MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE GOVERNOR OF MANIPUR

Seeking the Restoration of Popular Government and Urgent Measures for Peace and Stability in Manipur

To

His Excellency Ajay Kumar Bhalla Hon'ble Governor of Manipur Raj Bhavan, Imphal

Subject: Urgent Appeal for the Restoration of a Popular Democratic Government in Manipur and Measures to Ensure Peace, Security, and Territorial Integrity.

Respected Sir,

We, the undersigned representatives of the people of the multi-ethnic state of Manipur, civil society organisations, and concerned citizens, submit this memorandum with deep concern regarding the prevailing political and humanitarian crisis in Manipur. We seek your **immediate** intervention to restore democratic governance, ensure territorial integrity, and bring peace and stability to the state.

1. The Historical Continuity of Manipur as an Ancient Asian Power

Manipur stands as one of the oldest surviving political entities in Asia, with a recorded history dating back over **two millennia**. The Kingdom of Manipur was an independent and sovereign state **long before the colonial incursions of the British in 1891**, when it was forcefully brought under British rule following the Anglo-Manipur War. Despite this setback, Manipur retained its unique political and cultural identity, with a well-established system of governance.

When British rule ended on 14 August 1947, Manipur regained its independence, forming a democratic government with a Council of Ministers under the Manipur Constitution Act, 1947—the first democratic constitution in both South Asia and Southeast Asia. However, on 15 October 1949, under dubious circumstances, Manipur was annexed into India through the controversial Manipur Merger Agreement, 1949 signed under duress by the then King of Manipur at Shillong. This agreement was executed without the consent of the Manipur State Legislative Assembly, making its legality questionable under international law.

2. The Constitutional Crisis Following the Imposition of President's Rule

In the wake of the resignation of Chief Minister N. Biren Singh on 9 February 2025, Manipur has been placed under President's Rule, further deepening the political vacuum and constitutional crisis. Despite the BJP's thumping majority in the Manipur Legislative Assembly, it has failed to install a new Chief Minister, displaying political cowardice and disregard for democratic governance. This inaction has left the people of Manipur in a state of uncertainty, worsening the ongoing crisis.

The imposition of President's Rule, though permissible under Article 356 of the Indian Constitution, is meant to be a temporary measure and should not be extended unnecessarily. Given the pressing need for state governance to handle the ongoing humanitarian and security challenges, we strongly urge the immediate restoration of an elected government in Manipur.

3. Commending Your Expertise in National Security and Urging Democratic Restoration

We acknowledge and appreciate your distinguished service as Union Home Secretary (August 2019 - August 2024), during which you played a pivotal role in maintaining national security and public order. Your vast experience in handling complex security and governance issues makes you uniquely positioned to guide Manipur out of its current predicament.

Given your deep understanding of internal security, democratic governance, and crisis management, we urge you to use your authority to recommend to the President of India the immediate installation of a popular democratic government in Manipur. The people of Manipur need an elected leadership to navigate through this crisis rather than prolonged central rule.

4. The Urgent Need for Peace, Security, and Resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

The ongoing crisis and political turmoil since 3 May 2023 has taken a devastating toll on Manipur, resulting in the tragic loss of over 250 lives, 31 missing and the displacement of nearly 60,000 people from their ancestral homes. This mass displacement has deepened the humanitarian crisis, further fracturing the social fabric of the state and intensifying communal tensions. Families remain uprooted, struggling for survival in relief camps, while the continued absence of a lasting resolution only fuels uncertainty and despair.

We appeal to you to:

- Take proactive steps in peace negotiations involving all stakeholders to address the
 present Manipur Crisis.
- Ensure the safe and dignified resettlement of internally displaced persons (IDPs) to their native places.
- Facilitate security measures to restore confidence among affected communities.
- Strengthen governance at the grassroots level by engaging civil society and community leaders.

The failure to address these urgent issues could lead to further destabilisation of Manipur, which would be detrimental to the entire NE Region.

5. Upholding the Territorial Integrity of Manipur under International Law

We urge you to advise the President of India on the inviolability of Manipur's territorial integrity, drawing attention to the legal status of the Manipur Merger Agreement, 1949.

- The Merger Agreement was signed between two independent countries—India and Manipur—before the enactment of the Constitution of India on 26 January 1950.
- Manipur had its own elected government, established under the Manipur Constitution Act, 1947, before India's Constitution came into effect on 26 January 1950.
- The Manipur Constitution Act was crafted in the solemn elegance of legal prose, structured into eleven chapters, each weaving together the essential themes of governance expected to associate with a constitutional framework—the executive, the state assembly, the judiciary, and beyond. Yet, its most defining feature lay in its vision: a constitutional monarchy, mirroring the model of England. The King, once the unchallenged sovereign, found his powers reshaped and refined, much like the ceremonial stature of the President in India's Constitution of 1950. No longer the final arbiter of Manipur's destiny, his authority stood diminished—a monarch without a signature, a ruler without absolute reign, as the pulse of democracy took root in the land of Manipur.
- Under the international legal doctrine of Uti Possidetis Juris, former colonies and princely states retain their pre-colonial territorial boundaries unless altered by a legal

referendum. Therefore, Article 3 of the Indian Constitution cannot be applied to alter Manipur's territorial boundaries, as it did not constitutionally belong to India at the time of the enactment of the Indian Constitution.

• Any attempt to reshape Manipur's territorial boundaries would be a strike against history, a wound upon its soul—an act of aggression that defies the tenets of international law and shatters India's own pledge to territorial sovereignty. As a founding signatory of the United Nations Charter, India stands bound by its sacred obligations, entrusted to uphold the principles of justice, peace, the inviolability of nations, sovereignty, self-determination, and territorial integrity enshrined within the Charter. To forsake this duty would be to forsake the very ideals upon which the world's conscience rests.

We implore you to uphold Manipur's territorial integrity and ensure that no political move is made to alter its boundaries under any pretext.

6. Promoting Communal Harmony through Cultural Exchange Programs

The recent crisis has deepened the divide among Manipur's colourful communities, threatening its social fabric. To rebuild trust and forge long-lasting communal harmony, we request you to initiate cultural exchange programs that:

- Encourage dialogue and interaction between different indigenous communities.
- Promote traditional art, music, and literature that celebrate Manipur's shared heritage.
- Strengthen community-based conflict resolution mechanisms through cultural diplomacy.
- Create government-backed inter-community youth initiatives to foster peace and mutual understanding.

These measures will restore social security, rebuild fractured relationships, and pave the way for a peaceful Manipur.

Our Urgent Appeal

Honorable Governor, we stand at a critical juncture in Manipur's history. President's Rule cannot be a substitute for democratic governance and prolonging it only weakens the people's faith in democracy. Your intervention is crucial in bringing about political stability, social peace, and economic recovery in the state.

We respectfully urge you to:

- 1. Expedite the restoration of a popular government in Manipur by immediately administering the oath of a new Chief Minister.
- 2. Engage actively in peace negotiations to ensure the safe return of displaced communities.
- 3. Uphold the territorial integrity of Manipur and advise the President of India against any division of the state.
- 4. Promote communal harmony and social security through structured cultural exchange programs.

We trust in your wisdom, experience, and commitment to justice, and we remain hopeful that you will take immediate action to resolve the crisis in Manipur.

We await your positive response and stand ready to support any initiative you take toward restoring peace, democracy, and territorial integrity in Manipur.

With highest regards, Signatories:

All Manipur Democratic Students' Organisation (AMDSO) All Manipur Meitei Pangal Clubs' Organisation (AMMPACO) R. Saliwan

Apunba Awonba Manipur Amagidamak (AAMA)

Agambam paulhoi

Committee of Peaceful Coexistence, Manipur (CPCM)

Committee on Relief & Rehabilitation (CRR)

Federal Students' Organisation, Kangleipak (FESOK)

Federation of Indigenous People's Democratic Movement (FIDM) Kongthon born Lucky west
Imagi Meira (IM) RK Cunita Kur (h)
Kanglei People Against Narcotics & Psychotropic Substances (Kanglei Panas) Wahay Fundre
Manipur International Youth Centre (MIYC) Pase Kambam
Meetei Meitei Tribe Union (MMTU) T. Parizat Sinf
Nupi Union For Peace and Integrity (NUPI) Oh Zleibi
United Meitei Pangal Committee (UMPC) MTLd. Helaluddin
Yelhoumee Phurup (YP) R. G. Bijanjalanami Wine
Youth Collective Manipur (YCM) Linglin

(People's Progressive Alliance, Manipur)
The 20th February 2025 •
Imphal, Manipur