

PREMS

Sunday, December 1, 2019,

A Girl with Golden Hair

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She walks like as though, like a crane;
Carrying all along her long 'Golden' hair-
Flaunting and waving; tangling and parading;
Exhibiting and flourishing; growing and blossoming;
Maturing and mellowing; ripening and softening;
Tendering and lushes; quite and lowering;
Quickly she speaks, speeding and shooting;
With all her round face-murky golden amongst waving
hair;
Her smiles all silver shining, lining silvery;
Adoring those soft bleak-rosy lips of her;
Slandering her witty smiles- so mischievous;
Brighter and glittering; sparkling and twinkling;
Her hair so precious-brown golden;
Long and lustrous-shimmering and glistening;
Oh! You girl, so fascinating wild vividly;
Lovely hell! Too alluring a girl with golden hair

Ha- Ha! Ha-ha! Ha-ha! She laughs wittingly;
Che-che! Che-che! Che-che! She calls so sharply;
Blundering and swiftly, she hunts her emotions back;
Like a mirage- she reflects to and front;
Oh Girl! You're too cute to handle;
Her physique a golden mermaid, standing toe up;
Her size too sweetening-like a candy corns;
Her laughter by laughter so echoing verbally faster;
She walks on the meadows clean like a falling leaf;
Yellow and brown; so golden your hair's swinging;
Chirpy and chirpy her rosy lip runs and moves;
Slandering her witty smiles- so mischievous;
Brighter and glittering; sparkling and twinkling;
Her hair so precious-brown golden;
Matching her with black little dresses;
She hold and she tuck in into her bosom;
Oh! You girl, so fascinating wild vividly;
Lovely hell! Too alluring a girl with golden hair

Golden! As she carry all braided Nagas-
Criss-crossing braided all so tucked in ear to ear;
Like a bridge her hair holds; so mesmerizing-
Her cheek so vastly important, showing no
impertinence;
Oh Girl! Your boldness too cold like a hanging leaf;
Her swiping hair just falls on to her nose tip-
As she runs her hands so fragile catching those hairs;
She keeps on engaging word after word;
Ha- Ha! Ha-ha! Ha-ha! She laughs wittingly;
Che-che! Che-che! Che-che! She calls so sharply;
Her laughter so vividly enchanting jolly;
Long and lustrous, compelling and thrilling;
Gripping and amusing; engaging and funny;
She appears like a stranger in a strange land;
All golden all yellow; all brown and all mellow;
Oh! You girl, so fascinating wild vividly;
Lovely hell! Too alluring a girl with golden hair

Articulating History: Rejoinders and Notes on the Horrors of Kuki Rebellion 1917-1919

By Recharad Kamei

Recently I wrote an article on Kuki Rebellion titled "To bridge the divide in Manipur, the effects of a long cycle of violence should be accepted" about how the rebellion affected neighbouring Naga tribes especially Zeliangrong. This aspect has been hardly presented in the existing writings on Kuki Rebellion wherein it has been largely portrayed as a history in isolation from ethnic tensions between Naga and Kuki tribes since nineteenth century. Kuki Rebellion has been usually portrayed as a heroic act of fighting the Colonial force but this particular 'anti-colonial' narrative ignores the sufferings meted out to Zeliangrong people (a conglomeration of Naga tribes- Zeme, Liangmai, Rongmei and Inpui). How a significant part of historical event has been obscured so far requires a retelling/rewriting experiences of Zeliangrong people from Kuki Rebellion, 1917-1919. The horrors unleashed on Zeliangrong people cannot be passed off as 'unfortunate', as Mr. Sonthanghaokip does in his thesis on "Anglo Kuki relations"², or 'circumstantial' as presented in the Statesman Newspaper titled "Misrepresenting the Past" by Thongkhola Haokip³. I relied on secondary data like books and archival records to piece them together into a historical account of Zeliangrong people under the shadow of Kuki Rebellion. In doing so, I have presented how events before and after Kuki Rebellion are replete with Naga Kuki ethnic tension and its politics by keeping myself away from making subjective comments. Historical writing is susceptible to interpretation and reproduction, and the outcome can lead to distortion of original contents. To start with, Thongkhola Haokip's misinterpretation of a particular line from my article is deceptive wherein I wrote based on archival record that "...in the Naga Hills, Kukis took 250 heads from the neighbouring villages" is interpreted into "250 Kabuis in the North Western hills, now in Tamenglong..." in his article. The archival record I referred to is from the year 1910⁴. This account of heads being taken is to highlight the existing feud between Kuki and Naga tribes long before the Kuki Rebellion began. It is with great dismay to put our Zeliangrong Naga history and suffering in the face of wilful distortion of history. While at it, I would also like to point out that there were multiple instances where colonial sources documented number of casualties/deaths. I have found the sources not once but multiple times. One of many instances being this

record in the State Archives of West Bengal, where Major-General W.F. Nuthall, Political Agent, Manipure, in his letter to Lieutenant J. Butler, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills in 1871 informed that "...four Nagas from Toofai have this morning come in and reported that on the 21st Boisak (3rd May) their village was attacked by about 450 Kukies from the village of Kooding-mang and its dependencies, who killed ten men, ten women, and eight children of their number, and carried off their heads, together with three women and three children alive, (two females, one male,) besides having burnt eight-seven houses and 100 granaries, and despoiled them of all the cattle and property they could lay their hands upon".⁵ As to how the article "Misrepresenting the Past" reminds us that the effort of Kuki to instill peace is largely forgotten is at best selective writing and at worst distortion of history. The efforts of few Kuki chiefs in reaching out to Naga villages to join them in resisting recruitment for labour corps is remarkable in a sense that a space for alliance against the colonial rule is hardly initiated between the Kukis and the Nagas. However, this effort is subdued later by calculated attacks of Kukis against Zeliangrong Naga. For instance, as per Sonthanghaokip⁶ (2011) writings, Tintong, Chief of Laijang initially sought cooperation from Nagas in resisting Labour Corps recruitment, and later he masterminded and took part in raids on Naga villages causing burning of houses and several casualties. Gangmumei Kamei⁷ in his book, the History of Zeliangrong Nagas- From Makhel to Rani Gaidinliu (2004), described the genesis of attack on Zeliangrong during the Kuki Rebellion. He wrote that it began with the incident of an attack on some Kukis leading to confiscation of their guns at Rongmei village, Lukhambi. Two Rongmei villages - Awangkhol and Rangkhong came forward to help Lukhambi. Tintong responded with a retaliation by leading a raid on Awangkhol, and they took 30 heads. Akhui, a Rongmei village led an attack on nearby Kuki village causing a death of dozen Kukis. Tintong then responded with an attack on Akhui village killing 76 persons and burnt down the village. The pattern here reveals

that ethnic lines are being drawn leading to ethnic tension. Sensing the situations of Rongmei villages, Liangmai Naga came to rescue them. Loss of multiple of hundreds of Zeliangrong people and several villages burnt down to ashes, is not a circumstantial incident, it happened with strategic, deliberate and pre planned massacre by Kukis against Zeliangrong people during Kuki Rebellion. Gangmumei Kamei added that TangkhuNagas were also attacked by Kukis during the Kuki Rebellion. He also wrote that around that time the Kukis had already ceased the use of "the bow and arrow, sword and spear", for they possessed a skill to manufacture "guns, gunpowder and leather canons".⁸ The absence of Naga men can also be drawn into this particular event for the fact that many were sent to France as labour corps to help the Allied Forces during World War I. In the words of Lal Dena⁹ (1991), "By the end of April 1918, a series of brutal outrages were committed on their surrounding villages by the rebels and in the next three month 19 villages were raided with the loss of 193 persons killed and 26 missing. The causes of some of these raids were old feuds. In October 1918, 20 Kabui Naga villages were raided and burned with a loss of more than 85 lives. These raids were mostly carried out by Tindong chief of Layang who declared war with KabuiNagas in retaliation against the latter's raid on the Natjang Kuki village. No wonder the Kabui Naga rebellion in 1930-32 was directed both against the British and Kukis." After Kuki Rebellion, towards the end of 1919, is marked by introduction of direct administration of hill people under the British, a move which is unprecedented considering how the hills were administered indirectly after the British conquest of Manipur in 1891. The hills come under the rule of three sub-divisions constituted by Chief Commissioner of Assam¹⁰. Historical writing in this form begs a question to re-examine and bring out dynamics at play and processes surrounding events from the past. In addition to EH Carr's emphasis on the need of historiography¹¹ as Mr. Haokip reminds us in his article, it will be of great value to extend our ears also to Ronald Aminzade's (1992)¹² take on the role of historical sociologists where he sees it to be a way to bring out diverse patterns, and linkages among events by critically assessing historical accounts. This involves focussing on the causes and consequences of the events, and other processes among events like overlapping and intersection. Less than ten years later after the Kuki Rebellion, the Zeliangrong movement began under the leadership of Jadonang and later Rani

Gaidinliu. The arrest of Rani Gaidinliu by the British came through with the help of Kuki informer. The role of Kuki informer in aiding the arrest of Rani Gaidinliu is corroborated in the writings of Ursula Graham Bower¹³. So, it will be unwise to say that there existed a group which has been forgotten for their effort to initiate peace during the colonial period. Zeliangrong movement is a freedom movement against the British and colonialism, and its rivalry with Kukis. In Assam State Archives, there is a letter written by W.A. Cosgrave, Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam on February 25, 1931, where he highlighted about the unrest among KabuiNagas in North-west of Manipur state¹⁴. He noted down that Kuki villages were set up in Naga inhabited areas especially of Kabui and KachaNagas, and they were described as not indigenous who migrated into the region some generations ago. A description here conveys that the main dispute is around land, and land has been an important factor which is central to formulations of Naga identity. Land is also attached to Naga notions of culture, custom, belief system and rituals. The formation of Naga Club in 1918 and its memorandum (one of the signatories was Kuki¹⁵) to the Simon Commission in 1929 are a clear indication of ethnic identity consciousness and its expression back in the early twentieth century. Scholars from northeast writing on colonial history, must critically look at the British administration, and how they created fault lines and permeated into fault lines to implant their divide and rule policy. The contours of colonialism can be easily identified by people who are at its receiving end. One must stay vigilant from falling into the trap of colonialism and internalising it, like how Zeliangrong Naga, one of the largest tribes in Manipur is being referred to as "smaller hill communities in Manipur"¹⁶ in T Haokip's writing, is dishonest. A concerted effort to skirt acknowledgement of violence and its excesses on Zeliangrong Naga people during Kuki Rebellion, is an ahistorical approach towards Zeliangrong movement which happened later under Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu.

Bank employees to hold dharna in front of Parliament

By Raju Vernekar

The employees of various public sector banks (PSB) organised under the banner of the All India Bank Employees Association (AIBEA) are planning to hold a dharna in front of the Parliament, as a protest against bank mergers of banks and privatisation, on 10 December. The union government has resorted to consolidation in public sector banks by merging them which would result into closure of 6 banks, having over 5,000 bank branches, which would eventually lead to huge unemployment. The

merger is neither demanded by customers nor shareholders nor employees of the bank. This space is being made available to payment banks, small finance banks and universal banks from private sector. Thus Corporate who today are bank defaulters, are day dreaming to be the owners of those banks. As such major unions including AIBEA AIBOA BEFINBOC, AIBOC and INBEF, representing 80 per cent of the banking industry including employees and officers, have organised the dharna, Devidas Tuljapurkar, General Secretary of the Maharashtra State Bank

Employees Federation, affiliated to All India Bank Employees Association told this correspondent. The unions have demanded accountability of officials responsible for the Non-Performing Assets (NPAs) and effective steps to recover dues. This is hard earned money of common men and the banks are supposed to bear the loss. In order to overcome the loss, the banks are levying various service charges and have also reduced the interest rates on deposits. As per the data tabled in the Parliament by the Minister of State for Finance Anurag Thakur in response to a query by MP Deepak Bajji, scheduled commercial banks have written off around Rs. 6,00,769 crore in the last 5 years. Of this the State Bank of India alone written off around Rs. 2,67,263 crore (44.48 per cent). Similarly in 2018-19 alone, around 35 per cent bad debts were written off by SBI. The data further revealed that of the total Rs. 6,00,769

crore, hardly Rs. 43,059 crore (7.16 per cent) was related to the agriculture sector. Whereas staggering Rs. 1.66 lakh crore (27.69 per cent) outstanding dues were related to trade and Rs 4 lakh crore (65.15 per cent) to the corporate sector. In response to a question by MP Pradyut Bordoli, Thakur also stated that in the last 7 years, the government infused Rs. 3.38 lakh crore towards capital in public sector banks, by making a provision in the budget which meant that the attempts are on to cover up losses with the tax collected from common people, Tuljapurkar said. The bad debts which were written off included, the debts worth Rs. 1.07 lakh crore of 88 borrowers (with outstanding dues of Rs 500 crore and above) and the debts worth Rs 2.75 lakh crore of 980 borrowers (with outstanding dues of Rs. 100 crore and above).

In the meanwhile union finance ministry has suggested that RBI should set up 'Stress Asset Fund' to buy out stressed assets of the country's top 25 shadow lenders and revive the financial sector. The proposed bailout plan is based on the lines of the U.S. Troubled Asset Relief Programme following the 2008 financial crisis. In that year, United States Treasury Department had worked out a \$700 billion bailout plan to address the financial crisis. The attempt is being made to pull India's financial sector out of a deep slump and get credit flowing back into a weak economy. Shadow lenders account for a large chunk of India's credit market, accounting for a 30% share of auto loans and more than 40 per cent of home loans as of December 2018, according to RBI. Any new measure is likely to help such as Indiabulls Housing Finance, Piramal Enterprises, Reliance Capital, Shriram Transport Finance and Mahindra & Mahindra Financial

Services. The new proposal comes after the government's 1 trillion rupees partial credit guarantee scheme under which state run banks would buy high-rated pooled assets of financially sound shadow lenders failed to take off. The shadow banking sector has been battling a credit crunch ever since one of the sector's biggest firms Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services collapsed in late 2018 amid fraud allegations. The government has also asked the RBI to consider a one time waiver to banks from classifying some real estate loans as bad loans. However the RBI has been reluctant to open its balance sheet for a large bailout programme for the shadow banks as it feels the step is too drastic and more discussions are required, official sources said.

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