

Brief Account of Women's Movement and their Organizations in Manipur

Bemthoibi Ngangbam

PhD Research Scholar

Department of English, Arts Faculty

Delhi University

Orcid: **0009-0009-5115-824X**

Abstract

In a state like Manipur which is in continuous conflict, women's issues are not always addressed with urgency as they are busy protesting for protecting interests of the society. These women, when face family related crime and violence in their personal lives, often turn to civil organizations as seeking justice from judiciary is time and money consuming.

In this paper, I transcribe my interviews with president and members of these organizations to gain insight into their structure and functioning at the grass root level.

Key words: *Indigenous women's movement, Crime and violence, Women's organization, Manipur women's movement, Civil Organization.*

The basic objective behind any women's movement in the world is for the upliftment of their status in their society or demanding equal rights as their male counterparts. However, in Manipur the various women's movements and agitations carried out have had different objectives. Their demands are of eradication of exploitation of the state or society by the rulers or any social evil. Manipur, a state which has undergone various layers of rupture under different forces, experiences a history where the collective women influence the society through activism. They had protected and rescued innocent people during critical situations as leaders or participant of *Nupi Lan*, members of *Nisha Bandh*, or *Meira Paibies*.

In a conflict-ridden society like Manipur, the women collectively have played a very significant role. They are the ones who manoeuvred within the state during any conflict either social or political.



This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial 4.0 (CC BY-NC 4.0) International License. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

They had served and helped the menfolk during the Seven Years of devastation caused due to war against Awas, now Myanmar, in 1817. ¹ They had also protected and safeguarded the political and economic discourses after British colonised Manipur in 1891. Pre as well as post-Independence of India, Manipuri women had never raised a voice for equal rights or liberty. Their protest and agitations were more about socio-political issues, economical protection and safeguarding of the state and its people.

Sociologist R.K. Helen Devi, in *Women and Socio-political Movement in Recent past and Present Manipur* had sanctified the women in Manipur as strong, brave and courageous women for protecting and guarding their dear ones and their homeland when conflict tore the society apart. The movements of Manipuri women were not initiated with the loss of its Monarch, it has a long genealogy starting from 33AD.² The Maharanis took active roles in decision making and had protected their monarch in the absence of the King. For example - Linthoi Ngambi, Pithelleima, Kuranga Nayani, Maharani Kumudini, etc.

Movements in the colonial period

During British colonisation of Manipur, the history of Manipur is famous for two women's agitations, *Nupi Lans*. The first *Nupi Lan*¹⁵ or the First Women's Agitation broke out in 1904, against the rapid change in the administration of Manipur under the British rule. After the Battle of Khongjom³ the British introduced many taxation systems such as house taxes and imposed uniform land revenue; the disarming of people; and, introduced the system of Pothang - A system in which the standing Manipuri army was divided into four groups and every two weeks each group of army were forced to carry 20kg bag of rice to British force in Khuzuman, currently in Nagaland, from Imphal. This resulted in reaction from the people of Manipur and they started revolting by burning down government properties.

On 4th August 1904, the bungalow of Assistant Superintendent was burnt down which angered the Superintendent of Manipur, Major Maxwell. He ordered the men in Imphal to bring

¹ Reena Nonmeithem. *Status of Manipuri Women Now and Then*. 20th December 2015. Imphal Times

² Leitanthem Umakanta Meitei. *Voyages of Women in Manipur*. PRIO. 2016 ¹⁵

Nupi means women and *Lal* means war.

³ In the Battle of Khongjom the British defeated the Manipuri forces, in 1891. With Churachand king as titular ruler, the British overtook the administration of the kingdom.

teak wood from the Kabaw valley⁴ and rebuilt the bungalow. The men protested but in vain and had to submit to the authority. This imposed labour enraged the women who launched a big demonstration that badly paralyzed the market activities. The Khwairamband Bazar (the Main Market) was closed for days. The government tried to suppress the mob and even injured some agitators. Ultimately, the British authorities were subdued by the women force and had to abjure the imposed punishment to the menfolk of the state. Some of the women who lead the First Women Agitation (1904) were: Smt. Irungbam Ongbi Samujaobi, Smt. Leisangthem Kwathabi, Smt. Leimapokpam Dhabli, Laishram Ningol Jubati, Rajkumari Tharosana Devi, etc.⁵ These women were generally traders in *Sanakeithel*, the main market in Manipur. The impact that this agitation created towards the mighty British empire surpassed the period. This agitation lasted for approximately a month.

Later, in 1939 a similar women's agitation broke out - generally known as the Second *Nupi Lan*. Rise in the price of rice and the scarcity of it due to excessive export outside Manipur lead to the outbreak of this agitation. In Manipur, the market and trade were especially controlled by the women with Sana Keithel⁶ as the meeting point of the traders. Dismally, after the British's imposition of 'Free Trade Policy', the British administration took plenary control over the state's trade. Under this policy, the export of rice was carried out freely by the British.

Unfortunately, the same year the hailstorm and rains devastated the crops leading to shortage of supply for the people. Meanwhile, the Marwari⁷ traders bought the minimal paddy harvested and exported it to other states. All these paved the way for famine in 1939-40. The women traders, both from hills as well as plains, protested the export of rice and demanded immediate end to the export of rice, they also destroyed the rice mills to stop the export of rice. They even got injured in a clash with the Assam Rifles personnel. Later, on 13th December 1939 the women of the Sana Keithel protested opposing the violence of the Assam Rifles but they were arrested and put to jail. Some of the women agitators who took part in the agitation were Rajani, Tongou, Shabi, Mukhi, Amubi, Leibaklei and Sanatombi, and women from hills namely Kalilu, Angoubi and Chingoubi, and Muslim women namely Tombi bibi and Shajan bibi.

⁴ Presently in Myanmar

⁵ R.K Helen Devi *Women and socio-political Movement in Recent Past & Present Manipur*. P.50.

⁶ Golden Market or the Main market

⁷ In the economical hierarchy, the Marwari were at the top status, in Manipur.

On the same day, the export of rice was stopped immediately. This agitation is marked as one of the most important movements in the History of Manipur. It paved the way towards other political movements against the British administration. After the Second Women's Agitation, many women joined hands with their male counterparts namely Hijam Irabot. In R.K. Helen Devi words, "the agitation further confirmed the long-established tradition of women's participation in the socio-political affairs of the state and their fight against administrative operations."

Hijam Irabot was a politician and a social activist who played a significant role in the active involvement of the Manipuri women in the political discourse. Under his guidance and direction, they formed an organization in 1940 called Manipur Mahila Sanmelani to abolish the colonial rule from Manipur. He along with his followers split from Nikhil Manipuri Mahasabha, a Hindu nationalist organization founded in 1934, and formed Praja Sanmelani. He led his new formed group and delivered speeches to the public. Later, he was arrested and deported to Silhet Jail, presently in Bangladesh, in 1940. During his stay in jail he interacted with Indian Communist leaders such as Jyotirmoy Nandi and Hemanga Biswas and was greatly influenced by them. Moreover, in 1933 under his leadership, Bhadra Mahila Samaj was founded at Imphal to introduce education for women and enhance their status and promote participation in the socio-political affairs.

Under the leadership of Hijam Irabot, the members of Manipur Mahila Sanmelani, who were basically the women who took major roles in the two women agitations, demonstrated nonviolent political movements demanding the right to self-government. In 1948, the Sanmelani also organize a convention for women and resolved to proceed the demand of self-government.

Post-colonial Manipur: The demand for statehood

After Independence, during 1950s and 1960s, the women protested and fought along with their male counterparts against the central government demanding self-government. This movement was largely known as the Statehood Movement, a movement for self-government. In 1950 when India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic, Manipur became a Part C state, within the Union of India without a Legislative Assembly of its own. Subsequently, the administration was run at the district level by the appointed District Judge and the District

Magistrate. This deeply disappointed the people of Manipur who started voicing their dissatisfaction and hence marked the beginning of the Statehood movement.

The women's participation in the Movement was marked with the meeting held on 20th July 1952, by the Manipur Mahila Sanmelain, where hundreds of women, both from the hills and plains attended and passed a resolution demanding for Legislative Assembly and a separate government for the people of Manipur. The women joined the political movement under the guidance of political parties and their leaders such as Hijam Irabot. Many protesters including women were lathi charged and jailed. L. Achou Singh, MP from Manipur, said that "The frequent resort to lathi charges on the peaceful and non-violent picketers and repeated firing on them remind us of the repression during the British regime."⁸ The women participated as members of different organizations and at the same time as politically concerned and conscious public, until Manipur attained statehood on 21st January 1972.

Post-Statehood, the women's movement took a new turn, their focus shifted to social structure of Manipur, they took up issues related to socio-cultural elevation. For instance, the *Nisha Bandh* Movement that started around 1970s and the various steps exercised by the *Meira Paibi* Movement that emerged around 1980s.

The production and consumption of *Yu* (alcohol)⁹ was practiced by the people of Manipur since ancient time both by men and women.¹⁰ Since 1950s, the consumption of *Yu* had increased enormously and it had become a social menace in the state. Seeing the hindrance in the daily activities of the menfolk due to consumption, the women of Manipur held meetings to check the consumption of alcohols. Some people believed that the significant loss of the work-culture among the men folk was connected to the socio-political problem of Manipur. Many had high hopes for over-all development: social, political and economic, when Manipur merged into the dominant India. Unfortunately, it remained not more than a Part C state which led to moral decline of the people of Manipur, especially men. Some also believed that the frustration, unemployment due to economic conditions also lead to alcoholism amongst Manipuri men.

⁸ R.K Helen Devi. *Women and Socio-political Movement in Recent Past and Present Manipur*. P68

⁹ It is prepared from rice and it is part and parcel of the socio-culture of Manipur. In ceremonial occasions like festivals, funerals, marriages and other celebrations *Yu* is consumed by all. Moreover, it is offered as distilled spirit to the guests and visitors

¹⁰ Later, after Vaishnavism, *Yu* was neither prepared nor consumed by the women in plains. It is currently prepared mostly in the foothill villages and some hilly villages.

According to Helen Devi, an alarming male population became alcoholic, and many social crimes and moral degradations emerged. Men started abusing and beating their wives and children and neglected household responsibilities. Consequently, the *Nisha Bandh*¹¹ Movement, spearheaded by women, emerged with a motto to check the production and consumption of alcohol. They also believed that prohibiting the consumption will boost the economic and social condition of the state as the men who will not waste their time and money and at the same time will start working. It also generated a sense of awareness to the individual of their responsibility both to family as well as to the society. Later, in 1991 due to their prolonged struggle and protests the Manipur Government passed the Prohibition Act and subsequently Manipur was declared as dry state. In 1980s the *Nisha Bandh* movement declined due to lack of support and the emergence of women human right activist, *Meira Paibi*¹² that emerged to safeguard and protect the human rights of the Manipuri people.

Movements after attaining statehood

In 1972, after the Indian Government granted statehood to Manipur, the problem of insurgency settled for a while and the government too announced a general amnesty to the insurgents. However, during late 1970s and early 80s the problem of insurgency became prominent. The emergence of insurgency and their demand for forming an independent sovereign state of Manipur attracted many draconian laws. On 8th September, the central government declared the state as disturbed area and Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA), 1958 was imposed.

Subsequently, a series of violence was endeavoured under the guise of searching militants continuous combing operations took place in various places in the plains areas. The violence includes alleged cases of arbitrary arrest, unlawful detention, and disappearance of persons taken under custody, custodial killings, rape and killing of women by security personals, victims of fake encounters, and harassment of the civilians both physically and psychologically in the name of combing operations. The increase in the unbearable atrocities by the armed forces lead to the emergence of *Meira Paibi* with the sole motto to protect and safeguard the human rights of the people of Manipur. It is a movement started by women to fight against the Government and their

¹¹ *Nisha* means Intoxicant and *Bandh* means to stop or prohibit.

¹² *Meira Paibi* means a woman who is bearing a torch

military to protect the civilians. Its members are exclusively confined to women only, and these women are generally between 30-60 years of age irrespective of their class.

Every locality has a *Meira Paibi* and they are bound by a network of solidarity. According to Helen's research, they are divided into three levels. Firstly, the state level *Meira Paibi* group that deals with the problems and issues related to human rights at the state level. They are concerned with organizing any state level human right activities. Secondly, the regional level *Meira Paibi* group that acts as a mediator and transmits information between the state level and local level groups. They are also concerned with keeping the night vigils and maintaining a good relationship within the groups. Lastly, the local level *Meira Paibi* groups that aim at checking the human rights violation of the innocents in the locality. They also mediate and settle other local disputes such as domestic violence, drug abuse, immoral activities, alcoholism, and various other civil and criminal cases.

During times of any important occasion, the three groups come together and seek each other's help and suggestions. The financial support of the organization comes from collected money from the patrons and well-wishers, from local MLAs and MPs, charity shows. Their mode of communication when there is any crisis or problem is by ringing the telephone or electric poles with a stone. Therefore, they take a major role in maintaining the peace and hinders violence of any kind in the society. Currently, the organization observes 28th May as 'Mera Paibi Day'¹³ and 29th December as 'Pari Kanba Numit'.

Under AFSPA, the armed force exercised an unchecked power to arrest any suspect, search both house and individual, seize or shoot. It had resulted in large scale violation of the Fundamental rights of the people of Manipur under the Constitution. Under the provision of Section 4(b) and 4(d) of the Act, the security forces had destroyed houses presuming to be used by the insurgents, they have arrested people without any warrants and conducted search operations leading to massive violence and disturbances in the everyday life of the people. Indeed, under the protection of section 6 of the Act, the security forces acted with belief that they are above the law and are free to violate the human rights of the people without any impunity.

There are many cases that demonstrate the belief of these security forces. Some of the glaring examples are: In July 1987, the Assam Rifles jawans had tortured Naga boys in front of

¹³ As on this day a woman protester called Pyari died while protesting against combing operation.

their mothers at Oinam village; on 5th April 1996, the killing of Amine Devi along with her children by the CRPF; on 12th February 1998, Sanamacha, a 15 years old boy was abducted, tortured and killed by the Assam Rifles; in November 2000, 10 civilians were shot dead by the Assam Rifles. Further, the incident of Thangjam Manorama¹⁴ in July 2004, projects the extreme brutality and inhumanness of this Act.¹⁵

The aftermath of the Manorama case led to many demonstrations and protests, out of which the 16th of July 2004 protest put the Central Government into tremendous pressure to repeal the Act. On this day, 12 women from the *Sanakeithel*, the Main Market, stripped their clothes in front of the Assam Rifle Gate with banners of "Indian Army Rape Us". The naked protests demonstrated by these women lead to their mental and emotional breakdown and had to go through family discord after the protest. However, one cannot deny their significant role as social activist that shook the world.

Apart from these cases the imposition of these Act lead to many massacres. For instance: the Heirangoithong Volley Ball Ground Massacre in 1984 where 13 civilians were killed and 31 were injured in an indiscriminate firing by the CRPF; the Tera Bazar Massacre on 25th March 1993, where 5 civilians were killed and many suffered bullet injuries; the RMC Massacre on 7th January 1995, where 9 persons were shot dead by the CRPF at Regional Medical College, they also killed two medical staff and shot at the rickshaw pullers in front of the gate; etc. Later, after the withdrawal of AFSPA from Imphal Valley the logic of it still prevails. There have been various incidents such as cold-blooded murder of Chungkham Sanjit, a 27 years old man, by the Manipur Police Commandos on broad daylight; the death of Rubina Devi¹⁶, etc.

Among all the massacres, the Mallom Massacre leaves a deeper print as its aftermath led to Irom Sharmila's fast to death. On 2nd November 2000, the Assam Riffle forces were attacked by some insurgents near Malom, after retaining their position the Assam Rifles shot at the public indiscriminately and killed 10 civilians along with a 60 years old woman and a boy. All these massacres are still unresolved or denied justice by the government to the victims and their

¹⁴ Thangjam Manorama was accused of being insurgent and captured by Armed forces from her home. On the way she was raped and shot through her private parts

¹⁵ Anil kamboj. *Manipur and Armed Forced (Special Power) Act, 1958*. IDSA: October 2004

¹⁶ A young woman who was killed in crossfire between the police forces and member of People's Liberation Army of Manipur

families. To hinder such inhuman deeds of the security personnel's, the *Meira Paibies* play a very important role in every locality by being vigilant and protecting the people from such exploitations.

The aftermath of these conflicts and social evils caused by the enforcement of AFSPA led to many widows who needed to come together and fight for their violated rights. The widows of these conflicts joined together and established an organization called EEVFAM (Extrajudicial Execution Victims Family Association) in 2012, with an objective to eliminate killing or encounter without trial. Sadly, the young widows were defamed as being closely related to insurgent groups and denied any assistance from rehabilitation. They are still suffering from mental breakdown and traumas, and they stand to get the justice with this organization. They had filed a lawsuit before the Supreme Court of India; however the matter is still pending for final disposal.

The role of the Manipuri women is not limited to safeguarding and protection of the people from the security forces or insurgent groups but also from any social evils. They have consoled and settled conflict between the families, disputes with the society, domestic violence, prostitution, practice of polygamy, sale of liquor and so on. They also conduct welfare program for women and children with an aim for over-all development of the society. They have dedicated their life for their people and their love ones without being paid or requested. Their actions and demonstrations are spontaneous reaction of any evil done to anyone in the society.

We can also call the women in Manipur as peace builders because of their active role in settling social issues and conflicts both at local and state level. If we look carefully at their role, we may categorise them into two forms: one, as independent local group which protect and prevent the local people from any violent acts, both from the state as well as non-state forces. Second, as peace campaigners working for NGOs. The *Nupi Keithel*, which can be translated as Women's Market took undeniable part. They have never sat idle or ignored any social unrest. They have responded sharply and showed solidarity when anything hampered the everyday life of all the people in Manipur. Since it lies in the heart of the Imphal valley, shutting down of this place hinders the marketing as well as transportation of the society. Thus, paralyzing the Imphal city where the impact was borne by the banks, offices, transportation both public and private,

merchants and the exchequer of the state. Therefore, their role is crucial in shaping any Women's Movement in Manipur.

Occupation & Economic Condition of women in Manipur

During the pre-colonization, due to its small and compact population in Manipur the men were mostly occupied in war and material training to defend against its neighbours. This left the women with no option but to take up both the household work and other activities to meet the absence of the men in the family.

Further, if we look at the social perspective, we can see that the women of Manipur enjoy a fair degree of freedom since ancient time as per W. Jyotirmoy Singh's research. They are not confined within the four walls of the house, and they are indeed known for their industrious behaviour. Most of the occupations including all trading activities, except some harvesting tasks, are carried out by women - they are the mainstay of the family.

Their talents and capabilities that enhance their economic contributions include agriculture which is the mainstay of the economy, weaving which is the household profession, almost every women wove all the clothes of the family and sometime for commercial uses; pottery is also a rich source of economy; fishing which is a food article of the community; *Yusungba*,¹⁷ which is a beverage served in maximum household; and the market where the trade and exchange of the commodity were controlled and carried out by the women, the main market is called *Sana Keithel* (the golden market). Therefore, the Manipuri women were and are active participants in socio-economic sphere.

Further, most of the pagan gods worshipped in Manipur are forest goddesses. It is the priestess who carries out the rituals and acts as a mediator between the people and the goddesses. The priestess called *Maibi*, are held in great piety. They are the women who got married to the deities, but they can return to their house and live a normative life. There are no restrictions on eating habits, women can chew pan and drink wine as they please.¹⁸ There is no practice of child marriage, and the individual can choose his or her own spouse. Marriage after eloping with the desired man or woman is also prevalent apart from arranged marriage. Widow Remarriage is practiced and still prevalent except in some Manipuri Brahmin families. The practiced of sati can

¹⁷ Means wine brewing.

¹⁸ The drinking of wine was prohibited after Vaishnavism.

be seen only in certain period of the Manipuri history, it was recorded in 1733, 1735, 1737, 1740, 1776 and 1784.

Manipuri women had never struggled about their status in the society. Their protests and agitations were more of promoting and safeguarding the socio-political and economic interests of the state. In addition to the domestic role and their contribution to the family income they also shoulder a much larger responsibility: the responsibility to maintain peace and tranquillity in the state.

In sum, throughout the history, the women of Manipur were protecting the menfolk, their families, and their homeland. Unlike the feminist orientation that we see in western as well as other Indian societies the Manipuri women's history is painted with a different brush. It is complicated to pinpoint the reason behind their movements and demands. However, I believe that everyday war for survival had made the women in Manipur not keen to turn towards their counterparts who were already oppressed under various regimes.

Works Cited

- Devi, Thangjam Shanti. *Nupigi Punshi*. Vol.XXIII, Imphal: May' 2013.
- Leima, Arambam Ongbi Robita. *Nupigi Punshi*. Vol.XX, Imphal: January' 2013.
- Leima, Robita. *Women and Crime*. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=robita+leima
- Begum, Anjuman Ara. *AFSPA and Unsolved massacres in Manipur*. TwoCircles, November 3, 2010 http://twocircles.net/2010nov03/afspa_and_unsolved_massacres_manipur.html
- Census Operation. *Manipur: Final Population of data of Census 2011*. E-pao: Imphal, 5th June'2013.
- Devi, Keisham Sangeeta. *Role of Local Dailies of Manipur in Dissemination of Information: A Case Study*. Department of History, Manipur, 2004.
- Devi, R.K. Helen. *Women and Socio-Political Movement in Recent Past and present Manipur*. Sunmarg pub, 2012.
- Devi, S. Shantibala & W. Kumari Chanu. *Women Activism in Contemporary Manipuri Literature*. Manipur, 2015.
- Devi, Thokchom Binarani Devi. *Women's Movement in Manipur*. Concept: New Delhi, 2011.
- Dun, E W. *Gazetteer of Manipur*. Vivek Pub. H: Jaipur, 1975.
- Geetha, V. *Patriarchy*. STREET: Calcutta, 2007.
- Hemjeet, Nongmaithem. *A critical study of the Growth and Development of Print Media in Manipur State*. Department of Studies in Communication and Journalism: University of Mysore, 2014.
- Kamboj, Anil. *Manipur and Armed Forced (Special Power) Act, 1958*. October 2004
http://www.idsa.in/strategicanalysis/ManipurandArmedForcesSpecialPowerAct1958_akamboj_1_004
- [Kamei, Achungmei. A Historical Study of Print Journalism \(Newspaper\) in Manipur \(1910-1980\). Department of History, MU: Manipur, 2010. Print](#)
- Karna, Narain. *Social Movement in Northeast India*. Indus Publication, 1998.
- Kipgen, Tingneichong G. *Women's Role in 20th Century Manipur: A Historical Study*. Kalapa, 2010.
- Kshetri, Rajendrs. *The Emergence of Meitei Nationalism: A Study of Two Movements among the Meeteis*. Mittal, 2006.
- Dena, Lal. *History Of Modern Manipur 1762 – 1949*. 1990, Reliable, 2012.
- Ladusingh, L, N Minita Devi & Kh Jitenkumar Singh. *Sex Preference and Contraceptive use in Manipur*.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23620523>
- Meitei, Leitanthem Umakanta. *Voyage of Women in Manipur*. PRIO, 2016.

- Moretti, Franco. *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for literary History* – 2. *New Left Review*. March April'2004.
- Nonmeithem, Reena. *Status of Manipuri W/omen Now and Then*. Imphal Times: 20th December 2015.
- Pukhrambam, Kiranmala. *Women's Movement in Manipur (1904- 1947): A Historical Study*. Ch. Charan singh University, 2007
- Rehman, Teresa. *The Mothers of Manipur*. Jubaan, 2017.
- Singh, Leishram Bharati. *Women of Manipur Today: Victims of Social Exclusion. International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*. Vol. II.03. July-September'2014. Online
- Singh, N Joykumar. *Social Movement in Manipur*. 1992 Mittal, 2005.
- Singh, R.K. Sanajaoba. *Hijam Irawat and the political movement in Manipur and Surma valley*. E-pao, June 23, 2017.
http://epao.net/epSubPageExtractor.asp?src=manipur.History_of_Manipur.Article_Hijam_Irabot.Hijam_Irawat_and_political_movements_in_Manipur_and_Surma_valley_Part_3_By_RK_Sanjaoba_Singh,_N_Somerendro_State_of_Education_in_Manipur_http://www.jstor.org/stable/23047476
- Singh, W. Jyotirmoy. *Economic contribution of the women of Manipur in Pre-colonial Period*. Research work, Department of History, Manipur University.
- . *Social Position of Women of Manipur in Pre-colonial Period*. Research work. Department of History, Manipur History.
- . *The Oral History of Manipur of the Early 20th Century*. Research work. Department of History, Manipur University.
- Tarapot, Phanjoubam. *Bleeding Manipur*. 2005.

