrow and steeply and the streams are deepening and flowing through the valley as a result any communications between these hilly areas is almost impossible. The strong geographic condition of this region provides the tribes to survive in isolation. These isolated conditions of the different tribes force them to demand political independence. The tribes named Mizos and the Nagas demanded independence because they are living on the hills

and not touched overpoweringly by administration in their regions. However the Khasi and the Garos do not demand independence because they were in close relation with the people of the plains and understand the benefits, cultural, political and economic. The North East India is covered by natural boundaries from three sides and a political boundary on the fourth. It shares common frontiers with four political communities, China in the North, Bhutan in the West, Bangladesh in the East and Myanmar in the South. Like north eastern region no other region of India occupies such a strategic position. Before the coming of British, the indigenous people in the hills of north-east India had their own political system which had been the natural outcome of their social development.

Two different types of government had been evolved in the hills, Democratic system and the autocratic system. Democratic system developed in the clan-based village societies which were under the control of village councils and village headmen, and the autocratic system of chieftainship controlled by the clan or village chiefs. The concentration of power and authority of these traditional political institutions in relation to their people was varied from tribe to tribe. Moreover, in some communities these traditional institutions were very well-organized and well-structured and even, in some cases, they led the formation of miniature small states. Whereas some communities these institutions were not well organized and did not have any central authority. (Rao V. Venkata. 2016)

Northeast India has witnessed the two characteristic discourses: Reiterative and Declarative. The other state of India also possessing the same characteristics but in North Eastern States it also has its counterparts: the protesting voices in these regions. The power and the strength of insurgency in the Northeast are due to the fact that armed groups exercise a profound influence in the workings of northeastern civilian politics. The combination of a racketeer and a policy lobby, an insurgent group can cut political deals and influence in the elections, and become trapped in a system of extortion and corruption that makes it difficult for politicians to bureaucrats to act independently. Central government adopted the two face policy in response to the uprising in the north east one side to counter insurgency and other two start development program to end the grievances of the people.

The discussion over two strategies which were adopted by central government is more importantly misguided. Both security and development programmes are misused by the local political parties with the system of violent politics, corruption, and for the struggle of power in Northeast. When central security forces stay there for an indefinite time period they may create hate amongst the local people but violence is upraised because of local security forces. Local security forces do not have any capacity to oppose the bond between insurgents and politicians.

Moreover, underdevelopment lags behind because funds granted by government were used for private gain, and absence of any effective law destroys the investment climate and limits entrepreneurialism. If the north east civilians, insurgents group and local politicians, have little loyalty toward each other than the formal political process can deal swiftly with violence and remove it from the society by carrying out some reform and support to local police and judicial institutions. Violence activities, electoral exploitation, corruption, black market, extortion, and communal violence are hardly being carried out successfully in the Northeast. Illegal acts by security forces and center sponsored agents are not always dealt quickly and positively due to insurgent problems. The people of north east believe that nature and environment is their home and they feel safe in nature and activities of rebels could be countered by the belief there may be real penalties from nature for their anti-social and political actions. The political insecurity in Northeast India has been an important factor in determining India's foreign policy toward Myanmar. It is quite visible. In reality the presence of Indian security forces at the international border and some agreement between India and Myanmar pressurize Myanmar to fight against the insurgent groups who are taking shelter in some of Myanmar and near international boundaries. Security expert Bibhu Prasad Routray wrote an article describing the potential effects of the road-building project between Northeast India regions and Thailand through Myanmar on northeastern insurgent groups. (Sen Spira 1992)

Geography plays a major role in the development process and the separation of north east region from other parts of India which has a direct effect on the economy of the North east. The famous 22 km Siliguri Corridor of west Bengal connects the region of North east with the rest of India and more than 99 per cent of the borders of the North East is connected with international countries China,

Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh. Except china these neighboring countries have friendly relation with India are standing with India to fight against terrorism.

One of the major problem in north east region is insurgency and it flourish there very swiftly and dominate the society because people has feeling of separate identity on the basis of culture ,ethnicity ,values and traditions.. This feeling of separate identity is there because people feel that they are neglected, exploited and discriminated by the corrupt government. These entire major problems are still present in the North East. The only solution to these problems of north east region clearly, is to provide good corruption-free government and economic development.

It is truly belief, that when people of Delhi think about Northeast, they think about their physiographic division and the distance that make gap in the mind of the people and they think it very far to reach and it might be underdeveloped backward tribal region. But, when the people of the Northeast think about Delhi, they think in different levels of terms in their development and economy process and explain it into an emotional gap in terms of their development which were lacking behind in comparing to Delhi region to that of North east region. Hope that this mindset can be solved equally by changing their attitudes.(Dubey S K 1978)

Autonomy and ethnicity have various faces and masks of the north east region. A shift in insight and Policy-making occurs when the people think that they are part of the problem and not the solution in the region. Autonomy is given to these regions but it is controlled by the Centre and the States, politically and administratively. Autonomy to an ethnic group within the territory of India cannot mean to ignore the situation of the same ethnic group living across the different borders. It is important to move towards achieving greater inter-governmental coordination. The psychological combination of the North east with the rest of the territory of India has significant importance. It is also important to advance the policy and promote institutional structures to provide effective integration in the north east state.

A critical innovative perception to the India's North Eastern region is that it has long distance and the Indian security set up in the region. The predictable exercise would absorb Pakistan initiation an attack on Jammu and Kashmir. In addition to these, China would also hold Indian

military system in the Northeast state with association from Tibet, throughout Bhutan and Alipurduar in the Jalpaiguri district and it may cut off what is referred as the Shiliguri corridor or chicken neck in that region. An Indian strategists 'dream come true in the present scenarios.

The key Chinese objectives to the India would likely to be capturing a large part of territory of Sikkim and to secure a strategic position. In strategic way, it can be explain into denying an opening pad to the Indian forces to an attack on Tibet in the country. The constituent of this drive, it is now projected, it may also be centered on occupying areas in Bhutan, Chinese also claimed that affectation to a direct threat in Shiliguri Corridor, a important item on the agenda.

The Shiliguri Corridor is an area that link remote areas of north eastern states with the mainland India. The geographical arrangement holds the North Eastern States at a weakness point for a lack of tactical depth, and it is compulsory measured to provide a buffer, the weak areas of communication that attach mainland India to the Northeast region. The Shiliguri corridor's measurement extends lengthwise about 200kms with a size varying between 20 and 60 kilometers in the regions.(T. Raatan.2004).

The rational and effective policies cannot be builds up for the restoration of an enduring peace and development of the Northeast state until the thing in these a range of unorthodox rudiments of the political, administrative and socio-economic situation established in north eastern region. An understandable consequence is that the areas of development that have been applied in the region, or that have already successful in other parts of the country, cannot automatically be complete to the north eastern region. The main prospects for peace in India's northeast remain mixed in present scenario

CHAPTER 3 MANIPUR STATE



Retrieved from <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/manipur/manipur.htm> on 28.3.2017

1. HISTORICAL PROFILE OF MANIPUR

Manipur was explored by an adventurer named Pakhangba. He ascended the throne of the seven Main principalities and led the foundation of an empire which ruled over Manipur till 1949. Another great ruler named Loi Yamba in 1074 A.D. united the kingdom to some extent of their own territory. Later on, Kabaw who lived at the indo- Burma border and he tried to expand their territory to the south eastern part of Manipur Valley which was blocked by the King Khumomba and Kabaw valley was annexed from Manipur.

In 16th century Manipur was further extended and at that time a battle was fought between Chinese and Manipuris in which Manipuris were victorious. In 1762, Manipuri king signed an agreement with Britishers and asked for help against Burmese. It is said that the Burmese success in Assam , Manipur and some other part of north east which resulted into the breakout of war between Burmese and Britishers which last for seven years. This war ended with the treaty of Yandaboo but failed to change the situation and solve the problems of Manipur. Thereafter, Manipur was under Britishers territory as an inhabitant state after much deliberation. In 1949, Manipur was integrated and was made state under part 'C'. Union leadership was against its incorporation in Assam and it was also discussed by the Reorganization Commission. Therefore, it became a Union Territory under the State Reorganization Act 1956. Later due to the people's opposition Manipur was made state of the Union India in 1972. The total area of Manipur is 22,327 sq km and it was surrounded by Myanmar on the east, Nagaland on the north, Assam on the west and Mizoram on the south west.

Geographically it is very rich state. Manipuris belongs to Aryan and Mongolian. Traditional practices by some people appear to be more similar to the Mongolian site and some important principles and practices are mentioned in the old scriptures of the Manipuris are much closer to the Vedic religion than to the Mongolian thought and religion practiced. Hence, Manipuri cultures forms part the broad Vedic civilization.(Verinder Grover.et.all.1996)

The entire region of Manipur and Myanmar borders were settled by inhabitant's people. In fact, most of the people from both sides of the border regions belong to the same tribe community. The Kukis and Nagas community have been settling in both the borders from decades of

years and protect their own culture and identity, due to these the communities of Kuki and Naga are allowed to enter one another's borders to meet their relatives and families without any restrictions. The insurgent group of Meitei communities occupied the whole area of Imphal valley region. Apart from, State forces the union government deployed central paramilitary forces in the state to control over the situation of administration system in the state from the disturbance of insurgent group of different communities (Singh M. Gojendra 1989)

The educated peoples of Manipur could not find any suitable job in present days due to these the unemployment problem rise up day by day. Many graduated students were employed by the state in police constable to help over the law and orders of the state. With the development of education system facilities in the state the growth of unemployment problem amongst youth generations is likely to increase further in the coming years. Due to these the young generation would be in trouble to get any jobs in the state as the state governments were providing less post in state government departments.

The population of the state increase day by day in the state due to many illegal migrants from outside the state and some of the neighboring countries. As a result the increasing competition in government job among its own people and others people increases in the state due to these the educated youth of the state were difficult to get the jobs in the state. With these thoughts Meitei communities insurgents have co-ordinate with the Naga and Mizo insurgents by making a plan their movements to chase out the people who were not belong to their motherland. (Singh. 1996)

The different communities residing in the hill regions of Manipur are gifted with rich natural resources, rivers, fertile soils and valuable minerals. Apart from these the people of hills region are strong and hard working, they provide most of the economic development in the state. But the entire hilly regions are underdeveloped in infrastructures, roads and education system when comparing with valley regions these is due to lack of connectivity with the government. Continuously destroy of forest in the hills region by the hill communities for their needs have brought miserable to the ecosystem of Manipur and its people. Therefore, the government should look for proper attention to scientific management of natural resources and by giving good awareness to the hill communities, so that an ecosystem in the region can be maintained. In the

hills area, Soil erosion is a serious threat in the state, it is due to frequently practicing of jhumming cultivation and cutting and burning of forests in the hills area by their own communities of the state. So to control from such problem in the state of hilly regions the government should strictly prohibited of such practice and should look for proper soil conservation measures in these part of regions.

Manipur is a hilly state and most of the hills are covered by dense forest due to heavy rainfall. These forests provide wood, fuel, charcoal, and timber for furniture and various other natural products like honey, fiber, gums, medicine herbs etc. And most of these products are exported in various neighboring states. Dalchini is the most important spices and major source of foreign exchange and in domestic markets also help to enhance the income of state.

The forest-clad hills of the Manipur have very good variety of wildlife. Himalayan black bear and the common Indian sloth bear are mostly found in the northern hills of the Manipur. The wild pig is common in the whole region. In the Tamenglong various species of porcupine, moles, rats, and mice are found in large numbers. The main economic activity occupations of the people are agriculture in most of the region. Weaving, fishing and other cottage industries are the most important supplement. Some of the youths are employed in the Government and semi-Government organization. The main occupation of people living at substantial level in and around Imphal is weaving which is the major source of livelihood. (T. Raatan. 2004).

People living on the bank of the Loktak Lake have occupied two professions, agriculture and fishing. The handicraft industries like carpentry, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, bamboo and cane work also helps a small section of the population these regions. Woman living in the urban and rural area also support the family by doing some economic activities like tailoring, weaving, agriculture, etc and also they plays an significant role in the business market. To improve the agriculture various irrigation facilities were introduced. The agriculture in these region depended on monsoon and natural fertility of land.

A. HISTORICAL PREJUDICES

The growth of different communities like Meitei identity, Naga identity and Kukis identity has evolved through the history of Manipur. After the imposition of British rule 1891 in Manipur, there is emerged a system of unreasonable social and religious discrimination and exploitation in the different communities of Manipur under the influence of very conservative and orthodox Hindu Vaishnava organization called Brahma Sabha, which deeply hurt their feelings and sentiments of the people of Manipur in general and the non-Hindu tribal people of Manipur in particular to the state. That was possibly the beginning of the emotional disaffection of the hill people from the Meitei people in the region. It is also a well-known that the kings of Manipur and later even the British used the Kukis communities to attack the Nagas communities and to keep them under control, which widened the gap between the two communities.

In the lengthy history of Manipur there was not a single instance of communal riot, agitations in Manipur's history until December, 1992 when community's riots broke out between the Nagas and the Kukis. These communities' riots continued up to 1995. These riots lasted for accurately 30 hours (03-04 May 1993), however, the casualties of two communities were not less. It was sparked off due to a rumour and subsided as soon as it flared, as there were no outside instigators to fuel the divide and the other factor was the ingrained social binding in the state. It was again followed by another communal ethnic flare up between the Kukis communities and the Paites who belonged to the same Kukis-Chin Mizo communities groups in the year 1997-98. Thus historical prejudice is kept in hatred among different communities ethnic groups alive in Manipur. (T. Raatan. 2004).

B. MEITEI IDENTITY

The Meitei communities of Manipur have different names at different stages in the history of its kingdom. Meitei history indicates that most of the valley areas of Manipur were settled by different seven tribes namely, Ningthouja, Angom, khumal, Moirang, Luwang, Sarang-Leishangthem and Khaba-Nganba.

In Ancient periods, Ningthouja or Meiteis subdued the remaining tribes, the tribe of Manipur and gradually the called as Meitei and it has become relevant to all the different communities of tribes. The king Pamheiba which also known as Garibniwaz rule the Manipur kingdom for forty years, during his periods the evolution of Meitei communities identity rise up in his kingdom. He made it a clear point to sketch all his subjects within the domain of newly embraced Vaishnavism, the Vaishnavite group from Bengal that spread across all entire part of Imphal valley. Due to these, rapid growths of socio-economic transformation were started in the valley from tribalism to ethnicity. The pressure of Vaishnavism culture became very strong in all the entire part of valley regions and it was observable in the way of their dress, food habit and even in the acceptance of Bengali script as the script for Meitei language in the state.

C. GROWTH OF MEITEI NATIONALISM IN MANIPUR

After Manipur joined to union India, the king of Manipur lost his whole authority in the state and his independence to the Britishers. In spite of losing their authority to the British by Manipur, the Kings continued to repress the commoners by levying prohibited taxes on the commoners for all socio-economic activities. Thus, seditious political consolidation of the Meiteis against the Monarchy in the kingdom. The political of Manipur was began by the Meiteis communities and started against the monarchy system. The space of Meitei communities in Manipur and its ambition within the larger Indian nationalism was not so easy. The accumulated grievances of Meitei communities being threatened and it led to the united amongst people and demand for secessions in the region. In fact, the demand for Meitei community's identity is a great expression of nationalism in the region.

Since the post-independence context of the country, the revolutionary movements of Meitei communities in Manipur are an outcome of numerous deep rooted factors, namely, perceived forced unification of princely states by India, the threat posed by some of the Naga movement, poor governance, and neglect from central government and the crisis of identity communities which are the motivating factor in the revival of Meitei nationalism in the state. Indian indifference towards the political aspirations of the communities of Manipur after the merger with India, economic exploitation and the policy of internal economy among different communities was followed towards Manipur, the bureaucratic reserve in the state of Manipur as a result of the imposition of central rule in Manipur for 23 years (1949-1972) by the country, growth of a highly educated influential group, followed by a serious problem of unemployment of the youths in the state, experience of discontented leaders to the ideas of revolution in many countries of the third world including Marxist ideas in the states of Manipur. There are some important revolutionary movements for the growth of Meitei nationalism namely United National Liberation Front (UNLF), Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA), Peoples' Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP) and KYKL. (Hodoson T C Mitheis 1986)

D. NAGA IDENTITY

The communities of naga identity in Manipur were mostly spearheaded by Haipo Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu. In 1931, they introduced anti-British movement. At that time of the movement, it was not called as Naga movement but somewhat called as Kabui and Kutcha Naga movement since the influence of naga movement from neighboring state Nagaland was not really influencing the Nagas of Manipur at that point in time of the anti-British-movement. This only mentioned out that the communities of Naga identity were in great change even in the middle of the 20th century.

E. GROWTH OF NAGA NATIONALISM IN MANIPUR

The rise of Naga nationalism in Manipur can be also looked back to the first half of 20th century in the region of Manipur. There are many changes in the age-old traditional culture and tribal society due to the influence of British rule in these region. In addition to these the rise of Christianity in the Naga regions has also brought many changes in Naga culture because of followings the religion and practices of prayer and traditional beliefs. In 1930, Jadonang and Gaidinliu started a movement which is known as Revivalist movement for Zeliangrongs communities. These movements were on the ideas of Naga identity which took a ideologies of semi-military, semi religious and semi-political role in the state. The Nagas communities of Manipur were a party to the memorandum which was submitted by Naga Club to the Simon Commission. On that memorandum it mention that naga communities should neither take part in Phizo's plebiscite of 1951 on the question rise up in the state by Nagas' independence with strong demands. The ideology of Nagas communities in Manipur was not in the demand for unified Nagaland. The demand for idea of Nagaunification was brought by the following the organization, namely the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN).

F. KUKI IDENTITY

The Kukis communities in Manipur were first come to know in 1777, on the time of Governor Generalship of Warren Hastings. In Chittagong, the British subject were usually protest by Kuki communities. In 1845, the many thousands of people migrated in Manipur, due to these there was a great caused of anxiety to the old Kukis inhabitants of the hill areas. To bring a resolution which is facing problem by the Kuki communities in Manipur, Mc Culloh, the Political Agent of Manipur, solved the problem in such a manner that they role as a guards on uncovered frontiers in the state of Manipur. As Naga communities, Kukis is also a generic term functioning to the different sub-tribes communities, namely Thadou, Paite, Hmar, Simte, Zou, Gangte, Vaiphei, Guite, Ralte, Sukte, etc. The Kuki were also known as Khongjais in Manipur before the use of the term Kukis.

G. GROWTH OF KUKI NATIONALISM IN MANIPUR

Similarly to the Naga the Kuki communities also started against the British subject in Manipur. The Kukis communities of Manipur were forcefully recruited by the Britishers and send them to France as Labour Corps during the World War I. This forcefully avoiding of Kuki freedom in Manipur leads to the movement of Kuki communities which is commonly known as 'Kukis Rebellion' movement in history of Manipur. The Nagas communities and other tribal groups were getting their homelands and the young people generations of the Kukis also became restive in Manipur. In 1980, the sense of separating among different communities has rise up various with the NSCN ahead in the ground of hills areas. The Naga demand in the state for unification has become louder and violent. With the demand for a Kukis identity in the state, it leads to the formation of underground government called Kuki national organization (KNO) and Kuki National Army (KNO) in 1988 to protect the culture and traditional of their own communities. Later on, it speared across all the regions. However, there was a conflict between Naga and Kuki communities on clamming one another about the territorial belonging in the state. Therefore, it creates insecurity and anxietywithin the Kukis communities bringing them closer as against the perceived hegemony ofNagas communities in the different part of Manipur regions.

H. PANGALS

The Manipuri Muslims communities are generally called Pangals, came to Manipur from the neighboring state Assam and Bengal towards the beginning of the last century and settled down in thealluvial plains of different parts of Imphal areas. These communities form 7% of the population of Manipur today. The Pangals communities live together in large villages in the fertile tracts along the main road on the banks of theManipur and the Iril Rivers in the Imphal areas. These communities speak the Manipuri dialects but use the Urdu script andusually abide by the prevalent Muslim customs of other places in the state. The Muslims communities keep tothemselves and do not mix freely with either the Manipuris or the tribal's. These communities have not yetdisplayed any territorial aspirations and presently appear to be looking for peacefulcoexistence with other communities in the state of Manipur.

H. NEPALI

During the period of British influence in the country it was found essential to raise an army of Gorkhas. Since they were the inhabitants of the hills in different regions they were ideally suited for operations in the hills. They were allowed to settle in different part of hill areas of Manipur after retirement. Slowly their familymembers and relatives joined them and settled in different parts of the regions. There is a considerable population of Nepali communities concentrated in small areas like Sagolmang, Pukhao, Dolaithabi, Ekou, Mantripukhari, and Chingmeirong.

In some parts of Manipur areas where Nepali communities are settled in small settlements are Kanglatongbi, Kalapahar, Motbung, and KPI, small hamlets along the NH-39/2 in the Senapati district, along the Imphal-Tamenglong road in Tamenglong district, Sugnu, Shairo, and Chakpikarong etc. The migrant Nepalis have settled in different parts of area as graziers and as farmlabourers in the southern boundary of the valley near Shairo and follow a lifestyle very similar to the tribal's of Manipur. These Nepali community populations are commonly not affected by insurgency and they usually follow the lead of the dominant group in the area of the regions.

2. CULTURE PROFILE

A. ETHNICITY AND MANIPUR

The cultural origin of the major ethnic communities of Manipur namely the Meiteis of the valley and the tribal communities in the hills are one and the same in the kingdom. These two communities are large and it is the descendants of the Mongoloid race. This is evident from their general facial characteristics and although some discrepancy of features among the Meiteis is found due to intermarriage with people from the West in the kingdom of Manipur. There are also evidences in large numbers which give evidence that both the hill people and the plains people of Manipur lived together in the hills as the valley was waterlogged in the early pre-historic period. When the water receded after a significant period of time, the valley became dry and fit for human habitation in the state. Some of the people of Manipur came down from the hills and settled in some part of valley finding it more suitable for agriculture purpose in the areas. Thus they came to be known as the Meiteis of the valley area in Manipur while and people who continued to live in the hills area came to be known as the hill people of various tribes. This speculation of the identical origin of different communities' people on the hills areas and the valley areas of Manipur is strongly supported by T.C Hodson in his book the Meiteis, which is considered a classic to be referred to in any study about Manipur. It is also supported, more considerably, by the oral literature of these various communities of the state.

In the present scenario of Manipur, the state suffers from the ethnic crises apart from many insurgents organisation in the state due to some politics. Meitei, Kuki and Naga, are the three inhabited communities of Manipur. They have their own culture, traditional and way of livings. So to protect and preserved the culture and identity the state, has been threatened as the interest of one group clash with other. These three communities groups stayed together for centuries in the Manipur they developed own heritage under its own ethno-social borders. The 'divide and rule policy' of the regions administering between the hills and plains of Manipur. The following of Christian religion amongst the tribal groups of Nagas and Kukis had added widened the cultural gap with Meiteis who are a predominantly Hindu society in the state of Manipur.

After India's independence, the different communities of Manipur continued to coexist peacefully, however, outstanding to divide the people aspirations and alleged insecurity about natural resources due to these gradually they moved apart from each other. Certain post independence developments deepened these prejudices leading to inter-community ethnic clashes in different part of regions in Manipur. These communities' clashes also led to the creation of various armed groups in the names of their respective ethnic communities within the regions. The insurgent outfits of different communities were not only waging struggle against the establishment, but were now seen more as a necessity against the hegemony and violence perpetrated by rival communities.

B. LINGUISTIC AND AFFINITY

Another major area of junction is the linguistic affinity of different communities in Manipur. All the dialects spoken by different communities in the state were belongs to the same linguistic family, i.e., the Tibeto-Burman linguistic family. These are the reason why there are a large number of similar words with related meanings among different communities. The most dominant communities Meitei which speak Manipuri language (Meiteilon) and the dialects spoken by other communities of Manipur as members of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages is supported by the famous linguistic scholar Dr. Grierson in his book 'Linguistic Survey of India'. Yet another area of junction is fact that the Manipuri language or Meiteilon is the lingua franca of all the communities living in different parts of Manipur. It is the only medium through which all the different communities people communicate with each other for socio-economic and cultural interaction in whole part of Manipur.

3. SOCIAL PROFILE

A. AUTONOMY OR LOCAL SELF GOVERNANCE

The issues creating conflict in Manipur among different communities like demands of grater Nagaland with amalgamation to India is not the main factor in the state. There are also many factors within the Manipur as well. The different political ideology among the different ethnic groups in state is belief by the ample political power is a needed for retaining their cultural identity and all round development in the state among different communities. The difficulties rise up within the state while in demanding separate administration or self governing when it is closely connected with the demand of culture identity and development from different communities. The different communities of Manipur shared its geographical and cultural, due to these it is difficult to divide the territory among different ethnic group residing in different regions.

In South Africa homelands were dismantled and four provinces were replaced by nine provinces it is due to the power distribution between sub-national units. This understanding led to empowerment of the indigenous people and made them stakeholders in furtherance of peace and development. In the same way, in Assam, Bodoland Territorial Council, an autonomous administrative system was newly added under the sixth schedule of the India constitution. This autonomous administrative unit has been formed with an mission of accomplishing development and growth in the areas of economy, education system, protection of land rights, linguistic aspirations, socio cultural and communities identity of Bodos and all infrastructural development in Assam. In Manipur there is also case for surrendering autonomy to certain areas of Manipur in a comparable method to meet the aspirations of ethnic communities by empowering and making them a stakeholder in their development and growth, peaceful coexistence and harmony in the state. The Extension of sixth schedule of the Indian constitution to the present Hill District Councils with improved administrative and financial powers will meet majority of the aspirations of the tribal people and would definitely lead to reasonable development and harmonization. This arrangement will make sure territorial integrity of ethnically diverse Manipur but it will also create freedom for the tribes communities like Nagas and Kukis to thrive

and preserve their identity in the state. For example, tribal communities must also be given the opportunity for establishing autonomous bodies in order to protect and perform their religious, cultural, linguistic, and other welfare in the state among different tribes. This form of autonomy is suited for all ethnic groups in the region. Additionally it will also deal with the concerns of the Meiteis concerning redrawing of the state boundaries in the state. On the other hand, it will also ensure the loyalty of all different communities to the Manipur State but the funds for these autonomous bodies may be running scared through the state government maintaining appropriate accountability and transparency in Manipur.

B. NON INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT

There is a perceived bias that the Manipur government is utilizing all their sources and funds in Imphal Valley while the hills which need more concentration have been neglected. Developmental plans which are carried out by the state government seem to be biased and the difference between the hills area and the valley area is harsh. Non-inclusive growth has led to people unemployment, under development and dissatisfaction amongst the people in the hills area and it is the major reasons for continuing insurgency in Manipur for long decades in spite of wealth of natural and human resources in the state. Scheduled Tribes status has not helped the poor tribal communities due to lack of awareness and programs, only the elites among the tribe's communities are availing the benefits from it. Non inclusive development at national level it can also be recognized to only two parliamentary seats assigned to the state of Manipur. This irrelevant representation at the National level is also miserly the state of Manipur of its right for allocation of funds among different communities.

The ethnic divide among different communities exists in this troubled state is deep rooted in present scenario. The discrepancy in development between the hill area and the valley area is conspicuous. These differences are increasing day by day rather than diminishing and therefore, there is an urgent requirement of addressing this issue of the biased move toward the government in implementing the developmental projects and programs in the hill areas in Manipur. A typical example is to be found in South Africa, where, one of the mainly important steps taken up by the African National Congress government in South Africa was aimed at addressing the roots of

economic development inequalities in the country. The ANC of South Africa introduced a plan called the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The plan aimed to encourage backward groups, especially blacks peoples, to joinactively in equal with others in business field. Similarly in the State of Manipur there is a need to lead in inclusive development so that all sections of different communities in the societybenefit from it. Certain major important areas for responsibility inclusive development especiallyin hill areas of Manipur are development and programs of infrastructure, better educational facilities, provision ofbasic health facilities, enhancing employment opportunities, skill & capacity developmentin the youth of Manipur, equal representation in government jobs and provision of civil administrationin the remote areas of Manipur especially hills areas. Sincere efforts of thegovernment towards inclusive development inhill areas will surely alleviate the trust discrepancy and lead to better relations between the different communities of Manipur.

C. BIASED POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The political structure in the state of Manipur leans towards Meitei community's domination because 40 stateassembly seats are for Meitei-dominatedareas in the Imphal Valley and only twenty seats for the hills area of Manipur. Thus, political formation was givingoverpowering majority to the Meiteis indecision-making in the state. This is due to the high density of population of Meitei communities in the valleyregions in the state. This political arrangement in Manipur is seenas an instrument of continued dominationby the Meiteis communities over the hill people communities thusmiserly them of their rightfuldevelopmental initiatives in the state. The ethnicfeelings among different communities that have thus it spilled out over into thepolitical arena have deepened the sense of ethnic communities separation and self-identification inManipur amongst different communities.

The political system of South African government was legally changed to make a government of national unity in the country. Distribution of power among different political organisation was also included in the constitution to control the ethnic domination of any group in the country. Likewise there is a strong urgent need to deal with the issue of political bias in as far as number of state assembly seatsfor hills area and valley area is concerned in Manipur. The first step

towards to solve is that it would be a fresh population census in the state by the centre as the last census done in the state in 2001 is marred in controversy among different region amongst different communities. For this reason, the delimitation exercise granting three additional assembly seats in Manipur to the hill areas and likewise reducing the same number of assembly seats from the valley area could not be implemented in the state. Based on the fresh census, the seats of political formation in the State Assembly need to be re allocated in the State by clear cut, and if any required additional Districts may also be created to cater for the re allocation of seats in the state. This will make certain a balanced representation of all the areas and communities as per their current population numbers and will alleviate the hurt feelings of the different communities people in the hills who think it as contradiction of their constitutional rights at the behest of the biased government of Manipur. The seats representation from the hill districts in the state government is yet another area where a lot can be achieved by ensuring proportional representation in the ministries of the state. Certain important ministries seat of the state must be allotted to the MLAs representing the hill districts of Manipur if the feeling of ignore and bias has to be assuaged. A minister for hill development may also be appointed like DoNER ministry.

D. INSURGENT GROUP ON ETHNIC LINES

The continued insurgency across the Manipur territory by various groups associated along ethnic lines has established institutions of its own in the state. These insurgency organisations have their own machinery and functionaries who charge taxes and try to channelize their individual ethnic clans to follow their diktats in the state of Manipur. These insurgency organisations largely fall under into four categories namely, Meiteis, Nagas, Kukis and the Pangals in the state. The situation has been supplementary mixed up by the powerlessness of state governments to face the mindset of its people in the state. This displeasure, with the Manipur government has also take the ethnic aspect as the tribal communities were usually most significant of the state government which was mostly dominated by the Meiteis communities. Conflict amongst armed insurgent groups in the state of Manipur has become more and more polarized along tribal lines in the state. The entire insurgent group has different ideologies there is not common mindset among the insurgent group. All of them have devised a number of wealth to generate revenues mostly from

within their areas of domination of their communities. The growing of insurgencies from different communities has great impact on breaking down the law and order situations and the administrative machinery in the present scenario of the state. Some communities of people consider that having a militant outfit from their community is important for their survival and to look after their interests of their own communities.

E. SOCIO POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN MANIPUR

The socio political organizations of the state play an significant role in the creation and nourishment of social demands and looks after the common aspirations of society in the political arena, hence socio political organization are mainly based on social identities which are primarily based on Meitei, Naga and Kukis identities in the state. These organizations are mainly focus on the idea to bring reforms in society and put across the justifiable aspirations of the people among different communities in Manipur. However, these organizations have developed a nexus with insurgent organizations and have almost become their frontal organizations in the state. They are frequently on the lookout for opportunities to fuel their divide on the interest of the different communities. For example, The molestation incident of Ms Momoko (Manipur Actress) by Livingstone (cadre of NSCN (IM) which was followed by the blockade of in the Imphal Valley during Christmas, is a bright example of socio-political organizations fuelling ethnic divide among their own communities on their interest. This was a law and order incident which resulted into a blockade and counter blockade causing inconveniences to the locals people and fuelled the ethnic divide among different communities.

Another step taken in South Africa on peaceful conflict administration was the introduction of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, which helped them to make cure for wounds infected by the apartheid system in the country. A comparable structure was also existed in Manipur in the pre-British occupation era when the Meitei king of Manipur was honoured by all tribal chiefs and their problems were commonly addressed in the king's court and an equally kind solution was reached and subsequently implemented preventing conflicting situations in the state. In the present context of Manipur

situation there is a need to amalgamate the activities of the socio political organisations in their respective areas of authority. The same can be achieved by stress not only issues relevant to their individual tribes but also the minority tribe members of other tribes communities who are settling in their respective centers of control. The impact of these small acts will have far realization deeper impact which will be registered by all and sundry in the state.

4. SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND CULTURE RELATION

Another important area of junction in Manipur is the age old close socio-economic and cultural relation among the different ethnic groups in Manipur. The following points deserve mention:-

- Almost all the communities of Manipur have the 7 clan system.
- In many social ceremonies and festivals of the Meitei communities there is sufficient space for the hill tribal communities. For example, In the Meitei King's Coronation Ceremony (Phambal Tongba) it is very important that the King of Manipur and the Queen wear Naga costumes in the ceremonies. The traditional Meitei communities Yumjao or the great house, the original residence of the Meitei King is made in the Naga style.
- In the Laih-Aoba festival of Manipur, the most significant traditional festival of the Meitei the performance of the romantic episode of the meeting of the god Nongpok Ningthou and his lady love, goddess Panthoibi dressed in Tangkhul Naga costumes is essential in these festival.
- In the marriage ceremony of the Meitei communities, the use of 'Leirumph'i', a Naga shawl is necessary. Without it no marriage is complete in Meitei communities. This customary practice is prevalent even today in Meitei society.

A. INTER COMMUNITY MARRIAGES

The customs and traditions of all different communities of Manipur allow inter-community marriages and there are many successful examples of couples living together in the society and their children also imbibing the culture of both communities in the society. Even if not the norm in earlier years, with the increase in exposure and increased interdependency in among the different communities, intercommunity marriages are not being viewed with the same negativity

as they used to be earlier in the society. These intercommunity marriages are the most important pillars of cross cultural exchange of ideas, thought and practices in the society among different communities. They act as a bridge that fills the gaps with different communities that have been laid by the rigid society in Manipur.

B. COMMON IDENTITY

Another core area where one sees all the different communities of Manipur come together is when they are outside from their homeland be it Delhi, Bangalore or any other city in India. The north-eastern of different communities forms strong bonds with each other when they live away from their native state. There is no ethnic separation among the different communities outside Manipur. There are a great number of examples existing within Manipur today which give us hope that all different communities can coexist together in peace and harmony in the society. One such example is the Saikul sub division of the Senapati district I Manipur. All villages in the Saikul sub division of Senapati settlement are mainly Kukis except for two considerable villages—Thangalsurung, a Naga communities village and Ekou Bazar, a Meitei communities village. Nepali's are spotted all around almost equally in the whole region of Manipur. The majority is of Kukis (about 65%) with Nepalis (20%), Meiteis (10%) and Nagas (5%) forming the rest of the Population.

Since time immemorial these tribes here have maintained a harmonious relationship and led a peaceful way of life among all communities. They have conquered their conflicts by conducting episodic talks between the village chiefs among all communities. In these talks, common decisions regarding about their problems/conflicts are taken and then followed by all religiously in that particular area. Even during the ethnic clashes between Nagas and the Kukis during the 1992–95 conflicts, the Kukis village chiefs protected the Naga community and vice-versa, even today they share all the culture amongst them and they spread the peace ideology on different part of Manipur.

Besides this, the villager's people are mainly dependent on agriculture as their main occupation. They share a common platform for their agricultural produces 'paving a strong foundation for mutual trust and harmony among all communities. The different tribes of all community here are inter-woven to the extent that the people of one tribe can speak in the language of the other tribes in that way decreasing the communication gap between them. They even participate in each other's cultural events in society. If an important region like Saikul in Manipur can look away from the disparities of the tribes that inhabit it and peacefully coexist why a state as generous as Manipur can, not be able resolve the whole issue and move in the course of growth and development in the state.

CHAPTER 4

UNDERSTANDING THE RATIONALE OF ILP

A. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ILP

Manipur is a small hill states with rich culture and diversity of people in among north east state. In north east India, Manipur has occupied 22,327sq km geographical areas. According to the 2011 census the population of the state is 28.56 lakh approximately. The population growth of Manipur is increasing day by day and it seems to be higher than that of India according to the survey of the census.

Before the amalgamation of Manipur to India on 1949, the outsiders of others state entering in the Manipur was not allowed without proper permit system but they were allowed with permits system. Later on in 1950, the permit system was abolished by the chief commissioner of Manipur since every citizens of India are freely to move and settled in any part of India. There is high rate of increased in the population had caused a fright in the mind of the people of Manipur. Of late in the state of Manipur a mass moment by start up by the people of Manipur arose demanding to pass a law which is similar to the earlier permit system. So that by imposition of such permits system laws. The terror of the people of Manipur of losing their survival can be done away with a reasonable restriction in the state by flux of non-Manipur people from their own indigenous people. Additional the non Manipuri people who aim to stay in the state of Manipur as tenants need to be regulated with certain restrictions in the state.

The Inner line permit is an outcome of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations, 1873, which was accepted by the British government in different region of North east region. The trading of oil, tea, elephant in different part of north east region by prohibiting “British subjects’ in the protected areas the inner line permit system was introduced by the British on the interest of people. Later on 1950 the central government of India changed the words “British subject” into the words Citizen of India. Even though the ILP was initially founded by the British government to control their commercial interests of the north east region, it began to use in India by central government, formally to protect tribal traditions, cultures, identity in northeastern regions. ILP has two different types, one for the tourist people and others one is for those people who plan to

stay for long periods, especially for central employers in different part of north east regions. The ILP system was currently implemented in three states of the north east region by the Indian government i.e., Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland. Today in Manipur scenario there is a huge demand to implement the ILP system in the state by the Manipur government to the central government. But due to the lack of political responsibility in the state with the union government, the permits system laws has neverbecame the actuality in the state of Manipur. In the present scenario of Manipur ILP system became the important major controversy inthe state and it led to the enormous agitation in the state from last few years with the government and its citizen.

B. INNER LINE PERMIT (ILP) SYSTEM IN THE THREE STATES

The innerLine permits system, is currently operationalized in three states of north eastern region namely, Arunachal Pradesh,Nagaland and Mizoram. The permit documents were provided under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act 1873, by thestate governments of the concerned state.It is compulsory for all Indian citizens if they willing to enter those states, they should get hold of permit for enteringinto these protected states which is under ILP. This permit document is an aim by the Government to control the freely movement into the certain areas settling near the neighboring international border of India. ILP is a protectionmeasure of the illegal migrant and it is relevant for the following states:

- Arunachal Pradesh – To enter these states the permit document is issued by the state Secretary government ArunachalPradesh. The document of permit is required during anyof the check gates across the inter-state border with Assam or Nagaland.
- Mizoram – To enter these states the permit document is issued by the Mizoram government. The document of permit is necessary required during any of the check gates across the inter-state borders.
- Nagaland – To enter these states the document of permit is obligatory for a mainland Indian citizen during any of the check gates across the inter-state borders.

There are two different types of official permits approved by union Governmentfor entering into any places within Arunachal Pradesh. These permits are Inner Line Permit (ILP) and Protected Area Permit (PAP). Any Indian Domestic tourist entering into to the mentioned state of north

east which has already implemented ILP, has to get hold of an Inner Line Permit from the government. These documents of Permit are approved as a routine for the tourists of Indian citizen and so it should not put off from outside the tourist from coming to state. All the foreigners from outside the country are required have the Protection Area Permit (PAP) while entering into the concerns state. These documents of permit of Protected Area Permit from can get through the All Indian Missions abroad, and Home ministry of Indian government.

C. PURPOSE OF INNER LINE PERMIT

At present, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland were enclosed under ILP system in north east. Before discussing out the usefulness of ILP systems, it is very important to know the reasons for imposing it:

- To avoid and control the flow of illegal migrants mainly from neighboring countries and limit Migrants from other states.
- To guard and protect the culture, tradition and social values of the inhabitants of the particular areas.
- To stop violation to their people by outsiders of other states without the residents permission.

Inner line permit system has the following advantages.

- It prevents and controls the rise of insurgent groups and extremist feelings.
- It gives confidence to the region that their culture and tradition is being preserved and protected.
- It gives the line with our belief and laws of integration with full autonomy.
- It gives the state all the right power to control illegal migrants from outside the state or neighboring countries.

On the other hand, imposing a quasi-visa system within the country has difficult implications, it shows the country in bad light globally, restricts addition of their cultures with mainland, restricts public dialogue on the region and awareness. These implications have posed a dilemma to the government.

D. IMPLICATIONS OF ILP

- ILP certificate issue by the government can only be used for travel.
- The Outsiders of other states were not allowed to buy property in the state which has already operationalized ILP.
- Inter-caste marriages are not allowed because the residences of outsiders are not permitted under these systems.
- There is no rivalry among the backward tribes and inflowing foreigners in the state.
- There is no any restriction in entering the ILP covering areas for Central government employees, security personal.

E. NEED OF ILP IN MANIPUR

Inner line permit should be operationalized in the state of Manipur because

I Competition Increased

- After Manipur joined India, the entry of foreigners from neighboring countries, non-locals from other Indian state hasenlarged day by day exponentially. This leads to bigger contest in jobs, business, and election with local's people and outsiders in Manipur.
- Many non local peoples started contesting election with local people and some of the non local people won the election and began to join in political process of the state. This leads too many communal conflicts among different communities of Manipur.
- A Young Local person from different communities of Manipur has to compete with people of outside state for state Government jobs, college admissions in the state.
- Entry of outsiders from other state in Manipur, has a great impact in the demographic arrangement in the state for long term, it could place to reservation seats for and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes in the state of Manipur.

II. Social Problems

- The Outsiders of other state bring their language and culture in the state of Manipur. It poses a great threat to scripts, local dialects and Manipur languages in the state and it also leads to misunderstanding among different communities of the state.
- Many issues like Drug trafficking cases, rape cases and other crimes in have been more increasing day by day in Manipur society due to the rapidly entering of outsiders into Manipur.
- Manipur is in the position of six high HIV occurrence states amongst all the Indian state. The entry of foreigners and outsider from other state is worsening of such problem in the state.
- The Lands of tribal areas and blocks are also being used by non-tribal people but the government has done nothing to non tribal to protect the tribal lands from encroachers due to no implementation on such permit system.
- Since the NE states and all the regions are mostly backward in different areas of education system, infrastructure, etc due to these the competitions has been passing on the even youth generations in present scenario.
- Outsiders from other state are ready to work in many areas for lower wages and in any jobs, due to these many local people of Manipur were facing problems in any employment.

III. Valid demands

- Manipur has same geographical areas amongst those states which ILP system is already implemented. So, in Manipur why should not be implement, the state also facing similar problems for immigration and extinct of indigenous people as those state were facing.
- ILP were not prohibited to any Indian citizens for entering into Manipur. It only requires the outsiders from other state to get registered with the government so they can be easily recognized and can check the growth of populationof the state.
- Different section of all the Indian citizens settling in the different territory of India they were having their own distinct script, language or culture it is the right for them to conserve it. Therefore, these demands are constitutional and legal

CHAPTER 5

THE POLITICS OF ILP IN MANIPUR

A. IMPACT OF ECONOMIC BLOCKED AND DEMONIZATION IN MANIPUR

Manipur has a total population of 29 lakh in north east India. It consist of about 36 known schedule tribes and non-recognized minor tribes along with major community, the Meiteis/Meeteis communities and Manipuri Muslims communities called Meitei Pangals in the state of Manipur. The communities of Meiteis/Meeteis, various ethnic tribes' communities and the communities of Meitei Pangals have settled in the state of Manipur peacefully for the last 7/8 decades in these regions. It is in the 1980s that some of the ethnic tribes communities like Nagas and Kukis had asserted their political aspirations demanding Naga integration of Naga community's areas in Manipur with Nagaland and Kukis homeland, etc in the state of Manipur. In asserting the political demands of their communities, the civil society organisations and students bodies of both the Nagas and the Kukis communities very frequently called bandhs and economic blockades along the two National Highways connecting Dimapur and Jiri with Imphal, Manipur in the present scenario.

In the present days of Manipur there were many cases of bandhs and economic blockades called by various organisations of Manipur on the two national Highways relating to different demands and grievances of the people of Manipur, particularly the Hills people. In the state there was economic blockade lasting for more than 120 days in the past. The people from both the valley communities and the Hills communities somehow difficult managed to face the inconveniences caused by the shortage of essential commodities mainly the food items, petrol, medicines, etc in the state along with their increasing prices of the commodities. The state of Manipur is being connected by the two National Highways in the state has always become the sufferer due to the economic blockades called by different organisation of Naga and Kuki communities. The economic blocked in both the national highways call by united naga council(UNC) from the night of November 1, 2016 has become one of the most vital in terms of social, economic and

political perspective in the state of Manipur. As everyone knows, that the UNC has its own political agenda, said to be the frontal organization of Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland/Nagalim, an underground organization which is undergoing negotiation with the government of India since 1997 in the country. The demand of the NSCN (IM) is the sovereign status of Nagalim in the north east regions by integrating the Naga communities inhabited from different areas of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Myanmar with Nagaland in the country. The demand issue of sovereignty even if considered to be the most important one, in course of time has lost its meaning in the real sense and used the term 'shared sovereignty' in the method of negotiation between the Government of India, represented by Interlocutor, R.N Ravi and the NSCN (IM) represented by its President, Isaac Swu (who is no more) and its General Secretary, Th. Muivah, who is from the state of Manipur. The idea of 'shared sovereignty' and the integration of Naga communities inhabited areas has become a very significant issue with the claim that the land and resources belong to them. With these ideologies, UNC is working energetically in four districts in the state of Manipur, namely Senapati, Ukhrul Tamenglong and Chandel. For a quite long time, the UNC has also propagated the new idea of 'Alternative Arrangement' outside the government of Manipur and is very much against the 3 Bills passed by the State Legislative Assembly concerning on the ILP for the protection of Indigenous people of Manipur calling as anti-tribal. Thus, the UNC is an organization having the only idea of promoting the Naga cause and interest with an ideology of ethnic politics in the state of Manipur.

The main reason for starting economic blockade in the state of Manipur by UNC in the two national highways of the state is concerning to the formation of Sadar Hill and Jiribam Districts by the Government of Manipur. The creation of Sadar Hill and Jiribam as separate districts is a long standing issue ongoing for a long time passing through different Ministries headed by many Chief Ministers of Manipur. In Manipur, the present Congress government headed by O.Ibobi Singh had a plan to inaugurate Sadar Hill and Jiribam Districts as separate district on October 31, 2016 in the state. The UNC after knowing the plan of the congress government of Manipur had called a bandh and then an indefinite economic blockade in the two National Highways of Manipur beginning from the midnight of October 31, 2016 demanding an declaration from the Government of Manipur not to form separate districts called Sadar Hill and Jiribam Districts in Manipur.

The Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi in the meantime had announced demonetization of high value notes of Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 in the night of November 8, 2016. Due to these the people of Manipur are trapped in between the indefinite economic blockade called by UNC and demonetization announced by the Government of India in the country. Due to the demonetization and economic blocked the prices of essential commodities like daily food items, medicines have increased tremendously. The people of Manipur cannot withdraw their cash from Banks and ATMs. The amount of Rs. 2000 new note, withdrawn from the ATMs after waiting since early morning had also created a lot of problems for buying essential commodities from the shops. Most of the shopkeepers of Manipur have spoken that they don't have change to return if the customers who want to buy a particular item, so one has to buy goods from the shop for the whole amount of Rs. 2000 or not to buy any items. Thus people belonging to poor families have faced a lot trouble and problems in managing household activities in Manipur. There are also many cases where people waiting long hours in front of the Bank and ATM are not able to get any cash. One elderly person aged around 70 had died while standing in the Queue in front of the Bank for withdrawing the cash.

The exchanges of currency old notes of Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 with new notes of Rs. 2000 are also among the persons having huge amount of money (old notes) and middlemen in the state. These groups of people include politicians, bureaucrat's businessmen, black marketers, etc. having direct contact with the Bank employees or middlemen in the state. The middlemen might have great enjoyed higher percentage of 30 to 35 per cent in the early stage of demonetization in the state of Manipur. But slowly lower percentage in the later stage of demonetization in the state. The impact given by demonetization and economic blockade on higher income groups and upper middle class is not so great trouble or problems when compared with lower middle class and common people in the state of Manipur. There was a lot of problems and scarcity of petrol due to economic blockade called by UNC on both national highways has affected the people having vehicles of 4 wheelers and two wheelers in the state. One can see long queues of vehicles in front of Oil pumps since early morning till late in the evening in the state for fuels. Long queues in front of Banks, ATMs and Oil pumps are the main scenario of Imphal City during the last more than 50 days of economic blockade and demonetization in the state of Manipur.

The shortage of cashes in the state due to demonetization and increase of prices of daily essential commodities have resulted in sufferings of the people of Manipur, both valley and Hills region. Majority of the people of Manipur belonging to the lower section of the society have lost their buying ability. The shops, big and small of the state, they were also suffered due to the lack of customers to buy the available items from their shops. The markets are greatly affected by economic blockade and demonetization in the state.

Normally in Manipur the financial transaction is likely to return within short period of time to the people of Manipur. But the economic blockade called by UNC has greatly affected the lives of the people of Manipur, both valley area and hill area, to a great degree. Many civil society organisations of Manipur like AMUCO, UCM, etc. have appealed the UNC to stop the economic blockade in the state. As economic blockade call by UNC continues, other organisations of Manipur including church leaders, Naga Bodies, Kukis organisations had further appealed UNC to stop the economic blockade in the state. Manipur women vendors of Khwairamband market even organized rally and called bandh on many parts of Imphal areas in protest against the economic blockade called by UNC in the State. The people of valley areas emerged counter blockade initiated by several bodies of Manipur organisation consisting of women and youths in different parts of the valley areas of Manipur. In Manipur the economic blockade and counter economic blockade have become the main major issues concerning the interest of the people of Manipur in among different communities.

The major issue of present economic blockade called by UNC in the state of Manipur may be studied by adopting three approaches with different angles and different dimension. The first is the steps are taken up by the State government of Manipur, the second reply given by the Central BJP led NDA government and third the political stand taken up by UNC in the State. The State government of Manipur had arrested the President and the Treasurer of the UNC organisation for calling economic blockade in the two National Highways in the state. The Manipur Chief Minister, O. Ibobi had also announced the creation of seven new districts for administrative expediency in the state. The seven new districts of Manipur state are Kangpokpi, separated from Senapati Districts, Kamjong from Ukhrul district, Noney from Tamenglong, Pherzawl from

Churachandpur, Tengenoupal from Chandel, Kakching from Thoubal district and Jiribam from Imphal East district. The UNC is deadly against the creation of new seven districts in Manipur, particularly Kangpokpi and Jiribam in the state. The government of Manipur had informed the leaders of Central Government of India to take steps to convince the leaders of the UNC to stop the economic blockade in the state. As the Government of India is negotiating with NSCN (IM), in the north east region the common feeling is that, UNC, which is a frontal organization of the Naga rebel outfit, can be under indirect control of the union Government in the country. The union Government of India has always guaranteed that it will help the State government in taking action in order to end economic blockade in the state of Manipur. At the same time, the Central leaders of Indian have also pointed out that it is law and order problem of the Manipur. The State Government is fully empowered to solve it in any problem and any situation in the state. The Central Government India has also already sent paramilitary forces to help the State government in solving economic blockade called by UNC in Manipur. All sections of Manipur's population including the Nagas communities are also waiting for positive answer from UNC in the state.

B. CONTROVERSY IN MANIPUR ON THE ISSUE OF ILP

The Manipur legislative Assembly introduced a bill called "Manipur Regulation of visitors, Tenants and Migrant Workers Bill" in the state but this bill was withdrawn again on July 15. Since the JCILPS organisation felt that it protected only immigrants more than inhabitant Manipuri's communities in the state of Manipur. Before, there was not ILP system in the state because the state was never beneath the controlled British rule in the state.

After India got Independence, in 1949, the Manipur king signed a file joining the region of Manipur with Indian. Before that, Manipur was an independent state with an elected government. The JCILPS organisation argument in the state is that the state of Manipur cannot longer defend their indigenous culture and uniqueness after joining to India, the ILP system should be kept in the state of Manipur. Freely, entering and settling of 'outsiders' from other Indian state and neighboring countries is a major cause to the demand of ILP system in the state of Manipur. Some communities of Manipur people think that nonattendance of a permit system is the great

caused of indigenous different communities in state a 'minority', both culturally and demographically.

ILP proponents of Manipur people claim that after joining the state to India union, the entry of foreigners from neighboring countries and outsiders from other Indian state into the state of Manipur has enlarged exponentially in the state of Manipur. Illegal immigration from the neighboring countries like Nepal, Bangladesh and Burma has also gone up more in the present scenario of Manipur. Illegal immigration of foreigners and some Indian citizen from other state, these were led to enlarged in high competition for job opportunities in the state of Manipur. Local youth of different communities have to struggle with outsiders from other state for jobs in the state of Manipur. In addition to these, the outsiders from other state are mostly often ready to do the work for lower wages in any jobs in the state.

An ILP advocate also tells that the state of Manipur had not yet joined to the Union government in the time when Constitution was drafted, Therefore it had nothing to say in the drafting of the Indian Constitution. Due to these many advocates also support constitutional amendment to implement the ILP system as soon as possible in the state of Manipur. The JCILPS organisation and many proponents of Manipur also argue that since the three North east state which have similar indigenous cultures, traditional have imposed ILP in their state, So that the state of Manipur must be also included in that system. In addition to these, most of the political parties of Manipur and outside from other state, also support the implementation of ILP in Manipur. The BJP political parties of Manipur has also been very strongly demanded on the implementation of ILP system in Manipur for the past few months on the ILP issues, after being rejected to it for a long period in the state of Manipur. Regional political parties of Manipur and along with most of the certain national parties in Manipur were also mostly support the ILP system in Manipur, and even though the Congress government of Manipur did not take a strong position on the issue of ILP system due to its 2012 election manifesto in the state.

However, Chief Minister of Manipur Okram Ibobi Singh, the Congress party members, has strongly supported the ILP system in the state and asked the BJP-led Modi government to impose the ILP system in the state of Manipur. Thus, even amongst the political parties of Manipur seem

to be differences ideologies of mindset on the issues of ILP system in the state. For now, many agitations and curfews had occurred in the state of Manipur on the issues of ILP system. Different communities' people lost their life in these regions on the track of the ILP issue in the state.

Before 1891, the non-Manipuris were needed a proper permission from the cabinet of Manipur to enter and exit the territories of the king and there was a strictly ban of entering outsiders in the state of Manipur. The British government introduced the ILP system in India and it remained until 1950. Later on, in 1972 the Assam commissioner, in whose authority Manipur rejected the system in the areas of these regions. In 1980, the first ILP system was demanded in the state was made in parliaments on numerous occasions subsequently. An organization called FRIENDS in 2006 took up the demand in the state of Manipur. In 2002 the demands turned violent and many agitations, with repeated general strike in the state and still the agitations were continued in the present days in Manipur. The main activist of the ILP system in Manipur was by the JCILPS organisation, it comprised of 30 civil bodies organisation of the state including all valleys Meitei communities and student organizations. These JCILPS organisation has no any political affiliation, and its volunteers and members are mostly students and student's leaders.

C. MANIPUR REGULATION OF VISITOR TENANTS AND MIGRANTS WORKER BILL 2015.

The regulation of visitor, Tenants and Migrants workers' Bill made it obligatory for outsiders of other state to register with the state government of Manipur for the reason of its safety and security and for maintenance of public order while entering the Manipur. These Bill was proposed to establish visitor registration centers in the state. Owners of the hotels have to submit all the details including identifying document of the visitors from other states to the government of Manipur and these rules are also equally applicable to the contractors hiring labour from other state.

In the state of Manipur, for the past some months, protest are on demand to the state government for the implementation of ILP in the region. In 2012, the state legislative assembly passed a motion to the union government, seeking the implementation of the ILP in the region. But instead, in March 2015, chief Minister of Manipur introduced the bill call MRVTMW and it was set up under the proposed act and state Labour department of Manipur. However, the bill was

later withdrawn in the state after it earned the anger of the JCILPS organisation, who felt that the bill failed to safeguard and defend the interest of the different indigenous communities' people in Manipur.

I. Why these Bill was withdrawn?

The JCILPS was not satisfied with these Bill. They thought that these Bill would be helpless in protecting the indigenous people of Manipur. There is serious threat to the culture, history, and language and even on indigenous people population of Manipur. The protester claim the Foreigners from the neighboring countries have been entering the state freely, settling and buying the property in both hill and valley areas. Due to the neglect of protecting the lands and the indigenous the JCILPS's strongly were against these Bill.

The JCILPS organization made the three bills to the government of Manipur to pass the bills the Bills were:-

1. Protection of Manipur people Bill.
2. The lands revenue and land reforms(7th Amendment) Bill.
3. Manipur shops and Establishments (2nd Amendment) Bill.

These three Bills were submitted to government of Manipur by JCILPS. However, there was no any response from government side in passing the bill. So, JCILPS civil bodies, student organization, started strong agitation against government to pass the Bills. The agitation led even a death of an 11 grade student from Ananda Singh higher secondary academy, demanding the ILP system, was killed when police used teargas and mob bombs to disperse the protester.

After the death of student during protest finally, the government of Manipur hold a meeting with JCILPS in chief minister office. At the meeting the JCILPS gave the strong command to pass the three Bills of ILP to the government of Manipur. On the next day, the Bills were passed by the state assembly of Manipur and send recommendation to the president and waited for respond from the president till today.

On the other hands there was a strong communal fight against these three Bills and fractious demand for ILP system in Manipur. Manipur comprises of three communities Meitei's, Kuki and Naga. The Meitei's community specially stays in valley town and Kuki and Naga were specially

settling in Hill regions. The ILP system has been demanded by the Meiteis. As, a following result opposition from the tribal local community planned a rally to cancelled in Churachandpur, a predominantly Kukis town. In Moreh, a town on the Indian-Myanmar border, the state police killed 9 youth by firing during anti-ILP in Churachandpur district due to these clashed an indefinite curfew was imposed on during the time after clashes broke out between ILP supporters and those against it. There is strong controversy rise against by different community settling different part of regions of ILP issues in Manipur. The bills pass by state legislative assembly of Manipur was against by the tribal's settling in different regions. Hundreds of tribal chief leaders underscore their objection to the Bills. They also handed over a memorandum to argue their case before the India President, Prime Minister, Union Panchayati Raj Minister, Union Tribal Affairs Minister and the Governor of Manipur

II. Why tribal people are against the 3 bills pass by the legislative assembly of Manipur?

- Regarding the firsts Bills, These Bills are not for the Protection of Indigenous people but to expel them from the state as many indigenous tribes of the state could have been excluded from the 1951 census report. They pointed that many tribal villages and people were not included in the 1951 census. Referring to the news reports that the State home department and the Directorate of census Operations, Manipur have no idea under whose authority the national Register of citizens (NRC), 1951 was prepared. Tribal's chief leader asked if the record was not available then how the protection of Manipur peoples bills Prepared and passed. Moreover as per census report, 1951in Manipur state census Handbook volume 2, only names of villages and number of population (both males and females) are found and there are no detail reports of "family head or family members"
- Regarding the second Bills, The tribal's are governed under the age-old traditional institutions of chieftainship which is heredity. Their Land documents were issued by competent authority and the villages boundaries were well demarcated by the British administration. Besides, the tribal's chief and their land remain outside the purview and were never be part of mere agreement between the maharaja and the government of India in 1949. That, in spite of these facts constant attempts has been made by Manipur

government to plunder the tribal lands. The bills and its principal Acts is a direct threat to the institution of Chief ship for village administration in the hill areas of Manipur and also greatly affects the land holding system. The tribal Chiefs asserted before the president that the land ownership and property holding system as practiced by the tribal peoples of the hill areas of Manipur since time immemorial is unique and different from the valley people.

- In the third Bills, they say that they don't have any comments regarding to Manipur Shops and Establishment bills. However, it maintained that there main issues is with the procedural lapses committed by the state legislative in by passing the Hill Area committee ,as the bill affects the entire state of Manipur, including tribal's land.

They also made mention of the whole tribal's area up in agitation against the three bills if the government is not withdrawing the bills and if the bills are not stopped at this juncture more agitation in a more serious manner is to come. So due to these many fractious demand of ILP system in Manipur the bills is not given assent by the president of India. Still today, valley people and hilly tribal's people are in negations of these three bills but there is not understanding and against the bills each others.

Manipur is occupied by 3 communities majorly by the communities called Meitei's (non tribal) in majority and Kukis, naga (both tribal) in minority in the state. The present clashes were related to passing of 3 bills by the state government. The bills were passed on the demand of Meitei's communities to defend in migration as they fear of being reduced to minority.

ILP is currently in function in Nagaland, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. Under it outsider From other state need pass or permit to travel within a state for a particular period of time. It was the idea of the British to safeguard their commercial interest in tea and oil for the north east of India but the system ILP after independence was made to continue to defend the tribal culture and way of lifestyle. But It was discontinued in Assam and 1950 (Manipur then was part of Assam).

The main reasons for clashes between tribal and non tribal in Manipur are:

- Kukis and Nagas communities see insipid reform bill as an attempt by Meitei's to have an access to hill areas colonized by them thereby snatching away their land rights.

- Additional both Kukis and naga tribes argue that ILP system can be used by Meitei group of people to announce them outsiders though they have never own a land in valley and became a competitor for government jobs.
- Manipur was approved statehood in 1972 but is formally a non tribal state therefore demand for ILP is not right on constitutional basis as it is granted to protect tribal culture. But still Meitei group of people pressurized state government to introduce ILP.
- In the first bills it defines Manipur people as those whose names are not registered in national register of citizen 1951, Census report of 1951 and Village directory 1951 and their descendants. Thus exclusion of name from even one will ban a person to be termed as a Manipuri.
- The Manipur was decided statehood in 1972, this means that those who came in state of Manipur between 1951 and 1972 according to 3 registers will be termed as outsiders stripping them from reimbursement of state's quota in government jobs, education etc
- Experts feel that clashes of these three communities are because of not properly explaining the bills to people. In detail buying the land by outsider has made more stringent (earlier only approval of a section of cabinet needed but now whole cabinet need to give approval) and also buying of land belonging to tribal of Manipur by a non tribal needs approval of deputy commissioner is concerned. Tribal areas are also not troubled under new bills.

The real solution to the problem lies in implementing 6th schedule provisions to naga and Kukis areas so that they have autonomy in their affairs and will remain within the territorial boundary of Manipur otherwise in extreme case redrawing of state boundary may become reality.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present scenario of Manipur society is just like a barbarian society, which I can call 'Modernized or scientific barbarian society'. The land of black laws versus the blood law what I mean the law of blindness and trustless versus the law of killing and bloodshed. Powerism and Moneyism is the two great instrument of running the government as well as the society. The tendency of old and traditional barbarian attitudes like 'might is right' power lies in the barrel of the gun are exercised and imposed by the government and the bodies of people now a day, in Manipur society. Politics may divide and rule to our society in Manipur but we youth of can change by all our relations by oneness leaving all the caste or creeds who divide us in sections by religious and hates. Now, the world is just a global family after all we are Manipuris. This is our land no can breakout oneness.

In present, scenario the demographic profile of Manipur is changing due to illegal migration of outsiders and foreigners. So to prevent this illegal migration the inner line permit policy should be implemented in the state of Manipur. ILP has been implemented in few state of North east namely, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland to prevent illegal migration, ethnicity, indigenous culture values and tradition. So the people of Manipur also demanded ILP. Accordingly the government of Manipur passed a bill called Manipur Regulation of visitors tenant and migrant worker bill in 2012 but this bill was withdrawn by the state legislative after huge protest and agitations from the people of Manipur as it was failed to fulfill the demands of the people.

Later on, three resolution regarding ILP were proposed by the people of Manipur. These three resolutions were Protection of Manipur people Bill, The lands revenue and land reforms (7th Amendment) Bill and Manipur shops and Establishments (2nd Amendment) Bill. These bills were also opposed by the tribal community of Manipur and were pending in the office of the president. The bills were not yet passed because as it was opposed by tribal community. The tribal community thinks that these bills affect the land of tribal areas and its people. They thought that nothing good will come and would not protect the people and their land. These bills

received long agitation and violation from the people of the state which lead to the communal fight and death of innocent people. People demanded the implementation of ILP in proper ways which satisfies all the people belonging to different tribes and community.

Even the former chief minister of Manipur supported the ILP and asked the central government to implement ILP.. Thus, even amongst the political parties of Manipur seem to be differences ideologies of mindset on the issues of ILP system in the state. For now, many agitations and curfews had occurred in the state of Manipur on the issues of ILP system. Different communities' people lost their life in these regions on the track of the ILP issue in the state. As the Manipur share national and international border, face the problem of illegal migration which affects the demographic profile, ethnicity, indigenous culture and tradition, so to protect the state of Manipur like other states where ILP implemented it should be implemented in the Manipur with the consent of the people. To stop everyday agitation and violation and maintain law and order in the state it should be implemented in such way which will fulfill the demand of the people, protect people and their land and which promote the harmonious relationship between the people of different communities.

The population of Manipur is increasing day by day due to many illegal migrant these illegal migrant brought their culture, traditional, language script in the state. This gives great threat to the all communities residing in different part of Manipur. This illegal migration enhances the level of competition in the market, jobs, education etc. Manipur has same geographical areas amongst those states which ILP system is already implemented. So, in Manipur why should not be implement, the state also facing similar problems for immigration and extinct of indigenous people as those state were facing. ILP were not prohibited to any Indian citizens for entering into Manipur. It only requires the outsiders from other state to get registered with the government so they can be easily recognized and can check the growth of population of the state. Different section of all the Indian citizens settling in the different territory of India they were having their own distinct script, language or culture it is the right for them to conserve it. Therefore, these demands are constitutional and legal. So it should be also implemented in the state of Manipur to protect from such cause and to safeguard the culture, identity of different communities of Manipur.

REFERENCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Ahmed, Syed “Manipuris outside Manipur”, 2002. MRFD Bulletin. Manipur.Delhi;vol.2
2. Akshita Manjari Bhanjdeo “India and Its Northeast Exception: From Frontier to Forefront” 2015.
3. Barara N. Bijaylakshmi “politics, society and cosmology in India’s northeast”, 1998.Delhi.
4. Brown, R “statistical Account of Native state of Manipur and the Hill Territory Under Its rule” . Calcutta 1873
5. Chaube, S.K .“Hills politics in north east India”. Delhi: Orient Longman. 1999
6. Dubey, S.M “Northeast India: A sociological Study”. Delhi 1978
7. Hodson, T.C “*The Meitheis*”, Delhi1986.
8. Horam, M “The Rising Manipur”.New Delhi.2000
9. H Shrikant, C Joshua Thomas & E Ricordious et al. “vision for Meghalaya;On and beyond the inner line permit”.Shillong.2014.
10. Maisnam, Dhaneswari “Political Economy of Underdevelopment: An Enquiry about *the* Social-Political conditions in the state of Manipur”.New Delhi. 2002.
11. Mr. Gandhi Neba “Applicability and Relevance of Inner Line Permit (Ilp) in Arunachal Pradesh” Itanagar.Vol 20.2015..
12. Prof. J.K. Gogoi, Prof. H. Goswami& Prof. K. C. Borah et al. “Problems of Border areas in Northeast India: Implication of Thirteen finance commission”.Assam.2009.
13. Sen Spira “*Tribe and Caste of Manipur*”,New Delhi 1992.
14. Singh Khurajam Bijoykumar “Hinduism amongst the Meiteis of Manipur: a study of continuity and changes”.New Delhi. 2002.
15. Singh, M, Gojendro “Brief History of Manipur”.Imphal.1987
16. Singh, M, Amarjeet “A Study on Illegal Immigration into North-East India: The Case of Nagaland”.New Delhi. 2009
17. Singh, JoyKumar “ Social Movement in Manipur”.New Delhi.1992
18. Singh ,Lokendro “*The unquiet Valley*”.New Delhi.1998
19. Singh, N. Mohindro “Development Experience of Manipur after 50 years”.Imphal.1999
20. Singh, W. Ibohal “*The history of Manipur*”.Imphal.1986.
21. Vergesh. B.G “India Northeast resurgent: Ethnicity, Insurgency, Governance, Development”. Delhi;Konark.1996.
22. Walter Fernandes& B Sanjay et al. “Land, People and Politics: Contest over TribalLand in Northeast India” .Ghuwahati.2008.