

DOCUMENTS ON
**North East
India**

Compiled by
Jaideep Saikia



Institute for
Defence Studies and Analyses
New Delhi

Documents on North East India

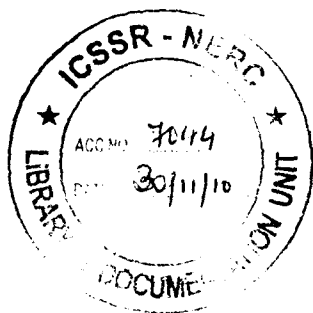
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Preface

An important manner in which historiography can achieve clearer representation is by perusal of official documents that have been scripted over a period of time-especially if it pertains to a particular theme. Were one to-for instance-seek an examination of the genesis and progression of World War II, it would be worthwhile to read the treaty that was concluded between the Allies and the Germans in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles on 28 June 1919, the "Pact of Steel" signed between Germany and Italy on 22 May 1939 that "united" the two nations military alliance "by the inner affinity of their ideologies", or for the matter the Ribbentrop-Molotov Agreement that was inked on 20 August 1939. Analyses of such documents-if it is husbanded by a generic comprehension of the backdrop in which these were initialed-could act as veritable waypoints that led up to the war, and pave way for a sounder understanding of the matrix that had governed a particular period in history.

Official documents-to paraphrase Mahatma Gandhi when he sought to define history-could be characterised as "a record of an interruption of the course of nature." Indeed, such documents are the only authentic records that history possess-rest of the account are usually subject to varying interpretations, with historians and analysts culling description from, by and large, indefinite and unverifiable sources. While pre-history by its very usage prevents sound entry of authenticity and casts it to the realm of "pieces" and "imprecise designs", the historical records that characterise medieval ages are usually hagiographies, chronicled in a manner that suited the patron. Indeed, with the advent of modern methodologies the imprecision or eulogy should have disappeared from historical writings, but that has not entirely been the case. Certain historians have allowed bias to colour the ink with which they document history, not necessarily by fabricating fact-for that would probably be no longer possible-but by viewing the past from differing ideological stations, keeping thereby the door ajar for misinterpretation and ambiguity.

Indeed, such ambiguity can characterise even official treaties, with differing interpretations obfuscating the actual. This was seen, for instance, in the agreement concluded between Great Britain and Tibet in 1914 in Simla, which as the author of India's China War, Neville Maxwell states ended "with two participants in what was meant to be a tripartite conference

openly signing a secret declaration; with one text of a draft convention initialed by all three parties, another initialed by two, and a map initialed by all three." Official documents can lead to confusion as well, as has been the case in the Simla agreement of 1914. Indeed, the documents of Simla 1914 and the attendant contending interpretations continue to exercise a powerful influence on Indo-China relationship.

But, despite the misrepresentation that occasionally arise out of black-and-white treaties and official documents, the fact of the matter is that such documents can at least be recalled for adjudication, and in order to stand the scrutiny of historians and legal interpreters-an aspect that an incident in history-perhaps noted only by a chronicler-cannot be subjected to. Official documents, therefore, are the pages that bind history in the most explicit manner possible. Indeed, as aforesaid, even such documents can at times be subjected to misinterpretation, but as has been seen the devil lies in interpretation and not in invalid construal or misrepresentation of history. Moreover, differences could also occur as a result of the nature of the document that two or more sides are party to. It is, therefore, important to differentiate between a treaty, an agreement and an accord, although on occasions the distinction between these are slender. For instance, a treaty is a "formal agreement" between two or more countries, and is generally used when the two countries have clear sovereign status-despite the fact that a treaty may be imposed upon a country by another country, as was the case in the Treaty of Versailles. An agreement, too, may have all the ingredients of a treaty, but is seen to be used in cases when two or more parties "consent" to a course of action, the emphasis being that one or more parties dilute the event by scaling the episode down from a high-sounding "treaty", the usage of which would have elevated the lesser party to a position that would not be in the interest of the party that normally scripts the "agreement". After all, treaties do take place between people as well, especially for the purchase of property, but they are normally termed "agreement". An "accord", on the other hand, is a less condescending term that is used between two or more parties, employed primarily in order to exhibit a sense of parity, and normally after an aggrieved party has been assuaged and after it has been able to appropriate special considerations from another party. Official documents, naturally, also take the shape of acts, promulgations and white papers, among many others in the genre.

The compilation that makes up this assemblage are not only of the varying shades of documents as has been sought to be described above, but those that pertain exclusively to the North East, a region that came to be prefixed to India with the signing of a treaty, its outlying principalities united into the composite whole that presently makes up the region by a

variety of agreements. Several accords and agreements have been anvilled from time to time in order to keep that unity intact. It is also a constituency that has been provided special laws, ostensibly for efficient governance, but the terms of a few of which continue to be bitterly contested by a certain section of the region's populace. The North East is also a region whose history attends at once to legend, folklore and hagiography, and when perceived from the prism of the sub-continent's history takes a bend that meanders into uncharted territory.

Early chroniclers that accompanied invaders and military adventurers into the present North East have documented the region in a variety of ways, much of which (as aforesaid) have a bias towards the patron on whose behest the campaigns were recorded. For instance, historians studying the Mughal wars in Assam have found that reading a single chronicle provides only a version of the times gone by. This aspect has been brought out brilliantly by the celebrated Assamese historian, Suryya Kumar Bhuyan in his editorial preface to the medieval Persian chronicle, *Baharistan-I-Ghaybi*, an account of the Mughal wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, by Mirza Nathan. Commenting on this important aspect, Bhuyan states, "the Persian *tawarikh* are as invaluable for the history of the Muslim wars as their Assamese counterparts the *Buranjis*; for where can we get a better opportunity for arriving at truth except in these contemporaneous accounts preserved by the two protagonists of the conflicts-the Assamese and the Mughals? Events and personalities dimly narrated or portrayed in the one are elaborated in the other; matters left out in one source as trite and commonplace are described in the other with epical vigour." Indeed, Mirza Nathan-incidentally not a scholar of the genre of Al-Beruni, the author of *Ta'rikhu'l-Hind*, but a general in the payroll of Jahangir-seems to be quite clear in his objective when he wrote *Baharistan-I-Ghaybi*. He states, "as it occurred to the mind of this most insignificant one that if a small portion of the events which took place during the prosperous reign of the greatest Sultan and the greatest Khaqan of the world, Nuru'd-Din Muhammad Jahangir Badshah Ghazi, be put into writing, (then) the imprint of that auspicious writing will remain on the pages of time..." Similarly, the task of chronicling the reigns of different Ahom monarchs fell on the Deodhais, who were commissioned by the rulers to write the *Buranjis*. Needless to say, that the *Buranjis*, too, would have the same tenor as that of the *Tawarikh*s, or perhaps even the *Bakhars* of the Marathas.

While it is not a matter of any contest that readers would certainly be interested in studying early and medieval North Eastern history, the fact of the matter-as has been explained above-is that the documents that are

being forwarded in this compilation have been chosen because they bear a mark of authenticity on their pages. However, that is not to say that earlier chronicles such as the *Tawarikh* and the *Buranji* are bereft of realistic accounts. But, as historian Bhuyan had opined, ambiguities sometimes mar such writing. Indeed, it is such considerations that led the compiler to include in the collection documents that do not go back too far into antiquity. The Treaty of Yandaboo, signed between the British and the king of present Myanmar on 24 February 1826 is the earliest document in the compilation. The document is interesting for a number of reasons. While the most important feature of the treaty was the inclusion of Assam with British India, a continuing aspect of debate pertains to the United Liberation Front of Asom's (ULFA) argument that Assam be granted sovereignty as it was never a part of India and it was only as a result of the Treaty of Yandaboo that a third party (Burma) handed over Assam to the British. ULFA argues that since the Assamese were not party to the treaty, the sovereign status of the state, as it pertained before it came under "temporary" control of the Burmese (The Burmese occupied Assam for four years between 1822 to 1826), should have been restored with the leaving of the British in 1947. The ULFA's logic in its own words are, "Assam, presently under the occupation of Indian rule, was independent from the ancient times...(the Assamese) defended their independence successfully resisting the invasions of the mighty Mughals seventeen times. However, consequent to the Yandaboo Treaty signed between Man (Burma, now Myanmar) and British on 24 February 1826, Assam ultimately became a British colony. After that the peoples engaged in struggle against the British to restore the lost independence. At that time the 'liberation struggle of Assam' was united with the Indian freedom struggle under the principle of 'line of united struggle'. Assam should have established an independent state, just after the British left the South Asian continent, like the establishment of independent countries such as India, Pakistan and Myanmar. However, the British-created leadership of independent India turned Assam into a colony of India through intrigue and conspiracy. So Assam became dependent again."

ULFA's disputation has not only led to a 30-year insurrection, but also a surfeit of arguments for or against its contention. The most prominent line that is taken by the theoreticians of the organisation is the so-called "distinctiveness" of Assam from India, culling selective instances from history, geography, anthropology and economics, and, of course, that of centrist exploitation. Some of the points that have been put forward include physical traits like "yellowish colour, short nose, flat face, scattered beard etc as being representative features of Assamese people". Another rather interesting aspect that "showcases" the difference is the claim that

anthropologists have discovered Haemoglobin-E in the blood samples of native communities of Assam, which is absent in the blood samples of other communities in India. Yet another instance pertains to the food habit. It is argued that in Assam the people of the upper caste are non-vegetarians, while those of India are strict vegetarians. It has also been attempted to distinguish the "Assamese people" from the "people of India" by stating that all the languages of Assam are of the Tibeto-Burman language family, when in fact the Assamese language in which the supporters of ULFA propound such theories itself is from the Indo-Aryan tree. While it is not one of the brief of the compiler to put forward value judgments to such theses, the only point that would be made is that distinctiveness does not necessarily demonstrate a case for political apartness. At any rate, critics of ULFA have been able to draw equally from history to exhibit Assam's proximate ties with India, and as a result the unity that binds the state to the nation.

But it must be said that "New Delhi's simplistic assessment of the situation in Assam and its problems has helped the ULFA ideology to survive despite its inherent weaknesses". An important passage from Udayon Misra's *The Periphery Strikes Back: Challenges to the Nation-State in Assam and Nagaland* is being liberally quoted in order to elucidate the point. Misra writes, "If the ULFA manner of functioning, its random resort to kidnappings and killings have resulted in narrowing its support base, then the manner in which the security forces have been conducting themselves, the tell-tale pictures of torture of suspected ultras, the rapes and molestations, not to speak of the countless custodial and "encounter" deaths have all greatly helped to keep the anti-Delhi and anti-India mood alive. This, despite the fact that for most Assamese even today the goal of independence from India is neither acceptable nor desirable."

Some of the documents in the collection-if read alongside the backdrop that accompanied them-might also provide an access to the motivation for some of the insurgencies that have erupted in the region. The "Manipur Merger Agreement", by which the "land of emeralds" was annexed to the Dominion of India on 15 October 1949, for instance, has an interesting background. On September 1949, the Governor of Assam, Sri Prakasa invited the king of Manipur, Bodh Chandra for a meeting in Shillong. On 18 September 1949, the very first day the two met, the governor presented the maharaja with a pre-drafted document whereby Manipur would be merged with India. Bodh Chandra was asked to sign the agreement which he refused. He offered instead to confer with his council of ministers. The monarch on return to his "Redlands" residence in the hill station found that the Indian army had surrounded the premises. He had been placed under house arrest. Finally, on 21 September 1949, Bodh Chandra signed

the "Merger Agreement." Under the terms of the agreement Manipur would be put under Indian rule from October 1949. The agreement was kept secret until 15 October 1949. The same day an order was passed dissolving the Manipur state assembly and the elected council of ministers. Following the dissolution of the assembly, a member of the dissolved council of ministers, Hijam Irabot Singh, went under ground. Although Irabot Singh died six years later, in 1955, the seeds of dissent that he had sown developed into full-blown insurgency by the early 1960s. Today, Manipur is the most disturbed province in the North East with the state accounting for 47 per cent of the insurgency related violence in the region.

Among the scores of documents that have shaped the region's destiny, the "Assam Accord (Memorandum of Settlement)" stands out as a determining one. The Accord was signed—rather hurriedly, some observers maintain—in the early hours of 15 August 1985 in order to facilitate its inclusion in the prime minister of India's address to the nation from the ramparts of Red Fort later in the morning. The document signed by members of the All Assam Students' Union (AASU), the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) and representatives of the governments of India and Assam came after an agitation by the Assamese against illegal migration from Bangladesh.

However, the accord provisions have not been fully implemented even after the passage of 24 years. The most glaring aspect pertains to the question of illegal migration from Bangladesh. Not only has the influx from the erstwhile East Pakistan into the North East increased, but the "search for lebensraum" in the region has been fortified by the entry of Islamist militants from Bangladesh—the latter utilising the demographic jungles of Assam and thereabouts both as a gateway to the rest of India in order to perpetrate terror and as "pull-back" area afterwards. Political insouciance and patronage for such ingress have been touted to be the correct explanation for the malaise, but it would interest the reader to discover that the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) (IM (DT)) Act, 1983 (included in the collection), a piece of legislation that was the centre of protracted debate for over 20 years, and which was struck down by the Supreme Court of India as ultra vires, found only passing mention in the Assam Accord. Appending it as the last clause in the section on Foreigners Issue, the accord merely records that the "Government will give due consideration to certain difficulties expressed by the AASU/AAGSP regarding the implementation of the Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act, 1983." Is it that the agitation leaders had not fathomed—in the wee hours of 15 August 1985—the manner in which the IM (DT) Act would subvert the very essence of the six-year long agitation? Indeed, under the IM (DT) Act, the onus of establishing

nationality rests not on the illegal migrant, or the Government, but on the private individual who must pay a fee to lodge a complaint and do so under a stipulated jurisdiction. Such provisions made it virtually impossible to detect and deport illegal migrants. Striking down the IM (DT) Act, the Supreme Court of India in its landmark judgment had ruled that “a deep analysis of the IM (DT) Act and the rules made thereunder would reveal that they have been purposely so enacted or made so as to give shelter or protection to illegal migrants who came to Assam from Bangladesh on or after 25th March, 1971 rather than to identify and deport them.”

Indeed, it is hoped that passages that relate to ULFA, Manipur and the Assam Accord—as was discussed above—would set the mood for a reading of the compilation; and instill a sense of inquisitiveness in the reader to unravel the background in which not only such treaties were concluded, but the debate that it has set into motion about the North East. In most parts, the rest of the documents that have been included in the book have similar flavours. Therefore, whether it is the Naga-Akbar Hydari Accord of June 1947, the Governor of Assam’s submission to the President of India on the question of illegal migration, the ceasefire ground rules between Government of India and National Socialist Council of Nagalim-Isaac-Muivah; almost all the documents spew as a result of a feeling of “distinctiveness” among the people of the North East, and the endeavour on the part of New Delhi to assuage such sentiment. The compilation also includes a beautiful speech by former Indian president, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan on the occasion of the inauguration of the state of Nagaland on 1 December 1963. The head of state had said, “Indian society has always been a multi-lingual, multi-racial and multi-religious one, having a variety of racial and ethnic groups...the rule of law and government by the consent of the governed are essence of democracy. Government must be the custodian of the general welfare of its people and not of any special interest. The Government must capture the hearts and minds of the people. The administrators must exercise the human, the healing touch in their relations with the people and should not deprive the Naga of their innocent joys, their songs and dances, their feasts and festivals which are not repugnant to our moral sense. It must be understood that emotional integration is as important as development initiative that takes place to economically improve the region.”

The effort that has been put to collect the documents that are bound in the covers of this compilation would not go waste were the reader to not only gain some historical insight into the North East—an expanse that is not only an integral part of India—but also were she to view the region with charity and imbibe what the philosopher-statesman in Dr.

Radhakrishnan meant when he affirmed, on the granting of statehood to Nagaland, "Understanding and friendship help to build a society where hatred and violence tend to disrupt it. Let us avoid the latter and adopt the former. On this auspicious day I make an appeal to all the Naga people: let all past rancour and misunderstanding be forgotten and let a new chapter of progress, prosperity and goodwill be written on the page which opens today." The appeal, it is certain, were as much for rest of India as it was for the Nagas and other North Eastern Indians.

1 July 2009

Jaideep Saikia

Compiler's Note

The documents that have been included in the collection have been assembled from open source material—from appendices in books, websites and sources that date back to the nineteenth century. The compiler of the anthology respectfully acknowledges the original sources from which the documents have been culled. The intent and purpose of the compilation is only to provide wide circulation to certain crucial documents that have shaped North East India in a number of ways, and in order to be able to aid scholarship that is appropriately beginning to examine the region. The fact that individual and express authorization for publication of the documents from the original scribes of the documents has not been taken does not in any manner minimise either the accreditation to the original creation or the design of the unique documents. Indeed, in all the cases only the architects are to be credited, and the publisher and the compiler can at best be recognised for bringing together a set of select documents that pertain to a region that has not yet been suitably assayed for correct evaluation and study.

The compilation is not exhaustive, and the selection that makes up the book has been chosen primarily with the issue of India's national security in mind. Indeed, some of the documents are not exclusive to the North East, but have a bearing on the region nonetheless.

The compiler is grateful to the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi. The compilation would not have seen the light of day were it not for the institute's support.

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List of Abbreviations

AAGSP	: All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad
AASU	: All Assam Students' Union
ABNES	: Akhil Bharat Nepali Ekta Samaj
ABSU	: All Bodo Students' Union
ACR	: Annual Confidential Report
APCOCA	: Arunachal Pradesh Control of Organised Crime Act
BAC	: Bodoland Autonomous Council
BEC	: Bodoland Executive Council
BOPs	: Border Out-Posts
BPAC	: Bodo Peoples' Action Committee
BSF	: Border Security Force
BTC	: Bodo Territorial Council
CFMG	: Ceasefire Monitoring Group
CID	: Criminal Investigation Department
Cr.PC	: Criminal Procedure Code
CWD	: Central Works Department
DEM	: Dukhtaran-e-Millat
DG	: Director General
DIGP	: Deputy Inspector General of Police
HuJ	: Harkat-ul-Jihad
HuM	: Harkat-ul-Mujahideen
IAS	: Indian Administrative Service
ICC	: Indian Citizenship Certificates
ICS	: Indian Civil Service
ILAA	: Islamic Liberation Army of Assam
IM (DT)	: Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act
IPS	: Indian Police Service
ISI	: Inter Services Intelligence
ISS	: Islamic Sevak Sangha
J&K	: Jammu & Kashmir
JIC	: Joint Intelligence Committee
JUUEH	: Jamaat-UI-Ulema-E-Hind
KCP	: Kangleipak Communist Party
KYKL	: Kanglei Yaol Kana Lup
LoC	: Line-of-Control

LTTE	:	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MCC	:	Maoist Communist Centre
MLA	:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLTA	:	Muslim Liberation Tigers of Assam
MNF	:	Mizo National Front
MPLF	:	Manipur Peoples' Liberation Front
MULFA	:	Muslim United Liberation Front of Assam
MVF	:	Muslim Volunteer Force
NDFB	:	National Democratic Front of Bodoland
NEFA	:	North East Frontier Agency
NFG	:	Nagaland Federal Government
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organisation
NNC	:	Naga National Council
NPC	:	Naga Peoples' Convention
NRC	:	National Register of Citizens
NSCN-IM	:	National Socialist Council of Nagalim-Isaac Muivah
NSCN-K	:	National Socialist Council of Nagalim-Khaplang
NWFP	:	North West Frontier Province
PIA	:	Pakistan International Airlines
PIP	:	Prevention of Infiltration from Pakistan
PLA	:	Peoples' Liberation Army
PoK	:	Pakistan-occupied Kashmir
POTO	:	Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance
PREPAK	:	Peoples' Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak
PULF	:	Peoples' United Liberation Front
PWD	:	Public Works Department
RAW	:	Research and Analysis Wing
SC	:	Scheduled Caste
SDO	:	Sub Divisional Officer
SP	:	Superintendent of Police
SSB	:	Special Services Bureau
ST	:	Scheduled Tribe
TADA	:	Terrorist and Disruptive Activities
TNLA	:	Tamil Nadu Liberation Army
TNRT	:	Tamil National Retrieval Troops
TNV	:	Tripura National Volunteers
ULFA	:	United Liberation Front of Asom
UMLFA	:	United Muslim Liberation Front of Assam
UNLF	:	United National Liberation Front
UP	:	Uttar Pradesh
URPA	:	United Reformation Protest of Assam
USSR	:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

Treaty of Yandaboo

[The Treaty was concluded between the King of Ava (present Myanmar and thereabouts) and the British on 24 February 1826. Under the aegis of the Treaty, Assam was handed over by Burma (which was "temporarily" in control of Assam) to the British. It would be of interest to note to the reader that the United Liberation Front of Asom has prefaced its demand for a sovereign Assam on the basis of this Treaty, stating that Assam was not a part of India before the Treaty and should, therefore, be reinstated to its independent status after the departure of the British]

TREATY of PEACE between the HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY on the one part, and HIS MAJESTY the KING of AVA on the other, settled MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, K.C.B., and K.C.T.S., COMMANDING the EXPEDITION, and SENIOR COMMISSIONER in PEGU and AVA; THOMAS CAMPBELL ROBERTSON, ESQ., CIVIL COMMISSIONER in PEGU and AVA; and HENRY DUCIE CHAD, ESQ., CAPTAIN, COMMANDING BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S and the HONOURABLE COMPANY'S NAVAL FORCE, on the part of the Honourable Company; and by MENGYEE-MAHA-MEN-KYAN-TEN WOONGYEE, LORD of LAYKAING, and MENGYEE-MARA-HLAH-THUO-HAH-THOO-ATWEN-WOON, LORD of the REVENUE, on the part of the King of Ava; who have each communicated to the other their full powers, agreed to and executed at Yandaboo in the Kingdom of Ava, on this Twenty-fourth day of February, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-six, corresponding with the Fourth day of the decrease of the Moon Taboung, in the year One Thousand One Hundred and Eighty-seven Gaudma Era, 1826.

Article 1

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Honourable Company on the one part, and His Majesty the King of Ava on the other.

Article 2

His Majesty the King of Ava renounces all claims upon, and will abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, and also with the contiguous petty States of Cachar and

Jyntia. With regard to Munnipoor it is stipulated, that should Ghumbheer Sing desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Rajah thereof.

Article 3

To prevent all future disputes respecting the boundary line between the two great Nations, the British Government will retain the conquered Provinces of Arracan, including the four divisions of Arracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway, and His Majesty the King of Ava cedes all right thereto. The Unnoupectoumien or Arakan Mountains (known in Arakan by the name of the Yeomatoung or Pokhingloun Range) will henceforth form the boundary between the two great Nations on that side. Any doubts regarding the said line of demarcation will be settled by Commissioners appointed by the respective governments for that purpose, such Commissioners from both powers to be of suitable and corresponding rank.

Article 4

His Majesty the King of Ava cedes to the British Government the conquered Provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Salween River as the line of demarcation on that frontier; any doubts regarding their boundaries will be settled as specified in the concluding part of Article third.

Article 5

In proof of the sincere disposition of the Burmese Government to maintain the relations of peace and amity between the Nations, and as part indemnification to the British Government for the expenses of the War, His Majesty the King of Ava agrees to pay the sum of one crore of Rupees.

Article 6

No person whatever, whether native or foreign, is hereafter to be molested by either party, on account of the part which the map have taken or have been compelled to take in the present war.

Article 7

In order to cultivate and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the two governments, it is agreed that accredited ministers, retaining an escort or safeguard of fifty men, from each shall reside at the Durbar of the other, who shall be permitted to purchase, or to build a suitable place of residence, of permanent materials; and a Commercial Treaty, upon principles of reciprocal advantage, will be entered into by the two high contracting powers.

Article 8

All public and private debts contracted by either government, or by the subjects of either government, with the others previous to the war, to be recognized and liquidated upon the same principles of honour and good faith as if hostilities had not taken place between the two Nations, and no advantage shall be taken by either party of the period that may have elapsed since the debts were incurred, or in consequence of the war; and according to the universal law of Nations, it is further stipulated, that the property of all British subjects who may die in the dominions of His Majesty the King of Ava., shall, in the absence of legal heirs, be placed in the hands of the British Resident or Consul in the said dominions, who will dispose of the same according to the tenor of the British law. In like manner the property of Burmese subjects dying under the same circumstances, in and part of the British dominions, shall be made over to the minister or other authority delegated by His Burmese Majesty to the Supreme Government of India.

Article 9

The King of Ava will abolish all exactions upon British ships or vessels in Burman ports, that are not required from Burmah ships or vessels in British port nor shall ships or vessels, the property of British subjects, whether European or Indian, entering the Rangoon River or other Burman ports, be required to land their guns, or unship their rudders, or to do any other act not required of Burmese ships or vessels in British ports.

Article 10

The good and faithful Ally of the British Government, His Majesty the King of Siam, having taken a part in the present War, will, to the fullest extent, as far as regards His Majesty and his subjects, be included in the above Treaty.

Article 11

This Treaty to be ratified by the Burmese authorities competent in the like cases, and the Ratification to be accompanied by all British, whether Europe or Native, American, and other prisoners, who will be delivered over to the British Commissioners; the British Commissioners on their part engaging that the said Treaty shall be ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, and the Ratification shall be delivered to His Majesty the King of Ava in four months, or sooner if possible, and all the Burmese prisoners shall, in like manner be delivered over to their own Government as soon as they arrive from Bengal.

Archibald Campbell

Largeen Meonja

Woonghee

T.C. Robertson

Civil Commissioner

Seal of the Lotoo

HY. D. Chads

Captain, Royal Navy

Shwagum Woon

Atawoon

Additional Article

The British Commissioners being most anxiously desirous to manifest the sincerity of their wish for peace, and to make the immediate execution of the fifth Article of this Treaty as little irksome or inconvenient as possible to His Majesty the King of Ava, consent to the following arrangements, with respect to the division of the sum total, as specified in the Article before referred to, into instalments, *viz.*, upon the payment of twenty-five lacks of Rupees, or one-fourth of the sum total (the other Articles of the Treaty being executed), the Army will retire to Rangoon. Upon the further payment of a similar sum at that place within one hundred days from this date, with the proviso as above, the Army will evacuate the dominions of His Majesty the King of Ava with the least possible delay, leaving the remaining moiety of the sum total to be paid by equal annual instalments in two years, from this Twenty-fourth day of February 1826 A.D., through the Consul or Resident in Ava or Pegu, on the part of the Honourable the East India Company.

Archibald Campbell

Largeen Meonja

Woonghee

T.C. Robertson

Civil Commissioner

Seal of the Lotoo

Hy. D. Chads

Captain, Royal Navy

Shwagum Woon

Atawoon

Ratified by the Governor General in Council, at Fort William in Bengal, this Eleventh day of April, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-six

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Jaideep Saikia is a terrorism and security analyst and an expert on North East India. Saikia has published over two dozen academic papers in various national and international security journals and has written or edited eight books on security, counter-terrorism and strategy, including *Terror Sans Frontiers: Islamist Militancy in North East India* and *Terrorism: Patterns of Internationalization*. An alumni of the Rashtriya Indian Military College, Dehradun, St. Stephen's College, University of Delhi and the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign, USA, the last of which was as a Ford Fellow, Saikia has also served the Governments of India and Assam in security advisory capacities and was a member of the Indian delegation for Track II Dialogue with Bangladesh in 2007.

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