

## Editorial

Imphal, Friday, January 22, 2016

### State of hoods

We are told that a wise man prophesized that the meek shall inherit the earth. By the turn of events for as long as one cares to remember, one will be tempted to think that the wise man has perhaps slipped up on his predictions. Amidst the hue and cry of despondencies and unfulfilled promises, those who are at the helm of affairs of the state continue to wax eloquent on the trumped up achievements which are unfortunate far and few between. It would perhaps sound pessimistic for a lot of people as the media turns up page after another on the sordid state of affairs day in and day out, but the fact of the matter is that despite the small positives happening in between, they get crowded out by the sheer number and magnitude of the social maladies, caused either out of ignorance or as an effective distraction for other bigger deliberate blunders. The state today is on the verge of yet another social turmoil, with various armed groups openly coming out in support of their communities and chasing out the rightful owners from their homes, just because the think-tank at the service of the state government either failed to counsel with the subject experts and knowledgeable historians or, more likely, ignored the suggestions and inputs of those in the know. The result, as we have witnessed, is an unnecessary and undesirable tension between communities that have been coexisting since time immemorial, giving rise to feelings of suspicion and ill-will. The present situation also presents an existing opportunity for certain individuals with vested interests to slip a wedge of hatred between the various communities. What is making the situation worse is not the admission of the blunder by the state government, but is rather the dithering and unnecessary delays in rectifying it. The festering tension, if allowed to continue unchecked will most likely turn violent and unstoppable with armed groups joining the fray. The state government has so far handled communal issues with velvet gloves, and more often than not has acceded to unacceptable demands and conditions just to keep peace. The practice, on the face of it might seem judicious and acceptable, but it also breeds resentment and bad blood amongst the remaining groups. To be fair, it is an extremely sensitive exercise for the state government to address communal differences, and is often fraught with possibilities of the solution snowballing into another. But that cannot be an excuse for the lack of effort and enthusiasm, nor is the repeatedly backfired procedure of taking hasty and often uninformed decisions in an ill-advised attempt to rush up such affairs. At the end of the day, the best decision will be one where the history, customs, laws and regulations have been consulted, referred and incorporated. The state government should then be strong enough to enforce and stand by its decision rather than to give in to the arm twisting communal hooligans and opportunists.

### 10 killed in Egypt blast

**CAIRO, Jan. 22:** At least 10 people were killed in a blast in Egypt's Giza province, the media reported. The blast killed ten people, including seven policemen, and injured 13 as security forces raided a terrorist hideout in Giza province near the capital Cairo on Thursday, Xinhua reported. The security force stormed the apartment after receiving information that a group of

terrorists were hiding inside. Egypt's interior ministry said. Egypt has been facing anti-government attacks, mostly in the Sinai peninsula, which killed hundreds of police and soldiers since 2013. Most of the terror attacks were claimed by Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis militant group, which has changed its name to "Sinai State" and declared loyalty to the Islamic State.

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## National & International News

### Delhi police issue terror alert after driver of hijacked taxi found dead

**Agency**  
**New Delhi, Jan. 22:** Delhi police on Friday issued an alert after the driver of a taxi allegedly hijacked by unknown people from Pathankot was found murdered, sparking security concerns in the midst of a nationwide crackdown on suspected Islamic State terrorists.

Police released details of the vehicle through its official Twitter handle saying the Maruti Alto was hired by three unidentified men on January 20. The driver of the vehicle, identified as Vijay Kumar, was later found dead at the Kalla bridge in Kangra, police said. Police in Himachal Pradesh, where the vehicle was registered, said the Alto was not registered with any travel agency.

What sent police into a tizzy was the fact that earlier this month terrorists had killed the driver of another vehicle they had hired before attacking the Pathankot airbase.

"There is no need to panic but we urge people to stay alert. Citizens should inform the police control room if they see any suspicious activity around them," said deputy commissioner of police Anil Bhagat said.

The alert came amidst heightened security in the Capital ahead of the Republic Day celebrations to be attended by French President Francois Hollande as the chief guest. Police sources said the top brass of the police have called a meeting at the India Gate lawns later on Friday to discuss the security details at the main installations around New Delhi. Police have already made India Gate and Rajpath out of bounds for vehicles and tourists.

This year, police closed movement of vehicles on Rajpath early in the wake of numerous intelligence reports about possible terror attacks.

"We are taking no chances. We are not allowing anyone to park their cars near India Gate. The lanes have been closed. We are not allowing tourists to stand on the road for long. They can take pictures and leave quickly," said a senior police officer. The fresh terror alert came amid raids across the country by sleuths of the National Investigation Agency (NIA) in search of suspected Islamic State terrorists, sources said.

At least six suspected terrorists were detained from different places including Bangalore, the sources added. Authorities have tightened security across major cities following a flurry of intelligence reports warning that militant groups could launch a series of busy malls to millions of pilgrims

### 2 killed in crude bomb blast in Bengal's Birbhum district

**Bolpur, Jan. 22:** Two people, including a Trinamool Congress party youth member, were killed and one person was injured when crude bombs stockpiled at their house exploded on Thursday night in a village in West Bengal's Birbhum district, police said on Friday.

Police said Hafizul Sik and Liton Sik allies Tariq Hossen were killed in the explosion at Ahamedpur in Khatonee police station. The blast shattered the roof and brought down a portion of the house.

However, villagers claimed there were at least eight people in the house and some of them were killed too but their bodies were removed before the police arrived in Birbhum superintendent of police Mukesh Kumar said primary investigation does not indicate the involvement of any terrorist group in the incident.

visiting the Ardh Kumbh. Extra paramilitary forces were deployed in New Delhi, Mumbai and Bangalore, where the French consulate on Thursday received a letter warning against the president's presence at the Republic Day celebrations. Police are investigating the source of the letter which said Francoise Hollande should cancel his trip to India beginning Sunday.

Separately, police also arrested four men in Uttarakhnad on Wednesday on suspicion of planning an attack in Delhi. Security officials said the four had been under surveillance for several months after their online activities drew suspicion, including contacts with people in territory in militant controlled areas in Pakistan and Islamic State group.

According to police records, Hafizul was one of the prime accused in the murder of a Trinamool worker and was held at Daburpur in the same district few years ago. The murder was the fallout of power struggle between two local factions of the party. Local villagers claimed Hafizul was a Trinamool Congress supporter and was absconding since May 2012 in connection with the murder of Baro SK, another supporter of the ruling party. Hafizul returned to the village only a few days back but police did not felt it necessary to arrest the absconding leader, they said.

"Powerful bombs, guns and ammunition were stockpiled in Hafizul's house. Last night, we saw some people, mostly outsiders, making crude bombs. Suddenly, we heard an explosion," said a villager. Over the past few years, Birbhum

Police said the men had also been planning strikes in Hardwar, where thousands of devotees are now gathered for the Ardh Kumbh festival. In Panaji, Goa Police have stepped up security in the state and were investigating a postcard received by the State Secretariat and warning to harm Prime Minister Narendra Modi and defence minister Manohar Parrikar.

In Mumbai, the police are yet to trace six mysterious paragliders who were seen near the city's coast on January 13. Authorities said they have taken the incident seriously because of a 2010 intelligence report that the terrorist group Lashkar-e-Taiba had procured 50 paragliders from Europe and was conducting a training in Pakistan to launch an aerial attack.

has witnessed violence in which crude bombs have been used regularly. A couple of years ago, about 800 crude bombs were found stockpiled in a primary health centre in the district.

"There is no such thing as law and order in West Bengal. Police are afraid to take steps and leaders of the ruling Trinamool Congress are leaving no stone unturned to make Bengal a safe haven for criminals. Mamata Banerjee is promoting terrorist training camps and bomb making units in Bengal," Siddharth Nath Singh, BJP national secretary, said.

Union home minister Rajnath Singh had also severely criticised the law and order situation in West Bengal while addressing a public meeting in the North 24 Parganas on Thursday. "Not even the police are safe here," Singh had said.

Contd. from previous issue

### The Indo-Naga conflict: a question of internal Indian ethnic conflict or a conflict between two nations?

(Write up produced here is the lecture delivered at the Centre for Manipur Studies by *Kaka D. Iralu*)

**SECTION - III: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF MODERN NATION STATES IN NAGALAND AND INDIA IN THE 20<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**  
Prior to 1947, neither Nagaland nor India were independent sovereign states in the pattern of modern nation states. Nagaland was then a country of more than fifty-four tribes with the British having suzerainty over only eight tribes. India, on the other hand, was then a sub-continent of five hundred sixty two autonomous princely states besides the provinces under British rule. The spirit of nationalism that swept across Asia and Africa in the 20<sup>th</sup> century affected Nagaland and India only in the earlier half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This spirit of nationalism took some concrete shape and direction for both Nagaland and India only in the 1920's. Now some Indian historians would argue that the Indian independence movement started from the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. This assertion is disputed as exaggeration of the actual historical facts by historians, many of them Indian. We will come to these details later on. For the moment, we will separate the two country's historical developments. In the case of Nagaland, we will begin with a brief account of Naga history.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNICITY TO NATIONALITY IN NAGA HISTORY**  
Ancient Naga history - The Nagas are an ancient people whose forefathers migrated into their present habitations before the Christian era. They are also mentioned in the Royal chronicles of the Manipur kingdom in records like **Chietbarol Kumbhbu and Nubhrol Kumbhbu** (AD 663-763 and AD 906-996). They are also mentioned in the chronicles of the Ahom kings who came from upper Burma and the western Ujan provinces

of China and settled and ruled in Assam for 600 years beginning from the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Naga resistance against intrusions and raids from these two neighbouring kingdoms and also other kingdoms like the Burmese, Tripuris, Dimshas and the Cachar kingdoms from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the 18<sup>th</sup> century are all there in recorded history. As for their encounter with the British in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and their resistance against British rule for one hundred fifteen years (1832 - 1947), numerous accounts are found in the British colonial records. It is said that the battles the British fought with the Naga tribes in the 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries far outnumber all the frontier battles fought with the Indians in the great Indian sub-continent. Even in spite of all these battles, the British were again mesmerized by the tenacity of the Chinese traveller who spent 15 years in India between AD 629-645. His records, Ptolemy mentions the Nagas as **Nagoloi** (Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia*, Vol VII, (ii), 18). They were again mesmerized by the tenacity of the Varman King, Bhaskar Varman in AD 643. From Kamrup in Assam, in his accounts "Si-Yu-Ki" he writes about the Nagas saying: "The east of this country is bounded by a line of hills so that there is no great city to the west of it. The tribes are very contiguous to the barbarians of Southwest China. These tribes are in fact akin to those of the Man people in their customs."

(Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travel in India*, Vol. III, Part II, Varanasi, 1903, p. 111)

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Naga action in the mission from Naga ethnic identity to Naga national identity and ultimately towards the realization of a modern Naga nation state. The Naga Club was formed in 1920 by the Nagas who had returned from their 1<sup>st</sup> World War experience in Europe. By February 2, 1946, the Naga Club of 1910 had metamorphosed into the Naga National Council (NNC). One of the first important actions, taken by the NNC was to submit a memorandum to the British Cabinet Mission which came to India in 1946 in the light of the impending transfer of power between India and Britain. In the memorandum, the NNC declared that the future of the Nagas would not be decided by any arbitrary decisions of the departing British Government if such decisions were taken without the prior information and approval of the Naga people. This memorandum was submitted to the Cabinet Mission on 20/08/46 (14000 sq. km). In British colonial accounts, the unconquered 700 territories of the Nagas were recorded as **unadministered territories or excluded areas**. Even in the thirty per cent lands that the British administered, they never laid any claims to the lands of the Nagas. The territories were contiguous to the barbarians of Southwest China. These tribes are in fact akin to those of the Man people in their customs. (Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's travel in India*, Vol. III, Part II, Varanasi, 1903, p. 111)

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