

# Editorial

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## Please understand CAB; if not today future is at stake if it passes

Instead of understanding the peoples' worry about the impact of Contentious Citizenship Amendment Bill (CAB), 2019, which is all set to pass in the ongoing session of the Lok Sabha, Manipur government and supporters of the BJP are making all effort to change the mindset of the people. Spokesperson of the government of Manipur, who is also the Education Minister of Manipur Th. Radheshyam strongly advocated the passing of the CAB categorically stating that the provisions in the Bill which is in the way to convert into act is not going to effect the state of Manipur. He justified his statement on the ground that as of now Manipur don't have illegal Hindu, Sikh, Jain, Christian, and Buddhist migrants in the state. And that the provisions of the CAB only said that those religiously persecuted or fear of being persecuted belonging in the said religions in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh who have been migrated to the country and that too before 2014 December. As of now Manipur don't have such migrants and Manipur don't have to worry about it, a strong and straight forward response which seems to lack the consequences in the near future of Manipur which have no legislations to protect the state.

Interestingly, the same statement in defence of CAB has also been circulated widely in the form of pamphlet without mentioning the authority of name of any organization since yesterday. If the government spokesperson is having full confidence that Manipur will not be affected by the CAB, then such pamphlets distributing should be published by the government. If the pamphlets are being circulated by some vested interested group then instead of convincing the people it will create more apprehension as it is natural that it will be no difference from pouring fuel to the anger to the people agitating against the passing of CAB.

Yes, as for the Imphal Times, we feel that Government Spokesperson Th. Radheshyam's speculation on CAB is no wrong. Those immigrants that the CAB is talking about are nearly non-existence. What the state of Manipur is facing about is about (illegal) migrants who influx to the state by having proper documents to prove themselves as citizen of India. Under Article 21 of the Indian constitution, these immigrants have every right to enter the state of Manipur and the government of Manipur still has no legislation to check this kind of infiltration. State government attempt to frame legislation for protection of the indigenous people by passing Bill in the state Assembly is of no use till today as even the Manipur Peoples' Protection Bill is still pending as the president of India is yet to give its assent.

As of now, we all know that whoever entered the state are not entrepreneurs which want to expand its business in the state, but those entered in the state are migrant workers and casual labourers who live on hand to mouth. The problem being face by the people of the state is the influx of this migrants having document to prove themselves as Indian.

19 lakhs people in Assam have been cancelled citizenship as they are illegal immigrants in the state of Assam. And as per the statement of the Government it is likely that among the so many people only few (Muslim) will be deported (can't say where, as no assurance of accepting them by Bangladesh Government has been made public). Many will become citizens of the country. Similarly, many more will be granted citizenship in state like West Bengal, Bihar etc. If these people from the three countries are granted citizenship and entered the state of Manipur, what will be the future of Manipur? It is common sense that the migrant will first look for jobs (labour) and Manipur is a place where these people will keep priority for settling.

So CAB is a legislation that will add double the problems of the people of the state.

A request the Government of Manipur is that supporting the CAB may get some blessing from the leaders for today, but if it gives multiple problems to the near future, future generation to blame your leadership may not even exist. Act like leader of Manipur and not a mere workers of the central leaders.

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## What Mindset does Government of Manipur have? Apropos to Radhabinod Koijam

By - Sh Ajit, Journalist

Radhabinod Koijam, former Chief Minister of Manipur, in his recent article in one of the leading English dailies newspaper, writes his concern of ongoing Naga Peace Talk between one time Naga rebels and Government of India. He narrates some of the events that lead to the anxiety over the disintegration of oneness of Manipur. The article was serious reacted by COCOMI recently as being untimely and anti-Manipur. As Radhabinod Koijam has a wide range of knowledge in administration, politics and laws, his concern of the peace talk becomes more concerned in political arenas. We understand, the assumption in this writing is that Meiteis are still living in historical past and are still having their hegemonic ideology of feudal times. He does not like the feudal mindset of the Meitei as being a liberal thinker as he poses in the article. Now the assumption in the article is dangerous because the pro-Manipur movement is depicted as an expression of Meitei hegemony or of Meitei feudal mindset. He is correct the history of Manipur passes through various stages of human civilization, from pre-historic

phase, to tribal stage, proto-history, feudal stage and modern nation (or nation stage in colonial situation). He is right to say that there was a strong Meitei hegemony when the Meitei ruling class ruled the State with different state apparatuses in medieval period. However, it will be wrong to conclude that anything speaking of by Meitei is linked with those feudal elements. To fight back the Naga expansionism under the shadow of guns of NSCN (IM) in Manipur is not necessarily linked with feudal outlook or Meitei hegemony which became a historical relic after historical experiences of 18<sup>th</sup> century. Since the emergence of new political consciousness in the first quarter of 20<sup>th</sup> century, Meitei feudal mindset does not operate in every anti-colonial movement. Likewise, the current movement for integration of Manipur or voice of oneness of Manipur is not even targeted to the tribal aspiration; it is neither anti-tribal movement, as shown by some Civil Society Organizations of hill areas nor anti-Naga movement. The interests for which the people of Manipur are driving are simple: No ethnic administrative arrangement, no political or otherwise arrangement that

would lower down the dignity of the State and State Assembly. Is there any feudal element in such an interest? Any arrangement in Manipur should be welfare of the communities in the State. For such a new arrangement, the State should take initiative and should have a clear foundation for such a new arrangement. Manipur cannot be at receiving end in any political negotiations that would affect the ethnic harmony, administrative disorder, historical legitimacy and geographical disturbances. Here, Mr Radhabinod Koijam should understand at least history is not all about past only. Mr Th Muivah suffered a lot for a political cause. His dream of Independent Nagalim is shattered down. At the end of the political negotiation in which he was a key negotiator, his past political activities are remembered negatively by many sections of Nagas of Nagaland. Even his tribe is considered outsiders by the State of Nagaland. We feel the sense of humiliation and share his sadness. However, we would like to invite Radhabinod koijam and many others who think Muivah should be compensated for his sufferings and sacrifices to rethink the organic links

between different groups in North East India right from pre-historic to feudal to modern life. He cannot be given compensation at the cost of Manipur's existence. The more worry over the article is that Mr Radhabinod Koijam is one of the two-men Consultative Committee, set up by Government of Manipur. The Committee is supposed to brief the interest of Manipur (irrespective of her ethnic aspirations) to the Government of India so that India should understand the political aspirations of Manipur as a political person. As Mr Radhabinod Koijam has a prejudice to Meitei as living in past hegemonic world and shows his readiness to give something to Muivah as compensation (losing ground in Nagaland) or trophy for his long struggle for the Nagas, the only question that comes in the collective mind of the State is over the neutrality of Consultative Committee. Did State of Manipur already take a decision to grant Naga autonomy in the State of Manipur? Will State Government be able to keep Manipur's Interest on the negotiating table? Does Government of Manipur have a strong Naga Bias?

## Why Shiv Sena "divorced" BJP in Maharashtra ?



By Raju Vernekar

The Shiv Sena has severed ties with its old ally BJP after 35 years, due to dispute over power sharing eventually Maharashtra coming under President's rule, even as the Shiv Sena, Congress and NCP, having finalised a common minimum program are expected to take over the reigns of the state soon. Under the pact, the Sena will have to shed its "Hindutva" plank, will have to agree to demand of 5 per cent reservation in jobs and education to Muslim minorities and will also have to withhold its freedom to confer "Bharat Ratna" on freedom fighter Swatantraayveer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Soon after the 2019 assembly election results were announced on 24 October, the Sena came out with a demand of 50:50 power sharing formula including a rotational chief ministership for 2 1/2 years. While the Sena claimed that this was agreed upon during pre-poll discussion, the BJP rejected the claim outright. BJP President Amit Shah maintained that throughout election campaign Devendra Fadnis was projected as the next chief minister and that time the Sena did not object. Both the Sena and BJP had contested 2019 Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections together. They won a sizeable number of seats (BJP-23, Sena-18) in Lok Sabha. However in Vidhan Sabha elections, both of them lost considerable number of seats (BJP 17, Sena 7 compared to 2014 election). Yet the saffron brigade was in a comfortable position to form the government (145 seats required for majority in 288 member Assembly) with a tally of 161 seats (BJP 105 and Sena 56). However the Sena distanced itself from BJP after announcement of results. In fact the bickering between both the partners came to the fore after 2014 Lok Sabha election (which both

of them had contested jointly). The Sena was given only one cabinet berth of Minister for Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises, despite it emerging as the third largest party in Lok Sabha. Comparatively the Telugu Desam Party and Lok Janshakti Party (LJP), with negligible number of seats, were given important ministries like civil aviation and the Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, respectively. Soon thereafter there were differences even over seat sharing for 2014 assembly elections. The big brother Shiv Sena used to claim a lion's share in seat distribution for assembly and local self body polls for the years together and the BJP was playing a second fiddle. The seat sharing used to be 171 (Sena) and 117 (BJP)=288 for assembly election. In subsequent years, the ratio was changed to 169 (Sena) and 119 (BJP). However in the "Modi wave", the seat sharing issue took different turn with BJP demanding larger share. Eventually both the partners contested separately and won the seats in the ratio of 122 (BJP): 63 (Sena). Initially the Sena sat in Opposition but joined the BJP Government after two months. However it was given insignificant ministries like environment, health, PWD etc, while BJP retained all important ministries like Home, Urban Development, Finance etc. The Sena was relegated to the post of ministers of state in which it had hardly any say. Eventually the Sena took to streets and staged many agitations, including for total waiver of farm loans, despite being part of the Government. Compared to this, in 1995 when the Sena and BJP had formed the Government (Sena-73, BJP-65 + Independents) the BJP was given Deputy Chief Ministership, in addition to important portfolios like Home, Urban Development, finance and Irrigation.

While love-hate relationship has been going on between both the partners, the Sena too has a chequered history. It had supported the candidature of Pratibha Patil and Pranab Mukherjee (both Congress), in Presidential election, despite it being a member of National Democratic Alliance (NDA). It was BJP leader late Pramod Mahajan who had sought Shiv Sena Pramukh late Balasaheb Thackeray out for an alliance in the mid-1980s. The alliance dates back to 1984 when the BJP and Sena came together for the first time. BJP was only four-year-old then. Balasaheb Thackeray arrived at an agreement with the BJP leadership of LK Advani and late Atal Bihari Vajpayee and fielded Sena candidates on BJP's election symbol in the 1984 election. Both the parties contested together Maharashtra assembly election in 1985. BJP won 14 seats and Sena won one seat. But both of them progressed due to the Ram Mandir movement and in 1989 the Sena entered the Lok Sabha with four seats for the first time. The BJP bagged 10 seats in that election. In 1990 both the saffron partners emerged as a strong opposition group (Sena 52, BJP 42 seats) in the Maharashtra assembly). Thereafter they have been together in various local bodies although both vied with each other for the posts like leader of the Opposition. Both of them hold similar views on contentious issues like Ram Janmabhoomi - Babri Masjid dispute, uniform civil code, Article 370, triple talaq, representation of Muslims in elections, cultural nationalism and even foreign policy. "Hindutva" kept them together and in fact, it was the glue that bound them together and presented them as one unit to the voters of Maharashtra, election after election. An average voter in Maharashtra did not differentiate between the

Sena and the BJP at state and national level believing they would be one, post-election, even if they contest separately. After 2002 Godhra riots, Balasaheb Thackeray was among the few senior leaders in the NDA, besides Advani, who backed Narendra Modi as Gujarat chief minister. He had also said that "Modi gaya to Gujarat gaya." The Sena founder had batted for Modi several times in public... in 2002, 2004 and again in 2007 after Modi's spectacular second win as chief minister and in 2009 as a 'self-made Hindutva leader'. Thackeray senior may not have apologised per se after Babri Masjid demolition and communal riots which followed. In fact he had said that "I am proud if those demolished the mosque were Shiv Sainiks. Subsequently he suggested that either a school, a hospital or a stadium be built, instead of a temple, on the disputed site. Ashok Singhal, the then president of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, had wrathfully labelled Thackeray senior, as a 'vivekheen (brainless) Hindu' for daring to build bridges with the minorities. Thackeray then ceased to lend his might to the VHP for various bands and agitations it called in subsequent years, leading to the failure of every one of those movements at least in Maharashtra. Balasaheb's son Uddhav, apparently has not developed a rapport with Modi and there is a communication breakdown between both of them, due to the absence of state BJP mediator and that is seen as one of the main reasons for the rupture in the saffron alliance. Modi is clearly on the way to becoming the "Hindu Hriday Samrat" - a term coined by Thackeray senior for himself, when he was making paradigm shift from regional politics to one based on religion, much before the BJP had come into the picture. The Sena would hate to concede that title to Modi.

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