

**No manipulative expressions detected.**

**Qualitative summary:**

Person 1: The conversational style of Person 1 is formal and professional. They ask detailed questions and provide background information on the topic being discussed. Person 13: Person 13's conversational style is knowledgeable and analytical. They provide detailed explanations and opinions on the various issues being discussed. They also offer suggestions and solutions to the problems at hand.

**Labelled input:**

Person 1: Hello and welcome to a special interview for the wire. Tomorrow the Area 2 assembly meets for its Monsoon session and today we ask how effectively have governments in Area 3 and Area 4 handle the crisis and more importantly what are the steps necessary to handle the Law and Order situation and beyond that the tricky but not irresolvable political issues that underlight those are the key concerns I should raise today with the former Home Secretary whose knowledge of the Location 5 and Area 2 in particular is not just unsurpassed it's also unrivaled.

Mr Person 6, tomorrow Tuesday the 29th the Area 2 assembly will convene for its Monsoon session for just one day but it's already clear that all 10 Group 7 MLAs, two of whom are Minister seven are in fact from the Organisation 8 will boycott the session and Number 9 national newspapers the Organisation 10 and the times of Area 11 suggest that even the 10 Group 12 mp skips the session in which case Beyond meeting constitutional requirements what real purpose does this one day session serve?

Person 13: I don't think it really serves any purpose except to show that one instrument of the administration, the Organisation 14, is still alive and kicking nothing more than that.

Person 1: in fact isn't that a danger that if all 20 Group 12 and Group 7 mlas do not attend the session it would be an all-mate session and that will deeply underline how deep and how perhaps irreversible the division in Area 2 has become

Person 13: I'm not so sure yet of whether the Group 12 mlas would not attend the session although two newspapers the Organisation 10 and the times of Area 11 have suggested they wanted it if they do I mean it it only sends a political signal of how isolated in one sense the Group 15 are from the rest of the population in Area 2 and that would in a sense bring home to the rest of Area 11 how deep and perhaps irreversible this divide is becoming well the division is very deep whether it's irreversible I would still wait to see how the developments take place on the various steps which need to be taken by the government and whether they would take those steps

Person 1: I want very much to talk to you about the steps that need to be taken and I want to talk about those steps in terms of different issues that occur Law and Order the political issues the background issues but before I come to that let me ask you first for your assessment of the way governments both in Area 3 and in far have so far handled this crisis what is your assessment of Chief Minister Person 16's handling over almost the last four months

Person 13: I think what we have to realize is that there has been a constitutional breakdown the state government has been more shall I say explicit by its absence rather than its presence across all of Area 2 including the Group 17 dominated areas and to that extent what was mentioned in Organisation 18 I don't have to one of the justices in Organisation 18 itself mentioned there is an apparent Constitution breakdown

Person 1: In that case should the chief minister be replaced?

Person 13: That is a political decision for the government of Area 11 to take and I think with the government's being of the same both Organisation 8 governments in center and the state it is unlikely that if they have not taken decisions so far that they would take such a decision or in the future...

Person 1: Although not so recent past Person 19 dismissed in Area 20 when they she felt that they were failing to handle the situation visa and that was a congress government dismissed by a congress prime minister so the president exists and I believe Person 21 did that in his time as well surely the interest of Area 2 should be Paramount not the party interest of the Organisation 8 which is why I asked because clearly this is the chief minister whose lost the confidence of the Group 7 people that's 16 percent and several newspaper accounts say 15 of his 32 mlas including eight Group 22 have also publicly expressed a loss of confidence in him so is he an obstacle now

Person 13: I don't think so I don't see the political party in power sees it that way because if they saw it they would then remove him it might happen in the future it's quite possible but at the moment I don't see the government removing him because they feel that he serves a particular political purpose

Person 1: in fact the home minister in his speech in Organisation 23 said he was being retained because he's in quotes cooperating and that was in terms of removing the chief secretary to moving the dtp accepting Person 24 but as a former Home Secretary who clearly puts the interest of Area 2 before the politics does cooperating make up for the fact that he's been incompetent in restoring Organisation 25 does it make up for the fact that he's unacceptable to 16 of his population and perhaps pretty close to 50 percent of his own MLAs

Person 13: See it's a question of one is the Constitutional propriety and the other is the political aspects and then obviously in this case the political issues have taken priority over constitutional aspects and it's very clear

Person 1: is that unfortunate in your eyes

Person 13: it is unfortunate yes because it sends a wrong signal not just to Area 2 it sends a wrong signal to one all the states in Area 11 and especially other states in the northeast of Area 11

Person 1: so retaining Person 16 is sending the wrong signal

Person 13: yes I think I have no doubt about it

Person 1: let's come to the handling of the situation by the central government in the speech that he made in Organisation 23 when the no confidence and debate happened the home minister spoke for two hours and he explained the present crisis in terms of an influx of illegal refugees Group 7 refugees from Area 26 from 2021. now there's no doubt that is precisely how the might they believed the situation has arisen but the Group 7 have a very different explanation did the home minister make a mistake in only giving the explanation from one side rather than from both sides has he ended up perhaps inadvertently making himself look partisan

Person 13: see once you have supported the chief minister and not dismissed the chief minister then you have to follow The Narrative of the chief minister and that is exactly what the Group 27 home minister has done so that was expected because if we had to follow any other narrative then it would mean that he would have to dismiss the chief minister

Person 1: and this follows from you're saying that retaining Person 16 sends a wrong message to Area 2 therefore the explanation as far as the Group 28 are concerned sends the wrong message to them as well yes

Person 13: no doubt about it

Person 1: and I presume this is why the Group 28 have responded so angrily towards the home minister said in Organisation 29 the list of Group 7 organizations who've condemned the home Minister's speech is pretty long it's Organisation 30 the indigenous tribal leaders Forum the committee on tribal unity and all 10 Group 7 mlas including seven who are from the home Minister's own Organisation 8 party doesn't this mean that at the time when the home minister needed to reconcile the Group 7 and the Group 17 and therefore reach out to the Group 7 he's ended up offending and

annoying them instead

Person 13: well that is what uh I think the strategy was so I don't uh  
(Music) you know find any uh anything new this  
has been the strategy of the Organisation 8 and therefore it just  
he's just following that line

Person 1: can you explain that further Mr Person 31 you believe the strategy of the Organisation 8 is to  
side with the Group 17 and push the Group 7 aside

Person 13: well that's what they've done in in actual practice that's what they've done so  
it's it's something unfortunate what it's happened and the consequences are there which we have seen and now we have in  
one sense to pick up the pieces and see where did we take them forward

Person 1: You are saying something very important and I'm only  
repeat but you're actually saying the government of Area 11 has taken sides in the Group 17 Group 7 conflict and it's taken  
the side of the Group 17 yes

Person 13: no doubt about it

Person 1: this is truly unfortunate isn't it

Person 13: it's unfortunate but that's politics today

Person 1: if you had been home secretary and you saw this happening what would you have said to the home minister

Person 13: No I think first most important thing is that you have to maintain Law and Order and if you find that the state  
government because Law and Order is the state subject if they are unable to maintain that then I think you have to take what  
action follows from that you're suggesting that if you were home secretary and the law and order was not under control it was  
said to the home minister dispense with your chief minister yes I think if he could not control the situation and the Law and  
Order situation went out of control as it went and you had a complete breakdown of Law and Order then I think you really  
need in one sense to have dismissed the chief minister because that I think was you could you don't have to impose  
president's rule but you have to get could get have got rid of him and brought in somebody else who you could try and if he  
still failed then the only other option is President's rule

Person 1: so I'll sum up this which you're saying two very important one that's a strategy to be is using in Area 2 which is to  
take sides with the Group 17 against the Group 7 is the wrong strategy it's unfortunate and secondly retaining experiencing  
is Chief Minister which follows from that strategy is another terrible mistake yes it is I think in the long term it's a mistake let's  
come to the prime minister's handling for 79 days he refused to speak in public about money but not a single syllable  
thereafter if you count up the occasions when he's spoken about Area 2 it comes to a total of under 10 minutes which means  
in nearly four months the prime minister of Area 11 has spent less than 10 minutes speaking about one of the worst crises  
Area 11 faces as a former Home Secretary what do you make of that I think the Prime Minister has left it to the home  
minister to take a call

Person 13: I think this is one it's a it's again a decision it's a decision that he has taken he thinks the home minister is  
handling it and he doesn't want to interfere with what the home minister is doing therefore he's kept his shall I say minimal uh  
approach rather than intervene directly

Person 1: given the seriousness of the crisis on the fact that it's carried on four months was the Prime Minister right to leave  
this entirely to the home minister

Person 13: It's a difficult call for me to make it's a it's a prime minister as of Area 11 he takes the call he's I think politically  
very astute so he's taken the call I think very deliberately and very in a measured way so we'll have to see how things pan  
out in the months to come to see whether that call was right or wrong

Person 1: earlier when we were talking about the home minister you said he has consciously put politics Organisation 8 politics ahead of Area 11's constitutional requirements that it seems is also true of Mr Person 32

Person 13: see let's let's see how things it's already the matter is before The Supreme Court issues which are coming I think we'll see how it pans out

Person 33: practically everyone I've spoken to in Area 2 and in the last four months I think I've done Number 34 interviews whether these guests were Group 35, they've all said they feel let down by the Prime Minister many have said they think the Prime Minister has done their back on them one of them even said to me we can't even see the prime minister's then are people in Area 2 justified in feeling and thinking like this

Person 13: see I think you are in a state you are trying to make depending on the Prime Minister for trying to solve all your local problems your local problems have to be solved at the local level and I think you have if you cannot expect the prime minister to solve the problem uh especially as complex and complicated just by the Prime Minister intervening it's it's a matter which you have to solve yourself and I think if you are not able to solve it there are other constitutional remedies which of course had not been taken but you have to solve the problem by discussion and dialogue among the groups in Area 2 itself

Person 1: my last question about the Prime Minister many people say many people in Area 2 that he's not just the most popular person in the country he's by far the most powerful what he to take an initiative for he to fly in for a day were he to invite Civil Society organizations to meet him he would give a message that he personally cares and that would encourage people to talk perhaps to reconcile that initiative needed to be taken by him they say how do you respond to that

Person 13: I think if any prime minister when I said in a situation of this nature needs to reach out to the people because they are all his uh he's a prime minister of all of Area 11 and therefore he needs to reach out uh at the earliest when the situation unless as a unless there is you know the intelligence briefings and the other reports which is getting are totally different in which case there's another that's another issue but if the reports are what has come out in the newspapers and has come out through the discussions that you've brought out in some of your interviews as well as the reports of people who have gone there of different parties and different makes it shows a real issue possibly unheard of in post-independence Area 11 and I think the Prime Minister would have been well advised to have intervened personally and then see where it goes from there

Person 1: so you're saying the Prime Minister needed to reach out in the early stages

Person 13: yes at least I think after the after the Union Home Minister's visit ah which is good the Union home minister is spending three days in Area 2 is unheard of in any uh lauded situation in the country Group 36 India when that didn't work I think the Prime Minister should have stepped in right calling people to him or by visiting Area 2 he could have visited Area 2 he could have called people across anyway just the fact that the prime minister is concerned about the situation would have made a tremendous difference because people of the Location 5 whether it's Group 17 whether it's Group 28 whether it's Group 37 and so on all of them are the human touch is very very critical for them that somebody cares and it would make a tremendous impact

Person 1: by failing to reach out by failing to give that human touch to use your words that somebody cares and let's be honest Mr Person 32 is very good at doing it when he wants to has he in the case of Area 2 been irresponsible

Person 13: I would say you see it's a call that he made the wrong call it's a call that that's for him to take because he said he would have left it to the Union home minister to take the decision he may have felt that his interfering would undermine the Union Home Minister's position any any I mean any number of reasons they could be uh and he thought of felt that his in his uh interference at the early stages uh may have been wrong how I personally feel that his intervention would have had a very salutary effect on the situation but that is my view others may feel different

Person 1: absolutely so in your personal opinion he took the wrong call

Person 13: in my personal opinion he should have reached out to the people in Area 2 even perhaps visited Area 2 or at least he should have called everybody over at least the least he could have done was to call everybody over to Area 3 for talks in the first week or 10 days

Person 1: let's now with this in the background come to steps that are necessary to tackle the problem and let's start with the law and order issue because I imagine that's the most immediate concern if the hormone is true to pick up the phone and say Person 38 no one knows the Location 5 better than you no one understands Area 2 better than you what is your advice to me with regard to tackling Law and Order what would you say

Person 13: well first I think is you have to what shall I say reduce the number of arms with the civilian population I think the number one priority would be in terms of the law and order I'll come to the relief Rehabilitation separately is the recovery of the Number 39 odd weapons which are looted from the police armories you can't have Number 40 arms floating around in the civilian population and expect situation to calm down so that is one number one priority...

Person 1: I imagine that the police and the security advisors are doing their best to try and recover the weapon what is it that they should be doing that clearly they haven't done that would recover weapons quickly

Person 13: see two things as I put it one I think every single officer in charge of the armories from where it is looted should have been first dismissed from service pure dereliction of Duty it's not it's on this is the first time it's happening in this sort of case second to a large extent people know who's who dams who with whom they are and you should by now have been raiding houses across Area 2 to recover These Arms which is not happened and you put drop boxes I mean it's the most ridiculous a situation that after you loot arms are looted you put drop boxes in different parts expect the people who have looted the arms to come and drop the weapons in that is one aspect second I think you have to start slowly initially yes...

Person 1: can I interrupt that point before you come to Second aspect a corollary of what you said that people are aware who's got the arms and they should have been reading their houses if they haven't done that and they know who's got the arms then there's a sense in which they're quite happy for them to keep the arms

Person 13: yes which which is why you're not seeing these raids I mean if I was the DGP of Area 2 even if not the old the new dgp has come in if I was the SP in Area 41 or Area 42 and so on my first priority would be to recover these weapons these are police weapons so identifiable then the numbers are there and so on and so forth you can you should be raiding houses to recover these

Person 1: and if you don't raid the houses Person 43 or at least acceptance that they're part of weapons and we don't mind them having the weapons

Person 13: yes definitely there's no doubt about it because by now if you three months has gone by more than three months have gone if you haven't been reading those to get the weapons back that's a I mean that is one key aspect for controlling the uh launder the situation bringing the violence down come to the second I interrupted you please come to the second the the second aspect in terms of which is the issue of filing these cases which are now of course some cases with Organisation 18 Etc the those cases which will go to Area 44 cases which are within itself opening up of you have to you have to open up supply lines because you if you block supply lens whether it's by the Group 15 or buy the Group 28 Etc it's not good and

KT: so forcibly those highways must be clear of blockades

GKP: the highways must be cleared of blockades you can have I think initially you still need possibly for the next six months you still need the buffer zones as still the situation the violence comes down Etc couple of steps they have taken which I have seen which I'll mention partly Also earlier like they posted some tribal officers to the hill districts who have now all Area 11 service officers which gives some confidence to the people that okay we've got people whom we know we we are we can

trust them they have come to do you need also to get what I what I call as start now of course Organisation 45 has taken over some cases but there are other cases which people and like yesterday you saw Quantity 46 houses burned down which is what you are trying you're trying to basically send a message to the Group 28 and the zombies we are not welcome back three months have gone by we've half burnt your house now we have you know completely burning down your houses so message don't even think of coming back though personally I think none of them will come back but that's another issue so again two two three weapons looted from residents of some director health or something I mean you can't allow this sort of slackness somebody has to be held responsible which is why I said dismiss the officers and they are both both in the hill districts and in the valley none of them have been dismissed so far not not one so moment you dismiss it you are sending a signal this will not be tolerated at least the next time somebody comes to Organisation 47 people will open fire I mean it's you just can't allow that to happen

Person 1: you know as I hear you speak the things you are suggesting are obvious there are things that should have been done immediately and yet they haven't been done what does that tell us about the attitude and performance of a whole lot of function is not just the chief minister but I'm not excluding it but the DGP the security advisor the SPs the whole administration of Organisation 48

Person 13: a totally unprofessional I I you want to put it I would even say incompetent because if Quantity 39 weapons have been looted and by now you haven't been doing raids I mean you saw I mean cases when rights take place and so on and so forth first thing that you do if there's weapons have been used by anybody else people read how is it see people have to the civilians have to feel a little bit uncomfortable that this will not be therefore the next time they try to do this they will be second thoughts whereas if they feel that nothing is going to happen to them in fact by failing to read you're giving them cut blush or encourage them to carry on yeah you're telling them that government has actually told you keep the arms

Person 1: are there other steps that you would advise to the home minister if hearings you up to tackle Law and Order one of them is get back the weapons raid if need be the second is file the case is prosecute them are there other steps in terms of Law and Order

Person 13: see these are the these are the first steps then you start the second process of what I call as giving the relief Rehabilitation and competition part of it which is not but it is equally important because ah from the relief camps itself and stories that both sides the relief camps youngsters and all are going now into what you call as you know Organisation 49 and so on and so forth so if you don't give confidence to the youngsters that you are to go and study in the school or you are providing some online education and so on within the relief camps itself but then your first priority is to go and get arms training from civilians to protect your own villages that's a failure of the state because the state is supposed to protect the citizens you don't expect the citizens to take arms to protect themselves

KT: people like Person 50 who visited with his karma people from the church who are present including Group 17 people in the Location 51 all tell me that the majority of the relief is being provided in the camps not by the state but by civil solidarity groups by the church or by my table in other words the state has opted out of doing what it should be doing  
Yes

Person 13: I think that that has been one absence you there are two two three things the state can do the state has a limited capacity I mean Area 2 government is not a it's not like you know you would find say Area 52 or Area 53 or a Area 3 government Etc where you know the capacity of the state is limited it's a small state a small number of offices etcetera a very large community organizations are there so it's it's all right that the community organizations come forward but the state must provide money but provide the say like for housing the prefabric housing they must be able to provide the doctors from the government hospitals and so on because most of the hospitals are the medical colleges and so on they should be able to provide other clothing and so on and so forth uh the relief and compensation which would have been expected from a state ah has not come and it's a it's actually a tribute to the strength of community organizations in Area 2 both Group 22 as well as the Group 54 organizations that they have been able to get in fact we have a an Organisation 55 officer in Area 2 Uh current Group 17 officer who has actually reached out to the IIs

Community through his batchmates and money has actually flowed from our groups WhatsApp groups to his NGO which is actually...

Person 1: but that is an individual taking an initiative not the state...

Person 13: state rather than the state...

Person 1: but in fact you mentioned the need for Organisation 56 you mentioned the need for money newspaper reports when I'm going entirely by them suggest very little of the money that promised has actually reached people whether it's up in the hills whether it's down in the valley and as far as the Group 7 are concerned in the Location 57 there is a real crisis of medical treatment doctors are absent medicine supplies are absent they're having to travel in some instances to Area 58 or Area 44 and some reports suggest that people who are critically ill have died

Person 13: yes I think my my information itself tells me that the number of people who have died in these camps has crossed 50. So when you say that Number 59 and some odd people were killed in the riots you almost got another 35 to 40 percent people have died post riots in the camps for out of various illnesses...

Person 1: this is because of the inefficiency or incompetence of the state Organisation 60

Person 13: you see not being able to provide the adequate Health in fact I would have expected even from the government of Area 11 that they should have started Health Facilities from Modern Age to Medical sciences and so on so forth doctors from various places should have been sent Number 61 doctors should have been sent for by rotation for a month two months to many of these relief camps just to provide the basic health Facilities

Person 1: not only have they not been sent by the government of Area 11 it seems it hasn't even occurred to the government of Area 11 that this is needed to do

Person 13: No, they are aware. I think the uh union health home minister had promised that 50 Medical Teams would be sent

Person 1: Absolutely, when he was there he made it but they haven't gone

Person 13: They haven't gone.

Person 1: He made a promise and even three months later has failed to fulfill it

Person 13: so that is what that is why the condition in the camps are so poor and many of them are and now of course slowly the prefabricated houses because the Organisation 62 panel has you know pointed out the total inadequacy of what has been provided I expect that things to improve now but this is something which should have been done in the first 15 30 days

Person 1: we're coming to the end of what I call the first section which is restoring Law and Order relief and Rehabilitation you've painted you which is deeply depressing the essential steps to resolve the order are obvious but they're not being taken who knows when they will be taken the steps for Relief and Rehabilitation are obvious they are not being taken with the exception of housing nothing else is really happening so when will we have a restoration of Law and Order when will people be given the relief and Rehabilitation it doesn't look as if there's an end point inside

Person 13: yeah I expect that uh see it is unfortunate because again it's a failure of the government that I expect that the Organisation 62 panel has now given its report they have pointed out the inadequacies ETC that has been now been communicated to the state governments and I think next week the response of the state government and the central government will come what have you done I expect that again the state government and central government will to avoid being criticized by Organisation 18 will say that we are rushing some equipments some doctors and so on and so forth to show that uh that are there...

Person 1: that's just face saving..

Person 13: that's face saving because it should have been done much much before this because

Person 1: so we failed as a state in restoring Law and Order and relief and Rehabilitation

Person 13: yes we have I think we've seen we've had riots uh you know Number 59 people uh Number 63 is not something which is people in Area 11 the size of Area 11 we have not faced before but in all cases which has happened whether it's in whether it's in up whether it's in Area 64 whether it's in Area 65 whether it's Group 66 responded very quickly in any riot any riot situation the state responds very quickly and if you don't respond quickly it's a real failure that's where the administration also officers are responsible

Person 1: this is where Area 2 is a clear outlier

GKP: outlier

Person 1: we haven't responded quickly in fact we know what we should be doing and we're not doing it. it's very hard to move further but academically I will I imagine side by side with tackling Law and Order which as you pointed out is being done ineffectively if it's being done at all the government also needs to turn its attention to the very difficult intractable political issues are the talks that are happening with the Organisation 67 on the one hand from the Group 17 site and with the Organisation 68 from the Group 7 side the right way of tackling this political issue or should the government be reaching out through Civil Society groups and perhaps through highly regarded individuals who both sides respect like for example Person 69's hair

Person 13: see the government has started I think to to an extent that fact that the dialogues have started even though it's still with one party one party rather than everybody sitting across the table which goes that hasn't that stage hasn't yet come because of the acute uh mistrust between the communities the process has started I think the steps on the Law and Order which I mentioned earlier the steps on the relief Rehabilitation compensation the competition so far has been very inadequate people have lost I mean some in some places Money Amount 70 and you are then saying I'll give you Money Amount 71 which are still not been given so this whole issue of assessing what has been the Damage Done uh finding out who are the people Etc this is something which should have been done still not done but let us assume that those are done these are all steps as part of what I call as the background to the political process which is in one sense at the moment they're talking of separate Administration I still put it as if you are looking at the territory Integrity of Manipur being preserved you are looking at it's a greater autonomy uh whether it's a six schedule status whether it's uh something more it's these are still I put it as one two years down the line because the Area 2 issue of autonomy to the hills is also linked to the naga P stocks so uh since the Group 12 peace talks have also stalled in a little bit in a sense you can't have a solution for Group 28 and this thing without keeping the nagas issue also so I expect that that is a issue of two or three years before that will take but in the meantime you can do a number of steps which are which are say getting District administration functional once more fully so you have now a situation where you have a total shall I say of course I think we have to be very clear that not all of Area 2 is affected most of the Location 72 districts like rule Area 73 senapati Etc no problem at all absolute material officers are working there Group 12 officers are working their Group 7 officers are working there there is no problem so you've got 30 30 percent of that areas all those areas which are shall I say normal Organisation 60 is functioning but in other areas like children you've got now Organisation 60 which lot of officers are missing because if they were Group 15 they've left if they were Group 7 officers from you know they've left them and they are Organisation 74 so get maybe in the initial stages empowering Deputy commissioners to fill up vacancies on a temporary basis for a one year period by use by hiring local people to fill up the vacancies in say the primary health centers in Organisation 75 in the district hospitals in schools and so on so that uh of a modicum of Administration is restored and people can go about that normal lives

Person 1: what you're suggesting as you said sounds so obvious why is it not being done

Person 13: I really don't know though I must say that in the first instance last week they start just started posting on their service travel officers to the hill districts so the three or four officers have been posted I mean the first steps maybe they are starting to realize that Uh



Person 1: tell me something there are so many things that need to be done in terms of restoring Organisation 76 getting the administration functioning empowering District magistrates so that they can temporarily appoint people and you've made it seem so simple and obvious I'm astounded it's not happening but leave that aside should the chief minister be removed to facilitate all of this happening is he an obstacle is that why it's not happening since

Person 13: I haven't talked to the chief minister or you know some of the people in the administration it's difficult to say but I would have expected that from Organisation 77 because Organisation 78 mha has a very special relationship with states in the Location 5 historical uh it's always been the Group 79 figure of so I would have expected Organisation 80 to have taken far more uh initiative you know when I was just not Location 81 by now the joint secretary Person 5 would have been you know camping in Area 41 and making sure all these things are done I take it he's not doing that we've never heard of him have you heard of The Joint secretary Person 5 so that's that's what is really the problem that you need people Number 82 central government officers should have actually been camping in Area 41 the health secretary The Joint secretary Health The Joint secretary in education in school education and so onwards should have been camping in Area 41 and issuing orders one two three four start getting...

Person 1: You know the picture you're painting becomes even more worrisome Mr Person 83 not only has the administration in Area 41 collapsed there seems that the administration in Area 3 which technically should know what's required is not doing it it's for some reason or the other it's not acting none of these joint secretaries have gone there none of them have camped none of them have taken the initiative

Person 13: yeah very unfortunate, very unfortunate

Person 1: This in a sense makes my next question irrelevant but given that it is difficult for a Organisation 8 government to dismiss a Organisation 8 chief minister should president's rule be imposed where you don't dismiss the chief minister but you just take over charge yourself or would that be no use yeah it's a

Person 13: it's a politically call which they have to decide that which means that you are shall I say you are unhappy with what the chief minister is doing but if you are happy with what the chief minister is doing then what happens and the other problem with president's rule is then Area 3 would be directly Responsible...

Person 1: and its failure would be immediately obvious there wouldn't be a buffer in between any longer...

Person 13: that is true and definitely that is why I said all these things have to take place simultaneously across different agencies all Ministries for the government of Area 11 because you have a state huge All State crisis and therefore all all departments at least key departments which are you know health education water supply you know because there's no water supply in many of the relief camps and so on so all these are should be now Organisation 84 has to push it and this is something that they should have done in the first 30 days they haven't done it they need to do it because that inspires confidence among the people that the state and the central government cares it is very important especially for the people of the Location 5 to feel that the state government and the central government cares about them and that is very very they are very emotional people and unless you approach them emotionally you will never be able to you know win their confidence

Person 1: at the time when the message that's needed is we care we will reach out we will help you the message that's going both from Area 41 where the government has collapsed effectively and dairy where the government seems to be indifferent and not bothering is actually carry on As You Are we don't care do what you want you know

this is why I think people in Area 2 feel let's not put in terms of the PM  
the system has done its back on them whether it's an Organisation 85 or daily they've been forgotten

Person 13: yeah that is that's the general feeling all sides including the matches  
have you ever come across some  
no I this is this is unique when things are so obvious  
we are not even looking at the other aspects of you know could this  
situation have been anticipated were there warning signs because there's been  
clashes pre-may and so on so we're not even looking at those issues which will come  
which I hope you know as things calm down and so on people will start to  
write and but I think and there are still many other issues which are still be which I mentioned are  
the background issues which are still the refugee issue  
the issue of the illegal drug trade  
the issue of forest rights in the forest conservation which now again..

Person 1: Let me dig those up one by one, but before I do I'll point out something that you hinted at because it will intrigue  
the order clearly you believe there were signs before the third of May that the problem was lurking under the surface that it  
needed attention and care at that warning sign was ignored

Person 13: yes I think the signs were there they were they were small clashes there were  
small protests there was even you know the issue of you know when the chief Minister's functions  
which he was supposed to go to Area 42 where there was his you know the the ground on  
which he was that whatever the structure the Group 86 and all this got burned  
down Etc this warning signs were all there it's it's a question of how you uh put it  
together but that is a that's a separate...

Person 1: so there was inefficiency or incompetence or even irresponsibility in  
ignoring these warning signs it was there it's all all it was not that it was not there and I imagine these are  
warning signs that not only were ignored in infant they were warning signs that sort of struck warning bells in Area 3  
but those warning Bells didn't ring here either

Person 13: yes I don't think so because by now otherwise you should have had you  
know you would have deployed another 50 companies of Organisation 87 before this whole thing happened saying that we  
anticipate  
things it's going to blow up

Person 1: so the failure of the Group 88 system both at Area 2 and dead is not just in terms of  
handling and responding to the crisis post made her it's also failing to heed warning signs that were ringing and  
which should have been paid attention to it's a it's a much longer in course history of failure

Person 13: yes I think the signs were there now you may say that uh how you how you could have reacted to  
those signs is different but they were definitely there and I I don't see  
any sort of precautionary steps taken either as a state or the central level  
to handle those warning signs if they were  
they are not been disclosed publicly but the warning signs are there I've talked  
to people in the administration in Area 2 I've talked to people in the armed forces and so on so everybody says  
the warning signs were there

Person 1: everyone saw that everyone knew they were born in science no one acted liked  
it then you can only blame yourself let's come to the background issues let's go through them one by one  
first I'll take up the issues raised by the Group 17 then I'll come to the issues raised by the Group 7 just for Person 43  
the Group 17 believe that the Group 7 are involved in puppy cultivation and in  
illegal drug trade what we know from the interview Person 89 has given me and she's given it also to news the  
truth that in fact she Elders that the chief minister has been protecting a drug lord

who is a Organisation 8 functionary and his wife too she allergies is involved so is this charge made by the Group 17 against the Group 7 pointing fingers Number 90 direction or are they all involved in it

Person 13: I think everybody is involved there's no I mean it's it's been there in the past the drugs both within Area 2 as well as the money it's coming Area 2 is a history of drug problems from starting from HIV you know when and then the whole Community got together to you know sort of tackle that so it's it's something which is there uh I don't think it's everybody is everybody is involved it's a it's a fact and how they're going to tackle it is I think it's Organisation 91 the enforcement directorate all these people are now to see you know the pmla and so on money laundering Etc because it's big money it's a poppy cultivation the cultivation by the farmers is a what maybe five percent of the total drug trade so ah the public cultivation itself is small but there is a large inflow of drugs and the chemicals coming up from across and it's partly because again we don't we're not we don't realize because mainstream media in Area 11 has not covered Event 92 which is going on in Area 26 I mean they've been you know we've had big once in 1960s you know the an air raid on isol that's big headlines that used against their own citizens the Area 26 government is bombing away left right and center and therefore you are going to have these refugees coming in to Area 11 and I think it is very important for government of Area 11 to have if not a refugee policy at least keep a complete tab on who is coming across the border put them into a refugee campus...

Person 1: How serious is the influx of illegal Group 7 refugees all the newspaper reports I've read suggest that survey is done by the Area 2 government put the numbers that entered Area 2 Number 93 something like Number 94 have gone to Area 95 how worrying is an influx of Number 96 or is it being exaggerated to point fingers

Person 13: see one since the actual this thing has not been done and I would be uh skeptical about the numbers I think the figures in Area 97 is taking Number 98 Etc uh maybe here Number 96 is slightly on the slower side it may be higher maybe Number 99 maybe maybe more but these are refugees see nobody likes to leave his village and come across in just carrying whatever is on the back of their head to to another place unless Dire Straits On The Other Side so it is important for you to say that these are refugees like when you know the Area 100 they had a problem in Location 101 and so on Number 102 so we said there's a problem the refugee camps set up your document you document them you fingerprint them you photograph them you do all the all that you want and they remain as documented refugees

Person 1: you're saying these people who've come whether they're Number 103 or Number 104 they're refugees they are fleeing from Terror in Area 26 obviously at some point they want to go back to their home but they are not people who've come to make a living forever in Area 11 there is a distinction to be made between refugees from militant Area 26 Terror and people who have come to make a home in Area 11 they're the first not the second

Person 13: yes and therefore once once you document these refugees the document he then never becomes an illegal migrant because he always remains a refugee then you have to take up with the government of Area 26 send them back at some point of time when situation is...

Person 1: but something else flows from what you're saying I'm talking now both about what you said earlier about the poppy trade and also about these refugees in both cases the finger has been pointed almost exclusively at the Group 7 but you're saying both sides are involved in the poppy trade and the drug trade brindas interviews makes that clear the involvement on the Group 17 side goes all the way to the Chief Minister and again you are saying as regards these refugees they're not coming to permanently settle they are fleeing for fear of their life and they want to

go back one day again the finger is pointed to the Group 7 and said you're deliberately changing the demography they're not

Person 13: I don't think the demography will change we don't have we don't see that numbers yet but remember I I think we all the time we're talking of Group 28 the Group 28 there's also zombies their chins all are indifferent they are different I mean we look at it the Group 7 is not the same as the zoo and The Group 105 they fought you know in the late 90s the Group 28 and the Pie Face they had a huge fight for you know thousands were killed so uh we have to see that different ethnic tribes across from across the border are coming whether some of them are also involved in the drug trade it's a matter for it's open and if I if I am coming here and I am you don't look I am not shall I say not put in a refugee camp where I'm housed as a Organisation 106 High Commissioner for refugees they give you a refugee status stamp etc etc then what your your own your own and then when you run your own I would not be surprised if some of them are also involved in this illegal drug Organisation 48 because they will then they have to survive

Person 1: in other words the administration of the system needs to respond more effectively to this to ensure that refugees remain Refugee refugees yes and this is again another area where the state Administration has failed

Person 13: yeah I think we've see even in Group 97 refugees some of them are housed in camps some of them are housed in the with individual families because they're you know their relatives their chins their communities same places and so on but the government of Area 11 has not given a single pie to the Group 97 government to help in the Area 95 government are saying these are the refugees who have come across we got the names we've got this thing we give you all we have we are providing funds from our state budget help us with some money And

KT: the major on government ask for Money Amount 107 which is eventually after two months delay but another aspect of that is there are some 14 000 Group 108 refugees in Area 97 and the Area 2 government has done nothing whatsoever to help them I mean it could have sent money to Area 97 to help them those people are surviving on either Organisation 109 largest Organisation 110 charity the third background factor is this charge made against the Group 7 about encroaching on Forest life how accurate is it or is it a misunderstanding as a Group 7 claim of the slash and burn style of cultivation

Person 13: see you have it's complete it's a complicated issue because you're looking at the hill areas are by and large Forest areas they've been they've been doing slash and burn for us you also have the Manipur I mean the forest conservation act you have Forest rights for tribals who have been there that's one aspect of what they do there is now also forests which are to be preserved as forests and not to be slash and burn also you've now have I've yet to examine the implications of the New Forest conservation act which is passed in Organisation 29 in their previous session where the government has got the right to say this is a forest and this is not a forest so there is some areas on which there is a little bit of a gray area those have not yet got implemented again when the Area 2 government starts to implement the New Forest act and declare a particular area as non-forest and so on and so forth it will create

KT: absolutely but this is the Area 2 government again wrongly pointing fingers at the Group 7 and claiming they're encroaching when in fact the government doesn't understand the style of cultivation the Group 28 is there a mistake being made in pointing a finger at them see it's both I think you have to look at the fact that there is one slash and burn cultivation which which is normal then you have also some encroachment which is taking place people encroach every anywhere I mean it's across the world anywhere slight

any public area is available it's..

Person 1: so you're suggesting that the charge of encroachment may not be wrong but it's being exaggerated

Person 13: I think it's been exaggerated, but I would I would be surprised if there was not some encroachment into Location 111

Person 1: that's human nature

Person 13: human nature

Person 1: so on

the three background issues we've discussed refugees involvement in the drug treatment poppy cultivation encroachment in Location 111 areas there is an element of exaggeration when the finger is pointed uniquely and exclusively with the Group 7 both sides are involved in the drug trade the refugees are actually refugees they're not coming to change the demography is able to go back that needs to be understood and as regards encroachment there is some encroachment happening but it's being exaggerated is that correct yes I think that's the actual ground situation let's then come to the that's not perhaps the last part of this interview from the Group 17 point of view the real concern is what they call Building 112 and they think it should be resolved in terms of giving them scheduled tribe status do you believe given your understanding of Area 2 and his complexities that scheduled tribe status is the right way of addressing the land the ballot so are there other ways that could be equally efficacious but less controversial

Person 13: yes I think so I don't think even among the Person 113 there was earlier I think it was almost 70 percent of the Group 15 didn't want ST status now they say it's come Number 114 after his clashes and so on land is a is an issue no doubt about it uh and the Group 115 have a genuine uh represent genuine grievance if I want to if I may put it that way primarily again psychologically that you know people from the hills can buy land in the valley but you can't buy land in the hills and I think this is where I think uh political statesmanship from both sides is involved there is a certain the land hunger is there for everybody very thickly populated here less populated because you also have Forest areas so ah the you can't it's not Organisation 116 to Organisation 116 so you need some element of political compromise by which the Group 15 also can have some access to land in the hill areas for certain purposes you can have a restriction you can say ceiling will be five percent or ten percent of the total area for ABC purposes Etc some of it they've been discussions in the past with Organisation 117 in terms of for industrial purposes for setting up industrial parks in the hill areas for the mateys who come and settle down who are working government servants and so on because they are Organisation 118 they get recruited then you can get posted to the Location 57 you might marry somebody there and you want to settle down there then you should be allowed not say that I'm not a person and not be out..

Person 1: That permission from Location 119 councils is already available but it I gather is given very grudgingly

Person 13: yeah it's given tragically it's very little it's uh

Person 1: but you say that this is an issue the land imbalance that with the political initiative taken by sensible farsighted politicians can be very easily reserved yes I think it needs to if people have to realize that it is an issue you have to realize that

Person 13: the Group 15 have a problem don't brush it aside the carpet no no the hills are as we are not going to give you a scent of it therefore you can't I think you can't take that attitude

Person 1: but the corollary you're saying this can be resolved without necessarily giving the Group 17 schedule tribe status yes in other words you need a far-sighted politician who takes the initiative and that means someone has to stick their neck out because that's what you do when you take a Ministry isn't it yeah

Person 13: I think a lot of Group 15 is uh responsible citizens also say that we are not scheduled tribes and as it stands in the current definition of where the schedule tribe we are not the schedule tribes uh some of them are Group 120 some of them of course looking back to their old indigenous faith in which case they are you know shall have more akin to estimate but today now in the uh context of where they are now in terms of their education their social uh you know lack of anybody nobody discriminates against my thieves in terms of the educational levels all the things which Organisation 121 would actually look at to see are you I'm missing in that case are missing in their case so it is unlikely that they would get from Organisation 122 ah Organisation 123 stages

Person 1: but what you are really saying is that we land hunger of them might say can be resolved if a far-sighted politician would take the initiative it doesn't necessarily require schedule tribe stages political division taken by a sensible political politician that's the problem such a politician is missing it doesn't exist on the horizon

Person 13: yeah but you have to also from the other side I think the hill areas also the people must also be a little accommodative if they if they see that little bit of accommodation I think the Group 124 politicians will also respond positively

Person 1: let's come to the last issue the Group 7 particularly after the experience of the last almost four months a demanding separate Administration they've made it clear that they cannot live with the Group 17 any longer after what's happened and this is a separate Organisation 60 means either a separate state or a union territory status now if you were home secretary this is a very tricky demand because if they're given some sort of separate Organisation 60 it will fracture Area 2 because the Group 125 immediately would want to join up with Area 58 and all that would be left is Location 126 and on the other hand you can also understand that after what they've gone through the Group 7 clearly want some measure of autonomy to be able to safeguard themselves so how would you if your Home Secretary tackle this extremely difficult issue

Person 1: see I've always been off the view and in fact as JS Northeast there's even a literally an Affidavit of mine in the Area 2 assembly saying that government of Area 11 is committed to the territorial integrative Area 2 I've said that even during the Group 12 talks and so on said we are not touching that if you are not touching that then issue then Becomes of matter of autonomy um you got the hilarious Council which hasn't really worked because again the state no state government likes to give autonomy it's happened in Area 44 when you have six scheduled status and even the six schedule areas Area 127 when we negotiated the Bodo Accord we gave a lot of autonomy but they still feel that because the money is rooted through the state government it's the who controls the money controls everything else so unless there is financial autonomy it becomes very difficult for anybody to feel that I'm really you know autonomous therefore an autonomous Council an autonomous area is fine it can be under the sick schedule I think in the past even Area 2 there's been uh...

Person 1: but the sixth schedule doesn't apply Area 2

Person 13: no it can

Person 1: but it can be implied

Person 13: it can be extended to any particular area which the government wants uh in the past Area 2 governments have been said this is acceptable but this is something negotiating to be negotiated

Person 1: there are reports in the papers that the talks that were happening with the Group 128 groups and Organisation 78 which then got overtaken when made the third happened we're reaching a sort of conclusion to which reports suggest the Group 128 groups were willing to concede that autonomous Location 119 area councils or autonomous territorial councils perhaps under the sick schedule would be acceptable now the Group 7 said that door is closed do you think it can be reopened can this package be sweetened to make the Group 7 accepted

Person 13: I think it can be reopened it's a question of you have to give it a little bit of time I think you have to allow the other processes which I mentioned earlier the step-by-step processes on in terms of the Law and Order and leave this to the last and leave this to the couple of years down the line because I don't think at this stage uh anything forget six schedule forget Organisation 129 forget a new state Etc will be you know discussed at all right not it's just too early it's too early so that's two three years down the line as I put it

Person 1: but you're also suggesting that to make the Location 119 area councils or the autonomous territorial districts or whatever you call them acceptable you'd have to also apply the sixth schedule of the Constitution so it's a lot closer to the Location 130 structure and perhaps in addition give them also some measure of financial autonomy

Person 13: yeah that is those are part which can be negotiated with over a period of I think that I I put it as I think it's about two three years down the line when all other things as I said uh I'm hoping that slowly all the other positive steps will take place and we don't have and this is my great fear we don't have I think for two three months uh I think till November December I think there'll be relative calm but uh there is a lurking fear that you might again end up with another about a burst of violence

Person 1: why do you say till November December they become what what is you after that

Person 13: number of issues from one Organisation 18 looking at the whole uh case the Romantic hola issue there are some issues which are taking the poppy cultivation gets harvested in November so nobody wants both sides don't want any anything which might affect the cultivation of puppy so many other so many issues are there at the back of it so uh

Person 1: if I understand correctly what you're saying is that both sides have an interest in ensuring that the puppy Harvest is not affected both sides have an interest in watching to see how Organisation 18 reacts which is why there will be a sense of relative come to November December your worry is once the puppy Harvest is done and once Organisation 18 has perhaps turned its attention to other matters the situation can flare up again around November December

Person 13: which is why I mentioned that you know the earlier steps like recovery of all looted arms getting the you know Organisation 60 in these areas back Area 131 getting this you know trust where people then feel that I don't have to uh you know you don't have too many uh sporadic issues which you know right keep tension Rising but there is a sort of gradual coming people feel things about go back to critical steps those are critical steps because otherwise if you have Number 40 arms maybe more comes which come in from across the border and so on you are sitting on a Tinder Box which you have to be very careful uh you can always blow up

Person 1: but the problem is those critical steps are not happening we've discussed in detail but they're not happening we have to keep our fingers crossed at hope and pray that they do happen

Person 13: yes it's very important that they happen if you are looking at the larger long-term interests of Area 2

Person 1: one last question there is one obvious sign on the horizon and I want to ask you whether it worries you recent statements issued by Organisation 132 increasingly suggest that the Group 125 I'm talking about the Group 108 Group 125 are siding with the Group 17 against the Group 7 and a statement issued by Mr Person 133 from Area 134 seems to suggest the same thing is they had a potential for a second conflict happening we've already got a Group 17 Group 7 one could there now be a Group 135 one developing as well

Person 13: no I don't think so I I don't think so I think the Organisation 136 IM and what they are really basically is stressing that don't ignore the Group 125 which is why I said any settlement you have with Organisation 137 don't leave us out of it because their Group 12 interests involved both in the autonomy which can be given to the the so-called areas as well as the areas where supposedly Group 7 dominance is there but the Group 125 may say that those are some areas we are we also have influence in those areas so don't count us out we want to be involved in those negotiations which is a fair and I think the whole package of autonomy will come issue with the Group 12 peace talks in terms of the autonomy for the Group 125 autonomy for the Group 28 and autonomy for the Group 138 and so on

Person 1: what Organisation 139 is doing is not spoiling for a fight it's simply putting its car down on the table and saying listen folks don't forget about us right in other words it's making its presence felt it's not actually spoiling for a fight even though they've accused The Group 7 of false history and lies but that's just their way of saying don't forget about Us

Person 13: I think so and I don't think they will spoil for a fight in fact the Group 12 should be most worried because in the city of Area 41 they are the only ones left

Person 1: absolutely so my last question everything that we've discussed both in terms of what the government should do but hasn't done whether an imphal o daily and in terms of what they then need to do but which will be difficult and will take time suggest to me that this is not only a very complicated and complex issue but it's intertwined with emotional politics and it will not be easy to solve and it will take years to solve you've talked about two three years but it's possible it could take a Whole Decade

Person 13: yeah it depends on how how fast as we said and we don't have too many setbacks on the route which I mentioned it's because it's it's it's important that we don't have uh those setbacks because these are things which sometimes happen when you ignore I think we've realized now that you cannot ignore warning signs if the warning signs are there now here as I mentioned the warning signs of presence of civilian arms with civilians in thousands I mean if in Area 3 we had AK-47 and semi-automatic rifles with Number 99 you know people in Area 3 the Area 3 police would be extremely worried you know I mean the first thing they would go if they have diluted from Area 3 armories they wouldn't have that sleepless night it didn't happen

Person 1: so what we're saying is that we have to keep our fingers crossed the things don't fare up things don't deteriorate it could be a sensitive delicate situation for years to come we just have to be very careful about how we handle Area 2

Person 13: yes we have to be very careful how you handle Area 2

Person 1: and not only must the government in Area 41 keep its eyes open and its ears open and respond quickly so must the government in Area 3 we can't afford for laxity we can't afford for people diverting their attention

Person 13: I don't think we can afford at all I mean it this is something which has both not just domestic implications it has International ramifications yes because it's interpreted as Group 10 versus Group 54 abroad and if the violence of Event 140 in Area 26 goes out of control uh then you can expect refugees uh to like come in bigger numbers like you're seeing in Location 141 from Location 142 you you know every time you have in Area 143 in Area 144 in all these countries you have Event 140 all of them finally take a boat and swim across there here this is just a cross they'll come here and those which are on the other side

Person 1: yeah in addition they've got kinship because the same tribes are split between Area 26 and Area 11 sometimes Area 11 Area 100 as well I thank you for opening our eyes I thank you for the honesty with which you've addressed the situation I hope in particular the government in Area 3 is listening to you there's a lot that you said that will benefit them thank you very much indeed

Person 13: thank you hi I'm Person 145