CHAPTER – I

Introduction

A. Relevance and significance:

India’s relation with its neighbor country like Myanmar is to be viewed in context of India’s North-Eastern regional security perspective. India from the very beginning felt the need of developing intimate relations with the South-East Asia, particularly Myanmar (Burma) and to prevent the domination of country by the communist or western powers. India’s strategic location provides to Myanmar with an opportunity to play significant role in geo-politics of South Asia and South East Asia. India has committed itself to a deliberate “Look East Policy” since 1991. Myanmar is now viewed as critical area of interest to India as well as China. During the British colonial period Myanmar was administered as a part of British India till 1935. Myanmar became independent in 1948 but her democratic experience from 1948 to 1962 was unsuccessful due to political rivalry, factionalism and corruption coupled with the ever growing ethnic and communist insurgencies.

The term “Northeast” was first used by the British rulers to identify a geographical area. Alexander Mackenzie was perhaps the first to use the term “Northeast Frontier” to identify Assam, including the adjoining hill areas and the princely states of Manipur and Tripura in his book History of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-East Frontier of Bengal in 1884. When there was a plan to merge Assam with Eastern Bengal in the late 1890s and the beginning of 1900, there were proposals to name the new province as the “North Eastern Province”.¹ Initially the term remained a geographical concept and throughout the colonial period the British rulers referred to Assam as the “Northeastern Frontier of Bengal”. Thus, in the colonial period the area what now constitute the “Northeast” was considered to be a frontier of Bengal that needs to be protected and defended militarily.

The north-eastern part of India is bounded by China in the north, Bangladesh in the south west, and Bhutan in the north-west and Burma in the east. Isolated from the rest of India, both geographically and economically, this region is tenuously linked to the rest of the country by a narrow corridor running 56 kilometers through the foothills of Bhutan and Sikkim to the state of West Bengal. As the region abruptly descends to the plains of the mainland, cultural, social and economic contrasts are strongly evident. There is an ongoing struggle by people trying to establish their right to autonomy, in most of the north-eastern states, which has led to political instability, strife and outright violence in the region. Strong inter-ethnic rivalries have aggravated the cycle of violence. In Assam, these resulted in the anti-foreigners movement that lasted for six long years, insurgency and of late, the Bodo Adivasi ethnic violence. In Manipur, as in other states in the North East, the movement for autonomy took violent turns. Army operations intensified the violence. Political unrest has created difficult conditions for the different communities in the region.

The story of North-East India begins with “Treaty of Yandaboo” sign between Honourable East India Company and His Majesty the King of Ava on 24 February 1826.

Treaty of Yandaboo, 24 February 1826 (Original text)²

TREATY of PEACE between the HONORABLE 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 HONORABLE COMPANY'S NAVAL FORCE the IRRAWADDY RIVER, on the part of the Honorable Company; and by

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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 Honorable
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 Munniopoor 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
Pokhindoung 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 he may 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 honor 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 Honorable 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 Honorable the East India Company.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

LARGEEN MEONJA,

Woongee.

T. C. ROBERTSON, Civil Commissioner.

SEAL OF THE LOTOO

HY. D. CHADS,

Captain, Royal Navy.

SHWWAGUM 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.

AMHERST.

COMBERMERE.

J. H. HARINGTON.

W. B. BAYLEY.
Through this treaty the present North-East becomes the part of British India and now India.

The Indo-Burma barrier is a separation barrier that India is constructing to seal its 1,624-kilometer (1,009 mile) long border with Burma. India hopes to curtail cross-border crime, including goods, arms and counterfeit Indian currency smuggling, drug trafficking, and insurgency. The United Nations Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) and International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) also warned about the poor state of border security facilities stating that the region could become a major transit point for illicit drugs. During the years 2001-2003, Indian security forces blamed the porous border for 200 security personnel and civilian deaths in militancy-related violence in the region. Four Northeast Indian states share the border with Burma: Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram and Manipur. Both governments agreed to conduct a joint survey before erecting the fence. The Indian Home Ministry and its Burmese counterpart completed the survey within six months and in March 2003 began erecting a fence along the border. In 2004, fencing work in the state of Manipur along the border was stalled due to protests raised by the local Tangkhul, Kuki, and Naga communities. According to them, a huge stretch of land would become Burma's territory and foment unrest among people living on both sides of the border. The protests from people living in the Moreh, Chorokhunou, and Mokhan areas forced the Home Ministry to refer the matter to the Manipur government. This fence will divide many ethnic communities, including the Lushei, Nagas, Chins, and Kukis whose lands straddle the regions between the two states. It is thus a highly sensitive issue. In 2007 it was reported that in the state of Manipur, a boundary dispute arose with ownership of nine border pillars being disputed.

**Development of strategic ties:**

Bilateral relations between Burma (officially the Union of Myanmar) and the Republic of India have improved considerably since 1993, overcoming strains over drug trafficking, the suppression of democracy and the rule of the military junta in Burma. Burma is situated to the south of the states of Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. The proximity of the People's Republic of
China gives strategic importance to Indo-Burmese relations. The Indo-Burmese border stretches over 1,600 kilometers.

India's move to forge close relations with Burma is motivated by a desire to counter China's growing influence as a regional leader and enhance its own influence and standing. Concerns and tensions increased in India over China's extensive military cooperation and involvement in developing ports, naval and intelligence facilities and industries, specifically the upgrading of a naval base in Sittwe, a major seaport located close to the eastern Indian city of Kolkata. India's engagement of the Burmese military junta has helped ease the regime's international isolation and lessen Burma's traditional reliance on China. Both nations sought to cooperate to counteract drug trafficking and insurgent groups operating in the border areas. India and Myanmar are leading members of BIMSTEC and the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation, along with Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand, helping India develop its influence and ties amongst Southeast Asian nations. India was slow and hesitant in reacting to the 2007 Burmese anti-government protests that had drawn overwhelming international condemnation. India also declared that it had no intention of interfering in Burma's internal affairs and that the Burmese people would have to achieve democracy by themselves as it respects the sovereignty of Myanmar. This low-key response has been widely criticised both within India and abroad as weakening India's credentials as a leading democratic nation. Indo-Burma relations went into pleasant phase over Burmese steps towards democracy.

**Participation and membership of the “Union of Myanmar” in International organizations are as under:**

1. Asian Development Bank (ADB)
2. Asia-Pacific Telecommunity (APT)
3. Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
4. Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum (ARF)
5. Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)
6. Colombo Plan (CP)
7. East Asia Summit (EAS)
8. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
9. Group of 77 (G77)
10. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
11. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
12. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
13. International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol)
15. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCS)
16. International Finance Corporation (IFC)
17. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
18. International Hydrographic Organization (IHO)
19. International Labour Organization (ILO)
20. International Maritime Organization (IMO)
21. International Monetary Fund (IMF)
22. International Olympic Committee (IOC)
23. International Organization for Standardization (ISO) (correspondent)
24. International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement (ICRM)
25. International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
26. Nonaligned Movement (NAM)
27. Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) (signatory)
28. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) (observer)
29. United Nations (UN)
30. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
31. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
32. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
33. Universal Postal Union (UPU)
34. World Customs Organization (WCO)
35. World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)
36. World Health Organization (WHO)
37. World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
38. World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
39. World Trade Organization (WTO)

Burma is 1 of only 7 U.N. members which is not a member of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.³

B. Review of Literature

Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia

Thant Myint-U
Faber, Publication, London, 2012

Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia is an interesting read about a country that is located between two upcoming super powers, namely India and China.

The author of the book looks back in time and observes that India and China have always been walled off from each other. However, in the last few years, with jungles being cut down, this barrier is slowly breaking. This means that the two countries are now exposed to each other. Thant Myint-U says that Myanmar is strategically located. He then describes the country of his ancestry, from political, ethnic, military and trade perspectives. India and Myanmar have a lot of common history, which links them both culturally and educationally. However, India's influence has been decreasing in the last few years, whereas China's has been growing. China hopes to use Myanmar's ports for its own trade. Hence, developing a good and steady relationship with Myanmar is now a high priority. However, the ripple effects of this are sure to alarm India. Though Myanmar has become democratic, its long battle history makes the country insecure. The author says that this impacts every decision that the country makes with regards to India or China.

Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia is a compelling book that is a combination of history, recollections and travelogue. Published by Faber in 2012, this book is available in paperback.

**Documents on North East India**
Jaideep Saikia
Shipra Publications, New Delhi, 2010, 308 pages

**Politics of Identity and Nation Building in North-East India**
Girin Phukon

The book contains contribution by various renowned scholars of the region like Manorama Sharma, Apurba Baruah, Rulima Kakoty and others. Identity as an evolving concept and how it comes to manifest in cultural community have been addressed by Manorama Sharma in "Identity: inherent or evolved?" Towing in line with psychologist Erikson's understanding of individual identity, she theoretically frames community identity on the basis of experiences of the Assamese and Bodo communities through the activities of middle class led Asom Sahitya Sabha and Bodo Sahitya Sabha.

**North-East India: Quest for Identity**
Udayan Misra

The book deals with the Naga and Assamese National Question. Mishra takes a positive stand in support of the Assamese nationality and lauds the Assamese elite leadership and its role as integrationists. Mishra holds that 'the resurgence of Assamese nationalism .... is bound to have a positive effect on the development and preservation of tribal culture in the state.' The resurgence was not directed against the ethnic groups of the state rather it was against the Indian bourgeois and it depended on the middle class how it could accommodate the tribals in their quest for Assamese identity. Mishra has devoted one chapter counter the allegation by Amalendu Guha, who interprets the role of the Assamese middle class as chauvinist
and elitist. He has explained why Assamese nationalism cannot be called chauvinism and the Assam Movement just an arbitrary disposition of the middle class. Mishra not only shows the positive attitude of the middle class but also focuses on its drawbacks by discussing the activities of the two premier middle class organisations namely the AASU and the Asom Sahitya Sabha. The book however over-stresses the contribution of Assamese middle class and does not take into account any other aspect while discussing Assamese nationalism.

**Security Threats to North-East India, The Socio-Ethnic Tensions**
Lt. Gen. N. S. Narahari, PVSM (Retd.)

**Pakistan to Burma, Re-Birth of India**
Dr. Arvind Dayal
Manas Publications, New Delhi, 2006, 236 pages.

**Internal Conflict in Myanmar, Transnational Consequences**
V. R. Raghavan
Centre for Security Analysis, Chennai, India

**North-East India, Politics & Insurgency**
Dr. Chandrika Singh

**Ethnicity and Security of India, A Case Study of North East**
Anand Kumar Singh
This book provides a rich account of the dynamics of the development of civil wars in India’s Northeastern region. The rise of ethnic militancy in the region in the 1980s had an adverse impact on its development, making it hostage to security concerns of the Indian state vis-à-vis its north-eastern borders. The consequent
underdevelopment led to rise in internal insecurity. The book examines the interlinkages between external security threats, economic underdevelopment, and internal insecurity that have led to a conflict trap in the region. The author argues in favour of cross-border cooperation as an alternative strategy for breaking this trap and facilitating the development of the area's bordering regions, as the same can hardly be accomplished within the framework of national development.

**Terrorism and separatism in North-East India**
Candra Bhūshaṇa

It has been comprehensively weaved into twelve chapters and relevant appendices. The main thrust of the subject is on various phases of the far-flung regions of North-East India. It includes the socio-economic structure of the urban and rural life and impact of North East Council on economic development of the region. It clarifies the historical background of terrorism, its impact on the states, several militant organisations in the North-East, their modus operandi, role of Christian missionaries and the measures taken by the Governments of the States to curb the initiatives of the militants, causes and diagnosis of terrorism and separatism and development of North Eastern region.

**Agenda for North East India**
B Datta Ray

North East India with its large untapped Hydel power, mineral resources, virgin forests, sturdy people and vast water resources remain in the backyard of development. In the twenty-first century the crucial challenge facing North East India is how to achieve a balance between economy and ecology in order to ensure sustainable social and economic development preserving the basic cultural matrix, ethical values and equalitarian ethos. These calls for a truly democratic society that seeks to achieve economic efficiency and ecological harmony for the eradication of
poverty and promotion of total human welfare. It is being increasingly realized that
the pluralistic society has a significant role to play in counterbalancing the tendency
to state absolutism. These are some of the crucial areas of social science research to
which the papers included in this volume are directed. Research and analysis of
population, environment, land, food and food security are issues of vital interest of the
problem of qualitative demographic development. For this we need the formulation of
the appropriate development paradigm of North East India. The papers included in
this volume depict the emerging social milieu of North East India and suggest areas of
research for the promotion of the welfare of the people in a strategically vital area,
known as North East India.

**The Talking Guns North East India**

Nirendra Dev


A lot of noise has been made aftermath the developments in Assam over arrest
of Ulfa top leaders and dragging them to the negotiating table. I am referring to these
as the book at hand, 'The Talking Guns: North East India' talks about ULFA's
shenanigans and how the group has established its hold over the people's mind. But I
am particularly thrilled the way the author has mentioned about the grounds and
circumstances which led the ULFA leadership lose its good will among the masses.
The appeal made by ULFA during Kargil conflict urging Assamese to support
Pakistan was the last nail in its coffin. Paresh Barua still putting up a brave face will
have to get its together and the chances seems remote. Perhaps here lies the relevance
of this book. The writer has made painstaking efforts in highlights certain key aspects
of the life and the story of killings and arson in Assam and other northeastern states.

**India’s Fragile Borderlands: The Dynamics of Terrorism in North East India**

Archana Upadhyay
There is a danger in the West of viewing terrorism exclusively through the prism of 9/11. This ground-breaking examination of terrorism in North East India demonstrates how grave a mistake this is.

The nature of terrorism is the subject of ever-increasing scrutiny and there are many lessons to be learned from India’s borderlands. Terrorism, fostered at first by post-colonial resentments, took root in the region because of an increased sense of cultural identity and perceived discrimination and exclusion by the Indian state. This book examines the long term effects of terrorism on the population of North East India – where the best-known conflict is the Naga tribe’s ongoing campaign for a greater Nagaland – as well as its international consequences.

India’s Fragile Borderlands traces the development of terrorist groups within the region from small domestic groups to internationally connected and financed organizations. This comprehensive and penetrating study examines three major components of terrorism: the causes of terrorism, in their national, global and historical context; the nature and manifestations of this phenomenon in India’s north-eastern fronties; and trends within counter-terrorism and security and their effectiveness, both within the region and internationally. India’s Fragile Borderlands offers a comprehensive study of the nature, origins and history of terrorism in India’s North East within an international perspective. Sharing borders with China, Bangladesh, Nepal, Myanmar (Burma) and Bhutan, the region abounds in nationalist, separatist and even religious organizations that have used terrorism as a strategy to achieve their aims. Archana Upadhyay explores the complex and specific ideologies of these groups while highlighting the cross-border links and connections with organized crime that funds the violence in the region. This important new book includes many insights into the nature of terrorism in India’s northeastern frontiers and will be invaluable for students of politics, history and International Relations.

**Articles on Burma-India Relations, Including:** Diphu Pass, Andaman Sea, Hkakabo Razi, Indo-Burma Barrier, Kaladan River, 24th Parallel North, Mol Len, Operation Leech, Greater East Asia Conference, Burma "India Relations.
Bilateral relations between Burma (officially the Union of Myanmar) and the Republic of India have improved considerably since 1993, overcoming strains over drug trafficking, the suppression of democracy and the rule of the military junta in Burma. Burma is situated to the south of the states of Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. The proximity of the People's Republic of China give strategic importance to Indo-Burmese relations. The Indo-Burmese border stretches over 1,600 miles.

India Burma relations

B. Pakem


Discusses the Foreign Policy Relationship Between India And Burma As Partners In The Non-Aligned Movement Before Burma Withdraw In The Captism Examines The Boundary Problem-The Problem Of People Of India Origin In Burma. 8 Chapters-Epilogue-Bibliography-Index. Rebound Copy. Small Rubber Stamp On The Last End Page.
The book highlights how ethnicity plays a vital role in the construction of one’s identity and the emergence of ethnic insurgency in the region. Moreover, the book also made a good mention of issues arising from one’s ethnic assertion or mobilisation. However, the contributors/book nowhere made a mention of how politicised ethnicity has affected the governance in the North Eastern region or political stability. Most importantly, the book fails to point out how the mushroom growth of militant groups in the region has led sub-nationalism and conflicts. Lastly, the book finds no mention about the competing autonomy demands of various ethnic groups in the region and the conflicts resulting there from.

C. Research gap, Research Question and Hypothesis

RESEARCH QUESTION- In what ways security of north-eastern region of India is influenced by Myanmar?

To answer the above question following hypothesis has been developed.

H1. Internal security is conditioned by domestic factors.
H2. Porous border makes the porosity for insurgency.
H3. Mutual cooperation between two countries would help in countering the Chinese influence.
H4. Congenial strategic environment would stabilize the condition of peace and security.

D. Research Methodology
The study is based on non experimental, descriptive design with focus on analytical description. The data will be gathered from surveying the different literature related to the topic of research, different libraries, and the electronic media.