KANGLEIPAK CARE COMMITTEE

Manipuri Basti, Guwahati (Assam)

To, Dated: Guwahati 11th Oct 2010

Shri P. Chidambaram Union Home Minister North Block New Delhi - 110001

Sub: AFSPA and Army vis-à-vis foreign sponsored terrorism in Manipur.

Respected Sir,

Whenever and wherever the terrorists find themselves under pressure because of Army operation, they spread canard against Army and AFSPA through Rights Organizations. Church, Communists. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and thugs active in media, political parties and educational institutions etc. In Jammu & Kashmir, the enemy forces like Pakistan, China & USA are behind terrorism whereas in Manipur it is China, Bangladesh, USA, UK and other Christian Countries who are sponsoring terrorism through Church, NGOs, Human Rights Groups and some thugs in political parties. The nexus of these antinational forces hammer on the cord which sustains the unity, integrity and sovereignty of India. Army is their immediate target. This is the reason that they want to scrap AFSPA which enables the Army to contain terrorism and restore peace and prosperity in civil society. Supreme court has very clearly stated that the provisions of AFSPA are neither arbitrary nor against constitution. It is an enabling provision.

Strategic Location of Nagaland in Northeast India:

North east region of our country is connected with 30 km wide Siliguri neck or chicken neck with rest of the country. It is surrounded by China and Bangladesh. Pakistan too has direct accessibility through its various agencies. USA and UK have their strong-hold in this region through Church and NGOs. The 1700 km long international border with China and Bangladesh is entirely porous and enemy forces from China and Bangladesh intrude inside our territory very often without any formidable resistance from our side. Our 90,000 sq. km. area has been grabbed by China. It wants whole of North-East region. Bangladesh has its own design to annex this region by pushing illegal Muslim migrants. USA and UK want their military base in Nagaland by creating a Christian country and this is the reason they are all out to support Naga militants for an independent Nagalim. The NSCN (IM), Church, NGOs and a section of Naga political leaders are in league with each other and are working over-time for attaining autonomy to Nagaland. "Nagaland for Christ" is their popular slogan, Christianity is their declared religion and English is their state language. Charles Pawsey – then D.C. of Kohima was the main architects of Naga insurgency which was, later, promoted by British Missionary, Rev. Michael Scott - the friend, philosopher and guide of Phizo. When insurgency in Nagaland became insurmountable and survival of Naga civil society was at stake, the freedom of speech, the freedom of movement and all other human-rights of civil society were hijacked. The price of dissention was death. Then the military was called by

Nagaland government to assist the civil administration for re-storing the law and order. The militants had their camps in Bangladesh, Myanmar and also in China. The Chinese army imparted military training to them. The member of civil society were killed every now and then without any rhyme and reason. The convoys of military and other security forces were ambushed. During these turbulent days, the rapid Christian conversion took place at gun point. The churches mushroomed in each and every village of Nagaland and other Naga inhabited areas in Manipur, Assam and also in Myanmar. The Churches were used as shelter place for Naga militants, the lethal weapons were stockpiled on the roof-tops of various churches. The fire arms were supplied in red-cross boxes. The reverends, pastors and deacons were used for spying against the movements of the security forces. The malicious propaganda against State Government and Central Government were rife. The awe-stricken innocent Naga civil society became prisoners of Naga terrorists. The extortion, loot, kidnapping, killing and rape became order of the day. The development had come to a grinding halt. Nobody from Naga civil society could open their mouth against these excesses and those who voiced against these heinous crimes were done away with. It virtually became impossible for the Govt. to function. The terrorists ran a parallel government. It was in these circumstances, Armed Forces Special Power Act was passed in 1958 to contain the Naga insurgency and establish the rule of law. Since then it is in operation. When situation worsened in J&K it was clamped there too in 1980.

The Vulture's Eye on Manipur:

The insurgency in Manipur reached its crescendo in 1980. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) under the leadership of N, Bisheswar Singh had the lead role in fomenting social chaos in Manipur. The United National Liberation Front (UNLF) was another guerilla organization headed by R. K. Meghendra Singh alias Sanayaima Singh. PLA and UNLF were opposed to expansionist and Christian design of National Socialist Council of Nagaland - Isak Muivah (NSCN-IM). Later on, the UNLF was split into two - 1) UNLF (Sanayaima) - the parent body and 2) KYKL -Kangleipak Yawol Kanna Lup (Manipur Revivalist Organization) headed by N. Oken. KYKL is reported to have its support base in Hebron camp of NSCN (IM) - 30 km from Dimapur. There after, several militant organizations mushroomed in Manipur one after the other and today their number has touched the mark of 42 reportedly. What do they stand for is known to them only. But one thing is clear. Each of them are engaged in extortion, loot, killing, kidnapping, rape and ambush etc. When the situation reached to a point of no return, the army was called for assisting civil administration and restoring law and order. The Armed Force Special Power Act 1958 was enforced. After 1980 onwards, the upsurge of terrorism in both the neighboring states of Nagaland and Manipur has been more or less the same at varying degrees at a given point of time. In both the states, the insurgents have extra-territorial loyalty and they are sponsored by the agencies operating from foreign soil. They are challenging the sovereignty of the country. And the innocent civil society is crushed in between. The turbulence what Manipur is experiencing today was experienced by Naga society in the early eighties preceding Shillong Accord 1975, early 2000 preceding Ceasefire Agreement 1997 and early 2010 when the different factions of Naga militant organizations were killing each other. Thousands of innocent people were killed on the charges of having their allegiance to this faction or that. As per media report, the number of Nagas killed in fight with

rival factions and with army is not less than 40,000. Today, there is a relative calm in Nagaland and the credit goes to the Naga Civil Society for this.

In Manipur, too, the civil society has been hijacked by terrorist organizations. Whenever and wherever a mob-furry is noticed, it is not spontaneous. It is orchestrated by the militant organizations as happened in Nagaland before and it is happening in J&K today. Some incidents will throw light on the current situation in Manipur.

- The situation on Somdal area of Chandel district bordering Myanmar is infested with insurgents and Assam Rifles are engaged in counter-insurgency operation accompanied with Civic Action Programs in interior areas where there was not much medical facilities, bad road communication and inadequate educational facilities.
- 2) The Nagas of restive Manipur have urged the Centre to divide the State and have an "Alternative Political Arrangement" for Naga dominated areas. The situation deteriorated in the last few years under CM Shri O. Ibobi Singh and things turned violent in May 2010 after NSCN (IM) General Secretary Th. Muivah tried to sneak into his village violating the law. The Naga People's Convention (NPC) has now resolved to sever political ties with Imphal and sought the provisions of an alternate arrangement facilitated by the Centre. It had earlier declared the election to the Autonomous District Councils (ADCs) in the hill districts as "null and void". On September 14th a memorandum was submitted to Union Home Minister Shri P. Chidambaram by United Naga Council of Manipur (UNC). UNC says, "The peaceful parting of ways of the Nagas and Meitei is the only way to avert a catastrophe (Nagaland Page 25.09.2010). Many professionals in Manipur believe that they are not safe here as they have to face threats from different factions of the militant outfit Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP). Recently, KCP-MC (Lanchaba) faction issued a media release for publication. Many publications did not publish it in public interest and the militant outfit started threatening them. The incident was widely condemned by the Manipur Working Journalists' Union (Nagaland Page 24.09.2010). Thus, the voice of media is being choked and the media people are facing lots of threats from various militant groups. To show solidarity, newspaper offices in Manipur suspended work for the day. Few months ago a journalist was killed in Manipur.
- 3) In another shocking incident, a woman doctor R.K. Joymati Devi and a nurse Kavita Devi were abducted by the suspected KCP Mobile Task Force militants. On September 13th, both of them were taken away from Mekola Primary Health Centre on the pretext of false emergency call. The abduction was connected to the inability of PHC to pay money to the militant group. A combined team of 39 Assam Rifles and Bishenpur Police Commandos rescued Dr. Joymati and Kavita Devi. "The security personnel have done an excellent job while rescuing us. They protected us from the insurgents", said Dr. Joymati Devi, the rescued doctor. The abducted persons were rescued from Shantipur village (Nagaland Page 24.09.2010).

- 4) Sanasam Ongbi Muktaleima, 38, General Secretary of a major social women's organization Ima Leimarol Apungba Lup (ILAL) of Churachandpur district was arrested in Imphal on Tuesday (21.09.2010) by commandos attached to Imphal West District Police Station for her alleged links with Revolutionary People's Front (RPF). A small arm was seized from her possession which she was going to deliver to a person for using it during 32nd foundation day of the RPF on September 25th. Muktaleima had contact with Loya of the RPF to whom she used to provide details about the security situation in the state. RPF is the political wing of PLA (Nagaland Page 24.09.2010). The RPF has connection with naxalites reportedly.
- 5) Cadres of KCP Mobile Task Force recently kidnapped the women head of the village council and demanded a huge ransom for her safe return. Four suspected cadres of MTF faction of KCP recently abducted Khangembam Sharmila, head of Mangsangei Makha Leikai Gram Panchayat along with her relative Priyoranjan (24). The militants released Priyoranjan after shooting her in the leg. "The militants forcefully enter people's house and fire indiscriminately without caring that it might hurt innocent people. We are against such people. They are kidnapping people, throwing bombs at their residences just to extort money. This is not acceptable. These incidents have made people even worry about moving around freely outside their home", said Nungshitambi and Purnimashi the two lady protesters (The Sentinel 17.09.2010).
- 6) The two underground activists belonging to Kangleipak Communist Party (Novon Group) entered Johnstone Higher Secondary School Imphal and asked the teacher to pay Rs. 2000/- each as tax. They slapped a teacher when he refused to pay. The miscreants threatened to kidnap some women teachers if the teacher refused to pay them. Hearing the noise, some students surrounded them and overpowered the two militants. The students boycotted the classes in protest against the extortion by militant outfits and asked the militants not to target the educational institutions. In a similar incident the student of Anand Singh Higher Secondary Academy took on an extortionist who asked the school to pay a sum of Rs. 5000/- per year for each school teacher. The upset students confronted the militant and beat him up. Police identified the man as Mutum Jackie of KCP (Noyon Group). Educational Institutions have become soft target for militant outfits in Manipur. In a yet another incident, teachers of the Khurai Popular High School Imphal were also threatened and asked to pay Rs. 2000/- each as tax. (The Sentinel 17.09.2010).
- 7) Mohan Sahu from Khagaria District of Bihar was gunned down from point blank range at Wahong Leikei area in Imphal West while he was trying to get water from a water pump located near his rented house on August 24 2010. With this killing, the number of Bihari laborers killed in the State has gone up to five this year (2010). Over 15 Bihari laborers were killed in the past one and half year (Nagaland Post 26.08.2010). Rajendra Prasad of Bihar was shot at by two gunmen in Imphal on 16th September 2010. In recent times, scores of non-locals had been killed in the State. The Revolutionary People's

- Front (RPF), a major militant outfit operating in Manipur, had earlier served a quit notice to non-locals in Manipur (The Morung Express 17.09.2010).
- 8) On March 18, 2008 unidentified militants killed seven non- Manipuri laborers and injured two others. While five persons were killed at Thumbi foot-hill in the Kangla Sangomsang area of Imphal East District, two others were shot dead at Kakching in Thoubal District (Nagaland Post 14.1.2009).
- 9) On March 17, 2008 at least seven non- Manipuris were shot dead by unidentified militants at Mayang, Imphal Hanglun in Imphal (Nagaland Post 14.1.2009).

Because of violent activities of various extremist / insurgent groups as a result of which the entire state of Manipur is in such a disturbed condition that the use of armed forces in aid of civil administration is necessary. The insurgency in Manipur has, over the years, become increasingly homicidal and the trend in 2008, 2009 and in 2010 demonstrates acceleration along this trajectory. While 388 deaths in 584 insurgency related incidents were caused by militancy in 2007, fatalities increased to 499 in 2008. The state, thus, remains most violent in India's troubled northeast leaving behind the much larger Assam (384) and Nagaland (201). The escalation of violence is not only reflected in fatalities but also in the number of bomb explosions triggered by various militants groups. The 37 explosions were carried out throughout the state including 27 in capital Imphal in 2007 killing 14 and injuring another 66. This number went up to 60 explosions with 35 in Imphal in 2008 registering 28 fatalities and 60 injured. The worst of this was on October 21, 2008 when at least 18 persons were killed and over 30 injured when a bomb fitted to a motor cycle was triggered by the KCP-MC near the high security Raigailong gate (Nagaland Post 14.1.2009).

The insurgency is spread over all the nine districts of the state including four in the valley and five in hill areas. The clash of culture between the hill tribes dominated by the Church and the valley dominated by the Meitei Hindu population - has provided sustained momentum to the extremist groups. They are fighting against each other. The militants have not confined their influence only to the remote corners of the state but have displayed their full potential in the fortified State Capital Imphal by attacking the offices and residences of political authorities. On March 8, 2008, PREPAK militants drove up to the heavily guarded Manipur Assembly Complex and exploded a bomb though no fatality was caused. Again on April 28, 2008 at least five persons including a women were injured when a remote controlled improvised explosive device (IED) fitted on a scooter was detonated by unidentified militants at Babupara VIP colony near Chief Ministers bungalow in Imphal. On May 8, 2008, unidentified militants lobbed a Chinese hand grenade at the residence of the state Health Minister Pheiroijam Parijat in Imphal. Later, on July 28 two bombs were hurled by militants at the residence of the State Food and Civil Supplies Minister Y. Erobot at Khurai Ahongei in the Imphal East District causing damage to a vehicle and the residence. On September 26 suspected militants lobbed a hand grenade at the residence of Legislator S. Kunjakishore alias Keba at Tera Sapam Leirak in the Imphal west District. On October 19th, a grenade was exploded by suspected militants in front of the Chief Minister's bungalow damaging a vehicle. On December 21, a Chinese hand grenade was exploded by militants belonging to the Lanheiba Meitei group of the MC faction of KCP at the south eastern side of the Governor's

House complex in Imphal. No casualty was reported. Political Authorities were targeted by militants in the areas beyond State capital Imphal as well. For example, on May 21, suspected militants exploded gas cylinders targeting the residence of the state Agriculture Minister N. Loken at Leimapokpam in the Bishnupur District. (Nagaland Post 14.1.2009).

Militant attacks are often related to the all pervasive extortion activities in Manipur. Places of worship, educational institutions, health centers, commercial establishments and related economic undertakings have been systematically brought under the extortion net by almost all the outfits operating in the State.

The militants have banned Hindi cinema in the state but English and Korean movies are abundantly shown in cinema / video halls. Simultaneously, extensive Christian conversion programmes are undertaken. The missionaries from Nagaland funded by Baptist World Alliance (BWA) and other foreign Church agencies are operating in Imphal valley for large scale conversion of Meitei Society so that their will be no resistance or least resistance for merger of Manipur in Nagalim proposed by NSCN(IM). The Korean Missionaries invited by Naga Church leaders are in bee line to operate in Manipur for rich harvest. The Islamic movement in Manipur is also rapid. The non-Manipuri businessmen and laborers are fleeing from the state because of quit notice served on them by RPF. The Muslims are purchasing their houses at throw away prices. The churches and musjids are mushrooming in Imphal valley targeting the Meitei Hindu community. The Church has declared "Manipur for Christ "on the line of "Nagaland for Christ". In addition to American and British missionaries, Korean reverends are pouring in Manipur under the program – In – Ko Agape (India- Korea Friendship). The trend of church planting accompanied with rich harvest is almost similar to that of Nagaland i.e. oblige the terrorist organizations and in return, get their help for Church planting and rich harvest at gun point. The Church is using the government guarters allotted to Meitei employees who have been converted to Christianity in recent years. For this fovour, the Church pays the hosts heavily. Surprisingly, these crimes do not come in the notice of pseudo - secularists and pseudo-champions of human rights. The RPF has issued guit notice to non-Manipuri people particularly Hindi speaking society and killed dozens of them from Bihar for no fault. The human rightists don't find human rights violation in these heinous crimes against humanity. But if an insurgent is killed either in an encounter or in an ambush by security forces, they take sky on their heads.

The incidents narrated above are not exhaustive but enough to explain the total collapse of law and order in Manipur where the terrorists are running a parallel government. The civil society in Manipur is wailing but the human rightists and the NGO owners sponsored by Church and militants organizations are silent on the sorry state of civil society. They (human rightists) still find the terrorists not doing any harm to innocent people. They still don't notice the civil liberties having been hijacked by the militants. And they always find fault with security forces only. The Government is fully aware of the foreign sponsorship of these militant organizations in Manipur.

It is conventional wisdom that external security threats are the prerogative of the army while the police take care of internal security threats. In the case of our

country, both the forces are used as per requirement and necessary training is imparted to them in counter-insurgency operations.

The NE and J&K regions are of immense strategic importance to India. Without any doubt, country's security concerns must incorporate these two at the highest level. The terrorism in this country is synonymous with breaking the nation into pieces. The Govt. feels that with AFSPA, security threats in these regions can be brought under control. The ideal thing is not to call the army to attend to the law and order situation. The forces are trained to defend the country's border and it should be confined to the task it knows the best. But the volcanic situation created by the particular terrorist organizations in a particular State compels the State Government to call for Army's help for containing the insurgency and restoring law and order in the society.

It is an elected Government which is answerable to parliaments. In a democratic setup, the military is under the Government and does not have to question the order given. Either in Manipur or in J&K, it is not the people; it is not the civil society who is agitating against AFSPA. There is no spontaneous response. Reportedly, it is orchestrated by anti-social elements.

When the elected Government specifies the threats, its different manifestations, specific measures/strategies to respond to them, overall assessment in forms of man power and equipment available and the nature of expertise needed, it calls military to assist the civil administration for restoring normalcy. To deal with awesome situation, the special provisions are required. After all, if a 'law and order' situation has arisen which compels the government to deploy the Army; soldiers have to be allowed to use deadly force. Even a private citizen has the right to kill someone in self-defense though the final word on the legality of her or his action belongs to the court. Similarly, a civilized society expects that the use of deadly force by the Army must at all times be lawful, necessary and proportionate. The shooting of an unarmed individual and the killing of a person in custody are not the acts that are permissible under AFSPA. Force is allowed in order to arrest a suspect. The act authorizes the use of "necessary" rather than "deadly" force in such circumstances. It means that the tests of necessity and proportionality must be met. The act does not block the prosecution of unscrupulous individuals.

The volcanic situation in Manipur compelled the Government to call for army operation and imposition of AFSPA in 1980. However, this AFSPA was lifted in 2007 under the pressure of several human rightist organizations from Imphal Municipal Council (IMC) area. This has facilitated all the terrorist organizations to operate in Imphal Valley. As a result, it has become difficult to survive in the valley. After having noticed the fast dwindling law and order, Chief Minister O. Ibobi Singh warned, "If the militants continued targeting non-Manipuris, State Government will be compelled to review the disturbed area status lifted from IMC area and re-impose AFSPA once again" (Nagaland Post 26.08.2010).

In the light of the above, the agitating section of the Manipur Society should see that while attempting to fulfill their secessionist demands it does not weaken the democratic structure or even remotely support methods which may recoil on the civil society one day. The Manipuri Society, particularly the Meitei section has very bright picture and a high place of honor in Indian Society because of our Hindu Dharma,

Hindu Sanskriti and patriotism. We must ensure that this image does not dwindle. We are required to draw a lesson from neighboring communities who patronized militancy half a century ago and today they must be repenting in silence. They are not even able to share their sorrows with anybody. They are alone. As you sow, so you reap. There are human rightists advocating for the withdrawal / dilution of AFSPA. Their approach will be praise worthy if they put their heads together and cause an effect on militant organizations to stop the violence and allow peace to prevail so that the military will return to their barracks and all the imbroglios shall be over. The AFSPA is enforced where there is conflict. Neither army nor AFSPA is required in peaceful areas, not even the disturbed areas where linkage with foreign powers is absent or not noticed. The army accompanied with AFSPA becomes unavoidable when self-styled protectors turn predators in the form of organized racket with foreign linkage.

Hon'ble Sir, the insurgency related violence has played the integral role in destroying human hopes and dreams. The violence with great sophistication has taken away Manipuris' capacity to decide their own future and has denied them their humanity. The organized crimes and institutionalized violence have caused brain – drain in Manipuri society. The brutality has reached its crescendo in the state. It has damaged the society. Yet, it is least addressed.

Manipuri civil society is being plagued by so much extortion. killing, rape, kidnapping, loot, arson and murder by those who live beyond the law and those who have made crime a paying profession. The various forms of crimes are an organized racket by predators working in the garb of protectors. In the absence of effective law and order, it has become their 'legitimate' business throughout Manipur.

A security personnel has to fire when a gun is targeted at him. He has to take the spot decision in the over all interest of the nation. For that he needs legal immunity by an enabling law and he should not be dragged to the court. Insurgency has alienated the civil society. It should be curbed. Also, the civil society is required to agitate against insurgency. If there is no insurgency, there will be no Army and no AFSPA.

Hon'ble Sir, it is our humble request to cause influence on the concerned authority so that

- (1) Army is not demoralized by diluting AFSPA
- (2) The Manipuri Society is protected from terrorist elements and Christians missionaries.
- (3) The Manipuri Society is protected from Islamic invasion
- (4) The law and order is restored and insurgency is routed out.

With regards,

N. Kunjkumar Singh President P. Narendra Sharma Secretary