

# MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO  
THE SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS AND  
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DECOLONISATION COMMITTEE (COMMITTEE OF 24)  
FOR DE-COLONISATION OF MANIPUR FROM INDIAN COLONIALISM  
AND ALIEN RACIST REGIME, ENLISTING MANIPUR IN THE LIST OF  
THE NON-SELF-GOVERNING-TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
AND, RESTORATION OF INDEPENDENCE  
AND SOVEREIGNTY OF MANIPUR.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S FRONT

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To

The Secretary General,  
United Nations  
AND  
The Chairman,  
Decolonisation Committee (Committee of 24)  
Geneva/New York Headquarters.

**MEMORANDUM:** Submitted on behalf of all the dependent and colonised people of Manipur representing the Meitei and the Meitei cognates viz., the Nagas, the Kuki-Chins for granting and restoration of independence and de-colonisation of the State of Manipur from the present **colonial Administering Power of India, which has occupied Manipur since 15 October, 1949, till today.**

- PRAYER**
- I - For supervising and examining historical materials/records relating to the **illegal annexation and colonisation of Manipur by India;**
  - II - For terminating the foreign and colonial regime of India over Manipur;
  - III - For international appraisal of the illegal and unjustified annexation of the Nation-State of Manipur in 1949 AD;
  - IV - For giving international recognition to the **National Liberation Movement of Manipur**, which continues since the time of annexation in 1949 till today, and **allowing the people of Manipur to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination in conformity with the UN General Assembly Resolution 1514(XV) of 1960 and other subsequent resolutions;**
  - V - For all necessary and elaborate steps, appropriate measures towards **complete de-colonisation of Manipur** and cessation of subjugation of her people to the earliest, and lastly, for holding emergent as well as periodic sessions of the De-colonisation Committee in Imphal city in 1999; and,
  - VI - **For enlisting Manipur in the list of the non-self-governing territories of the UN by enlarging the existing Mandate.**

Respected Secretary General/Chairman,

0.1. This is a factfully updated petition of the prayer submitted on 11 December 1996 to the Chairman, UN De-colonisation Committee. We, the undersigned representatives of the Revolutionary People's Front (RPF), a front of **the national liberation movement** in the State of Manipur, which is currently a constituent State of the Republic of India, furnish the following facts, based on historical, political, socio-economic materials as well as legal and constitutional materials for your immediate consideration and urgent international supervision of the colonisation and dependence of the people of Manipur by the colonial power of India with the help of a colonial occupation army, which continues the ongoing repression, suppression, torture, extra-judicial murder and subjugation of the people of Manipur under a permanent colonial process and colonisation in different forms. Since time immemorial, Manipuris call Indians as **Mayangs** i.e., foreigners.

0.2. We fully appreciate the de-colonisation process, adopted by the UN since 1960 and the emergence of a hundred independent sovereign states in conformity with the de-colonisation process. The de-colonisation process was initiated by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (De-colonisation Committee hereafter) vide the UN General Assembly Resolution 1654 (XVI) of 27 November, 1961, the UN GA Resolutions 1810 (XVII) of 17 December, 1962, 2621 (XXV) of 12 October, 1970, 35/118 of 11 December 1980, 40/56 of 2 December 1985, 45/33 of 20 November, 1990, 46/181 of 19 December, 1991, and the UN GA Resolution 52/78 of 10 December, 1997.

0.3. It is pertinent that the UN GA Resolution 52/78 of 10 December, 1997 has mandated the Special Committee for "the Eradication of Colonialism in all Territories that have not yet exercised their right to self-determination, including independence", "to formulate proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism" and "to recommend to the General Assembly the most suitable steps to be taken to enable the populations of those territories to exercise their right to self-determination and independence".

0.4. The Special Committee at its 1484th meeting, held on 6 February 1998 has accepted to review the list of territories to which the Colonial Declaration of 1960 has applied. The Special Committee has continued its review of the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable and it also "intends to continue to review the list of Territories to which the Declaration is applicable".<sup>1</sup>

0.5. The non-self-governing territory of Manipur, illegally annexed and placed under military occupation since 15 October, 1949 deserves a legitimate place in the list of territories under the supervision of the Special Committee to enable the people of Manipur to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty. The facts of colonisation and subjugation are furnished below under the relevant headings:

## I. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE <sup>2</sup>

1.1. The State of Manipur<sup>3</sup>, which lies in the latitude range of 23°33' and 25°68' (North) and in the longitude range of 93°03' and 94°78' (East), is one of the earliest States in the continent of Asia, including the Indian sub-continent. This ancient Asian State was known by different names to different countries that is - 'Poirei Meitei Leipak' or 'Kangleipak' to the indigenous people of Manipur or Meiteis; 'Kathe' or 'Ponnas' to the Burmese; 'Hsiao Po-lo-mein' to the Chinese; 'Cassay' to the Shans; 'Moglai' to the Cacharis and Bengalis and 'Mekle' to the Assamese (as well as to the British in the 18th Century) in the pre-Christian period. Its location is identified with places within the jurisdiction of Tugma, Triglipton, Mareura and Kirrhadia as per the sources of Ptolemy. The Manipuris, themselves knew the State by as many as 22 names in different ages and at different times. The early state of Pragjyotishpur or, Kamrup or, present Indian state of Assam has been for millennia a buffer between State of Manipur and State of India known as Bharat for millennia. All the available maps available with India depict Manipur as an independent state till the **annexation** in 1949.

## GENEALOGY OF MANIPUR KINGS (Source CHEITHAROL KUMBABA, the royal Chronicle of Manipur)

<b>Sl. No.</b>	<b>Name of King</b>	<b>Period (AD)</b>
1.	King Nongda Lairen Pakhangba	33 - 154
2.	King Khuiyoi Tompok	154 - 264
3.	King Taothingmang	264 - 364
4.	King Khui Ning-ngonba	364 - 379
5.	King Pengsiba	379 - 394
6.	King Kaokhangba	394 - 411
7.	King Naokhamba	411 - 428
8.	King Naophangba	428 - 518
9.	King Sareimang	518 - 568
10.	King Urakonhouba	568 - 658
11.	King Naothingkhong	663 - 763
12.	King Khongtekcha	763 - 773
13.	King Keirenscha	784 - 799
14.	King Yaraba	799 - 821
15.	King Ayangba	821 - 910
16.	King Ningthoucheng	910 - 949
17.	King Chenglei Epan Lanthaba	949 - 969
18.	King Yanglou Keiphaba	969 - 984
19.	King Irengba	984 - 1074
20.	King Loiyumba	1074 - 1122
21.	King Loitongba	1122 - 1150
22.	King Atom Yoiremba	1150 - 1163
23.	King Iwanthaba	1163 - 1195
24.	King Thawanthaba	1195 - 1231
25.	King Chingthang Lanthaba	1231 - 1242
26.	King Thingbai Selhongba	1242 - 1247
27.	King Puranthaba	1247 - 1263
28.	King Khumomba	1263 - 1278
29.	King Moiramba	1278 - 1302

30.	King Thangbi Lanthaba	1302 - 1324
31.	King Kongyamba	1324 - 1335
32.	King Telheiba	1335 - 1355
33.	King Tonaba	1355 - 1359
34.	King Tabungba	1359 - 1394
35.	King Lairenba	1394 - 1399
36.	King Punsiba	1404 - 1432
37.	King Ningthoukhomba	1432 - 1469
38.	King Kyamba	1469 - 1508
39.	King Koiremba	1508 - 1512
40.	King Lamkyamba	1512 - 1523
41.	King Nong-en-faba	1523 - 1524
42.	King Kabomba	1524 - 1542
43.	King Tangjamba	1542 - 1545
44.	King Challamba	1545 - 1562
45.	King Mungyamba	1562 - 1597
46.	King Khagemba	1597 - 1652
47.	King Khunjaoba	1652 - 1666
48.	King Paikhomba	1666 - 1697
49.	King Charairongba	1697 - 1709
50.	King Garibaniwaz (Mayamba)	1709 - 1748
51.	King Chitsai	1748 - 1752
52.	King Bharatsai	1752 - 1753
53.	King Maramba	1753 - 1759
54.	King Chingthangkhomba	1759 - 1762
55.	King Maramba	1762 - 1763
56.	King Chingthangkhomba	1763 - 1798
57.	King Labyanachandra	1798 - 1801
58.	King Madhurjit	1801 - 1803
59.	King Chourjit	1803 - 1813

60.	King Marjit	1813 - 1819
61.	King Takuningthou (Heerachandra)	1819 -
62.	King Yumjaotaba	1820 -
63.	King Gambhir Singh	1821 -
64.	King Jay Singh	1822 -
65.	King Yadu Singh (Nongpok Chinglen Khomba)	1823 -
66.	King Raghav Singh	1823 - 1824
67.	King Nongchup Lamgaingamba (Badhra Singh)	1824 -
68.	King Gambhir Singh (Chinglen Nongdrenkhomba)	1825 - 1834
69.	King Chandrakirti (Ningthempishak)	1834 - 1844
70.	King Nara Singh	1844 - 1850
71.	King Debendra Singh	1850 -
72.	King Chandrakirti, KCSI	1850 - 1886
72.	King Surchandra	1886 - 1890
72.	King Kulachandra	1890 - 1891
73.	King Churachand Singh, KCSI	1891 - 1941
74.	King Bhodhachandra	1941 - 1955

The international community would note that not a single Indian (Hindustani) king had ever ruled Manipur either directly or indirectly. The Indian history is of no concern to the people of Manipur till 1949. This is corroborated by the history of India positively and invariably

1.2. The State formation was completed in the early Christian era, when as many as seven principalities amalgamated themselves to constitute the earliest Meitei State (Nagas, Kukis were Meitei Cognates), which territorially fluctuated but extended beyond the present territory. The earliest settlers were the ancient Meiteis of the present valley area, Meitei cognates re-named by British as the Nagas and Kuki-Chins. The Nagas<sup>4</sup> and Kuki-Chins are proto-Meiteis. The early Meitei State which is presently known as Manipur is a State of three major ethnic group of Mongolian race, namely, (i) the Meitei (valley Manipuri), Hill Manipuris re-christened by the colonial British as (ii) the Nagas and (iii) the Kuki-Chins. There was a centralised Constitutional Government since 429 AD, according to a renowned Meitei Scholar late Oinam Bhogeswar, whose works are found in plenty in Manipuri, i.e., Meitei language. The history of Manipur had been documented in a royal chronicle known as "**Cheitharol Kumbaba**" (33 AD to 1950 AD). The English translation is available in the Indian Office Library, London, and other Archives of the United Kingdom, which still preserve a large number of historical documents, treaties and other official records pertaining to the relation of the State of Manipur with the British Government since 1762 AD till 1949 AD. These materials, including local and native, may be closely examined as historical records by the De-colonisation Committee in order to form an objective and positive view of the people of the State of Manipur for at least three centuries so that the official and colonial perspectives of the Administrative Power of the Indian State alone may not form the sole basis for any objective appraisal. Early and medieval Indian history has never included present Manipur as its component till **India's illegal annexation** of Manipur in 1949. Even the Indian

colonial historians admit this.

1.3. A centralised Constitutional Government had been functioning in the early State of Manipur invariably from 1100 AD, when the Meitei monarch Loiyumba had promulgated a political Constitution known as "**Loiyumba Shinyen**", the translation of which is enclosed herewith as an Annexure ([Annexure No. I](#)). Several European states did not emerge as stable entities at that point of time.

1.4. The aforesaid constitutional Government continued from 1100 AD till the international conflict arose in between the Manipuris and the Burmese in the 18th and 19th centuries AD, when the Manipuri king Pamheiba alias Garibaniwaj invaded Burma in the 18th century several times with as many as 30,000 warriors. A large part of the Manipur territory was later ceded by the colonial power of India to Burma (now Myanmar) - the Kobo (or Kabow) Valley, that had been a part of the Manipur Territory till the early part of the 19th century. The British gave annual revenue of Rs.5000/- to the Government of Manipur on behalf of the Burmese till Indian occupation of Manipur in 1949. The Government of India, which had annexed Manipur in 1949 unlawfully and unconstitutionally, ceded the Kobo valley to Burma (present Myanmar) after signing a secret Indo-Burma Treaty in 1953. The provision of the secret treaty are not yet made known to the people of Manipur as well as to the citizens of India. The colonial government of India holds up "Right to information" to the occupied territory and people of Manipur on this account. The colonial government operates like a Mafia on Kobo Valley.

1.5. After Burmese military occupation of Manipur for seven years in the period from 1819 to 1825, complete sovereignty was restored to Manipur following a bilateral treaty [Treaty of Yandaboo](#), signed in 1826 in between the British Crown representative and the representative of the Burmese Government. By this treaty, the Burmese power in Asia and the imperial colonial power of the British Crown had accorded multilateral international recognition to the independent and sovereignty of the early State of Manipur. In 1835, the British set-up in Manipur a Political Agency, which was supposedly a Consulate in that period and it continued for a long time. The British power and the Manipur power had continued the friendly relationship by mutually opening Political Agency. The Manipur Power opened the Political Agency of Manipur in the British Territory at Lakhimpur (Cachar) as well as at Calcutta. The Anglo-Manipuri friendship was established for the first time in 1762<sup>5</sup>, when a treaty had been signed between the representative of Maharajah Jay Singh (alias) Bhagyachandra of Manipur and Mr. Harry Verelst, Chief of the Chittagong Factory on behalf of the British Crown on the 14th September, 1762 ([Annexure No. II](#)). The treaty is a testimony to the independent, sovereign political Status of Manipur (known to British as Meckley). The basic parameters of an independent state, as stipulated by the Montevideo Convention, 1933, viz., (a) territory, (b) population, (c) government and (d) capacity to maintain external relations, had been found in the State of Manipur. Manipur had, therefore, been recognised as sovereign state in as early as 1762 AD. The present Indian state did not exist in 1762.

1.6. There was mutually protective Anglo-Manipuri arrangement in between the Manipur Power when the British Viceroy had a summit meeting with Maharaja Chadrakirti of Manipur in August, 1874. By this arrangement in between the Manipur and the British powers, both the contracting parties had agreed to assist one another in the mutual and reciprocal interests of both the powers. The relationship broke down in 1891 March, when the aggressive British army had initially been defeated by the Manipuri army on 24.3.1891 and the Manipuri army had finally been defeated on 25 April, 1891. However, the British Queen did not annex Manipur to her empire<sup>6</sup> ([Annexure III](#)). At her worst situation, Manipur remained an international protectorate.

1.7. Subsequently, the British had military occupation in the State of Manipur till 1907 by totally disarming the Manipuris to the last man. However, the Queen did not annex the State of Manipur as part of the British Colony to the British territory for the several reasons ([Annexure No. III](#)). The British Parliamentary Proceedings on the subject would be found in the Hansards of U.K. in June and July 1891. Even after the defeat of Manipur, it had not been annexed to or colonised by the British although the British Crown considerably interfered in the local administration of Manipur by assuming the latter as an International Protectorate. Manipur was not a part of India in this period.

1.8. From the Manipuri perception, it was a political intervention in Manipur's political sovereignty. Manipur had been labelled as a Native State in the sub-continent of India from the British perspective. Thereafter, in fact, from the Manipur perspective, Manipur had never been a constituent of India, as this Asian State of Mongolian race and Mongolian population is completely different from the other so-called Native States of the Indian sub-continent, which are truly the realm of the Aryan and Dravidian races. Further, the leaders of the Indian freedom fighters and the Congress Party, led by Aryan leaders like M.K.Gandhi, J.L.Nehru and Sardar Patel had consistently defined the Native States of India as a blood- relation State, which means an Aryan or a Dravidian State. Since, Manipur is a Mongolian State, it had never been a part of Ancient State of the present British-created India. It is quite clear that no Mongolian State could ever be considered as a constituent State of the Aryan and Dravidian peoples, who are racially integrated. The Manipuris are alien race, subjugated, occupied and oppressed by the foreign Indian rulers. The colonial officials of India made attempts to dilute the independence of Manipur by citing her as one of the 560 native states.

## **II. THE MANIPUR PEOPLE - A PEOPLE**

2.01. The 2 million indigenous Manipur people comprising of 31 population groups (clans) speaking Tibeto-Burman or, Sino-Tibetan language having their common pedigree from a common Mongolian ancestor constitutes a **PEOPLE** or, nation absolutely distinguishable from the Indian or, the **MAYANGS** as they are so known to the indigenous Manipur people - the Manipuri people in a composite-territorial sense.

2.02. The indigenous Manipur people being the first settlers or, autochthones in the present territorial state, presently occupied by the Indian colonial regime and her occupation army, had organised their own history and nation-state since 33 AD, independent of the historical experience of Indians.

2.03. No pre, proto-history, ancient and medieval history of India including broad-based works of history written by India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru viz., Glimpses of World History, Discovery of India, Autobiography, have mentioned Manipur and her indigenous people even once. Even the history books, re-constructed with a view to in-corporating India's recent illegal territorial acquisitions and pre-1949 Maps included in the text books do not include Manipur. This gives testimony to the self-evident fact of Manipur people being alien, dependent and foreign to the Indian People.

2.04. The royal chronicle of Manipur - "**CHEITHAROL KUMBABA**", which had recorded the genealogy of Manipur Kings since 33 AD and proto-history of Manipur as recorded in "**KANGBALOL**" - which had noted the first proto-historical King Kangba of the then Manipur, had not mentioned any historical ties of Manipur with India. The historical records of neighbouring countries like Tibet or, Burma (Myanmar) have invariably corroborated the absence of Manipur - India historical ties, if any.

2.05. None of the Indian kings - Bharat, Ashoka, Chandragupta, Akbar to the last Indian emperor Bahadur Shah had any links with Manipur, let alone their temporary sway and administration. The British crown who ruled India since 1858, in similar tradition, did not rule Manipur till the lapse of British intervention or Paramountcy in 1947. Manipur had remained an international protectorate of the British till 1947.

2.06. The native states of India save Manipur had been the successors to the Sikh, Hindu or, Maratha empires, notwithstanding the British consideration and treatment of Manipur like any other Indian states.

2.07. The status of the Manipur people as a 'PEOPLE' is decided by the following criteria: *Firstly*, the indigenous Manipur people being Mongolians are racially different from the Indian who are Aryan-Dravidians. Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee, the most renowned Indologist in his major work - 'Kirata Jana Krti' admits this distinction. *Secondly*, Dr. Grierson in his most authoritative volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India, had recorded that the Manipur people are speakers of Tibeto-Burman language, unlike the Indians. *Thirdly*, as corroborated by all historical accounts of both

Manipur and India, the people of these two countries had been distinctive, different and alien to each other in the last several centuries. *Fourthly*, Manipur state had remained independent of India till the latter had unlawfully and coercively annexed the former. *Fifthly*, the Manipur indigenous people have been subjugated, dominated and oppressed by an alien, foreign government of India.

2.08. Following the unlawful Indian **annexation** of Manipur, the demographic composition of Manipur has been dramatically altered during the half-a century old foreign, Indian occupation of Manipur. No better testimony could be addressed to this population grafting issue than by what the government of Manipur admitted in 1984 corroborated by the government of India's occasional statements on the subject. Subsequently, the pre-dominantly Mongolian population of the state has been considerably altered.

2.09. **The Manipur people as a 'PEOPLE' had not been consulted at the time of Indian annexation of Manipur in 1949** ([see Annexation \*infra\*](#)). This denial of popular consultation gives evidence of the Indian colonial behaviour.

2.10. The Manipur people, who had not exercised their inalienable right to **self-determination** in 1949 has not abdicated this right in any sense of the term. This right of a people has to be exercised as yet.

2.11. The government of India is run by the executive constituted by a President, a Union Cabinet of about 50 ministers, the Indian army led by hundreds of generals, an apex court - the Supreme Court of India and several creatures of the Constitution. No Manipur people had ever been inducted into these top echelons of power during the last half-a century. In a parliament of 793 Members of Parliament, only three members hail from Manipur. Besides the local government and assembly have been held so as to masquerade a representative form of government at the local, state level. Similar elections have been held in East Timor also by Indonesian government. **Manipur is a *de facto* non-self-governing territory since the Indian annexation in 1949 and the Manipur indigenous people are non-self-governing people.**

2.12. However, the state-of-the art colonial propaganda has successfully projected the non-self-governing people and territory of Manipur as one having a fully representative form of government and internal democracy, by stating that local elections are being held periodically, whereas, these farcical colonial elections, processed under the nose of the world's third largest army institutionalising large-scale corruption and bribery have not reflected the genuine wishes and aspirations of a people, let alone a plebiscite or referendum. 3,000 Indian dailies and powerful electronic multi-media cover-up the genuine aspirations of the non-self-governing indigenous people of Manipur. The Indian Colonial machinery has successfully divided Manipuri People into Meiteis, Nagas, Kukis so and so forth, thereby encouraging balkanisation of the 2000-year-old territorial integrity of Manipur<sup>6a</sup>, whereas the boundary of Manipur can never be disturbed or altered to the prejudice of Manipur under '**UTI POSSIDETIS JURIS**' rule of International Law, that has been recurrently affirmed by the International Court of Justice.

2.13. The colonial, non-self-governing status of Manipur people would remain unredressed as such, unless the UN includes Manipur in the mandate for de-colonisation by incorporating her in the list of non-self-governing people, through the good offices of the Special Committee on De-colonisation and the Fourth Committee of the UN General Assembly. The contemporary development of International Law has to take the publicists seriously. Jorri Duursman in his work - "Fragmentation and the international relations of Micro-States" observes - "Peoples who find themselves in similar circumstances as colonies will enjoy a complete right of self-determination even if they are not specifically mentioned in the list of Non-Self-Governing or Trust Territories." (Cambridge University Press, 1996 ISBN 0 521 56360 7, page 83).

2.14. The UN Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among state, 24 October 1970 (UN GA Resolution 2625 para. 6) provides that

"6. The territory of a colony or other Non-Self-Governing Territory has, under the Charter, a status separate and distinct status under the Charter shall exist until the people of the colony or Non-Self-Governing Territory have exercised their right of self-determination in accordance with the



Charter, and particularly its purposes and principles."

The above-mentioned principle is applicable to Manipur, which is a *de facto* colony or, Non-Self-Governing territory of colonial power - India. **The UN and its members have the obligation to de-colonise Manipur either by enlarging or, modifying its mandate or, by way of appropriate intervention in order to eradicate colonialism in its wholeness.**

2.15. The UN shall be performing its Charter obligations, provided it sends a visiting or fact-finding mission to Manipur on a war-footing, before it takes a decision on this petition and a decision could be taken after **giving a full hearing to both the colonised people and the metropolitan colonising power - India.**

2.16. The government of India, on her own had accepted that the word "Peoples" applies to a large compact group, who made a conscious demand for the right of self-determination (see UN Doc. E/CN.4/SR. 2256 (1952)p.5). The 2 million-strong indigenous Manipur people in their compactness within the territory of Manipur, invariably constitute the 'People', as defined by India. **The government of India should, therefore, initiate the process of self-determination (both internal and external) for the indigenous Manipur People before 2000 AD.**

### **III. MILITARY SIEGE AND ILLEGAL ANNEXATION**

3.01. Manipur King Maharajah Bodhachandra Singh had acceded only three subjects of **defence, external affairs and communications** to the then dominion of India as per the agreement or treaty signed on 11.8.1947. It was preceded by an earlier agreement, known as the Standstill Agreement. The agreement was signed by the Manipur Maharaja with a political entity - pre-independent India which did not have treaty-making power as on 11.8.1947 and as such the validity of the Accession Treaty is doubtful and questionable since India became legally independent and sovereign only on 15.8.1947, following the Indian Independence Act, 1947. Manipur became independent as per Section 7(1)(b) of the Indian Independence Act, 1947 ([Annexure No. IV](#)). By a proviso of Section 7(1)(b) and (c) of the aforesaid Act, whatever prejudicial relation Manipur had with the British Government before independence had been denounced and repudiated at the time, when Manipur adopted her own 1947 Constitution for installing a popular democratic government of the state with a constitutional monarch, as titular figurehead. The promulgation of the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947 ([Annexure No. V](#)) and the Indian Independence Act, 1947, had washed out the obligation if any arising out of the **Instrument of Accession**<sup>2</sup>. Manipur state has not been bound by the agreement accordingly.

3.02. In a number of Privy Purse cases and similar other cases, the Supreme Court of India had closely examined the political status of the native States of India in the pre-1947, 1947 and post-1947 periods before their merger to India. It had consistently as well as categorically held and decided in its rulings given since 1954 till 1993 that **the Native State is fully independent and sovereign in 1947** during the relevant period ([Annexure No. VI](#)). Therefore, it is evidently clear and irrefutable that Manipur, which was considered as native State even from the British perspective, had become fully independent and sovereign on and from 15.8.1947. Further, its political status was an independent and sovereign ancient Asian State, which retained its independent and sovereign political status till 14.10.1949, although it did not join the United Nations. Being a land-locked, primitive state, the rulers lacked the information for seeking access to the UN.

3.03. As per the UN GA Resolution 2625 of 1970, the **Right to Self-determination** can be exercised by a people, who had reached a certain level of awareness and as such, the people of Manipur lacked the primary awareness - qualification to exercise their **right to Self-determination** in 1947-1949, at the time when Indian colonial power laid the trappings for military siege, occupation and **annexation** of Manipur in 1949. The signing of the **Instrument of Accession** by the king of Manipur and subsequent treacherous trappings had deprived the people of Manipur to exercise the right to self-determination in 1947-1949. But for the geographical and geo-political isolation, Manipur should not miss the opportunity of seeking UN membership in 1947. This basic right cannot be extinguished either as it had not been exercised in the past.

3.04. The independence and sovereignty of Manipur had been strengthened, when Manipur adopted her own political constitution, namely, the 'Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947' ([Annexure No. V](#)). And an elected popular and responsible Government had been installed in the form of Manipur Legislative Assembly (**read as Parliament**), constituted by 53 members, duly elected by universal adult-franchise and a council of Ministers to aid and advise the Maharajah as the constitutional head had also been installed. As per the basic parameters of the Montevideo Convention, 1933 that qualifies a state, Manipur constituted an independent State in 1947 till 1949.

3.05. The **illegal annexation** of Manipur by India on 15 October 1949 has been a carefully drawn-out plan, measured by stages.

### **CHRONOLOGY OF ILLEGAL ANNEXATION<sup>8</sup> ANNEXATION OF MANIPUR**

#### **1947**

- |      |                |  |
|------|----------------|--|
| 1.   | 19 April       | Nehru ultimatum to States - Threats with hostility.  |
| 2.   | 15 May         | Manipur Draft Constitution ready.  |
| 3.   | 20 May         | British Cabinet resolution-State to be fully independent.  |
| 3.a. | 2 June         | Nehru-Mountbatten's Secret Revised Plan.   |
| 4.   | 3 June         | Mountbatten's Negative attitude to the States.   |
| 5.   | <b>15 June</b> | <b>AICC stand: State's sovereignty lies with State people.</b>   |
| 6.   | 17 June        | Jinnah categorical: States to be independent, sovereign.   |
| 7.   | 25 June        | Interim Cabinet accepts state department creation.   |
| 8.   | 1 July         | Manipur King (Maharajah) becomes nominal figurehead.   |
| 9.   | 2 July         | Assam-Manipur agreement: Indian agent to stay in Imphal.   |
| 10.  | 2 July         | Secretary of State Listowell: States not subject to British Parliamentary legislation.   |
| 11.  | <b>5 July</b>  | <b>Patel on Blood theory, all knit by bond of blood possibly Aryan-Dravidian blood theory (?) of State.</b>  |
| 12.  | 5 July         | Gandhi to Mountbatten: States should not be independent. Gandhi possibly wants Indian empire (not British).  |
| 13.  | 10 July        | Indian Independence Act, 1947: British suzerainty over States in Indian continent lapses.  |
| 14.  | 25 July        | Mountbatten officially declares States' independence.  |
| 15.  | <b>26 July</b> | <b>MANIPUR CONSTITUTION ADOPTED.</b>   |
| 16.  | 28 July        | Mountbatten reception to Rulers (Lunch on August 1): diplomatically pressurizes for Indian Dominion (His ambition to be India's Governor General). |
| 17.  | 31 July        | States Negotiating Committee approves 2 agreement drafts.  |
| 18.  | 8 August       | Mountbatten reports to Listowell: States remain independent save three   |

subjects - States not committed to Indian Constitution or, Govt. of India Act, 1935 etc.

19. 9 August Listowell approves Mountbatten's 25 July proclamation.
  20. 10 August Manipur King directly takes over hill administration.
  21. **11 August** **King signs Standstill Agreement and Instrument of Accession: Under clause 7 & 8, Manipur's independence retained in the escape clause (cf. 5 April 1946 meeting of Nikhil Manipur Mahasabha & MPM., Reso. 6 part II, Manipur to be independent - R.K. Bhubon in Chair).**
  22. **14 August** **King swears in the Interim Council: Manipur, proclaimed independent.**
  23. 15 August King hoists PAKHANGBA FLAG in Council hall, Paramountcy, cleared in Manipur.
  24. **28 August** **King reiterates - Manipur is sovereign.**
  25. 6 Nov. Indian Congress agent Debeshwar Sharma admits that Manipur is Sovereign: Sovereignty lies with Manipur people (categorical).
- 1948**
26. 1st Jan. Deputy P.M. of India Sardar Patel visits Shillong for 3 days.
  27. 2nd Jan. Manipur King attends Rulers' meeting at Shillong, attended by Sardar Patel and States Ministry. - Later announced that Manipur becomes independent.
  28. 28th Feb. Hijam Irabot attends Calcutta Communist Conference with Asian revolutionaries - Adopts militant Chinese revolutionary line (later on practised too).
  29. 18th April Rawal Amar Singh takes Dewan's charge.
  30. 25th May Congress Election Manifesto: To abide by Manipur Constitution (Congress members - majority in the Constitution drafting Committee).
  31. 26th May Assam Prime Minister Gopinath Bordoloi pleads Autonomy for Manipur State.
  32. **11th June- 27rd July** **Manipur Assembly Election - popular Government.**
  33. 23rd June- 3rd July Akbar Hydari's reconnaissance to annex Manipur.
  34. 2nd Aug. Akbar Hydari's letter to the King: Dewan simply watches TREATY RELATIONS' between two countries - Manipur and India. He is very categorical about the word Treaty like Kaju.
  35. 22nd Aug. Akbar Hydari abolishes Dominion agency.
  36. 22nd Aug. P.C. Ghosh preaches Purbanchal theory meeting organised by Tompok Congress.

37. 18th Sept. Manipur Hills and Plains meeting opposes Ghosh proposal.
38. 20th Sept. Tomal Congress writes to Indian Constituent Assembly: Manipur independent unit of India (probably in the sense of continent).
39. 21st Sept. Manipur State Council declares Krishak Sabha and Praja Sangha unlawful organisations.
40. 21st Sept. Hijam Irabot goes underground.
41. **18th Oct. Manipur Legislative Assembly opened: popular sovereign government operates.**
42. 26th Nov. Prajashanti led - government (non-Congress) sworn in; Insignificant Congress minority propogates for Indian annexation of Manipur: Annexation would nullify unlawfully the Manipur Constitution, they themselves drafted in the committee.
43. 29th Nov. Priyobarta holds C.M. post plus Dewanship.
- 1949**
44. 10th Mar. Assembly Question Number 21 by L. Achou about Government's knowledge of the information about Manipur's Merger with India.
45. 22nd Mar. Assam Governor Shri Prakasa discusses with King about Manipur Communist insurgency: Rustomji Chatterjee at Imphal.
46. 14th April Indian Government asks King to transfer all power to Dewan (an unconstitutional, parallel centre in power).
47. 16th April King appoints Major General Amar Singh as Dewan.
48. 5th June Manipur Socialist Party Meeting urges for referendum on Manipur-India relation.
49. 25th June Prakasa secret Memo. to King - India does not recognise Manipur State Council and the elected assembly (popular sovereign).
50. 26th July Congress bulletin 4: Indian Congress backs Manipur Congress-slogan to dethrone the Constitutional figurehead - King.
51. 27th July **Hill M.L.As oppose annexation of Manipur by India.**
52. 29th July **Hill M.L.As Against annexation of Manipur by India.**
53. **3rd Aug. Public meeting resolution to India's Prime Minister, Manipur cannot be merged with India.**
54. 15th Aug. 4,000 Congressmen celebrate Independence day and Student's Federation hoists black flag. Ex. Minister Dr. Leiren Hoists black flag.
55. **25th Aug. Ruling Manipur M.L.As against annexation of Manipur, Meeting resolution to Deputy Prime Minister, India not to annex Manipur to his country.**
56. 7th Sept. Shri Prakasa Telegrammes King to discuss 'affairs of State' at Shillong.

- |     |                   |  |
|-----|-------------------|--|
| 57. | 8th Sept.         | Young Socialist League Meeting opposes annexation.   |
| 58. | 13th Sept.        | Bhagyabati Patrica hints annexation.   |
| 59. | 14th Sept.        | Speaker T. S. Tiang Kham on issue of annexation.   |
| 60. | 15th Sept.        | Maharaja leaves Imphal for Shillong.   |
| 61. | 17th Sept.        | King reaches Shillong.   |
| 62. | 18th-19th Sept.   | King communicates to Indian agent at Shillong that he lacks capacity to enter into treaty, as all political powers have been lawfully transferred to people.   |
| 63. | <b>18th Sept.</b> | <b>Shri Prakasa telegrammes to Patel and V.P. Menon: Manipur Maharajah detained under regulation III &amp; 'ANY OTHER MEANS' (code language of house arrest of King under military siege) - King as captive, mental torture and coercion by Indian forces.</b> |
| 64. | <b>18th Sept.</b> | <b>P.S. to King writes to Shillong S.P. to withdraw forces encircling Manipur King - siege continues - Maharajah's all communication lines, snapped. Literally, he was a captive and prisoner.</b>   |
| 65. | 20th Sept.        | Psychic oppression and siege continues on the King.  |
| 66. | 21st Sept.        | King, coerced under duress to sign annexation treaty.  |
| 67. | 21st Sept.        | Bhagyabati Patrica - Manipur public opinion: Manipur cannot be subjugated and made subservient to a foreign nation (India).  |
| 68. | 25th Sept.        | Maharajah leaves Shillong.   |
| 69. | <b>15th Oct.</b>  | <b>Mr. Velody, State Ministry of India occupies Manipur; Congress celebrates the loss of their motherland. Major General Amar Singh takes over Manipur against peoples' will.</b>  |
| 70. | 15th Oct.         | Gazette of India, Ministry of State, Notification No. 219 dated 15th October 1949 order to dissolve popular Ministry and the elected Manipur Legislative Assembly. (suspended sovereignty).  |

3.06. The Manipur king Maharajah Bodhachandra Singh had been kept under **Regulation III and "any other means" which empowered military siege, arrest and captivity of Manipur King** by the Indian army at Shillong from the 17th to the 21st September, 1949. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Assam<sup>9</sup> sent the following Telegram to Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India describing the abduction and captivity of Manipur king for coercing him to sign the Manipur Annexation agreement, 1949:

**"... HH (sic. Manipur king) must not under any circumstances be allowed to return to Manipur with his advisors and I have accordingly instructed police to detain here his party if they attempt to return before signing of agreement (sic. 1949 Merger Agreement).**

**Please telegraph immediately repeat immediately authority for detention of HH and advisors under Regulation III (sic. abduction and kidnapping of the king by foreign Indian security forces) or by whatever other means you consider might be appropriate.**

**Have already warned sub-area to be prepared for any eventuality (sic. covert military aggression and coup) in Manipur. Grateful for further instructions. Ends."**

The further instructions as cited above are undoubtedly mandate for invasion in Manipur and coup of the power-centre of the sovereign state of Manipur. Orders of invasion and **aggression**

are not yet made public. The appropriate committee of the UN should seek all the comprehensive documents of the invasion of Manipur by the Indian invading army. The Defence Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry of India classify the **aggression** as top secret.

3.07. The Manipur Maharajah in captivity of the enemy was physically and mentally forced to sign the **Manipur Merger Agreement** on 21.9.1949 under **duress** and **coercion** ([Annexure No. VII](#)). The Manipur Maharajah had formally communicated to the representative of the Government of India at Shillong that he was no longer functioning as a plenipotentiary of Manipur, since the political power had been totally transferred to the people of Manipur. The Maharajah being a constitutional monarch did not have any power under the Cabinet system of government to sign any effective and valid agreement or treaty with the foreign Government of India. In the past, the Government of India had interfered in the Manipur Administration by forcing the Manipur Maharajah to appoint one Major General Rawal Amar of the colonial Indian army as a Dewan of the State, which post had been manifestly extraneous and unconstitutional, as per the provisions of the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947. These interventions are precursor to the Indian **aggression** in Manipur in 1949.

3.08. The Government of India had incited and instigated the so-called Manipur Congressmen the Aryan fifth columnists in Manipur, to persuade and press the Manipur Administration to merge the State of Manipur with India. However, the majority of the people's representatives of the 53 members Member Assembly (**read Parliament**) had opposed Indian annexation of Manipur, while only 13 Congress Deputies (members) who had been in the microscopic minority welcomed it. Besides, the people of Manipur in general had opposed the **annexation** by holding public meetings on 3.8.1949, 25.8.1949, 8.9.1949, 14.10.1996 and on several occasions till date. The forcible **annexation** of the sovereign State of Manipur by the foreign Indian administration has been null and void under both the customary International Law and the Vienna Convention of Treaties<sup>10</sup>, 1969 vide its article nos. 49, 51 and 52 which render treaty reached by **fraud** and **coercion** as void. The Indian **annexation** of Manipur in 1949 is a blatant violation of article 2(4) of the UN Charter, the UN GA Resolution 2625 of 1970 and other norms of state practices of that period.

3.09. The popular resistance to India's **annexation** of Manipur State had been rendered by the militant guerillas even before Manipur was subsequently annexed. The Communist Party of Manipur in that period had maintained ties with the Communist Parties of Burma (now Myanmar) and also with her Indian counterpart. It had the militant upsurge against the Indian **colonialism** since 1949 onwards till 1950-51; however, the colossal Indian occupation army suppressed the movement by repressive means for half a century. Notwithstanding the gagging of the Indian media and ignorance of the world Christian media, **Manipur National Liberation Movements** had been pro-active in 1950-51, 1963, 1964, 1969, 1978 onwards unremittingly decades before Western Sahara, East Timor, Northern Ireland, Kosovo sparked off.

#### **IV. NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT - GENESIS** <sup>11</sup>

4.01. Subsequently after the Manipuri armed struggle<sup>12</sup> in 1949 and 1950 against **Indian colonialism** and **occupation**, the Manipur Nationalist Party in the 1950s had demanded in public the revocation of the **Manipur Merger Agreement** with India. Several representatives of various parties including Shri Yangmaso Saiza, a Manipuri Tangkhul from Ukhrul district of Manipur, who later became Chief Minister of Manipur, resisted the annexation of Manipur. Even after the Indian **annexation** of Manipur, popular movements have ceaselessly continued. Although the methods of protests had been partly democratic and partly militant, **in the later 1960s, national liberation movement had turned out pro-active in Manipur to free Manipur from Indian subjugation and colonisation. The Manipur National Liberation Movement** in 1960s had been a precursor of the world-wide de-colonisation movements that liberated a hundred independent States of the world. The UN took notice of European colonisation and ignored Indian colonisation.

4.02. In late 1960s, **National Liberation Movement** of Manipur and militant resistance had been started by the Meetei State Committee that militarily resisted the Indian forces. It was closely followed by the Revolutionary Government of Manipur (RGM). The nucleus of a sister liberation struggle had been seeded in 1964. After the dismantling and disbandment of the RGM, the

Revolutionary People's Front (RPF, the political wing of the People's Liberation Army of Manipur) was formed on 25 February 1979 and the PLA started operating for the liberation of Manipur from the Indian occupation army and Indian **colonialism** along with several sister organisations. In 1978, there had been PLA's full scale armed resistance all over the State against the Indian occupation army after sending publicity materials - '**DAWN**' to all embassies of the world. Since then, the Manipur freedom fighters unremittingly opposed militarily the Indian occupation army. Several hundreds of PLA freedom - fighters have laid down their lives to liberate their motherland.

4.03. Professor Emeritus V.V. Rao of the University of Gauhati in his books on the North-Eastern India, has recorded that the PLA has the broad vision encompassing the interest of all the colonised, subjugated people elsewhere, beyond the contours of Manipur. In spite of the PLA's best efforts to render the Manipur national question and national liberation, **an international agenda of the world community by enlightening all the embassies of the countries, which received series of volumes of - "DAWN" publication**, the members of the UN have failed to raise the issue of **Manipur National Liberation** on the floor of the General Assembly or, the Security Council of the United Nations. Eradication of **colonialism** by the UN by 2000 AD shall not be completed, therefore, without listing the **colonialism** of Manipur in the UN agenda, which has been due since the UN members individually took note of the issue from the "DAWN" in 1978. The UN should have listed East Timor and Manipur in the same slot of colonised states or, people before two decades. Several national daily papers of Indian **colonialism**, however, flashed the international attention, as sought by PLA through all the embassies. The **national liberation movement of Manipur** has been consistently opposing the colonial Government of India on political terms and had been struggling against the occupation army of India on military terms since the time of the Indian **annexation** of Manipur in 1949 till today. The PLA's armed resistance against the Indian occupation was contemporaries with FRETILIN's resistance in East Timor and POLISARIO's resistance in Western Sahara. The UN selectively took up similar cases by shelving de-colonisation of Manipur in the cold freeze. Ironically, the UN discriminates Indian colonialism against European **colonialism**.

4.04. Very few liberation movements in the world have been left outside the closest attention of the UN and her members except the half-century old **National Liberation Movement of Manipur**. The UN objective of eradicating **colonialism** by 2000 AD would remain a futility without de-colonising Manipur and her neighbourhood colonies of India like Assam, Nagaland and Tripura. The colonial government of India had permanently perpetuated **colonialism** of Manipur by proclaiming the **national liberation movements**<sup>13</sup> including the armed struggle triggered off by the PLA (RPF) since 1978 as unlawful organisation under the Prevention of Unlawful Activities Act, 1967 and suppressing the human rights<sup>14</sup> since 1958 by invoking the draconian, black Law the Armed Forces (Special) Powers Act, 1958 (amended in 1972), the Punjab Security of State Act, 1953, the Terrorists and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act, 1985 and the National Security Act, among other equally repressive laws. Absolutely in self-defence and self-preservation, the occupation army is resisted by the movement.

4.05. The colonial government of India has extrajudicially liquidated, tortured, molested, raped, maimed, injured thousands of Manipuris on the hills (Manipuri Tangkhuls, Mao, Kukis etc.) and Manipuri in the valley (Meiteis etc.) and destroyed properties worth crores annually. For adult population of 9 lakh Manipuris (in 19 lakh population), Indian security forces numbering about 90,000 are put into repressive service for colonial occupation. 30,000 Manipuri youths are drug/AIDS infected as a result of counter-insurgency approach of the **colonialism**.

## **V. SOCIO - ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COLONISATION**

5.01. The people of Manipur have been deprived of their inalienable birth-right to determine their political and socio-economic status on their own due to Indian colonial process, subjugation, alien and racist national oppression. They have been deprived of their inalienable right to exploit their natural resources as per their **self-determination** and this right has to be restored to them. Following the ICJ verdict, 1995 on Timor Gap Treaty, it is a criminal wrong for India to usurp the natural resources of Manipur. They have to exercise their inalienable right to **self-determination** for their permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, biomass, water-bodies, fauna and flora, among others.

5.02. The pre-dominantly Mongolian population of Manipur has been subjugated by the Indian racist and colonial regime which represents only the blue blood of the Aryan and Dravidian races (Annex No. VIII, Indian Party Representatives and Manipur Peoples, Photo). The administering power, i.e., the Indian colonial regime has never appointed any indigenous people of Manipur who are of Mongolian origin to any important position whatsoever in the Indian colonial regime. The people of Mongolian origin are treated as subjects and subjugated race only to be ruled by the occupation army. Since 1949 onwards till today, not a single day has ever passed in Manipur without the repressive measures taken by the Indian colonial army by torturing, insulting or extra-judicially murdering the indigenous people of Manipur. As cited above, a number of repressive laws or laws of legitimizing State Terrorism including the **Armed Forces (Special) Powers Act, 1958**, the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987 and several other draconian laws have been systematically introduced and enforced in the State of Manipur in order to subjugate the people of Manipur and incapacitate them from determining their own political destiny (Annexure No. IX). The UN Human Rights Committee and global NGOs have denounced them as incompatible with the International Bill of Rights, 1966 to which the colonial government of India has been a party. The government of India is accountable for enacting laws incompatible with the Covenants, ratified by her.

5.03. Under Section 4 of the **Armed Forces (Special) Powers Act, 1958**, the Armed Forces of the Union of India have been empowered to kill anybody on suspicion or out of hatred without any judicial process. Besides, this has enormously encouraged the Indian Armed Forces to precipitate and heighten their extra-judicial torture and execution of the Mongolian people bordering on genocide of the Mongolian races in Manipur. Even the Supreme Court of India, upheld the black law by its judgement given on 27 November, 1997. Not a single Manipuri has been appointed to the Supreme Court in the last half a century of **annexation**. These judges are racists and chauvinists like their political mentors.

5.04. It may be added that the Aryan and Dravidian racists in the Indian colonial regime have been guided by sacred religious scriptures like the **'Manusmriti'**<sup>15</sup>. In all its chapters, it authorised Aryan and Dravidian racists, specially persons from high castes, to execute or torture women, infants and the races who are not of Dravidian or Aryan origin. The people of Manipur are not Hindu Sudras but Mongolians. From their in-built mental perspective, they cannot help but to conceive every people of Manipur as sub-Sudra, who is to be physically tortured and slaughtered. Hence, from the perspective of the Indian Colonial Army, whenever they physically execute any Mongolian people, they conscientiously assume that they have performed a sacred religious duty and rite to fulfil the scriptural mandate of their racist ancestors. It may be recalled that the **'Arthashastra'**<sup>15</sup> of **Kautilya** the equivalent of a military manual of colonial Blue books, gives religious sanctity to the suppression and wiping out of smaller nations and countries in order to establish Indian **imperialism** and **colonialism**. Therefore, the Indian Colonial Army and the Indian colonial political rulers have no alternative than cherishing a heritage of conquering smaller nations and physically executing people who are not of Aryan or Dravidian origin. The British Colonial Power, however, did not have such a transmitted mandate from their Bible. Indian Colonial regime and the Indian Colonial Army operated in such sophisticated and orchestrated way that the International community cannot easily understand or recognise the entire consequences of the overt and covert Indian **colonialism**, unless the UN despatches visiting missions to Manipur. The UN has not been successful to appoint a Special Human Rights Rapporteur for India, although one has been appointed for Myanmar.

5.05. The colonial development process and the colonial economy had not been helpful to the people of Manipur. Not a single major industry, much less an important establishment has ever been established in Manipur. Whereas several hundreds of crores of Rupees have been spent apparently on paper maintained for the record in order to refuel and recycle their colonial apparatus, quite a few families in Manipur are also used as colonial subsidiaries, the economic condition of the average people of Manipur specially those in the hill areas has not improved even up to the level of subsistence. People survive on grassroots in the Manipur hill areas because of colonial economic process. The Manipuri hillsmen and plainsmen are divided by the Presidential approval to a divisive law - the Manipur Land and Revenue Act, 1960 which debar plainsmen to seek access to Manipur hills. The apartheid has been created.



5.06. The colonial economy of Manipur<sup>15a</sup> has pushed down 68% of Manipur people below the Poverty line. Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy in 1992-93 indicated that whereas Indian state of Punjab has reached index of 205, Manipur's index is 71. As per the Asian Development Bank Report, 11 May, 1997, Manipur rice production in kg/hectare is 1400 (against Indian average of 1740), Road in 100 sq. km. in Manipur is 32.64 km (against Indian average of 62.82 km), Banking credit in Manipur is Rs. 44/- (Indian is Rs. 1722.11), p.c.i. of Manipur is Rs. 5,326/- (against Indian average of Rs. 6,929/-), Annual budget of Rs. 400+ crore is literally for the maintenance of 90,000 colonial Indian army, innumerable mercenaries, police, espionage, supporting pro-colonial families and half the budget allocation is not available due to colonial fiscal policy.

5.07. We have living testimony of the socio-cultural colonisation of the indigenous people of Manipur by the casteist and racist socio-cultural apparatus of India. Firstly, the captive market is at the hands of Hindustanis; Secondly, no industry has been set-up for attaining industrial growth; Thirdly, all the natural resources have been exploited by the colonial regime; Fourthly, Manipur survives on subsistence economy. Details will be presented to the UN Visiting Mission. Not a single watch, electronic industry has been set up in Manipur, let alone major and heavy industries.

5.08. In sum, the **national liberation movements in Manipur** have strongly endorsed the view that Manipur has socio-economically and politically been exploited by the Indian colonial regime beside the political and military subjugation of the people of Manipur since 1949 till today. Majority of the colonised Manipuris have to learn Hindi and baptised in colonial religion.

5.09. Proxy elections are conducted by spending crores of Indian Rupees in order to perpetuate colonialism through quislings, puppet regimes and fifth columnists under the proxy election process by way of misleading the illiterate electorate. The Indian colonial regime can in no way justify the electoral process whatsoever, since the people of Manipur cannot exercise their **"independent political will" and resolve their destiny at the gunpoint of the massive, racist Indian colonial army and several thousands of mercenaries, subversives and spies.** The colonial elections held in the mighty presence of occupation army, mercenaries and pouring crores of rupees for bribery have debarred the people to exercise their free will and no plebiscite on de-colonisation had ever been held. Alcoholics, drugs, heroin, brown sugar and narcotics are freely distributed to the voters in the colonial elections.

## **VI. ON CONTINUATION OF THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF MANIPUR**

6.01. The sovereign State of Manipur continues to exist since the Christian era, despite unlawful, political and military occupation by a foreign colonial power-India. Therefore, India and her intervention in Manipur is a political process. The nature of the sovereign State of Manipur is represented as follows:

6.02. Firstly, the sovereign status of Manipur state had been recognised bilaterally, when Manipur entered the Anglo-Manipuri Friendship Treaty in 1762 AD ([Annexure No. II](#)). The international recognition is vital, as Montevideo Convention, 1933 defined independent state as one capable of entering treaty relations.

6.03. Secondly, the political sovereign independence of Manipur had been officially recognised by both the Burmese Government and the British Government as per the provisions of the Yandaboo treaty, 1826 ([Annexure No. X](#)). The independent political status of Manipur has once again been re-affirmed in the 19th century.

6.04. Thirdly, after the military defeat of Manipur by the British army in 1891, the British Government did not annex Manipur to its empire ([Annexure No. III](#)); that itself gives testimony to the unremitting independence of Manipur. The debate on the independent political status of Manipur in the British Parliament for nearly one month in 1891 has been recorded in the Hansards<sup>16</sup>. In 1891, Churachand was Manipur King and British official Maxwell ruled the country. The British transferred the charge of administration to Manipur King on 17 May 1907. In 1916, the British official became the President of Manipur Darbar under the supervision of the King. In

1931, Manipur opened direct external relations with British India. In 1941, Maharajah Bodhachandra had succeeded Maharajah Churachand. Since 1942, Manipur unlike India has been the theatre of the Second World War. On 26 July, 1946, Manipur established her constitutional government thereby reducing the Maharajah to a titular head. These constitutional developments re-established the sovereign, independent status of Manipur and the official independence was declared on 14-15, August, 1947.

6.05. Fourthly, despite the British and Indian interference in Manipur affairs, Manipur became fully independent and sovereign on 15.8.1947 **vide** Indian Independence Act, 1947 ([Annexure No. IV](#), and [Annexure No. VI](#) Indian Supreme Court rulings, 1954 to 1993). Manipur has fully regained her full sovereignty, which had been intervened by the British Paramountcy that retained the former as international protectorate.

6.06. Fifthly, although Manipur had entered into the treaty known as the **Instrument of Accession** on 11.8.1947, Manipur did not transfer more than 3 subjects to the Dominion of India. The **Instrument of Accession** was signed on 11.8.1947 ([Annexure No. XI](#)) in between Manipur and Dominion of India. It had clearly given prerogative right to Manipur to retain her sovereignty and independence and terminate the **Accession** treaty unilaterally, as the treaty did not incorporate a termination clause, as required by customary International Law, that has been codified by the Vienna Convention in 1969 and the subsequent convention.

6.07. Sixth, Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947 (Annexure No. V) was in operation at the time of signing the **Merger Agreement** between the Manipur Maharajah (King) who lacked the capacity and authority to enter into any treaty with any power or, the representative of the Government of India on 21.9.1949, since he was not the plenipotentiary of the independent and sovereign state of Manipur of which he was only the constitutional head. The cabinet government that Manipur installed in 1948 after holding elections to the Manipur Assembly (**read Parliament**) had neither authorised the king to sign the 1949 treaty nor ratified the same after 21.9.1949. It may be noted that a valid agreement or, treaty could be signed or, acceded by the plenipotentiary of Manipur as a High contracting party with the Indian government after fulfilling the following conditions:

- Empowerment by the Manipur Cabinet;

- Signature by the Chief Minister (read Prime Minister);

- Constitutional endorsement;

- Ratification by the National Assembly (read Parliament);

- Enactment of a municipal law on the accession of the treaty, as it is being done in Republic of India by now or, British Parliament;

- Final endorsement by a Popular referendum or, plebiscite in the event of altering the political status of the state.

**The Merger Agreement of 1949 had been reached in blatant violation of these basic rules and therefore, it had been void ab initio.**

6.08. Seventh, the people of Manipur had not deputed a genuine representative, duly elected by the people of Manipur to the then Constituent Assembly of India. Although from the Indian colonial perspective, a foreign national was considered as representative to the Constituent Assembly of India, who helped the illegal **annexation**. Any representation of Manipur people by a person of the colonial country professing to represent the people of Manipur is absolutely inconceivable, preposterous and accordingly null and void, as the foreign national lacked the capacity and jurisdiction. Hence, Manipur cannot be brought within the colonial constitutional framework of India, since it was not part of it. There has been no lawful representation of genuine representative of Manipuri people in the colonial Constitutional Assembly of India. Manipur people have not been a party to the Indian constitutional making process.

6.09. Eighth, no referendum or plebiscite of the people of Manipur had ever been held concerning the **annexation or merger** of Manipur to a foreign country the republic of India, whereas the **annexation** of Junagadh by imperial India in 1948-49 had been justified by three plebiscites held on the **annexation** of the former to the latter. Colonial rulers of India knew that Manipur people as

a whole reject the merger with India.

6.10. Ninth, the installation of a colonial government on 15.10.1949 in the soil of Manipur did not repeal the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947, although the colonial government without having any jurisdiction whatsoever had passed a colonial order under Notification no. 219-p. Gazette of India, Ministry of State, dated 15.10.1949. It illegally and unconstitutionally dissolved the popular Ministry as well as the popular Assembly (**read Parliament**) of Manipur, on the basis of an illegal Manipur Merger Agreement, 1949<sup>17</sup>. Indian proximity - **colonialism** has gobbled up independent Manipur and the UN helplessly remained silent by giving a free-hand to Indian occupation army till today.

6.11. Tenth, there is widespread popular awareness among the people of Manipur that the **Manipur Merger Agreement**, 1949, as stated above is null and void and unconstitutional from the point of view of the Manipur State Constitution Act, 1947. Moreover, it is in the backdrop of contemporary norms of the International Law that the National Convention on the Manipur Merger Issue was convened from the 28th to the 29th October, 1993 in the capital city, Imphal. **The Convention has unanimously resolved in plenum that the impugned Merger Agreement with India on 1949 is illegal and unconstitutional**, considering the entire process and circumstances that led to the Manipur Merger Agreement ([Annexure No. XII](#)).

6.12. Eleventh, the UN Security Council in similar circumstances had proclaimed similar **annexations** illegal, void, and untenable. The Security Council declared **annexation** of Goa by India as illegal (vide S/5033, SCOR, 988th meeting, 18 December 1961). But no liberation movement ensued in Goa. It acted against Iraq under Security Council Resolution No. 660-678 for **annexation** of Kuwait in 1991. The UN declared **annexation** of East Timor and Western Sahara illegal. The UN precedents, contemporary International Law, *Jus Cogens* and Vienna Convention of Law of Treaty would clearly regard **annexation** of Manipur by India in 1949 after two years of the independence of Indian independence unjustified and illegal. The official stance of the colonial government of India that the illegal **annexation** has assumed finality is not only absurd, null and void but also unacceptable to the people of Manipur, who are yet to exercise their **right to self-determination**. The colonial Government has failed to justify her **annexation** of Manipur, under International Law.

6.13. Twelfth, considering the historical materials and the records, documents and treaties which are enclosed herewith, the sovereign and independent political status of Manipur, which had been continuing for at least 2,000 years has been dislocated by the Indian colonial Administration, and by the physical occupation of the Indian colonial army. The unlawful colonial occupation of Manipur shall have to be terminated by the Indian government at the earliest moment in adherence of the UN eradication of colonialism by 2000 AD. The UN is yet to oversee this process.

## VII. RIGHT TO SELF - DETERMINATION

7.01. It is significant to reiterate the absolute commitment of the United Nations to eradicate colonialism in all its forms and manifestations by 2000 AD and to put in record the emergence of 135 independent states in conformity with the global de-colonisation process that sparked off since 1960s and 1970s. The official deadline for eradication of **colonialism** remaining unaltered, **colonialism** will be sustained in proximity-colonies of India like **Manipur, Nagaland, Assam, Tripura and Kashmir** and nearly fifty other territories, many of which are incorporated in the list of 48 unrepresented peoples of the UNPO - the Hague based Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation. These colonies will survive the 2000 AD UN deadline, unless the UN and its main organs initiate pro-active de-colonisation, as much as it did in 1960s and 1970s. The UN would not fulfil its objectives of total de-colonisation, in the event of sustaining the above colonies or, peoples who are yet to exercise their **right to self-determination**. India being a member of the UN De-colonisation Committee has to initiate de-colonisation of Manipur.

7.02. The Government of India has the treaty obligations to allow alien, dependent, subjugated and oppressed people like the Manipur people to exercise their inalienable **right to self-determination**, as the Government has rectified the ICCPR, 1966 and ICESCR, 1966, besides its being a regional power which facilitated national liberation and de-colonisation of several

colonised peoples in the Third World. The UN Human Rights Committee in 1997, July has urged upon the Government of India to withdraw her reservation in respect of common article 1 of the ICCPR, 1966 and ICESCR, 1966. The government has to comply with this recommendation and report compliance by 2000 AD at the time of submitting the 4th periodic report to the UNHRC vide article 40 of the ICCPR, 1966.

7.03. Government of India's declaration in respect of her ratification of the ICCPR, 1966 on 10 April, 1979, is as follows:

ICCPR, Article 1

para 10. It has been the position of India ever since its independence that adherence to self-determination is co-existent with the principle of sovereign equality. The principle of domestic jurisdiction of state as enshrined in the United Nations Charter is to be equally respected.

para 11. In conformity with this position of principle on self-determination, India made the following declaration in 1979 at the time of its accession to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

"With reference to article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Government of the Republic of India declares that the words 'the right to self-determination' appearing (in this article) apply to people under foreign domination ...".

7.04. The Manipuri people, who had never constituted a part of Hindustan or India or, British India had been placed under Indian foreign domination in the event of **the illegal annexation of Manipur in 1949**. The caveat to the declaration makes room for according the **right to self-determination** to the people of Manipur. The Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, 1993 and the UN Human Rights Committee in July, 1997 have mandated the government of India to remove even this narrow caveat and accord the right to deserving people including the Manipuri people who had been sovereign for two millennia before Indian **annexation**. India's present stance<sup>18</sup> prevents the world wide de-colonisation process and hence, she owes an explanation for her defence of **colonialism** of Manipur.

7.05. India's Declaration<sup>19</sup> stipulated that "Declaration contains enunciation of certain basic principles". Paragraph 1 declares, "The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights ...". The people of Manipur obviously falls into the Indian enunciation of alien subjugation and domination. The colonial government of India has to prove that Manipuris are not alien to Indians.

7.06. The people of Manipur, who are colonised by alien Indian administering power are people of non-self-governing territories as much as the East Timorese after Indonesian **annexation** in 1975 constitute people of non-self-governing territories. Indonesian elections had been held in East Timor since 1977, yet East Timor is recognised as non-self-governing territory by the United Nations. Similarly, colonial elections have been held in occupied Manipur by the Indian administering power without any prejudice to the sovereign political status of Manipur.

7.07. The ICJ in Portugal vs. Australia, 1995 has decided that East-Timorese have their *right to self-determination erga omnes* (against the whole community). Similarly, the people of Manipur have their *right to self-determination erga omnes*, notwithstanding India's preposterous prevarication against the colonised Manipuris.

## VIII. TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

8.01. The colonial government of India defines in her 1950 Constitution, the territorial integrity of India in two places. Firstly, in the first schedule<sup>20</sup> serial No.19, Manipur is defined as "The territory which immediately before the commencement of this constitution was being administered as if it were a Chief Commissioner's province under the name of Manipur".

8.02. The first schedule itself clearly and categorically records that the territorial State of Manipur preceded the Constitution of India. No other constitutional provision has more clearly given testimony to the **illegal annexation** of Manipur than this provision. Before Indian Commissioner had occupied Manipur, she remained independent till 1949.

8.03. Article 1 of the Constitution of India<sup>21</sup> defines the territory of India as follows: (1) India, that is Bharat, shall be a union of states. (2) [The states and the territories thereof shall be as specified in the first Schedule]. (3) The territory of India shall comprise - (a) the territories of states; (b) the union territories specified in the First Schedule; and (c) such other territories as may be acquired.

8.04. The Constitution of India, being a colonial and imperial instrument imposed upon the occupied people of Manipur after the **illegal annexation**, lacks legal and constitutional validity in regard to the annexed, occupied state of Manipur. East Timor has also been annexed as the 27th province of Indonesia and Kuwait in 1990 as the 9th province of Iraq. The United Nations has denounced these **illegal annexations**, let alone the validity of the colonial Constitution. The **territorial integrity** of India cannot lawfully incorporate colonial, occupied territory of Manipur. Nor can it impair the territorial integrity of Manipur as it existed in 1947 under the **uti Possidetis Juris rule**<sup>22</sup> of International Law.

8.05. The state sovereignty doctrine has been enunciated in articles 2(4) and 2(7) of the UN Charter as well as by the UN GA Resolution 2625, Declaration on Friendly Relations, 1970. The union government of India pleads that her territorial integrity would be impaired if Manipur would be allowed to secede from the Indian Union. The argument may be further strengthened by citing the prevention of disruption of the "national unity and the territorial integrity" of India, as it is understood after the adoption of the 1950 Constitution (see para.6 of the UN GA Resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December, 1960). This argument is fallacious and ridiculous. State practices have denounced similar claims made by Indian colonial administration.

8.06. **The unity and territorial integrity as well as sovereignty of independent Manipur state has been impaired and terminated by the illegal Indian annexation of Manipur on 15 October, 1949.** The government of India can never plead the illegally annexed territory of Manipur as her territorial integrity in the same way as the British failed to defend her 50 colonies as her territorial integrity. The para. 6 of the UN GA Resolution 1514(XV) of 14 December, 1960 should be understood in the genuine historical context of Manipur. The UN and the government of India are under obligation to accept Manipur as

"Non-self-governing territory" in the same way as East Timor has been accepted. The union government of India should transmit information about Manipur to the UN under article 73(e) of the Charter. No judicious member of the UN should discriminate Manipur against East Timor.

## IX. AGGRESSION

9.01. The captivity of Manipur Maharajah at Shillong on 18 September, 1949 by the Security forces of India and the Indian military intrusion in the soil of Manipur state with the active connivance of the fifth communists and covert subversives, planted by the government of India deep in the Manipur administration constitute Indian **aggression** in Manipur. At present, nearly every hill-top in the hilly state of Manipur has been occupied by battle-ready Indian army.

9.02. All the available documents and records give eloquent testimony to the parameters of Indian aggression in Manipur. On 19 April, 1947, Nehru sent threatening ultimatum to states. By an agreement reached on 2 July, 1947, Indian agency had been allowed to stay in Manipur. On 5 July, 1947, Hindu dictator M.K. Gandhi allegedly a pacifist communicated to Lord Mountbatten that state should not be given independence. Indian agent Akbar Hydari had abolished dominion agency in Manipur on 22 August, 1948. On 14 April, 1949, the colonial government of India asked the Manipur king to transfer all powers to an Indian Dewan under immense pressure and coercion; and the king was forced to appoint on 16 April, 1949 one Indian colonial Major General Amar Singh as Dewan of Manipur. Assam Governor Shri Prakasa sent a memo. on 25 June, 1949 that India de-recognised the Manipur State Council and elected Manipur Assembly (**read Parliament of Manipur**). All the political institutions and municipal administration had been subverted by India's Assam Governor Shri Prakasa who also initiated the covert Indian aggression in Manipur.

9.03. After the covert **aggression** had been triggered off by the colonial Governor of Assam, Shri Prakasa in Manipur, the second stage of his **aggression** is use of Indian security forces to keep

Manipur king in captivity at Shillong by inviting him for professedly harmless negotiation. The Indians in their 2 millennia history had perfected the state-of-art treachery of inviting kings and annexing their territory and even their most respected theocratic leader M.K. Gandhi stood for conquest of states. (Read Arthasastra of Kautilya for these tactics). **On 18 September, 1949, Indian administration used force<sup>23</sup> to keep Manipur king as captive.** The private Secretary of the king wrote on the same day to withdraw the aggressive Indian forces, but they refused. The colonial government classifies the military details.

9.04. The United Nations should invite all the Government of India's records concerning Indian aggression in Manipur for the period 1947-1949 and can easily determine the facts in no time.

9.05. Manipur in 1949 had no obligations under the UN Charter, but the Indian Dominion, being a member of the UN since 1945 has Charter obligations not to use force against Manipur and also to honour the territorial integrity of independent Manipur. Article 2(4) of the Charter determines this responsibility:

**"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".**

9.06. The colonial government of India has further violated article 1 of the UN Charter by committing **aggression** and breach of peace. The **national liberation movement** is exercising its right to self-defence and self-preservation, without any prejudice to the genuine integrity of India.

9.07. The UN General Assembly in its Resolution 3314(1974) defines **aggression** in article 1: "Aggression is the use of armed force by a state (**read India here**) against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations,...". Further, **Indian military occupation and annexation** of Manipur by use of Indian forces constitutes **aggression** under article 3 of the Resolution 3314(1974), regardless of declaration of war.

9.08. The UN GA Resolutions 2625(XXV), 1970 and 2734(1970) provide that no territorial acquisition resulting from the threat or use of force shall be recognised as legal. **Hence, India's military occupation of Manipur since 1949 till date is illegal and creates no legitimate claims of India over the sovereignty of Manipur.**

## **X. ILLEGAL ANNEXATION**

10.01. As stated above in the context of **aggression**, Indian **annexation** of Manipur is illegal, null and void and unenforceable, notwithstanding the ongoing colonial occupation. (Please see para. 5.07 **supra**). The ICJ evolved the principle of non-annexation in South-West Africa case (1950, ICJ Reports, p. 132).

10.02. In the event of integrating Manipur to India, the freely expressed wishes of the people of Manipur should have been ascertained either by holding a referendum or plebiscite at the time of **annexation**. That did not happen at all in 1949 and the right of the Manipur people to **self-determination** had not been exercised in 1949 or, thereafter. This right has not been extinguished.

10.03. The principle IX of the UN GA Resolution 1514(XV) of 1960 provides that:

(a) The integrating territory should have an advanced stage of self-government with free political institutions, so that its peoples would have the capacity to make a responsible choice through informed and democratic processes.

(b) The integration should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the Territory's peoples acting with full knowledge of the change in their status, their wishes having been expressed through informed and democratic processes impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage. The United Nations could, when it deems it necessary, supervise these processes.

10.04. Manipur did not have an advanced stage of self-government and the "freely expressed wishes" of the people of Manipur had not been ascertained by the colonial government of India at

the time of **annexation**. Therefore, **Indian annexation lacked legality**. ([Annexure No. XIII](#)).

10.05. The colonial government of India and their advocates would occasionally trace historical argument by advancing a fallacious statement that Manipur while remaining under British paramountcy till 1947 had certain historical nexus with British India, which was under British imperialism. They might even argue that Manipur and Dominion of India became independent under a common Indian Independence Act, 1947. The absurdity of "historical ties" statement has been rejected by the International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion on Western Sahara<sup>24</sup>. It may be noted very carefully that Indonesia's argument in favour of her **annexation** of East Timor has been rejected by the ICJ judgement in Portugal vs. Australia in 1995 and innumerable the UN General Assembly resolutions and resolutions of the Security Council since 1975. The UN and De-colonisation Committee have to apply the same standard to East Timor and Manipur on equal terms.

10.06. In 1976-77, the General Assembly of the United Nations by its Resolutions 31/53 and 32/34 rejected the Indonesian **annexation** of East Timor. The UN Security Council by Resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976) while demanding the respect for the **territorial integrity** of East Timor categorically affirmed the right of the East Timorese to **self-determination**. Of late, the Special Committee on De-colonisation at its 1474th to 1477th meetings on 16 and 17 June, 1997 re-affirmed the earlier UN positions. The same principle is applicable in the case of **Indian annexation** of independent Manipur. The Security Council by its Resolutions 660-678 (1991) had rendered Iraqi **annexation** of Kuwait null and void. The same norms is applicable to Manipur.

#### **POST - OCCUPATION XI. GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS & HUMANITARIAN LAW**

11.01. During India's repressive, colonial regime in Manipur, human rights violations have been massive, colossal, brutally de-humanizing and absolutely barbarian<sup>25</sup>. Indian military occupation, compounded by the invocation of the world's most barbaric laws including the **Armed Forces (Special) Powers Act, 1958** for half a century in both the hills and plains of Manipur and shielding the entire genocidal programs from the glaze of independent international media by prohibiting any foreigner to step into Manipur under the *Restrictive Areas Permit Act* without the closest scrutiny of the Home Ministry of India, resulted to unprecedented state terrorism, repression and barbaric human rights violations. Ironically, execution of five Catholics in Northern Ireland is a news - even in the headlines of the global media, but daily execution by the state of India, of several dozens of civilians or freedom fighters in Manipur has not been accepted as newsworthy. Manipur had been shielded like Gulag Archipelago from the outside world for half a century and therefore, the United Nations took action in favour of 8 lakh Christian East Timorese since 1975 but closed its eyes to 20 lakh non-Christian Manipuris' cause since 1949 till today. Even the super-powers had maintained double standards.

11.02. The government of India and her defence forces which are under obligations after government of India's **accession** to the Four Geneva Conventions, 1949 and subsequent enactment of the Geneva Conventions Act, 1961 by the Indian Parliament, to fully comply with the humanitarian laws, had consistently breached the humanitarian laws by way of committing relentless state repression on the unarmed civilians of Manipur and captured combatants or **horse de combat** of the **Manipur National Liberation Movement**. Even the ICRC has not been allowed to visit Manipur, since the Home Ministry refused to lid off the Auschwitz iron curtain of Manipur. No force-commander nor even a single military General has ever been punished for the breach of the Geneva Conventions, 1949 or, the Geneva Conventions Act, 1961 passed by the Indian Parliament. No other testimony could be more appropriate than citing the Government of India's refusal to sign, accede and ratify the two "Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1947", 1977<sup>26</sup> and the Rome International Criminal Court (ICC) treaty, July 17, 1998. The leaders and cabinet of the **Gandhian state of India, who led the Non-Aligned Movement and the global de-colonisation Movement had been deliberately committing "war crimes", "crimes against Humanity", "Genocide", and "Aggression" in Manipur for half a century**, while the international community chose to remain a silent spectator for half a

century.

11.03. From the year 1978, the People's Liberation Army had relentlessly fought and resisted against the occupation Indian army without any rest in order to defend the Manipur People against Indian **colonialism** and Indian military occupation. Several hundreds of PLA freedom fighters sacrificed their lives for the sake of their motherland. Nearly every top, middle-ranking PLA leader died or killed while fighting the occupation army in quick succession, thereby pushing forward the **national liberation** movement, which is more extensive and mass-based after more than two decades of unremitting armed resistance to the occupation forces and regime.

11.04. Article 1(4) of the First Additional Protocol, 1977 provides legal protection to peoples, who are "fighting against colonial Domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination", but the occupation army of India has been ceaselessly torturing by using 3rd degree methods, arrested POW guerillas of the **National Liberation Movement**. The RPF - **Revolutionary People's Front of Manipur and its military wing PLA - People's Liberation Army has signed common article 3 of the Four Geneva Conventions in 1997** and has been strictly complying with the International Humanitarian Laws, but the Indian occupation forces<sup>27</sup>, their mercenaries who love to wear civilian dresses while committing heinous crimes<sup>28</sup> against mankind in the midst of the civilian populace have routinely committed grave breach of the Geneva Conventions. These common criminals are awarded and rewarded profusely and ostentatiously by the President of India (**read Union Cabinet**) in public annually for committing heinous crimes against mankind in Manipur. The 10 channels of the official television - DD, 3000 Indian racist dailies, 300 Radio stations daily project Manipuri freedom fighters as criminals and terrorists. This hatred campaign helps the genocide with impunity.

11.05. The anti - **National Liberation Movement** networks of the colonial government has degraded the lives of 30,000 Manipuri youths and students into drug-addicts and HIV/AIDS patients in order to distract them from joining the **National Liberation Movements**. It is noted by the government that a Cabinet Minister late Mr. Ngurdingleng has been leading the Heroin - HIV/AIDS trade some years back, till he was executed in a church in southern part of Manipur. Dailies publish news of several army personnels, and police-men, who have been caught red-handed with narcotic drugs while transporting them for trade. Nearly all of them have been released scot-free, if not rewarded with national medals and honours. No massive Heroin trade could have been possible in the thick of army, mercenaries and spies without the connivance of the colonial government.

11.06. The United Nations and its appropriate agencies, the ICRC, NAM, ASEAN, SAARC, among others, refrained from making a close watch on monitoring and deterring the de-humanizing human rights violations, committed by the Indian state terrorism and the occupation Indian army. Consequently, peace and stability in this part of the world have been a permanent casualty and would remain so until the colonial army is withdrawn as it has been done in Kosovo.

## **XII. PETITION**

12.01. The Revolutionary People's Front (RPF) wholeheartedly acclaim the UN action in the de-colonisation process and the UN's efforts to eradicate colonialism by 2000 AD. The Revolutionary People's Front (RPF) therefore, draws your kind immediate attention to the above-mentioned facts and the evidence of **colonialism**, thrust upon the people of Manipur by the Indian colonial power and its occupation forces by despatching a "**VISITING MISSION**" to Manipur on a war-footing and for hearing the **National Liberation Movement** in the appropriate forums of the UN De-colonisation Committee and the Fourth Committee, among others, of the UN General Assembly.

12.02. The Revolutionary People's Front (RPF) holds the opinion that the UN's endeavour to eradicate **colonialism** shall be materially achieved only after de-colonising proximity or, neighbourhood **colonialism** in Asia-Pacific, beyond the scope of the classical European Salt-water **colonialism**. In this sacred UN Mission, the UN cannot leave the world half-decolonised and half-recolonised. Indonesia and India, which are considered to be world-leaders in neutrality movement or, in some contexts, had non-self-governing territories or, colonies like East Timor in



Indonesia and Manipur in post-1949 India.

12.03. The Revolutionary People's Front (RPF) strongly urges upon the UN Secretary-General, UN agencies, Fourth Committee of the UN GA and the "open-ended Bureau" of the UN Special Committee on De-colonisation to kindly enlist "Manipur" in the list of NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES of the UN and initiate all necessary action **towards eradicating Indian colonialism and hostile military occupation of Manipur.**

12.04. The Revolutionary People's Front (RPF) beseechs and petitions all the appropriate UN authorities to allow the indigenous Manipur people to exercise their inalienable **right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty.**

## **SIGNATORIES**

**sd/-  
IRENGBAM CHAOREN  
PRESIDENT**

**sd/-  
SANASAM GUNEN  
SECRETARY-GENERAL**

**sd/-  
WANGKHEM IBOHAL  
SECRETARY, FINANCE**

**sd/-  
MANOHAR MAYUM NGOUBA  
VICE-PRESIDENT**

**sd/-  
YANGAMBAM GUNI  
SECRETARY, EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

**sd/-  
GURUMAYUM JAME  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER**

Dated this 21st Day of September 1999.

**sd/-  
AHANTHEM MEMA  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER**