PREFACE
The North East occupies an important strategic factor in the context of India's national security. It is composed of seven states - Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. The seven states are connected geographically with the rest of the country through the narrow Siliguri 'chicken neck'. The relative isolation has hampered the growth and development of political, economic and social integration with the rest of the country. This factor, coupled with the political aspirations of the people, inadequate understanding of the tribal way of life by the political rulers and gross negligence of the far-flung corner, has been instrumental in the outbreak of armed rebellion which has come to dominate the scene in the North East.

The problem of insurgency in the North East has been compounded by the close proximity of foreign powers who harbour vested interests in the political development of the area. The North East is surrounded by international borders; to the West lie Bangladesh, Myanmar in the South-East, China to the North and Bhutan in the North-West. Prior to the liberation of Bangladesh, East Pakistan was instrumental in propping up the insurgents of Nagaland and Mizoram. The
self-interests of these powers in encouraging the secessionist movements have intensified the conflict. The indirect involvement of the foreign powers through 'proxy war' has threatened the internal stability and security of the country. The conflict dimension has increased and expanded, hampering conflict solutions in the North East.

The thesis is a study of the complex situation in the North East which has arisen due to multiple factors: political, economic and social. The historical development has played a significant role in contributing to the volatile situation in the North East today. The present day conflict cannot be understood in isolation from the past because insurgency movements in India articulated some of the themes which go back even to pre-British rule. Therefore it is important to fully comprehend these themes. The research is based on historical analysis and descriptive study.

Chapter I is a study of the nature of conflict and its origins. Conflict utilize the means of violence to achieve its purpose, but the extent of violence varies according to the perpetrators who may be terrorists, insurgents or revolutionaries. The chapter analyses the use of violence by insurgents, who cannot isolate themselves from its use. But unlike terrorists, whose main aim is to instill fear through
extreme use of violence, insurgents avoid excessive use of violence. The tactic of guerrilla warfare adopted by insurgents is also studied in this chapter.

Chapter II studies the situation in the insurgency affected areas of the North East - Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. The study of the present day insurgency movements cannot be isolated from events of the past, and this crucial link has been traced and interpreted in this chapter. The genesis and the gradual growth and development of major insurgency groups have been analysed and discussed - their origin in the historical development which has played a major role in the emergence of anti-India consciousness and the demand for political autonomy, outside the Indian union.

Chapter III is an elaborate detailed study of the causes of insurgency movements, the immediate and indirect causes. There are multiple factors - political, economic and social which has contributed to the sense of alienation and isolation from the rest of the country. The chapter also makes a study of the causes of growing dissatisfaction of the tribals which originated from the time of imminent independence of the country and the difficulty faced in accepting an 'Indian' identity. The role of the politically conscious leaders of the tribals such as Phizo and Laldenga
made important contribution to the growth of 'tribal nationalism' which paved the way for the armed rebellion in the North-East.

Chapter IV is a study of the aims and objectives of the insurgency movements. No group can survive without a clear cut justification for its existence. There must be a better alternative offered to justify the armed movement it has chosen to adopt. Moreover, insurgency movements must have the support of the majority of the population to sustain its growth and development. In this chapter, the means and methods adopted by the groups to endear themselves and win the support and confidence of the people is studied extensively. Moreover, the important factor of foreign involvement is briefly mentioned here in relation to the objective of the insurgents to internationalize their cause and the benefits they hope to achieve through their 'contacts'.

Chapter V is an important and relevant study of the external power's role in the internal conflicts of India by encouraging and abetting the secessionist movements in the North-East. The role played by Pakistan, China, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan and Nepal have been studied in this chapter. Emphasis has been made on the role of Pakistan, which has taken place in two phases: pre-Bangladesh era and post-
Bangladesh era. The motives of the external powers and the exact nature of support has been dealt with. The clandestine support, its 'highs' and 'lows' in the never-ending secessionist movements have also been analysed. The shift in priorities of the foreign powers in relation to the internal situation in India and the advantage and disadvantage for the North East insurgents has also been studied. The threat perception the support to the insurgents has evoked to India's security and internal stability has been highlighted.

Chapter VI is a study of the measures adopted to check the insurgency movements through counter-insurgency measures. Counter-insurgency operation in the North East is a daunting task, and this chapter has studied and analysed its scope, limitations and prospects. The induction of the Army and para-military forces has had limited success and the main stumbling block has been the inability of the security forces to win over the local people to assist them. The factors responsible for such inability has been also studied in this chapter. The issue of attempting to quell armed rebellion through armed confrontation and its apparent failure also been emphasised here. The importance of involving other factors, political, economic and social has also been analysed.
Chapter VII deals with the innumerable problems which has continued to challenge the integration of the Northeast with the rest of the country and the dangers they pose to the security of the country. The situation in the North East will fail to improve unless there is a fresh look into the problems besetting the area. The chapter deals with the search for solutions to the vexed problems and means to encompass the whole area to the political and emotional integration with the rest of the country. The distinct identity of the people must be respected and protected, and genuine concern for their development and progress will encourage the people to lock towards India for solutions to their problems. The North East today is confronted with multiple problems-insurgency, ethnic feud, communal threat and population movement movements which require positive and immediate peace building process.