

# **Chapter – I**

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# Chapter – I

## Introduction

### 1. Relevance of the Proposed Study:

There are certain minimal rights which have come to be accepted as basic freedoms of the individual. These rights are broadly classified into civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, social and cultural rights on the other hand and these are indivisible and interdependent. The concern for human rights and fundamental freedom has assumed a global dimension and is of vital significance to the world community. It is clear that all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. It has also been affirmed that democracy is the sole guaranteed of individual rights, civil, political, economic, social, cultural and collective rights with in states and within community states.

Human Rights basically and pervasively impact the quality and fulfilment of life of societies in all nations and ensure the prevalence of freedom, justice, peace and order in the world. The task of the protection and promotion of Human Rights is a complex one and requires the co-operation of all sections of society, political parties, non-governmental organizations, lawyers, judges, public servants, teachers, police, media persons and others. The charter of the United Nations makes reference to human rights and fundamental freedoms in a number of clauses. In the preamble, the people of United Nations express their determination “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small”. The United Nations can only live up to the expectations which are raised by its charter and collective efforts are made by all of its organs as also by other organs of international and national society and Governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations of the world and along with them the individuals share the responsibility of joining in a common human rights efforts.

It is in this context that the present research chooses the north-eastern part of India in general and Assam and Manipur in particular. The study deals with the issue of the violation of human rights in this region. The proposed study is aimed at understanding the relationship between social conflict and poverty in the context of the two regions where

there have been a series of conflicts causing disruption of normal livelihood of the people. The causes of conflict range from inter-ethnic clashes to human rights violations, political instability and militarisation. These conflicts have caused massive destruction, loss of life and property and large scale internal displacement. The response of the state has mostly followed the path of combining economic packages with more militarisation. This study highlights the need to recognise togetherness of the imperatives of economic well-being and socio-cultural identity in addressing the issues involved in the ethnic conflicts and human rights violation.

**2. Statement of the Research Problem:** It is axiomatic that human rights are the basic rights for an individual. These rights are regarded very important for the better living of a person. Protection and maintenance of human rights is a fundamental duty of every government. International organizations and watchdogs such as, UNO, International Human Rights Commission, etc., can play a vital role in ensuring the implementation of these basic rights. Countries, particularly the democratic countries, must stand together in this respect and take necessary persuasive and even coercive actions, to see that these fundamental human rights are adhered to by people, organizations and countries all over the world. Today, violation of human rights is seriously taken note of by international bodies. It is in this backdrop that most countries have set up their own independent National Human Rights Commissions. Hence human rights are undeniable and inherent rights of every individual.

The North-eastern part of our country is declared as 'disturbed' for long. Its human rights situation is rooted in its ethnic and linguistic make-up and in the history of its administrative relationship to the central government of India. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), 1958 was implemented to control the insurgents as well as to maintain peace and security in the region. But surprisingly, after its deployment the situation became even worse. The army violates the human rights of the inhabitants by means of torturing, arresting, searching their houses in excuse of suspicion. They harass and compel females to help the militants by providing shelter. Thousands of cases of rapes and sexual molestations have been reported against the army. But due to lack of proper investigation the victims do not get justice. Several times the civil society raises its voice to repeal the draconian Act. The central government sometimes too feel to withdraw it, but in practice they do nothing. International organizations like United Nations, Amnesty International make some recommendations, still the people of North-east have been

deprived of enjoying the basic human rights of them. This encouraged the researcher to study the actual human rights situation in the two North-eastern states i.e. Assam and Manipur.

### **3. Objectives of the proposed study:**

The proposed study would explore the situation of human rights in the north-eastern part of India and the situation of Assam and Manipur, in particular. The focus has been restricted only to the political character of the issue. A huge number of publications have made a number of recommendations aimed at improving the human rights climate of these areas. Many of these recommendations focus on the need for investigation of all reported abuses and the amendment or repeal of abusive security regulations. Assam and Manipur were declared 'Disturbed Areas' and subsequently AFSPA was promulgated that granted immense power to the armed forces for tackling the problems in the states due to the activities of extremists and insurgent groups. However, empowering armed forces with these special powers ultimately resulted into abuses of powers and violation of rights of common people in the states. As a result, voices were raised from many quarters to repeal the Act. The present work is an attempt to make an intensive study of the extent and nature of violation by armed forces in that region.

In a vast country like India, inter regional disparities in socio-economic development is one important factor that generate separatist movements and gives birth to secessionist groups. In case of Assam and Manipur, this may not be the primary reason but deprivation and mal distribution of benefits of development might play as a catalyst to the emergence of divergent social groups and intergroup conflicts. Hence, the objective is to find out the role of the central government as well as the state government for the development of these regions, the reasons for not getting the benefits provided by the government in the several five years plans.

The planned economic development in India, a country with continental dimensions has no doubt brought about wide disparities in the socio-economic development across regions. Despite according special status to north-east states, regional disparities and imbalances are wide spread in the states of Assam and Manipur along with other north-east states. Another basic objective of the study is to make an attempt to explore and present the regional imbalances that exist in the levels of economic development in these states.

Apart from the abuses of power and violation of human rights by armed forces, common people are also made subject to harassment because of the unlawful activities of different militant groups, ethnic clashes and insurgent movements. The state law enforcement machineries are also instrumental and sometimes directly responsible for violating the rights of the people. So the last but not least important objective of my study is to find out the role of these groups, movements and state level law enforcing machinery in matter of violation of human rights.

#### **4. Research Questions:**

Following are the questions which will be probed for understanding the problem:

- a) To what extent, human rights and development are linked in the context of North-East India, especially Assam and Manipur.
- b) What has been the exact nature of poverty in the region? Are poverty and ethnic conflicts the roots of human rights violation?
- c) What has been the role of the state in protecting the human rights of the people of the region and specifically prevent human rights violation?
- d) Is it possible to identify human rights violation as indexes of a fragile social and economic structure?
- e) How far the crisis of human development has been accentuated because of colonial legacy of the British rule and the existence of varied religious belief in a multi-cultural context.

#### **5. Hypothesis:**

- a) The inhabitants of Assam and Manipur have been the victims of the process of the deployment of the army in these states. The army has the power to search their houses, pick up anyone and do anything with them ignoring their human rights.
- b) The state government as well as the central government did not pay adequate attention in securing the human rights of the people. The denial of the continuous demand for the repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), 1958 has been agitating the people more.
- c) The inter-ethnic clashes sometimes make the situation more worse.
- d) The uneven economic growth among the states in North-east India reflects a huge developmental disparity which needs an appropriate policy measures and implementation in right direction.

- e) The role of the civil society in maintaining peace and security in those states are highly appreciable.

## **6. Theoretical Framework:**

Human rights are rights originating from human dignity. According to Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or status”. Here human rights were proclaimed as ‘the highest aspiration of common people’. The Right to Development is rooted in the charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the two International Human Rights Covenants. According to United Nations Declarations on the Right to Development (1986), “Development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population and of all individuals on the basis of their active, free and meaningful participation in development and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting there from.” Development is a holistic concept encompassing both economic and social aspects of development. Although both these dimensions of development are mutually reinforcing, in recent years there is an increasingly and incurable shift in the focus of development towards human aspect of development. The concept of human development although can be traced back in early history of humanity in different cultures and religions, has of course, now acquired new interpretations of increasing the capability of human being to take charge of their destiny. The Human Development Index (HDI) incorporates the most elementary capabilities, such as living a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and enjoying a decent standard of living.

Human rights approaches try to address the main causes of development problems. As former Secretary-General Kofi Annan once said, “Human rights can be found at the heart of every major challenge facing humanity”. On the other hand, human development approach is concerned with all the capabilities that people have reason to value. Both the ideas have much in common with the concerns expressed by Declarations of Human Rights. The promotion of human development and the achievement of human rights share, in many ways, a similar motivation and represent a fundamental commitment to securing the freedom, well-being and dignity of individuals in all societies. While human rights embrace the range of social, economic, cultural and political rights, as defined by the

international community, human development is about expanding the choices people have to lead lives which they value, the resources to make those choices available and the security to ensure those choices meaningful. These underlying concerns have been championed in different ways for a long time (The French Declarations of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens, 1789), but the recent literatures on human rights and human development have given new dimension to old aspirations and objectives.

According to Amartya Sen, human right and development are indeed mutually compatible. He shows that both share a common goal: enriching the lives and freedoms of ordinary people. The combination of the two perspectives gives us something that neither can provide alone. Key perspectives offered by the human rights approach include:

1. A focus on duties, linking the human development approach to the idea that others have duties to facilitate and enhance human development. This also entails looking at accountability, culpability and responsibility.
2. Concern for how the outcomes of human development are achieved. This protects individuals and minorities from policies that might benefit the community as a whole but places huge burdens on them. It also focuses on the conduct of public officials and the institutional structure within a society.
3. Attention not only to progress so far but to potential threats to progress.

Key perspectives offered by the human development approach include:

1. A practical means of measuring achievements, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and a way to prioritise the security of different rights where there is a scarcity of resources.
2. An emphasis on the enabling environment for the fulfilment of individual rights, including institutional complementarity, resource constraints and the need for public action to address them.
- a) 3. A dynamism and focus on change and progress that human right approaches may lack.

Ultimately, both human rights and development movements share the same enthusiasm and motivation to promote the freedom, well-being and dignity of individuals. On the one hand, human development improves the capabilities and liberties of individuals, while on the other hand, human right provides the framework for a social agreement in such a way

that facilitates and secures capabilities and freedoms expressed by human development. Article 1 of the Declaration on the Right to Development states that:

“The Right to Development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribution to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realised.”

In a true sense human development and human rights are intricately linked. Numerous documents have given proves of their integrity, including the Declaration on the Right to Development (1986),the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (1981),the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992),the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action (1993) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). That the human rights and human development are mutually reinforcing is manifested by the fact that the economic and social development provides the basis for the general attainment of human rights. It is through the attainment of development that we can fully achieve the rights to a decent standard of living. Human being is the theme of development. Equal participation in development and sharing the success of social development is fundamental human rights. Development is not just the growth of material wealth, but the process of realizing and developing human rights, which in turn make development more successful. The UN Millennium Development Goals stipulated that the main goals to be realized by 2015 would be human rights goals – (i) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, (ii) achieve universal primary education, (iii) promote gender equality and empower women, (iv) reduce child mortality rates etc. Thus, human rights indexes constitute the core of the millennium development goals. Lastly, UNDP, for its part, also uses a ‘human rights approach to development’, which it defines as a new approach which ‘focuses on the realization of human rights through human development and finds resonance in the majority of human rights covenants, declarations and treaties’. However, UNDP explains ‘the successful implementation of this strategy depends on the ability of countries to progressively and systematically mainstream human rights concerns into national legislation and governance programs, and base them on human development goals’.

John Locke who can be regarded as the forerunner of the doctrine of natural rights to life, liberty and property propounded that all individuals were endowed by nature with the inherent rights to life, liberty and property, even in the ‘state of nature’, before the

development of societies and emergence of the state. These to him, were the fundamental rights not bestowed by the state or society, but are inherited by birth. Whilst Locke utilized Hobbes's idea of a 'state of nature', he looked at it far more positively than Hobbes. The theory seeks to combine an Aristotelian conception of the common good with a Lockean theory of individual rights. So, according to Locke, man is an autonomous individual and the legitimacy of the government depends on its ability to protect and ensure the enjoyment of the human rights by its citizens.

Although the Constitution of India has incorporated the relevant provisions for safeguarding the rights of our citizens and a full chapter of the constitution has been devoted for the purpose, in reality, human rights in India are violated on several grounds in large number of cases. Police, armed forces and state agents violate human rights by using force against innocent human being, capitalist violates human rights by exploiting poor class, and minorities are being exploited by the majority section of people. Women rights and children rights are violated, people are displaced which violates the human rights. Development activities also violate human rights in India.

Along with the rest of the country, North-east India presents the burning example of being a slaughter house of human rights. In the present study, the two constituent states of India - Assam and Manipur – have been selected for examining the cases of human rights violation. Assam is the most highly populated state in the North-east. In fact 40 percent of the violence mentioned has taken place in Assam, with 12 insurgent groups operating from there. The fact acknowledged that amongst the north eastern states, it is Assam which is worst affected. On the Contrary, Manipur has been home to sustained conflict and an exceptionally high degree of violence and is today amongst the worst affected by the imposition of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958. The nature of human rights violation in Assam and Manipur is different. In Assam, human rights violations are mainly taking place by the insurgent groups but in Manipur, almost all the human rights violations are taking place due to militant activities, by the armed forces.

North-east India, once considered as a 'paradise', has now become 'crisis-ridden'. The root cause of this mess lies in the history, geography and demography of this region. In May, 1958 Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then President of India, in response to the continued unrest in the north-eastern territories of the Union, including self determination activities by Naga tribes that spilled over into the state of Manipur, promulgated the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Ordinance. The ordinance entitled

the Governor of Assam and the Chief Commissioner of Manipur to declare the whole or any part of Assam or Manipur, respectively, as a “disturbed area”. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act replaced the ordinance later that year. The Act was passed by both houses of Parliament on 18<sup>th</sup> August, 1958 and received presidential assent on 11<sup>th</sup> September, 1958. Subsequent amendments to the Act, which mainly dealt with the territorial scope of its application, were enacted in 1960, 1970, 1972 and 1986. Even though there was some resistance within the parliament against the passing of the Act, the majority prevailed and the law was passed. Today the Act is applicable to the north-eastern territory of India, comprising of seven states, namely Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland. The two constituent states of North-east have been selected for study keeping in view the incidents of human rights violation by both state and non-state actors. While the state of Manipur witnesses a kind of state sponsored violation of human rights, in Assam the ethnic insurgency groups are constantly violating the rights of common men with the state in most cases has failed to stand to the occasions.

**Assam:** In the beginning of the 1970s, seven north-eastern states were carved out of the old Assam, one of which retained the name. It is a state of Assamese and Bengali-speaking people in the one hand, and hundreds of other languages and dialects-speaking tribal minorities on the other.

For over 600 years, Assam was ruled by the Ahoms, a Thai clan which entered from the Shan state of upper Burma in about 1228 and ruled the region as a monarchy until 1816 when the British formally annexed the territory and placed it under the domain of the Bengal Presidency. In 1874, Assam was raised to the status of a Chief Commissionership, separating it as a territorial unit from Bengal. Britain maintained control of Assam until 1947, when the territory became a part of independent India. The Ahom oligarchy was excluded from its administration when British assumed control of Assam and subsequent a large number of Bengali-Hindus were recruited in civil service. Due to this discrimination the anti-Bengali sentiment among the Assamese-speaking middle-class was born and with the declaration of Bengali as the official language, the anger was escalated. In response to the tremendous pressure, in 1872 the decision was withdrawn, yet the anti-Bengali attitude became the root cause for agitation and violence.

In post independence era, Assam witnessed a heavy influx of non-Assamese migration from different parts of India and from other neighbouring countries which appeared as a threat to economic and cultural survival to the local dwellers and it led to the birth of the Assamese movement. In 1962, in the face of pressure, the state legislature passed a bill which declared Assamese as the official language for the state. The resulting agitation by indigenous non-Assamese-speaking groups led to the eventual break-up of the north-east into seven linguistically and culturally-based states. Between 1963 and 1986, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura were born out of old Assam Province and in 1972 Manipur were recognised as a separate Indian state.

Again in 1978, Assam Sahitya Sabha (the Assam Literary Society) raised questions on the voting rights of the illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and got support from the All Assam Students' Union (AASU). However, by deleting their names from the electoral rolls, it made no difference to the situation. During the election of 1983, killing of thousands of Bengali-speaking Muslims and hundreds of Assamese and tribes made the situation even worse. Despite the victory of Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) in the state elections, it failed to resolve the problem. Assamese nationalism inspired other ethnic groups to rebel. The creation of the separate state of Nagaland in 1963 was a result of such rebel. In the 80s, the Indian Government suppressed the Manipuri, Mizo and tripuri movements militarily.

**Manipur:** Once a prosperous kingdom and the kings where the ruling classes are all Meiteis; in contrast, the Nagas and the Kukis are all subjects of the powerful Meitei king. The tribes, particularly the Nagas, on the one hand, hold a deep-rooted grouse against the Meiteis, accusing the later of treating them as poor subjects and on the other, the Nagas reportedly served a 'quit notice' to the Kukis to vacate the Naga settled areas, claiming their rights over the land as the original settlers of Manipur Hills, whilst the Kukis migrate into the region after driving out from Myanmar's Chin Hills, their ancestral land. In such a complex situation, the matters were made worse by the introduction of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA). The competition of economic resources being exploited or the threat to exploitation exaggerated amongst the locals has provoked conflict in the region. Most of the armed groups fighting for secession have accused the central government of exploiting the region's rich mineral resources, neglecting its economy and flooding the state with migrant settlers.

The human rights situation in this region has deteriorated rapidly after the deployment of Indian army to fight against secessionist insurgents. To control the insurgents and to diminish the support they enjoyed, especially in the rural areas, security forces have indulged in extra-judicial executions, custodial deaths, torture and rape. On the one hand, common villagers are intimidated and terrorized to divulge information about insurgents and on the other, insurgents is physically eliminated. The security operations, conducted under the AFSPA, 1958 gives soldiers blanket against any legal interference. Once an area is declared 'disturbed', under this act, the armed forces can arrest and detain citizens without warrant and search and destroy properties also. No legal action can be taken up against the armed forces without the prior sanction of the central government. Fundamental rights such as the right to life, the right to a fair trial, the right to remedy and reparation, and the right against arbitrary detention have been consistently violated in the areas where AFSPA has been used. The prolonged application of this act has not only institutionalized a climate of impunity but has also alienated the public and fuelled a cycle of violence. And strangely, even though the security actions were initiated to reverse growing insurgency, the subsequent period saw an increase in insurgent activities and mushrooming of insurgent outfits.

## **7. Review of the Existing Literature:**

In recent years there have been a lot of studies on human rights as well as human rights violation in the north-eastern part of India. However, there is no systematic and comprehensive study which has touched the actual state of condition in north-east. The literatures on this topic have been categorised into two categories:

- (a) Human rights and development and
- (b) General studies on North-east India.

### **(a) Review of books on human rights and development:**

The work by Chiranjivi J. Nirmal in his book "Human Rights in India – Historical, Social and Political Perspectives" (2000) (1) has explored diverse issues such as the rights of the tribal peoples, prisoners and refugees, the constitutional context of human rights, human rights education, feminist perspectives etc. The essays in this volume evaluate the direction of human rights in theory and practice. The functioning of different human rights organizations in the country and the National Human Rights Commission have also been put under scrutiny. This book provides a broader understanding of the ideological

foundations of human rights law and the practical difficulties in their effective implementation.

In his book “India and Human Rights Reflections” (2005) **(2)**, T.S.N. Sastry has accumulated 18 papers attempting to critically evaluate the problems that plague the present day polity and society, and suggests remedies through the concept of human rights in its different dimensions. Tracing the genesis of human rights in India, it presents a human rights perspective on the freedom movement. Going deep in to the Indian psyche towards human rights, the contributors discuss at length the place of human rights in Dharma, protection of human rights to environment, economic rights, impact of globalization on human rights etc. The authors in their papers made an attempt to contribute their understandings to recognise the country and to counter the problems and steer the nation to achieve the path of prosperity through the mechanism of human right in order to wipe out the tears on the face of millions of citizens.

J. K. Chopra in his book “Violations of Human Rights in India” (2010) **(3)** has elaborated a historical fact that human rights recognize the essential worth of a human being; it is also a reality that the cult of terrorism strikes at the very root of human rights of innocent people. The study reveals that the primary obligation to protect human rights of citizens lies on the state only. Chopra covers a wide range of rights, such as the rights of women and children, food, bonded labour, internally displaced person etc.

The book “Human Rights in India - Concepts and Concerns,” (2014) **(4)** edited by Alok Kumar Meena is a combination of views and arguments on the comprehensive aspects of Human Rights. Today International organizations and societies are engaged in the constant process of monitoring and evaluation the implementation of Human Rights, all over the world.

The book is about Human Rights in India, has been prepared to understand the entire concepts and various dimensions of Human Rights in a proper perspective. The book discusses the various issues, views, arguments, problems, aspects and perspectives of Human Rights. The book seeks to compile relevant contributions made by recognized academicians as well as young scholars from different disciplines. Many articles in this book are based on their intensive interview and fieldwork which throws light on the darker side of Human Rights. The quantitative data has been given by authors in their study to

help the readers to understand the Human Rights in their perspective. The book is much needed reference work on a crucial area of Human Rights.

“Human Rights in India: Contemporary Issues And Challenges” (2016) (5) edited by Sanjay Kumar Baranwal, Nalnish Chandra Singh is a book of selected papers on contemporary issues and challenges of human rights in India. This book is basically a compilation of articles contributed by the eminent scholars and researchers on the subject throughout the India. This book describe various aspects of human rights, i.e. definition and purpose of human rights, human rights and women empowerment, human rights and rights of children, right to healthy environment as a human right, right to health as a human right, human rights issues on occurrence of natural disasters, role of judiciary in protection and promotion of human rights, human rights and criminal justice system and others important dimensions of human rights. Some important suggestions are also given in this book to improve the condition of human rights in India.

### **(b) Review of books on general studies on North-east India:**

S.K.Ghosh and Prabha Chopra make an attempt to examine the crucial problem in the ethnic, religious and political perspectives of the region. According to them, the political situation is fluid and the day-to-day developments are falling. In their book, “Echoes from North-Eastern India” (1980) (6), they have identified that the conflict is between the ‘aborigines’ and the ‘foreigners’ as well as the traditional culture and the forces of change.

There is a high presence of the Indian armed forces in the north-east .This requires a great deal of land for cantonments, barracks and training grounds. This small area of land is shared between many army battalions and the inhabitants. Often this result in economic exploitation of the locals in the form of encroachment on land, forests and other resources, leading to over-consumption of local food grains and cattle and destruction of forest resources. Local grazing grounds, fertile lands, football grounds etc have been converted into military cantonments. It is well known that increased militarisation means increased land alienation and transformation of the land from productive to non-productive purposes .Ultimately, this leads to the alienation of the people from their own land.

In the book, “Strangers of the Mist” (1994) (7), Sanjoy Hazarika has mentioned that the north eastern states have all the ingredients necessary for exploitation and ethnic conflicts. Cutting off from the rest of the country, due to poor communications, the north

east is regarded as the crisis-ridden region. In this book, he has described the root cause of the underground movements here. Sometimes the actions of the army and the paramilitary personnel have crossed the limits of brutality. He has considered massive migration as an utter discontent of the local population in this region. Refugees from Bangladesh have worsened the situation even more. Adding to this, financial and military support from the neighbouring countries, like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar and China to the underground groups have escalated the rise of insurgency. In spite of several peace initiatives, the feeling of alienation from the mainland is still very much prominent in the hearts of the habitants.

Joysankar Hazarika, in his “Geopolitics of North-East India – A Strategical Study” (1996) **(8)** makes an attempt to understand the politico-geographical forces working in the north-eastern part of India in shaping it in various shades and colours. The study is aimed at formulating a regional geopolitical framework based on neo-geopolitical ideas and tries to examine the correlation between geography, economic resources, ethnicity and politics.

“A Comprehensive History of Assam” (1997) **(9)** by S.L.Baruah is the first analytical and comprehensive account of the civilization of Assam from earliest to the present times. Its object is to acquaint the readers with the forces and factors moulding the society and culture of Assam through the ages. The work is divided into 4 parts. Part I gives a brief idea of the present state of Assam. Part II deals with the ancient period beginning with the legendary kings till the dismemberment of the ancient kingdom of Kamrupa. Part III treats the history of the medieval period from the rise of different tribal states. Part IV deals with the modern period covering the history of the British rule upto the attainment of the country’s independence in 1947.

In his book “India against Itself: Assam and the Politics of Nationality” (1999) **(10)** Sanjib Baruah offers an original interpretation of the political, economic and demographic history of Assam. He highlights the tensions between pan-Indianism and Assamese sub nationalist concerns since the early days of India’s resistance to British colonial rule and were apparent even during the political mobilization of anti-colonialism and became more serious after independence. He, on the one hand, describes the debates over Assam’s cultural policy and the breakup of colonial Assam during 60s-70s and Assam movement and the separatist insurgency of 80s on the other. He criticizes India’s formally federal but actually centralized structure for the cause of human rights abuses and ethnic violence and suggests for a more decentralized federalism to handle the situation. It

is a book that defines the issues and the crises of a state, but has the potential to change for betterment. He suggests, “would at least have (had) the potential for some day developing a more effective politics of accountability and of better accommodating the logic of sub nationalism within a pan-Indian polity”.

In the book, “Bleeding Manipur” (2003) **(11)**, Phanjonbam Tarapot has described the Naga-Kuki ethnic clash very elaborately. Besides the well-known Anglo-Manipur 1891 war, the history of the courageous fight of Kukis against British in 1917-1919 and movement of Zeliang Nagas under the leadership of Jadonang in 1930s have also been highlighted in the book. His writing has mentioned those hundreds of women and children who have become widows and orphans due to the ethnic clashes in the state in the past one decade. The thousands of villagers had become either displaced or homeless during these conflicts. Intelligence officials have failed to learn from the past mistakes. Though they have received reports about the formation of underground outfits operating in the region, they did nothing to either solve or tackle the problem. Added to this, increasing number of educated and unemployed youths as well as the demand for demographic change into the region have led to the birth of several problems including insurgency. He has given several examples of series of crimes and violence caused by militants for many years. Some find themselves working amidst the unimaginable opulence of five-star hotels, casinos and cruises. It is a pioneering effort to document the conditions of migrant workers both in their homelands and during their quest to find work elsewhere.

Lt General, J.R.Mukherjee viewed the situation as an eye-witness and made an analytical study regarding the crises of the region .He combines hard fact with insight, looking at the regions’ landscape, people and history. The author analyses problems intrinsic to the enigmatic area and offers viable solutions whenever possible. His observation is both informant and catalyst and takes a contemporary view of the dynamic and changing nature of the insurgencies. His book, “An Insider’s Experience of Insurgency in India’s North-East” (2005) **(12)** avoids the earlier security paradigm of emphasis on military operations, though this aspect is given its due importance.

The book, “Political Development in Manipur 1919-1949” (2005) **(13)** by Prof. S.M.A.W.Chishti deals with the political and constitutional development in the erstwhile princely state of Manipur from 1919 till its merger with India in 1949. It also highlights the genesis, growth and rise of the democratic movement in the region. The author has explained the Manipuri society and politics under several dynasties through ages. In one

hand, the author has analysed the Kuki rebellion, on the other, Kacha-Naga movement led by Jadonang has also been mentioned. This book deals with the political factors which led to the constitutional movement in Manipur during the late 1940. In a nutshell, this book gives an overview of the political developments in Manipur during the years 1919-1949 and its impact on the people and politics of Manipur, particularly during the 30s and 40s.

The essays in “The Naked Protest in Manipur” (2005) **(14)** by Lunuva Hazarika revolve around at the violence that caused due to militarization in Northeast India. She aims to reveal what kind of effect it is having upon the native people, especially women. She has described the impact of militarization and insurgency in a broad scale. She has given the example of Manorama and mentioned how the women of Manipur have used their bodies as a language of protest. The naked protest by Meira Paibis is a unique collective resistance that has shaken the whole nation terribly. According to the author, the protest has acted as ‘a threat to the patriarchal ideology that a women body is site a sexual invitation or voyeurism’.

In “Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India” (2005) **(15)**, Sanjib Baruah analyses the causes of ethnic conflict and human and material losses due to insurgency and counter-insurgency operations and seeks to comprehend the political meaning and significance of persisting political violence in Northeast India. The author argues that the erosion of the democratic structure of the region is the outcome of the prolonged counter-insurgency operations. The book explores the economic incorporation of the region into the global capitalist economy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the resultant conflict between global and local resources. He offers a vivid picture of the historical roots of the region’s oldest armed conflict – the Naga insurgency and the different phases of ULFA activities. The conclusion considers whether the economic integration of the region with South-east Asia through the dynamic ‘Look East’ policy could have been brought about ultimate peace in the region.

In his book, “Conflict and Peace in India’s Northeast: The Role of Civil Society” (2007) **(16)**, Samir Kumar Das highlights the background to the conflicts in the India’s Northeast. After that he goes deep into the conflict situation of Assam, Nagaland and Mizoram. Making the work more penetrating, he describes the Assam movement as well as the ULFA activities in detail. He analyses the State perception to strike against them when discussing the peace initiatives. In the concluding chapter he shows the diverse roles that various types of civil society groups and unorganised representatives play in making

peace or even in producing and perpetuating conflict. The study reveals the possibilities and limitations of peace making and conflict resolution.

“Blisters on their feet” (2008) (17), is an edited book by Samir Kumar Das. This book is an accumulation of case studies mainly. The studies conducted by several researchers on the same issue, help to build up a thorough picture of the actual situation. Amongst the 30 essays, 8 deals with Assam and 6 deals with Manipur. Nazmin Banu Islam, Aparna Goswami and Banaswar Das and Jyotirmay Jana mainly concentrate on the issue of internal displacement as an outcome of environmental degradation. These three topics specifically highlight the riverbank erosion and the sufferings of the people. In rest of the papers, while Subhash Barman, Abdul Mannan Mazumdar and Bornali Bhattacharjee try to find out the causes of internal displacement, scholars like Makiko Kimura criticizes 1983 election as the root cause behind it. Biswajit Chakrabarty and Uddipana Goswami have identified the conflict induced santhals and muslims respectively.

Papers related to Manipur are mainly dealing with the period from 1992-98. Scholars like, K. Gailangam, Ksh Bimola Devi and S. Mangi Singh offered a vivid picture of the kuki-naga conflict, the peace initiatives and the relief measures taken by the government. Kojiam Shethajit and R.K. Ranjan Singh discuss the internal displacement problem from different perspectives. L. Leiren Singh shows how conflict and internal displacement affect the education system.

The author, Bidhayak Das in “North East India: South Asia’s Hottest Warring Zone” (2008) (18) has mentioned the British policy of demarcating the region as ‘non-regulated’, ‘backward’ or ‘excluded areas’. At the beginning of his essay, he has described the historical background of North East India. He explains the deep rooted causes of insurgency and conflicts in the region. Special reference has been given to the four states – Assam, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura which witness ‘scale of conflicts’ that can be categorised as low intensity wars. Backing from the neighbouring countries sometime has added to the complications. Despite of several peace accords to end insurgency, excessive militarization and the continuance of laws like AFSPA, has fuelled the situation more horrible.

The book “Development Dynamics in North East India” (2008) (19) by Jayanta Kumar Roy and Rakhee Bhattacharya focuses on an integrated approach towards interrelated issues in the entire region with ‘development’ as the pivotal and overarching

factor. Once perceived as a 'paradise', North East India has now become a 'problem' due to its ill-managed economy and lack of a concrete political vision. Centre has released several development initiatives under special category status. But due to lack of proper management, the issue of development is totally unsuccessful in this region. The same thing has been repeated by the different state governments from time to time. Most of these efforts are directed only towards extracting more grants from the centre. This book examines these failed initiatives along with some possible remedies.

"Beyond Counter Insurgency: Breaking the Impasse in North East India" (2009) (20) is an edited book by Sanjib Baruah. The 15 essays provide an analysis of the underdevelopment of the seven states of North-east India due to political and ethnic clashes, inter-state disputes, rivalries between the tribes and the migrants above all the insurgencies and hostile separatist movements. The editor draws attention to the failure of the policies and programmes of the Central Government and the sufferings of the common citizens, as a result of this.

While Pradip Phanjoubam and Bhagat Oinam have discussed the ongoing conflict in the context of Manipur, Ananya Vajpayee has criticized the presence of the Indian security forces in Manipur. Makiko Kimura has analysed the immigration to the North eastern states from the rest of the subcontinent as the sole cause behind the 1983 massacre in Assam. Dolly Kikon in her simple way of writing has discussed the formation of the North eastern states. M Sajjad Hasan, Samir Kr Das and Kham Suan in their essays have discussed the peace building mechanism in the North eastern states. Subir Bhaumik, Betsy Taylor and Bethany Lacina have suggested to find out the root causes of conflict in the region, in addition to the existence of a good governance as an end to the insurgency movements as well as underdevelopment.

In "Troubled Periphery – The Crisis of India's North East" (2009) (21), Subir Bhaumik describes the emergence of the British colonial discourse as a stable frontier region as well as the emergence of insurgencies after decolonisation. He aptly combines the issues of language, demographic changes and land ownership as the basis for ethnic identity. The author points out the thriving demand for weapons to counter-attack the military operations and how the arms merchants, smugglers and drug lords make the region as their hunting ground. When he discusses the role of the neighbouring countries, simultaneously he mentions the position of the national and regional parties, pressure groups and several other civil society groups inside the region. Bhaumik identifies the

factors responsible for the under development of the region and he suggests some possible remedies for conflict resolution.

The book, “Early Meitei History – Religion, Society and the Manipur Puyas” (2009) (22) by Rena Laisram is a concerted attempt towards presenting an objective – to reconstruct the religion and society in early Meitei history. Puyas is the only major written source for the study. This book offers a fresh approach to the treatment of the authenticity of the historical records regarding this. This work also has aimed at stimulating discourses on issues such as identity, ethnicity and nationality. The study has provided a more detail understanding of the past, which is essential in order to understand the present and subsequent periods of Meitei history. In short, this work has been considered as a critical study on the understanding of a different aspect of history of Manipur.

Northeast India comprises of seven states – Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. This region has been the theatre of insurgency and ethnic-based armed conflicts for more than half a century making the region one of South Asia's most disturbed areas. The instability in Northeast India is characterized by two distinct factors – ethnic clashes among the indigenous groups and political movement against the Union Government.

The conflicting dynamics in the Northeast ranges from insurgency for secession to insurgency for autonomy, from terrorism to ethnic clashes, to problems of continuous inflow of migrants and the fight over resources. Moreover, vested interests and inter tribal and inter factional rivalry have led militant groups to continually clash among themselves, plunging the region in a vicious cycle of militancy, social violence and lack of economic growth. These armed conflicts have given impetus to small arms proliferation, narcotics trade and a parallel economy. The democratic deficits and how the Central Government and the states have addressed these concerns are of interest. The location of the region, politically and geographically, has a fundamental bearing on it and its people who aspire for different goals and how they try to reach these goals. The region shares borders with four countries: Myanmar, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Tibet/China and is connected to the Indian mainland by a narrow stretch of land. This adds to the trans – border ramifications to the conflicts. To address these issues CSA with the help of Centre for Northeast Studies and Policy Research, Guwahati engaged a few experts who have contributed papers which were presented at the Seminar in New Delhi in July 2010 and the same stand published

through the book, “Conflicts in the Northeast - Internal and External Effects” (2011) **(23)** edited by Sanjoy Hazarika, V. R. Raghavan.

For her book, “Sexual Crimes and Impunity in Conflict Zones of Assam” (2011) **(24)** Anjuman Ara Begum has done field visits and interview with survivors and their families. Her main objectives are – to generate standard study on the systematic prevalence of sexual violence in Assam, to find out the extent of use of sexual violence as a ‘weapon of war’ and impunity under AFSPA and to capture ethnographic narratives of the survivors and state response in this regard. According to her, any armed conflict situation is different from the normal time. Sexual crimes during this time have always been treated with ‘forget and forgive policy’.

In her book “Women’s Movement in Manipur” (2011) **(25)** Thokchom Binarani Devi highlights the growth, value and relevance of women organization in a democratic system of Government, especially in Manipur. This study has discussed the action and reaction of women organization as a pressure group in this democratic process, as well as identified the relationship between the women organization and other pressure groups. Binarani Devi has found the necessary consequential steps for strengthening democratic values with the proper activities of the women organization as a pressure group. In the present day, the increasing discontent of the people, mounting bribery and corruption, pressure from the foreign governments, the feeling of alienation from the mainland have put the socio-economic and political conditions of Manipur on a trial. In this vulnerable situation, this book gives immense importance of women’s movement to take a great role in the process for the development of the society.

The book “Development Disparities in Northeast India” (2011) **(26)** by Rakhee Bhattacharya discusses economic developments in the North eastern states like Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Tripura and Meghalaya. All of these states primarily belong to often neglected – economically and academically. The author starts the book with a debate on what India actually is, concluding that two ‘India’s exist, ‘shining India’ (development) and ‘denied India’ (disparity). She has examined the enormous disparities between north east India and the rest of India on the basis of economic liberalization in India. She has analysed the role of the Indian government and its fiscal assistance and policies also. The author has highlighted that central support ‘never achieved the intended objectives of developing the region economically, but instead given way to corruption, lack of developmental activities from within and waste of Central

funds.’ She has claimed economic non-viability as the cause of issues like insurgency, conflicts, misuse of funds and poverty. She has explored insurgency and its impact on economic development on these eight states in detail.

The book “Social Change and Development: Emerging Issues in the North East India” (ed) (2012) **(27)** by D.V.Kumar has 17 essays dwell on the problems of social change with reference to North East India. T. K. Oommen has given emphasis on some methodological issues in the context of social change in North East India. A. C. Sinha examines modern ideals of equality and justice. Manorama Sharma puts emphasis on the issue of gender and N. Vijaylakshmi dwells on the issue of development. D. V. Kumar and N. K. Das have confined their studies on the issues of ethnic identity and its related movements in the region. Biswambhar Panda and Pariyaram M. Chako has described the roles of NGOs and entrepreneurs respectively as instrument of social change. Debendra Kumar Nayak puts emphasis on demographic transition.

Priyam Goswami is an Indian historian and former Professor of History at the Guwahati University. Dr. Goswami takes readers through the state’s past and explains the present scenario in his book, “The History of Assam: From Yandabo to Partition, 1826-1947 (2012) **(28)**. This book tells the story of how the East India Company dug its heels into the land and expanded across the valley of the Brahmaputra. The author explains that the empire was never satisfied in its growth and kept eating away at the Cachar and the Central Hills in a nearly gluttonous growth. He speaks of the tribes of Assam and how they have emerged out of the oppression and how independence affected them. He nicely describes the fall of many dwindling tribes and the rise of political consciousness that has brought them together in the decades that followed the partition.

The book “Society economy religion and festivals of tiwas in Assam”(2012) **(29)** by Bandana Baruah provides an insight into the way of life and thinking of both the groups of Tiwas - plains Tiwas as well as the Hill Tiwas. It is an attempt to understand their society economy religion and their festive occasions. It contains information on their village organizations clans, property rights, inheritance, the rituals performed in various cycles of life birth, marriage and death, youth dormitory kinship relations, status of women their various economic activities their delicacies the various deities they worship at different times of the year, ancestor veneration, divination about how some of the hill Tiwas embraced Christianity their different festivals.

Through the book, “Security and Development in India’s North East” (2012) **(30)**, Gurudas Das reflects the ground realities of the political-security challenges in the North East region. He has identified several reasons behind this. In one hand, prolonged political isolation and geographical alienation of the region has intensified the issue of ethnic identity and ethno-nationalism, on the other hand, migrant flows from outside the region have aggravated the complexities of the region. Adding to these, poor governance, corruption, and mismanagement of public funds have worsened the situation. The author has examined both insecurity and underdevelopment as the causes and consequences to each other. The dynamics of security and development related issues have been analysed by the author.

Northeast India has been beset with insurgencies for more than fifty years. The Nagas rebelled in the early 1950s, and since then, insurgency in some form or the other has spread to all the states of the northeast, popularly known as the Seven Sisters. The book “Lost Opportunities - 50 Years of Insurgency in the North-East and India’s Response” (2012) **(31)** by Brig (Dr) S. P. Sinha takes a critical look at the many insurgencies in this strategic region and reviews their genesis, motivations, and characteristics. Why have these persisted despite interventions by the state and civil society? Over the years, the insurgencies have developed external linkages, which have only complicated matters. The book also critically examines the government’s response and traces the development of counter-insurgency strategies, from finding a military solution to winning the hearts and minds of the populace. It is a fascinating but sad story of missed opportunities.

This book, “Women's Movement in India” by B. Ramaswamy (2013) **(32)** provides an introduction to issues related to women's movement with focus on Indian women and its complete mapping. A critical overview of role of women in contemporary India is also given. This book attempts firstly towards understanding the relevance of sexism and sexual rights and secondly towards understanding major issues related to feminism, eco-feminism, globalisation and women's movements. An overview of history of women's movement in India is given. This book also attempts towards understanding the relationship between women's movements and law. Focus also lies on the modern agenda of women movements and major future challenges.

The book “Lens and the Guerrilla - Insurgency in India's Northeast” (2013) **(33)** by Rajeev Bhattacharyya is a veritable who's who and what's what, put together by the author

through personal contact and years of travel entailing hardships and hazards. More than half a century of bloodshed has marked the history of the troubled North-eastern region of India where parallel governments exist in jungles and mountains. Needless to say that very few regions in the world have given birth to so many insurgent outfits as this small region comprising seven states. For the first time, a history of this complex phenomenon has been narrated through photographs. *Lens and the Guerrilla: Insurgency in India's Northeast* cover as many as 52 militant outfits in a wide spectrum that sketch unknown facets of the movements - their objectives and aspirations, leaders and cadres, alliances, external links, arms and training. A majority of this unique photo collection has never been published before.

“Fragrance of Peace” (2014) **(34)** by Irom Sharmila is a collection of poems, translated into English from Meiteilon. It was published on the tenth anniversary of Sharmila's hunger fast for the repeal of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, a draconian law that allows the army unfettered powers in areas that are considered politically "sensitive" or "disturbed". Taken into custody and released every twelve months by the State for attempting suicide (considered illegal in India) Sharmila is being force fed to keep her alive. Her unique battle for peace in her strife torn homeland has become a powerful symbol for all those engaged in fighting for peace in the northeast of India. As she fulfils her chosen role in this movement, Sharmila sometimes longs for all those things that young women treasure – love, freedom, the sheer joy of living a “free” life, even simple things like being able to drink water, to brush her teeth. This small compilation of twelve of her poems in her native language Meiteilon and in English translation provides a moving account of the underbelly of one woman’s lone struggle for peace.

“History of Manipur: Pre-colonial Period” (2015) **(35)** by Gangmumei Kamei is the story of the evolution of the culture and society of a remarkable people who built up their cradle of civilization in Manipur valley amidst the mountain ranges that divide India and Burma. The work is indicative of the current state of research and investigation on the history of ancient and medieval Manipur. The author has made a humble attempt to reconstruct the history of the beautiful country inhabited by various ethnic groups from the very early times by utilizing the archaeological evidences, literary and historical sources. He has also tried to separate the myth and sentiment from the historical and real events. He

has given focus to cull the history from the myriad of legends, traditions and semi-historical texts in the reconstruction of the history of Manipur.

“Armed Forces Special Power Act: A Draconian Law?” (2015) **(36)** by Dr. U. C. Jha is the first book in India not only to attempt a complete analysis of the various provisions of the AFSPA, but also to provide an insight into the legislative efforts of other democracies to meet the challenges of growing terrorism. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) has become one of the most controversial laws, both in India and the world. A few NGOs and human rights activists have described it as draconian, alleging that it gives the armed forces unrestricted power to 'arrest' without warrant, 'destroy property' and 'shoot to kill,' besides providing them with complete immunity. The loud and continuous clamour against the Act has drawn the attention of various international organizations. The UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions, Christof Heyns, has recently called for the repeal of the law, stating: "AFSPA allows the state to override rights. Such a law has no role in a democracy and should be scrapped." On the other hand, the armed forces hold that the AFSPA is necessary for tackling the growing menace of militancy and protecting their men from the unnecessary harassment caused by litigation. General V K Singh, the former chief of army staff has emphasized that the AFSPA is a 'functional requirement' of the armed forces. It argues that it is equally important to safeguard the human rights of the members of the armed forces. In order to help find an amicable solution, the author makes a few recommendations for the consideration of the government and armed forces.

The central theme of the book “Internal Security Problems in Northeast India - Insurgency and Counter Insurgency In Assam Since 1985” (2016) **(37)** by Onkar Pawar is to understand the insurgency of Northeast region in a comprehensive manner. In today’s changing scenario, the key objective of national security is not only to protect the country from external aggression but also to maintain peace and harmony. To maintain law and order, peace and harmony, the Government should carry out the process of assimilation effectively without any delay and discrimination. However, the present situation in North East region of India is a logical culmination of negligence by the State as well as Central Government since independence of the country. With this perspective an attempt has been made to examine the internal security environment of Northeast region along with geostrategic aspects and influence of external powers. The book mainly concentrates on the issue of Assam’s insurgency and counterinsurgency since 1985. The book also deals

with various aspects of counter insurgency policies formulated by the Central Government of India and State Government of Assam. The implications of insurgency and counter insurgency on India's national security have been exclusively articulated by the author.

Looking Back into the Future

The book "Identity and Insurgency in Northeast India" (2016) **(38)** by M. S. Prabhakara examines questions of identity, ethnicity, sovereignty and insurgency in northeast India, and especially on Assam and its neighbourhood. Written by an academic-journalist, the various articles situate these in their larger social, economic, political and, above all, historical context, the last being especially important in their becoming a part of colonial India relatively late, well after colonial control was established in the rest of India. Based on close, ground level experience involving extensive travel and interaction with the people, this collection is the result of a long journalistic career spanning nearly 50 years in the northeast region. Written in simple, lucid language, the essays cover a range of themes including culture, belief, and identity; homeland and language politics; and insurgency and separatism. The volume also achieves a uniquely dual historical value – while the articles themselves include a lot of historical information tracing the roots of the various issues discussed, the articles themselves range from 1974 to 2010, providing the modern reader with a series of historical moments captured in their immediacy.

In his book, "New Folktales of Manipur" (2016) **(39)**, James Oinam has compiled some short stories constructed from the oral folktales that he has heard as a child and has filled up the gaps in them for coherency as well as introduced new plots. The author would like to observe here that due to interpersonal sensitivity, the tales told to children are often adapted versions. Hence, Manipuri folktales are often very different from the original stories. After noticing the contrasts between what he heard as a child and what he read later in life, and seeing that many cultural mores and beliefs are not properly documented, he has taken a small step in this direction. It is not the author's intention to critique the discrepancy in the stories, but to rejoice in the diversity. The author has a keen interest in folktales around the world and the readers will find it reflected in this collection. This collection has documented Meitei beliefs and some of the many oral versions of Manipuri folktales which the author heard as a child. Many folktales and beliefs have sacred and unutterable secrets in their wombs. The occult practices mentioned herein are based on personal conversations with native exorcists (known as maiba and maibe, male and female shamans). No culture can be an island in itself. The author does not believe in a time-

bound and immune culture that exists on its own. Cultures can interbreed and evolve with time. If science can benefit from collaboration, why not culture? As long as any single individual who considers himself or herself a Manipuri lives, what he or she does will continue to define what Manipuri culture is. By that right, the author picks up various threads gathered over his short life and weaves them into new clothes that will define his identity and hopefully the identity of his kindred spirits.

North-East-India in general and Manipur in particular is a treasure house of archaeological wealth right from the beginning of civilization in the Indian sub-continent. Scanty archaeological investigations in the region, even after independence, resulted in formulation of faulty theories about the historical past of the area, based on the ideas propagated by the colonizers and on the basis of unreliable records. Explorations and excavations conducted by the author, Shri A.K. Sharma on behalf of the Archaeological Survey of India in collaboration with the State Department of Archaeology, at Sekta in Manipur in 1991, had for the first time brought to light, apart from scores of sites, archaeological evidences of glorious past cultures of early historical period. Scientific results of the excavation have been described in detail in this book, “Manipur: The Glorious Past” (2016) **(40)**.

It is hoped that it would be able to dispel many wrong notions and theories so that the past could be seen in correct perspective. Being the first detailed archaeological investigation in the area, it was received enthusiastically by the scholars, students and common people of Manipur. The present volume covers in detail the excavations and includes full analyses of the pottery, the metal work, and the objects from the burials, the environmental evidence and all other finds. The profusion of duly annotated illustrations makes the text more meaningful and illuminating. It is hoped this book will be able to fill a part of the gap in the history of Manipur.

The book, “Manipur: The Forgotten Nation of Southeast Asia” (2016) **(41)** by Wangam Somorjit addresses an issue which could contribute to the body of knowledge in the field of history. The aim of the author is to conduct an anthological study involving the collection of different publications from different countries as well as the study regions for data to offer readers accurate and an independent view of the history of Manipur. The book covers a wide range of interesting issues concerning the social, political, economic and the geographical coverage of the erstwhile Manipur. “The term India is derived from the ancient Greeks, who applied it to the vast region beyond the river Indus, to them

almost unknown. Both Darius and Alexander pushed their conquests beyond this fame river, though not so far as the Ganges; from the officers employed in these expeditions, the first historians seem to have derived all their accounts. When this part of Asia, some centuries afterward, came to be better known, it was divided by Ptolemy (150 CE) into Hither and Farther India making the Ganges the boundary. This distinction was observed up to the nineteenth century. Hither India was the name for Hindustan (present day Indian Union) including the whole peninsula between the Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal, and extending northward to Persia and Tibet. Farther India or India beyond the Ganges (present day mainland Southeast Asia) embraced Burma, Assam, Manipur, Siam (Thailand), Camboja (Cambodia) and Cochin-China (Vietnam) and the entire region between China and the Bay of Bengal, southward of the Tibet Mountains” (Chapter 1).

In her book, “The Exodus is not over: Migration from the Ruptured Homelands of Northeast India” (2016) **(42)**, Nandita Haksar has analysed how economic deprivation, insurgencies and deadly ethnic clashes have driven thousands of impoverished men and women from the north eastern region of India to seek a better life in the towns and cities of mainland India and future abroad. She is a human rights lawyer, teacher, campaigner and writer. Her engagement with the people of North East India began in the 1970s. She has represented the victims of army atrocities in the Supreme Court and the High Court and campaigned nationally and internationally against the AFSPA. She has given a detail understanding of the histories of the North East and deep respect for the people there. Written with passion and a committed engagement, the book provides a revealing and necessary look at the practical experiences of migrant workers today. It features first generation migrant workers from North East India, especially Manipur.

The book, “Colonialism and Resistance - Society and State in Manipur” (2016) **(43)** is edited by Arambam Noni and Kangujam Sanatomba. In this edited book, we have found a good number of articles on Manipur. One of the editors, Professor Noni has written the article ‘Cast of Colonialism: Constructing the Peculiar North East India.’ He is not intended to develop a detailed account of the economic and political historiography of European Colonialism; rather he puts emphasis on the democratic movement in North East India within the broader socio-economic background. However, Thangjam on the otherhand, in his essay, ‘Colonial Administration, Knowledge and Intervention: Colonial Project of Ethnicisation in Manipur’, has focussed mainly on the issues related to ethnicity in Manipur. Lisham Henthoiba in his article ‘Revisiting the Kuki Rebellion and Nupi

Lan', has found the causes for the revolt of 1919 from the colonial administrators' viewpoint. He has nicely described the Nupi Lan of 1939 – popularly known as the women's war – fought under the leadership of Manipuri women against British Colonial Policy.

“A History of Modern Manipur 1826-2000 (A Study of Feudalism, Colonialism and Democracy) (2016) (44) by Gangmumei Kamei deals with three themes of modern history of Manipur. Volume 1 of this work deals with the Feudal Era (1826-1891). This era covers the reigns of Maharaja Gambhir Singh, Maharaja Nara Singh, Maharaja Chandrakirti and his successor still the outbreak of the Anglo-Manipur war and consequent British conquest of Manipur in 1891. Volume 2 deals with the Colonial rule in Manipur (1891-1947). This period covers the introduction of direct British Rule from 1891-1907 and the reign of Maharaja Churachand Singh (1891-1941). The author has mentioned the anti-British movements like the famous first and second women's war, the outbreak of Kuki rebellion and the Naga Raj movement of Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu. Volume 3 deals with the Post-colonial period of enjoying democracy in Manipur. The author has elaborately explained the working of the constitutional monarchy under Maharaja Bodhachandra , with Maharajkumar Priya Brata Singh as a Chief Minister. The three volumes provide a comprehensive history of modern Manipur.

In her book, “The Mothers of Manipur” (2017) (45), Teresa Rehman has interviewed the Imas, the local term for mother and described their painful experiences. The role of their organization, Meira Paibis or female warriors of Manipur, their own movement Nupi Lans or female wars are vividly discussed by her. The historic naked protest by the Imas at Kangla Fort after the brutal killing of Manorama Devi is also mentioned. The narratives given by the Imas are so touching. One of the Imas, Nganbi conveys, “we did it for the people of Manipur...we are not prostitutes” (P. 68). They have even compared stripping to the raping of the self. Mrs. Rehman has described their stories with immense empathy. The reading of Meitei women as “unique as they are deeply concerned about the society they live in and are involved in various social organizations” (P. 79). Or “this little girl grew up, got married and like most Meitei women, got actively involved in social work” (P.20). The title of the book truly indicates a sense of solidarity and collectiveness to the mothers of Manipur.

Kolas Ashild in his “Women, Peace and Security in Northeast India” (2017) (46) has stated that, in recent decades, the states in the northeast of India have been home to a

number of protracted violent conflicts. And while the role of women's movements in responding to conflict and violence tend to be marginalized both by the media and by scholarship, they have played a crucial role in attempts to strengthen civil society and bring peace to the region. This collection offers a close look at the successes and failures of those efforts, adding important insight into ongoing debates on gender and political change in societies affected by conflict. At the same time, the book takes a fresh, critical look at universalist feminist and interventionist biases that have tended to see peace processes as windows of opportunity for women's empowerment while ignoring the complexity of gender relations during conflict.

The book “Indian Military Domestic Deployment: Armed Forces Special Powers Act and Human Rights” (2017) (47) by Dr. U. C. Jha will help to enhance the understanding of the legal position of the armed forces, which is of paramount importance today due to the blurring of the lines between national security, anti-insurgency operations and law enforcement.

In July 2016, the Supreme Court of India held that the use of excessive or retaliatory force by the security forces is not permissible in the course of the discharge of their duty under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), and that the Act does not allow blanket immunity to perpetrators of unjustified deaths. In May 2017, the UN Human Rights Council, during the Universal Periodic Review of India's human rights record called for bringing the provisions of the AFSPA in line with the international human rights treaties. The armed forces, however, maintain that the AFSPA is a functional requirement for tackling the growing menace of insurgency and protecting their men from the unnecessary harassment caused by litigation. On the other hand, the Delhi High Court has recently directed the Government of India to pay a compensation of Rs 55 lakh to an air force pilot who was injured while flying a poorly maintained MiG 21 aircraft. This case highlights the other side of the issue of human rights in the context of members of the armed and security forces. This book It will also create awareness of the difficulties being faced by the armed forces during domestic deployment and of the need to protect the rights of military and security personnel. It delves into cases of human rights violations in which members of the armed forces have been implicated. It concludes by identifying current deficiencies in the legal system and makes a few recommendations for the consideration of the government and armed forces.

In “Strangers No More: New Narratives From India’s Northeast” (2018) **(48)**, Sanjoy Hazarika intends to express his concern on issues pertaining to politics, policy, law, disorder and violence and painful reconciliation. The author describes his book as ‘stories’. In his own words these ‘stories’ are full ‘of legend, imagination, future challenges and perspectives as well as personal experiences as a frank introspection of where things have gone wrong or right and where they can be nudged to change.’ He addresses the lesser known and untold stories of the Northeast that the media has sometimes overlooked. From the time of independence, this region is alienated from mainland India, which is denied by the new generations of youths from this area and now they want to find their place there. The book is informative as well as authentic as Mr. Hazarika has been involved in peace building initiatives in the region for a long time. The first and second chapters of the book focus on the AFSPA, the rape and killing of Manorama Devi and the struggle by Irom Chanu Sharmila. He feels sorry for the negligence of the state in implementing the recommendations and suggestions of the report set up on AFSPA. The subsequent chapter discusses the Assembly election of 2016 in Assam.

Udayon Misra’s “Burden of History - Assam and the Partition - Unresolved Issues” (2018) **(49)** deals with the years immediately preceding the Partition of India and takes up issues of land, language, immigration, and identity in Assam, where they continue to occupy public space. The effects of the Partition continue to hang as a spectre over the entire region. In Assam's case, its recent history seems to have subsumed its 'glorious past', with geography playing a crucial role in determining its present position vis-a-vis the Indian state. The author outlines the present contentious issues in the state, which seem to defy any solution and which are increasingly adding to the growing human tragedy of the region in the light of developments which occurred in the pre- and post-Partition years. In order to understand this and explain why the challenge posed by Assam held serious consequences for the Indian state, this work examines the developments that occurred in the years preceding the Partition and Independence-developments which have etched their effect on the society, politics, and economy of Assam and also the entire north-eastern region in an indelible manner.

The Assam Accord, which sought to end a six-year-long agitation against illegal immigrants in Assam, was signed between members of the All Assam Students Union (AASU), and state and central governments just a few hours before Rajiv Gandhi was to

deliver the Independence Day address in 1985. Immediately afterwards, the student leaders were catapulted from their hostel rooms into the corridors of power. Their party, the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP), was voted to power the same year, with Prafulla Kumar Mahanta becoming the youngest ever chief minister of an Indian state. The book, “Assam: The Accord, The Discord” (2019) (50) by Sangeeta Barooah looks at the making of the Assam Accord and its prolong impact on the state through political platform. The writer gives special emphasis on ULFA and Bodo militancies. She has mentioned the controversial tenures (1985-1990, 1996-2001) of P.K.Mahanta as well as the victory of BJP in the state in 2016.

Economic development of frontier and remote region has long been a central theme of development studies. The book, “Rethinking Economic Development in Northeast India: The Emerging Dynamics” (2019) (51), edited by Deepak K. Mishra, and Vandana Upadhyay, examines the development experience in the North-eastern region in India in relation to the processes of globalization and liberalization of the economy. Bringing together researchers and scholars, from both within and outside the region, the volume offers a comprehensive and updated analysis of government and development issues in relation to the North-eastern economy. With its multidisciplinary approaches, the chapters cover variety of sectors and concerns such as land, agriculture, industry, finance, infrastructure, human development, human security, trade and policy.

### **Journals:**

Jogesh Das in his article, “Women’s Human Rights in North-East India” (52), has described the different types of violations of human rights that take place in this region of India. Though cases of dowry and bride burning are very low when compared to the other parts of the country, but statistics proves that women of northeast India have faced several other types of violations both inside the house as well as in their workplaces. Mr. Das blames the age old tradition of patriarchy behind all such crimes. He has highlighted the incidents of drug and dowry related violence as a common form of domestic violence. Cases of sexual violence, like rape and harassment at workplaces have increased as the victims do not raise their voices for fear of social stigma. Incidents of witch hunting by the society and physical and mental torture of the women by the armed forces have also been mentioned in his article. Immense poverty, very low rate of literacy and lack of awareness make obstacles in enjoying their rights properly. The author has emphasised the role of

women's group, self help group and NGOs to make women more conscious about their rights.

Dr. Sailajananda Saikia has begun the article, "9/11 of India: A Critical Review on Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), and Human Right Violation in North East India" (53), with a note on the introduction of AFSPA in the region. Along with this particular Act, he has also mentioned several other laws, like Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), Prevention of Terrorist Act (POTA) and presented a clear picture of the ineffectiveness of these laws. Instead of maintaining peace and security, those laws have mainly violated the human rights of the most vulnerable sections of the society. According to him, implementation of this 'draconian' law has given the armed forces the 'right to kill' the "innocents – who have no role in creating a situation that results in that region being called "disturbed". The law even does not give any permission to initiate any investigation against the armed forces. He has elaborately discussed how this evil Act has violated the right to life, the right to liberty and security, the right to remedy etc. from the weaker section of the society. He has focussed the actual situation of human rights in the states of northeast India after the implementation of the cruel law. Lastly he has mentioned how violation of human rights has created an atmosphere of terror that has prevailed in the entire region of northeast.

Dr. Sayed Ahammed Ali and Dr. Adidur Rahman in their article, "A Study of Women's Rights Violation and the Role of Media with Special Reference to N.E. States" (54), have started with a note of disappointment. They stated that instead of celebrating International Human Rights Day every year on 10<sup>th</sup> December, violation of human rights is a common event in different parts of the world. However they have mainly focussed on the incidents where violation of human rights of women has been done. They are surprised observing that sometime being women is the sole reason of violence. But they have identified that the status of women varies from one state to another in the north-eastern region. They have given the statistics of racial/gender based violence in that region from 2005 to 2012. As the title has suggested, media can play a pivotal role in this regard. The authors not only have blamed the armed forces for the incidents of violation against women but traditional believes, like black magic and witch hunting, very much prevailing in Assam, are equally responsible for acts of violence against women. The women of north

east have also trafficked and forced into sexual employment to other parts of India. They have concluded with some effective remedies on the issue.

V. Bijukumar in his article, “Social Exclusion and Ethnicity in Northeast India” (55), has started with a general understanding of social exclusion and how it affects the liberal form of democracy. He has identified that exclusion from mainland India creates a tendency of deprivation among the dwellers of northeast and it ultimately challenges the integrity of India. Several extremist groups operating in this region demands separate state to explore their own identities. The Assam Movement, the Naga Movement and the Mizo Movement are some of the examples of their struggle to protect their ethnicity. The author has elaborately explained the situation of northeast, before and after independence. In spite of having special status in the constitutional provision, the tribal communities have always been in fear of exclusion – either socially or culturally. He has focussed the post colonial period when some measures are taken for the development of the region. Still the belief of exclusion from the mainland as well as the negligence from the Central Govt. during the nation-building process has made the situation even more vulnerable. The author has concluded with a hope on collaboration between the mainland and the region.

Dr. Sujata Mukhopadhyay has started the article, “Military and Combat: The AFSPA and Media Coverage” (56), with a detail discussion of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958. She has analysed the “cases of alleged unreported incidents of violence under AFSPA from 1970 till 2015”. She has made a deliberate attempt to understand the “pattern of reporting incidents related to application of the AFSPA” in different leading newspapers across India. She has given a clear picture of a kind of apathy that persists in case of reporting the human rights issues in several newspapers. Mostly the incidents of insurgency and the peace talks among the politicians are highlighted in the print media. She has taken several examples of the headlines from the national newspapers, like The Hindu, The Times of India, Hindustan Times and some regional newspapers like Assam Times, Assam Tribune and come to a conclusion that there is a clear tendency of not reporting the actual situation of human rights, rather more emphasis is given in the activities of the insurgent groups and their demands.

M. Ningamba Singha, M. Ninghaiba Singha and Th. Kanchanbala Singha in their article, “The Status of Human Rights Violations in Manipur” (57), elaborated the increasing demand of several groups of Manipur for getting more autonomy from the mainland since 1949. They pointed out that instead of solving their problems the

government has introduced several ‘Draconian Laws’ which made the situation even more worse. Though India has always stood by the agenda of human rights on international platform, but it has failed to achieve its promises when comes the situation of Manipur. The authors have given the data of extra-judicial executions during the period from 2007 to 2010. Even media persons reporting something related to violations of human rights there, have been murdered. They have highlighted that not only the suspected persons, but also Manipuri women are the worst sufferers. They have concluded their article with some suggestions for the Government of India to maintain law and order in the state.

Brajakanta Singh and Nameirakpam have started the article, “Examining Justice and Human Rights Violations: A Case Study of Manipur” (58), with the earlier history of Manipur and its relation with India. They have explained how Manipur has been declared as a ‘disturbed area’ and the introduction of AFSPA has created an atmosphere of terror in the entire state. They have examined the incidents of human rights in general and the cases of extra-judicial killings in specific. To combat insurgency the armed forces have deliberately engaged in different ways to violate human rights of the people. Though our constitution guarantees justice and protection of human rights for all of its citizens, but in Manipur under the secured umbrella of AFSPA, the armed forces have violated the rights of the common people every day. Even “Extra-Judicial Execution Victims’ Families Association, Manipur” (EEVFAM) has filed a public interest litigation in 2012 before Supreme Court of India for praying justice to their family members. They have ended their article with the appeal to repeal of AFSPA along with the fair trial of the illegal killings done by the armed forces and Manipur Police.

Manipur got independence much later than the other parts of northeast. The author, Muhindro L., in his article “Human Rights in a Decade’s Back in Manipur” (59) has vividly described the reasons behind the inter-ethnic clashes among the nagas. His main motto is to focus the decade’s long story of violation of human rights in Manipur. He has elaborately recorded the incidents of violations caused by the state actors, like Manipur Police and the Paramilitary Forces and the non-state actors, like the insurgent groups fighting against the armed forces. He has made a detailed field work and personally met the victims of violations. When comparison has been made between the state and the non-state actors, it is clear that the state sponsored violations are much more frequent than the non-state actors. Extra-judicial killings, extortion of money, sudden disappearances and women’s molestations are very common form of human rights violation. He has analysed

the pathetic experiences of the local people after the implementation of AFSPA. He has ended the article with some of the suggestions to preserve the human rights of the people of that region.

The author, Sanchuma Goyary, in his article “Identifying the Violations of Socio-economic Rights of Women in Bodoland Territorial Area Districts of Assam during Ethnic Conflicts” (60) has first discussed the history of the inter-ethnic clashes in Assam. Her main purpose is to identify the incidents of violations of human rights of women that occurred during the ethnic conflicts and the role of the government to protect the women’s right during that time. She has given a clear picture of the demography of Bodoland and its conglomerated population - comprising of Bodo, Bengali-Muslim, Tribal-non tribal, Assamese- Hindus, Bengali-Hindus and others. She has mentioned illegal migration as the root cause of the inter-ethnic conflicts. The situation has become out of control after the formation of Bodoland Territorial Area Districts. The conflicts between Bodo and Bengali- Muslims have become a serious threat to the integrity of the region. During that turmoil situation the sufferings of the displaced women have been reflected in the writing of the author. The scarcities of food, immense poverty and lack of literacy have drawn them into the business of prostitution. Even the author has mentioned the incidents of molestations of the women and girls in the relief-camps also.

The author, Chaman Lal, has started his article, “Human Rights Situation in the North-East” (61) with a detailed description of the geography of the north-eastern India. Then he has focussed on the causes behind the insurgency of that region. He has mentioned that in spite of the existence of National Human Right Commission (NHRC), the cases of violations of human rights are very frequent and alarming in the states of north east. He has produced the data of violation that NHRC has received from 1994 to 2004 done by the army and the paramilitary forces. He has analysed the complaints cases of all seven states of north east India and showed the percentage of violation in each state. He is not only highlighted the different issues of human rights violation there, but also identified how the people of that region has been deprived of getting even minimum health facilities. He has blamed the ineffectiveness of the State Human Right Commission also. The article has ended up with a hope of protest raised by the people, civil society and media to protect the human rights of the citizens.

## **8. Research gap:**

Although lot of studies on human rights as well as human rights violation in different parts of north-eastern India have been carried out by renowned scholars, no systematic and comprehensive study that has touched the actual state of condition regarding human rights violation in north-east, particularly in Assam and Manipur has ever been undertaken. On the basis of the existing review of literatures, we identified the research gap in our study. Studies on human rights violation in North-east India are large in number. But most of them view the situation from one dimension – either from the governmental point of view or from the insurgents. The issue of development is almost ignored in the existing literatures. Considering the massive poverty situation, in comparison to the rest of the country, this study seeks to identify the mutual relationship between development and human rights violation.

The proposed study would not only explore the intensities and degree of violence of that region, but also highlights its impact on its people. Moreover, the study looks at the entire situation through an impartial point of view that would help in the formation of public opinion. The proposed study has explored the situation of human rights in the north-eastern part of India, in general and the situation of Assam and Manipur, in particular. The focus has been restricted only to the political character of the issue. A comparative analysis of the human rights situation of the different states of north east India is conspicuously missing in the earlier literature. In our present study, we have compared the human rights situation of Assam and that of Manipur with the help of various parameters. In this connection, the activities of Assam Human Rights Commission and Manipur Human Rights Commission have also been compared. A huge number of publications have made a number of recommendations aimed at improving the human rights climate of these areas. Many of these recommendations focus on the need for investigation of all reported abuses and the amendment or repeal of abusive security regulations. But in true sense, there is a huge gap between theory and practice. All these attempts have not done much to restore the security of the people of those regions.

I have given emphasis on the issue of migration which has not been discussed in the previous literature. Although rigorous quantitative analysis is desirable, the absence of a sufficient amount of reliable data does not allow to pursue such an endeavor. Therefore, my analysis is qualitative in nature - often based on anecdotes and careful observations. There are both beneficial and harmful effects on the economy. The immigrants have

contributed to the rise of agricultural productivity and by supplying cheap labor in the informal labor market have benefitted the consumers and producers alike. The immigrants do not seem to compete with the native workers who are generally educated and seek employment in the formal labor market. The immigrants have put tremendous pressure on land and environmental problems which have indirect adverse effects on the economy. So we can realize that the issue of migration has played a pivotal role in the socio-economic-political aspect of the north eastern region.

## **9. Research Methodology:**

### **a) Research Design:**

The work is primarily descriptive and analytical in nature. Historical method will help to find the reasons behind the inter-ethnic conflicts, political background of these regions and the human rights situation before independence. The analytical method will help to understand the exact nature of violation, the role of the state to protect the rights of the people and above all, whether poverty is linked to the parameter of human development of these regions. Here the researcher has used both theoretical and empirical method in conducting this research work.

**i. Theoretical Method** - The researcher has used governmental statistics and publications, Newsletters from Assam Human Rights Commission as well as Manipur Human Rights Commission, newspapers, books and journals that are used for constructing the theoretical framework of the research. This has also helped the researcher to get an idea of the human rights situation and the background of the inter-ethnic clashes of these regions. The historical methodology is pertinent in light of the fact that the problems of today have a long history that requires looking at contemporary developments in Assam and Manipur through the lens of the past.

**ii. Empirical Method** - In conducting the empirical part of the research, the researcher opted for survey research method along with descriptive and narrative styles. It is believed that a comparison of patterns of human rights violations and human development may offer a better understanding of the complexities and available mechanisms to ensure ethnic harmony and overall human development. A comparative study of Assam and Manipur focuses on identifying their ethno-political problems and subsequently assessing the

similarity or differences in approaches to conflict resolution and their effectiveness in securing ethnic coexistence.

## **b) Locale of the proposed study:**

**i. Selection of the Region** - India's North Eastern Region (NER) comprises eight states – Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura – and constitutes 8% of the country's geographical area. Among the north-eastern states, Meghalaya witnessed the highest decadal population growth rate during 2001-11 while Nagaland saw the lowest.

The NER has immense natural resources, accounting for 34% of the country's water resources and almost 40% of India's hydropower potential. The NER is strategically located with access to the traditional domestic market of eastern India, along with proximity to the major states in the east and adjacent countries such as Bangladesh and Myanmar. The region is also a vantage entry point for the Southeast Asian markets. This resource-rich region, with its vast expanse of fertile farmland and huge untapped human capital, has the potential to be India's most prosperous part. But, despite its advantages, the NER is categorised as one of the backward regions of India, characterised by low per-capita income, poor governance, a lack of private investment, low capital formation, inadequate infrastructure facilities, corruption, mismanagement of public fund, geographical isolation and inadequate utilisation of its mineral resources, hydropower potential, and biodiversity. The location of the region at the crossroads of history, geography and culture has endowed it with a complex reality and a volatile engagement with Indian political systems and administrative arrangements. Studies show that neoliberal economic reforms in the country failed to curb state dependency and create new forms of prosperities in the region. Rather, they only consolidated the status of the region as a "resource frontier", where the "neoliberal context of jobless growth, increasingly unregulated and precarious forms of employment" (Gayatri A. Menon and Aparna Sundar, 2018, in "Uncovering a politics of livelihoods: analysing displacement and contention in contemporary India") gets added to the lens of "national security" through which the region continues to be largely construed.

Every country dealing with insurgency or with terrorism has its own laws and legislations to tackle the menace. Likewise, India has laws to fight insurgency and terrorism, and has given legal powers to armed forces operating in 'disturbed' areas

under AFSPA 1958. Subsequent amendments to the Act, which mainly dealt with the territorial scope of its application, were enacted in 1960, 1970, 1972 and 1986. After some resistance within the parliament against the passing of the Act, finally the law was passed and applied to the north-eastern territory of India.

**ii) Objectives of Selecting Those Two North Eastern States** - India played a crucial role in adopting UN General Assembly resolution declaring the right of the peoples to self-determination in 1960 (Resolution 1514 [XV] adopted on 14th, December 1960). Still India deliberately denied the inalienable right to self-determination of the people of Assam and Manipur. The draconian AFSPA was imposed and implemented on 11 September 1958 in Assam and Manipur and was amended in 1972 to extend to all other states of the North-east which were carved out of Assam under the North Eastern Area Reorganisation Act, 1971. Beset by armed secessionist movements opposing integration with India in the post-colonial period, the entire region was declared as 'disturbed'. Problems regarding the impunity of violence and crime, official corruption and the virtual collapse of the rule of law continue, but the Act remains in operation. Since the principle of existential necessity that provided a fig leaf to the Act no longer applies, its continued application needs to be re-examined. It is further argued that the Indian military's increasing clout in internal security policy-making may have grave implications for Indian democracy itself, with negative impacts on the rule of law and in relation to safe inclusion strategies for India's northeast.

According to data released by the Union home ministry in response to a query under the Right to Information Act, Assam recorded 58 complaints of human rights violations committed under the AFSPA from 2012-'16, the second highest in the country after Jammu and Kashmir. Asom Gana Parishad – an ally of the BJP came to power in 1996 with a promise to repeal AFSPA. Thereafter, the Congress came to power in 2001 with a promise to review and repeal AFSPA. Although parts of Assam came under AFSPA in 1958, the entire state of Assam was declared a disturbed area in November 1990 after fresh violence started in the state. With the emergence of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), the principal insurgent group in Assam first militancy broke out in 1979. The movement of the bodo tribal group led by the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) emerged with the second phase of insurgency in 1980. The armed forces carry out abuses in the name of counterinsurgency operations and are shielded from accountability by the AFSPA. Manab Adhikar Sangram Samiti, a human-rights

organisation and several other civil society organisations strongly oppose to the Act and continuously make protests to withdraw the Act.

Sections of Manipur were declared disturbed areas after the 1958 adoption of the AFSPA, and the entire state of Manipur was brought under the act on September 8, 1980. While Naga tribes in Manipur supported the Naga armed rebellion, other ethnic groups in Manipur also began a separatist campaign against the merging of their state with the Indian Union in 1949. To control the conflicts between the Naga and other tribes, the security forces engage in the counter insurgency operations which are followed by massive human rights violation in the state. India continues to declare the non-state organizations of Manipur demanding the right to self-determination as “terrorist” under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. The UN Human Rights Committee (HRC) has pointed out that the problem is political and that the approach to resolving it must also, essentially, be political in nature. In doing so, the Committee reminded government of India to bear in mind the right to self-determination of peoples, the right to freedom of expression and the right to participation in governance (62). The demand for a repeal of the ‘black law’ had transformed into a movement with ‘Iron Lady’ Irom Chanu Sharmila leading it with her hunger strike for more than 15 years before calling it off in August 2016.

### **c) Method of data collection:**

For this present study data is collected and examined from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include historical archival, various governmental reports, documents of five-year plan and other authentic printed and visual documents. Secondary sources will include the findings of other scholarly studies on the same problem in other parts of the country for the purpose of comparative analysis. Different articles, journals, periodicals and websites are also considered to highlight the human rights situation. The researcher has visited Assam and Manipur several times to acquire a thorough knowledge regarding the actual scenario of human rights there. To collect the accurate data, the researcher has spent long hours in the offices of The Assam Human Rights Commission and Manipur Human Rights Commission.

### **d) Data Analysing:**

First, the researcher has shown the descriptive statistics about four important parameters of human rights violation in Assam as well as Manipur. These four important

indicators present total complaints, custodial deaths, number of rapes, and number of encounters. In our study, custodial deaths include police custody, judicial custody, and defence or paramilitary custody.

The researcher has computed mean of all the above stated parameters to know the average of total complaints, custodial deaths, number of rapes, and number of encounters in Assam as well as Manipur. The researcher has also shown the maximum and minimum values of all the stated parameters to showcase the range or span of all the four indicators under study.

The researcher has shown the standard deviation to show the dispersion of each parameter from their respective mean values. Higher value of standard deviation indicates the higher deviation of the cases from their average cases.

Apart from the descriptive statistics, the researcher has also used inferential statistics in order to check the hypotheses in the study. As the researcher has made a deliberate attempt to make a comparison between two states which are different from one other; she has taken the help of Independent t test. As the two states are two distinct sample groups, therefore, Independent t test is the most appropriate test in this study.

In my study, comparisons between two states have been made on the basis of stated four parameters. First, I have considered the 'total complaints' parameter and I have checked the statistical significant difference of 'total complaints' between Assam and Manipur and applied the same test in the case of other parameters in my study.

#### **e) Time Taken:**

Since the selected two states of North-east India are far away from the workplace of the researcher, the researcher has to make field visits several times to collect materials. On each occasion the researcher has to spend ten to fifteen days at a stretch to visit a number of offices at the state headquarters as well as the district level offices both in Assam and Manipur. Apart from meeting the officials of Human Rights Commission's in both the states, the researcher has met the officials of Criminal Investigation Departments and visited the offices of District Magistrates and Superintendent of Polices to collect relevant information and materials pertaining to cases of human rights violation. As such a major part of time during the work has been devoted to collecting documents and research materials while the rest of the time is engaged in analysing the data and documenting them.

## **f) Difficulties Encountered:**

In spite of giving extreme effort to collect maximum data on human rights violation from Assam and Manipur, the researcher faced some major difficulties. Assam Human Rights Commission (AHRC) was established in 1996. But it started working effectively from 2005. The data required for the study is available since 2005. AHRC has provided the records from 2005-2018. It has documented its records so systematically that it is easy for a researcher to satisfy his/her query. As the records of 2010-2011 are not documented by them, the researcher does not have the records of those years. But in case of Manipur, the records are not well documented as that of Assam. MHRC has started its journey in 1998. The first term continued till 2003. Then after a gap of two years, it has started its second term from 2005 to 2010. Then again, after a gap of 8 years, it has become active for its third term from August, 2018. So on the one hand disfunctionality of the MHRC, on the other insufficient materials on that particular area create a big difficulty for the researcher. Another problem which the researcher has to face in collecting data from Manipur is that of poor communication.

## **g) Time Frame:**

For the purpose of completing the work, the entire period of study has been tentatively divided as follows:

First year of the project has been devoted to explain the approaches and theories of human rights and human development.

During the second year of the study, an extensive field work has been carried on.

The remaining period has been utilized for processing the collected data, analysing the variables, presenting data in tables, statistical measurements and finally writing the dissertation.

## **h) Limitations of the Study:**

**i. Lack of Time** – Due to lack of time and other constraints the researcher limited the periphery of the study within the above mentioned two states in North-east India and met the officials of the AHRC and MHRC to collect the required data for the research. The researcher intended to meet the victims of human rights violation of both the states and make a comparative analysis of their exact situation, but due to lack of time the researcher concentrated only on the reports of the AHRC and MHRC. The researcher's desire to

conduct interviews with the Police as well as the Army personnel has not been fulfilled due to the problem of sufficient time also.

**ii. Lack of Space** – To mention again, the states of Assam and Manipur have been chosen for study for the convenience of the researcher since the researcher is a full time teacher and her research pursuit is a part time endeavour. Though sincere efforts are taken to make a comparative analysis of both Assam and Manipur in terms of existing situation of human rights there, but due to unavailability of materials the researcher has to confine the study within some specific parameters of human rights.

## **10. Plan of the Study:**

In chapter one the researcher has stated the objectives of the research, pointed out the research questions, detailed the overview of literature available in this field of research and pointed out the research gap in the area.

In chapter two the researcher would explain the approaches and perspectives of human rights and human development. The journey from natural law theory to natural rights theory has been explained in detail. Again, the interrelationship between human right and human development has been established.

In chapter three the researcher defines the key concept of poverty and development in reference to North-east India. The inter-state disparities in economic growth have also been highlighted along with the status of poverty in the region.

In chapter four the researcher has introduced the human rights situation in Assam. The year wise and area wise cases of human rights violations have been mentioned. Assam Human Rights Commission has given some extreme cases of violations which have been referred in this chapter.

In chapter five the researcher has traced out the history of the administrative relationship between the central government and Manipur along with the ethnic and linguistic characteristic of the region. Special emphasis has also been given to the prolonged application of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 in Manipur.

In chapter six the researcher has tried to make a comparative analysis of the human rights situation between Assam and Manipur. The four important parameters of human rights violations have been compared in order to find out the severity of violations. The

chapter ends with the responses from the national as well as international bodies in order to establish peace in this region.

In the concluding chapter the researcher makes a summary of the entire study. Her observation during the field work has been reflected in this part of the study.

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