CHAPTER - 3
CAUSES OF INSURGENCY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT OF NORTHEAST
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Introduction

Insurgency is an organized armed struggle by a section of the local population against the state, usually with foreign support. Possible causes of an insurgency include ideological, ethnic or linguistic differences; or politico-socio-economic reasons and/or fundamentalism and extremism. Interference by external forces or inept handling of the situation may act as a catalyst to provide impetus to the movement.\(^1\) Whereas, Counter insurgency is the use of all measures of the government activity to combat insurgency, including operations by the military, central para military forces, economic development, political reforms and perception management aimed at winning ‘hearts and minds’ of the people.\(^2\)

According to US Counter Insurgency (COIN) Operations Doctrine, ‘Insurgency is the organized use of subversion and violence by a group or movement that seeks to overthrow or force change of a governing authority. Insurgency can also refer to the group itself. An insurgent is a member of that group. When compared to their adversaries, insurgents generally have strong will but limited means. Although some insurgents have no interest in working within any political system, it is this relative disparity of means that normally drives groups to use insurgency to alleviate core grievances. Additionally, this relative disparity of means also drives the insurgents to use subversion, guerrilla warfare, and terrorism, in the face of capable counter insurgent forces. Insurgency requires few resources to initiate, yet it ties up significant resources to counter as the insurgents seek to exhaust the government in an effort to be effective in the long term. Insurgency allows a group time to potentially gain public support, expand, and secure external moral and material support; it seeks to erode the opposition’s will, influence, and power. In its early phases, insurgency may only be loosely organized with competing interests amongst its subgroups. Typical insurgencies only become a military concern when normal political process and law

\(^1\) Indian Army Doctrine for Sub Conventional Operations, 2006.
\(^2\) Ibid.
enforcement methods are insufficient. Insurgencies are complex, dynamic, and adaptive; they can rapidly shift, split, combine, or reorganize'.

COIN is comprehensive civilian and military efforts taken to defeat an insurgency and to address any core grievances. COIN is primarily political and incorporates a wide range of activities, of which security is only one. Unified action is required to successfully conduct COIN operations. Civilian agencies should lead US efforts. When operational conditions do not permit a civilian agency to lead COIN within a specific area, the joint force commander must be cognizant of the unified action required for effective COIN. Ideally, all COIN efforts protect the population, defeat the insurgents, reinforce the home nation’s (HN’s) legitimacy, and build HN capabilities. COIN efforts include, but are not limited to, political, diplomatic, economic, health, financial, intelligence, and law enforcement, legal, informational, military, paramilitary, psychological, and civic actions. Insurgency and COIN are two sides of one conflict. Insurgents seek to gain power to overthrow or force change of a governing authority. Conversely, counterinsurgents seek to defeat insurgents and address core grievances to prevent insurgency’s expansion or regeneration.

**Insurgent Movements across the World**

**Malaya Insurgency**

One of the successful insurgency resolution movements was that of the Malaya insurgency during the period when it was under the British colonial era. In June 1948, the communist’s terrorists murdered the British rubber planters resulting in the commencement of insurgency and declaring of the emergency. The civilians were targeted by the insurgents so as to cripple the British authorities. The “Briggs Plan” which was formulated by General Sir Harold Briggs was adopted and executed under the aegis of Sir Gerald Templar which comprised of a number of civil – military initiatives. The aim was to bring

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4 Briggs’ Plan was a military plan devised by British General Sir Harold Briggs shortly after his appointment in 1950 as Director of Operations in the anti-communist war in Malaya. The plan aimed to defeat the Malayan communists, who were operating out of rural areas as a guerrilla army, primarily by cutting them off from their sources of support amongst the population. To this end, a massive program of forced resettlement of Malayan peasantry was undertaken, under which about 300,000 people (roughly ten percent of Malaya’s population) were eventually removed from the land and interned in guarded camps called “New Villages”. At http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/wars_malaya.html
together command and control of the government forces so that an actionable framework could be executed. The government could resettle people who had become victims to the guerillas from the jungles to secure new villages which had the requisite infrastructure, thus cutting the lifeline of the insurgent’s intelligence and logistics. Some very serious steps were taken for counter insurgency operations by the government to include refining of command and control arrangements, centralized Intelligence, revitalization of the police and a psychological warfare campaign unleashed. Simultaneously, foundations were laid for independence and till 1954; the communist terrorists were fought and broken up. By 1960, the emergency was over and so were the counter insurgency operations in Malaya.  

There are major lessons from this campaign for the counter insurgency in India. The important ones are that the people power was on the British side, there was a political will and a clear cut policy was enunciated to deal with the situation. The idea of ‘winning hearts and minds’ as counter insurgency strategy in India’s north east came during this period. However, it has failed in eradicating the problem in the Indian north east for mainly two sets of reasons as follows:-  

(a) The inability of the military, police and the civilian administrators to work hand in hand.  

(b) The Indian army is not innately geared to waging a ‘no holds barred’ sub-conventional operations.  

Sri Lanka -  

The three decade ethnic conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese was a major victory for the Sri Lanka military in May 2009. It is being visualized as a case of military action in resolving the insurgency. There are some lessons which are of merit for the counter insurgency operations. These are as follows:  

(a) Insurgent groups must make use of the opportunities provided for peace and settlement by the government and other authorities.  

(b) It should not be taken for granted that the problem has been resolved by the military actions. What is important is that has the peace been brought about in the area and that there are no divisions, be it ethnic or otherwise.  

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(c) The military actions cannot result in human rights violations.
(d) Political will and resolute leadership is the need of the hour.
(e) External support to the insurgents from the neighbourhood needs to be cut.
(f) The military actions involved use of the armed forces in all respects to include the army, navy and air force.

**Afghanistan**

In 2001, the United States led coalition invaded Afghanistan. There were five key premises to this war and they were to drive back the Taliban with a war of attrition, provide total domestic control for Afghan officials, financial support to win over the local tribes, toleration of Pakistan as a sanctuary for the enemy and make the Afghan forces to be self contained to fight their own war. However, the US and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) forces chose to remain in Afghanistan for a long period with the aim to build a democratic nation. Their thought process involved that dollars would replace bullets and development projects would replace shooting the enemy, thus bringing in another military doctrine of economic determinism.

As per the US Counter Insurgency (COIN) doctrine, primary mission of counter insurgency is to form a protective, mutually beneficial bond with the local population. They were able to achieve this through combined platoons of US troops and village militias in Vietnam, while in Afghanistan the same is being done with the village militias on a much smaller scale. However, the locals do not co-operate because of fear. The coalition forces have imposed the strictest rules of engagement. Instructions to the soldiers are that they will return fire once they have ascertained an enemy and the civilians in the vicinity are safe. Officers, non-commissioned officers, and enlisted troops train, deploy, bond, and fight as a pack. The commanding officers direct their sub-units to remain diligent, tactically proficient and never to be caught off-guard. In spite of the lavish aid by the coalition, the Afghan government has also not been able to achieve results by establishing good relations with the Pashtun tribes and neither having a well motivated army which is capable of defeating the smaller guerilla force. Thus, a strategy which had aimed to persuade the people to turn against the insurgents.

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6 *op. cit. no. 81.*
failed to win the commitment of the tribes. As regards the counter insurgency, missions will be limited to the battlefield: detecting and destroying insurgent camps and safe havens and training and advising indigenous security forces. At the end of it, it is unlikely that the United States will try to defeat an insurgency by building a nation again.\textsuperscript{7}

**The North Eastern Region -
Ethnic Identity**

Ethnic aspiration has been a natural instinct of mankind since time immemorial and has been based in different form, colour and manifestation. This led to fierce competitions in ethnic supremacy by ethnic and sub-ethnic communities. Ethnic supremacy involved expansion of tribes and clans, subjugation, ethnic cleansing and also formation of ethnic political parties. In the region before 1960’s, people from their states were known by their identity like Assamese from Assam, Manipuri from Manipur, Naga from Nagaland etc. However, after the emergence of insurgency, the chemistry of the ethnic equation underwent a change. This had resulted in most of the ethnic/sub ethnic groups identifying themselves with their tribe and communities name and the insurgent groups exploiting the chemistry with the use of their flags and the gun. This paved the way for the ethnic politics becoming the mother of the ethnic crisis and conflicts.

These ethnic crisis and conflicts have come about in a phased manner and has been an end result of desires, fear psychosis, desperate attitudes, despair and acts of omissions and commissions. This ethnic identity has over the years crippled the socio-economic development in the region. Some of the insurgent groups are identifying themselves with various insurgent outfits so that they can gain mileage for political and natural survival. In turn, the politicians and political parties have been associating with the powerful insurgent groups to win elections. If the parties don’t identify themselves with the groups, they feel that it will result in their defeat and despair primarily because the rule of the law of the land is overshadowed by the rule of ethnic interest and rule of the gun and violence. A brief overview of the situations in India’s north east is as -

\textsuperscript{7} www.globalpost.com/.../counterinsurgency-doctrine-COIN-Afghanist...
Nagaland -

Geography and Population -

Nagaland is a small state covering an area of approximately 16,000 sq km and has a population of 1,980,602 with a literacy rate of 63.7%. It is bounded by Longding district of Arunachal Pradesh in the north, Myanmar in the east (215Km), Manipur in the south and Cachar hills, Mikir hills and Sibsangar district of Assam in the west. The state is divided into districts of Dimapur, Kohima, Phek, Tuensang, Mon, Mokokchung, Zunheboto, Wokha, Longleng, Kiphire with Kohima as the state capital.

Most of the terrain is at an altitude between 500m and 2000m above mean sea level, though some heights even rise up to 3000m. Saramti (3,800m) on Myanmar border is the highest peak. Patkai Range forms a mountain wall between India and Myanmar. Other important ranges are Mooching, Wokha, Zunhenoto and Japhu. The hills are covered with dense jungle with thick undergrowth making the movement very difficult. Hills are composed of rack and loose earth which causes frequent landslides blocking the roads and tracks which are generally cut

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into the side of the ridges they follow. The villages are located mostly on hilltop.

The population of Nagaland is almost entirely tribal. The nature of the country and its geography determined the way of life of these tribes. Due to difficult nature of terrain, contacts with one another were difficult and were not appreciated due to mistrust. The isolation was practically complete and hence, each tribe developed its own customs, traditions and practice as well as dialects making conversation almost impossible between various tribes. Till today, the territories of different tribes are generally delineated by distinct geographical feature. Because of isolation, the Naga remained loyal to his family, his clan and his village, in that order. Head hunting prevalent as late as till 1990 added to his isolation and enhanced clan loyalty. This affinity remains unchanged for centuries and survives even today.

Considering that the hill tribes could be swamped by the plains people, the British under the authority conferred on the government for summary legislation for backward areas, promulgated the inner line regulations. By doing so, the hill tribal areas were re-designated excluded areas under this promulgation. Thus, the Nagas were excluded from coming under such laws as were unsuitable for them. There was an iota of separatism as fallout of this.

The Nagas are presently occupying the area bounded by the Hudkawang Valley in the north east, the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley to the North West, and Cachar to the south west and of the Chindwin to the east. In the south, the Manipur valley roughly marks the point of contact between the Naga tribes and the very much closely interrelated group of Kuki tribes. In Myanmar, the Nagas are concentrated in the Somrah Tract bordering India, which comes under the Kachin state and the Saging Sub Division.

Each tribe has a distinct dialect of its own and also their own tribal organization called “The HoHo”, which means parliament under which there is a village council chairman. Majority of Nagas follow American Baptists denomination of Christianity, though of late Roman Catholic have started working and found good response from the people. The major tribes are Tangkhul, Konyak, Semas, AO, Lothas, Angamis, Zeliangs, Chakesang, Khemungans, Rengma, Sangtham, Yimchunger, Phom, Zemis, Pochury and Chang. Tangkhul tribe has
different language and customs as compared to other tribes. They dominate in the Naga politics and social life.\textsuperscript{10}

The Naga people and their separatist attitude hardly allowed them to come together and form a common social and political platform with the result that various Naga tribes belonging to the same common stock remained untouched to one another.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Immigration into Nagaland -}

It has been an ongoing process and is mainly from Assam after obtaining fraudulent documents such as driving license, voter’s card and ration card. Most of them have settled along the Assam –Nagaland border and Dimapur. These immigrants provide cheap and skilled labour. Nagas are averse towards manual labour. Illegal immigration has become an economic, social, demographic and political problem of the state. There is also a cause of worry that illegal immigration may become an ethnic group.\textsuperscript{12} Nagaland’s mineral wealth (coal, limestone, iron, nickel, cobalt, chromium and marble) is immense, though

\textsuperscript{10} Based on personal interviews.

\textsuperscript{11} Army Museum-Tribes of Nagaland, Zakhama.

\textsuperscript{12} Amarjeet Singh, “A Study on Illegal Immigration into North East”, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, Paper No. 8, November 2009.
unexplored yet. It has made remarkable progress in small and medium industries.

**Naga Insurgency -**

It is the oldest insurgency of Independent India. The Naga National Council (NNC) was formed in 1946. The Naga –Akbar Hydari Accord 1947\(^\text{13}\) was signed between the Naga National Council (NNC) and the British administration under the aegis of Sir Akbar Hydari, the governor of Assam. It granted Nagaland protected status for ten years, after which the Nagas could decide to stay or not to stay in the Union of India. However, the British withdrew soon after that and independent India proclaimed the Naga territory as a part of the Republic of India. The NNC proclaimed Nagaland’s independence resulting in retaliation by the Indian authorities by arresting the Naga leaders and an armed struggle.

On 14 August 1947, NNC declared Naga Independence signed by nine members. Angami Zapu Phizo, the leader of the NNC raised the Naga home guards, which later became the Naga Underground Army (NUA) and started operating against the government forces from 1953 onwards. The Nagas have a grievance against the central government for ceding the territory between the present Indo–Myanmar border and river Chindwin to Myanmar, thus dividing the Thankuls into two much against the wishes of the people. In 1955, when the situation deteriorated, the Army was called and deployed.

The Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) was formed in 1955. Phizo escaped to East Pakistan and sought help from their government, who were too keen to provide support in terms of training and equipping them with weapons. The NUA also received training and arms from the Chinese, after they had crossed over via Burma into the Yunan Province. The NUA had established good relations with the Kachin independent army (KIA). The well trained and equipped NUA ambushed the Indian army and the Indian para military forces in the Naga Hills and the Naga dominated areas of Manipur.

The emergence of insurgency brought in various types of hardships to the public who already had poor living conditions. The educated and moderates started a political movement to gain maximum autonomy within the Constitution of India. The Naga National Organisation (NNO) adopted by the moderates came

\(^{13}\) See Annexure A.
into existence. There was a 16 point agreement signed in July 1960 with the NNO. The state of Nagaland was formed on 1st December 1963 and a semblance of peace prevailed for almost a decade before violence returned in 1972. A movement to bring the militants to the mainstream was successful and the Shillong Accord was signed on 11th November 1975 with a supplement Agreement on 5th January 1976 under which the insurgents accepted the Constitution of India. Thereafter, NNC was divided. The Naga Leaders who were not party to this accord formed the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). However, during this period there were about 150 undergrounds insurgents that were undergoing training in China. They denounced the accord and took the decision to establish bases in Myanmar under the leadership of Isaac Swu and Th Muivah.

National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) -

On their return from China and seeing that no unity amongst the Nagas could be revived, Thuingaleng Muivah, a Thangkul Naga from Ukhrul district from Manipur and Issac Swu, a Sema Naga from the Naga Hills formed National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) in 1980. They were hardliners and didn’t agree to the peace agreement and wanted independence. The undergrounds insurgents executed many top Naga leaders who didn’t accept communism and in addition commenced illegal activities and raids on soft targets. Their activities included collection of taxes and recruiting personnals who were being sent to China and north Myanmar for training. Split in NSCN in 1988 resulted in a coup and counter coup on account of power struggle within the organisation. This resulted in a vertical split of NSCN, leading to formation of two groups i.e. NSCN (Issac – Muivah) and NSCN (Khaplang). It was split along the tribal lines with Tangkhuls and Semas (NSCN (IM) parting from Konyaks (NSCN (K)). The NSCN (IM) shifted to Myanmar opposite the Ukhrul District of Manipur and the areas along the Nagaland Assam border. However, NSCN (K) continued their bases in Myanmar.

Split in NSCN (K) -

On June 7, 2011, a meeting of the Khaplang faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-K) ‘expelled’ its chairman, S.S. Khaplang,

14 See Annexure B.
on charges of behaving in a unilateral and dictatorial manner. This essentially meant that the NSCN-K has split with those who have expelled Khaplang choosing General’ Khole Konyak, until now the group’s commander-in-chief, as their new chairman. The outfit dropped Khaplang from its name, and is known as Government of the Peoples Republic of Nagaland (GPRN)/NSCN. Khaplang is continuing under the original name, NSCN-K, as he still has a considerable following and can command his cadres from his base in Myanmar. The NSCN now has three factions — the Isak-Muivah faction, the GPRN/NSCN splinter headed by Khole Konyak and the NSCN-K headed by Khaplang. On June 10, 2011, Khaplang had retaliated with the counter-expulsion of several breakaway leaders, has also formally declared that his group would not be part of the Naga reconciliation process.

Cease –Fire Agreement –

There was a 16 Point Agreement which was signed between the government of India and the Naga people’s convention in July 1960. Thereafter, after a number of talks, a cease fire agreement was signed between the government of India and NSCN (IM) in December 1997 and NSCN (K) in 2001. After the split, ceasefire agreements were signed by the Government of India and NSCN (K) and GPRN/NSCN in 2012. There is an indefinite ceasefire with the NSCN (IM) by the Government of India, but the ceasefire with the NSCN (K) and GPRN/NSCN will be renewed annually.

Cease Fire Ground Rules –

The revised ground rules for cease fire finalized between the government of India and NSCN (IM) on 13th January 2001. On 11 April 2001, the cease fire ground rules were finalized between the NSCN (K) and after the split the ground rules have been finalized with NSCN (K) and GPRN/NSCN on 3 May 2012 and 27 April 2012 respectively. The grounds rules vary with each group. Some important rules which need to be highlighted are as follows:

a) The insurgent groups will not engage in any violent armed conflict.

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16 See Annexure C.
17 www.satp.org/.../nagaland/.../revised_rules_cease_fire_goi_nscn_im....
18 See Annexure D.
b) The insurgent groups will live in the designated camps or cordoned off sites mutually agreed by both the state and the group.

c) The insurgent groups will not engage in any illegal activities like extortion, kidnapping etc., and put weapons in double lock mode.

d) Important leader can carry his small weapon with two bodyguards. No personnel of the ceasefire (CF) or suspension of operations (SOO) group will show any weapon while passing through any village or built up area.

e) Place intended to be visited will be notified by Ceasefire Monitoring Group (CFMG) to concerned state Deputy Commissioner (DC)/ Superintendent of Police (SP) in writing.

f) It will be ensured that there is no training imparted or weapons are provided to any other insurgent groups.

g) None of the factions will showcase their weapons publically.

These initiatives became successful when the ceasefire agreement with the NSCN (IM) was signed on August 1, 1997. However, not much of headway has been made even after 15 years of ceasefire with them which does not speak too good of the efforts by the government. The main reason is that the NSCN(IM) which was on the defensive during the signing of the agreement is now a monster that is dictating terms to the Government of India primarily due to the extended ceasefire with little or no monitoring. It is pertinent to mention that a ceasefire is signed with an adversary recognised as equal which in this case implies that this recognition was given to the NSCN (IM) particularly with the provision that the faction was allowed to retain its weapons when it was a still a secessionist organisation. This flaw equated the faction with the government of India thus compromising the government’s position and in turn its authority.

In Nagaland, there is a CFMG headed by a Lieutenant/Major General (retired) of the army which was formed in 1997, after the ceasefire agreement was signed between the NSCN (IM) and Union of India. Major General N. George (retired) was heading the CFMG till 31 March 2013. The ceasefire monitoring group enforces the ceasefire ground rules and monitors violation of rules by the security forces and the NSCN (IM). The members of this are the representatives of the security forces, intelligence agencies, government officials and the members of
the NSCN. The same body is termed Ceasefire Supervisory Board (CFSB) in the case of NSCN (K) and GPRN/NSCN or NSCN (Khole). On 29 February 2012, the chairman of the ceasefire monitoring cell Major General N George (retired) highlighted that the government of India has decided against anymore designated camps other than the NSCN (K) sub office at Dimapur, which will also not be close to the populated areas.\textsuperscript{19}

**Ambiguities in the Ceasefire Ground Rules -**

There are some major ambiguities in the ground rules due to which the groups are taking undue advantage and are engaged in consolidation. They are also trying to undermine the constitutional authority of the state. The signing of the ceasefire had also resulted in thinning out of the armed forces. Some of the ambiguities are as follows:

a) **Recruitment** - The groups are resorting to forced recruiting of personnel in guise of voluntary enrolment. This is resulting in the strengths of the factions to increase and can be a force to reckon with after some time. The factions convey that they are a recognized armed faction and are thus authorized to carry out voluntary recruitment so as to maintain their strength.

b) **Extortion** - The factions are carrying out extortion using the taxation ploy and they dictate terms to deposit the money. The money so collected is not only being used for daily functioning, but also to procure arms and ammunition. The ground rules do not mention anything about acquiring additional arms and ammunition.

c) **Legal issues** - The factions claim that there are no Indian laws which are applicable to them as per the ground rules and they, thus, cannot be brought under national security act or handed over to the police.

d) **Harassment of the Civil Population** - The group continues to harass the population, by way of intimidation. This is achieved by the movement of the armed cadres all over the state in uniform.

e) **Increase in Number of Inter Factional Clashes (IFCs)/Inter Factional Killings (IFKs)** - Due to the open movement of the groups, there has been

\textsuperscript{19} www.northeastoday.in/.../nagaland/no-more-new-designated-camp-i...
an increase in the number of IFCs/IFKs.

(f) **Support to Other Groups** - The groups have been providing support to other underground groups like the ULFA and PLA.

(g) **Formulated without Armed Forces involvement** - The ceasefire ground rules were evidently formulated without the involvement of the armed forces.

**Demand for Nagalim** –

Due to the changed circumstances and the prolonged conflict with the armed forces, the original demand of independence has now become sovereignty and integration of all Naga areas. The NSCN (IM)’s key demand is for greater Nagaland or Nagalim which implies unification of all Naga inhabited areas comprising entire Ngaland and some areas of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam, alongwith some portion of Myanmar. It will spread over approximately 1,20,000 sq. km. in contrast to the present state of Nagaland that has an area of 16,527 sq. km.

NSCN (IM) is laying claim to the Karbi Anglong and north Cachar hills districts of Assam, and also some parts of the districts of Golaghat, Sivasagar, Dibrugarh, Tinsukhia and Jorhat. In Arunachal Pradesh, it has included Dibang Valley, Lohit, Tirap, Changlang and Longdong Districts. In Manipur, it has included significant parts of the districts of Tamenglong, Senapati, Ukhrul and Chandel. The states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur have been strongly opposing inclusion of any Naga – inhabited areas of their states in the proposed Nagalim- the single administration entity to be created by integrating all Naga inhabited areas, which the NSCN (IM) has been proposing.20

**Eastern Nagaland People's Organization (ENPO)** –

Six major tribal groups in insurgency-hit Nagaland, Chang, Konyak, Sangtam, Khiamniungan, Yimchungre and Phom communities under the aegis of ‘Eastern Nagaland People’s Organization - (ENPO)’ are demanding a separate state comprising of under developed Tuensang, Longleng, Kiphire, Mon districts of Nagaland under the constitution of India. The ENPO has expressed their concern over the non development of the region. On 25 July 2011, the Nagaland

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20 Based on personal interviews.
cabinet adopted a resolution recommending to the centre to create an autonomous
council comprising of the four districts which will have an authority to administer
the area with legislative, administrative, executive and financial powers. The
recommendation of the cabinet had a certain background that was reflected in the
provisions of article 371-A (2) of the constitution of India.\textsuperscript{21} However, the ENPO
though welcoming the proposal stood on firm ground for a full- fledged statehood.

Eastern Nagaland comprising of these districts has not received the
attention of the state government and has always been seen as a backward area.
With the ENPO gaining support, it will become imperative for the state
government to allot a worthwhile budget for implementation to develop the area.
The demand is considered to be a setback for the outfits like NSCN (IM), which is
now engaged in peace negotiations with the government after leading a six-
decade-long bloody insurgency movement. This has also put the Forum for Naga
Reconciliation (FNR) on a back foot. However, NSCN (K) is supporting the
ENPO for the simple reason that bulk of its cadres are from the tribes that
constitute ENPO.

\textbf{Spill over of Naga Insurgency –}

There has been a spillover of the Naga insurgency into the territories which
are beyond the Nagaland state boundary. Fratricidal violence between the Naga
groups, in fact carries over into the neighbouring state of Arunachal Pradesh.
Beyond Arunachal Pradesh, the Naga groups especially the NSCN (IM), continues
to operate in Manipur, Assam and Tripura.

\textbf{Extortion and Corruption –}

The state government has spelt out that unabated tax collection/ extortion is
going on in all works of the state. However, they clarified that such collection
cannot be termed as extortion as the givers are both voluntary and reluctant.
Orders have been given to the government departments to not pay taxes however
nothing can be done to the individual contribution. It has been observed that it is
not only the private organizations, factions which are involved; even the
administrative pillars of the state are hand in glove in the act. This has affected the

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{The Tribune}, Chandigarh, 26 July 2011.
local economy and the worst affected are the traders.\textsuperscript{22}

Trucks are requisitioned by the Food Corporation of India at Dimapur for carriage of rice to Manipur. These trucks have to pay annual taxes to various insurgent groups to include NSCN (IM), FGN, UNPC, KRA etc. In addition, armed insurgents come into the godowns to extort money. It appears that the home guards deployed for security are in connivance with the groups. The national highway (NH-39) Nagaland –Manipur is a goldmine for the cops and the highwaymen. The money is extorted at the various check posts of the police and of the insurgent groups. The resultant effect of this is on the prices of the commodities which become exorbitant in Manipur.\textsuperscript{23}

**Present Profile of the Major Stake Holders -**

**NSCN (IM) –**

The NSCN (IM) is continuing its aim of military consolidation and is considered a powerful insurgent group in the north east. It is also attempting to strengthen its hold over Nagaland in the NSCN (K)’s traditional support base areas in particular with the help of NSCN (Khole). It enjoys a strong support from some political parties and politicians in Nagaland. Serious problems are being created by most of its cadres during the cease fire period. The cadres are enjoying the comforts of the urban society thus making them soft. There are serious differences between the Sema - Thangkul Nagas. The group is concerned about its image which has resulted in them starting a mass contact programme. In view of the prevailing situation, the group is apprehensive of the government of India /armed forces stance towards NSCN (K).

In the near future, the group will continue to honour the ceasefire agreement till there is hope of a solution through political dialogue. The group is involved in recruitment, procurement of arms, and other war like stores as well as collection of taxes/extortion. It is amenable to the thought of unification with NSCN (K), but on the terms and conditions as enunciated by them. However, there are chances of it abrogating the ceasefire if the negotiations do not progress to their satisfaction, if the government of India makes any attempts to include NSCN (K) in the peace talks especially as an equal partner, if the group is provoked due

\textsuperscript{22} Based on personal interviews.

\textsuperscript{23} The Sangai Express, Manipur, 17 October 2010.
to unreasonable unilateral action by the security forces to curb their movement/activity and if it is forced with serious cadre management problems.

There is a strong growing resentment by the people against the atrocities of the NSCN (IM), which needs to be exploited by the armed forces and the state in order to garner support. The faction has a standoff with the Naga ‘Ho Ho’ and the church leaders.\textsuperscript{24}

**NSCN (K) –**

The aim of the group is to integrate all Nagas primarily towards Naga inhabited areas of Myanmar. Presently, the group is quite happy with the ceasefire agreement and the arrangements in place. The group has suffered setbacks due to the split and is presently trying to attempt its revival by re-establishing links with China, agreement with the Myanmar government, strengthening its ties with other groups and has commenced fresh recruitment. The group is also actively engaged in turf war to attain supremacy in the areas of Tirap, Changlang and Longding in Arunachal Pradesh. NSCN (K) escorts its influence in the northern districts of Mon, and parts of Tuensang and Mokokchung while the NSCN (IM) is dominant in the rest of state.

The group is likely to continue with the arrangements of the ceasefire. They will in all probabilities continue to conduct operations against the NSCN (IM) so as to evict them from their traditional support bases.\textsuperscript{25}

**Ceasefire Agreement by NSCN (K) with the Myanmar Government –**

A bilateral ceasefire agreement was signed by the NSCN (K) and the Myanmar government on April 9, 2012. This is the only faction which has signed a ceasefire with two countries. The Myanmar government has come up with a three stage proposal for the Nagas of Myanmar. These are ceasefire, economic development and political negotiations. After the signing of the agreement, Myanmar has given the following leeway to the group\textsuperscript{26};

a) Autonomy in the three districts of Sagaing Division and these are Lahe, Laysea and Nanyang.

b) Self administration in the area of Kachin District.

\textsuperscript{24} Based on personal interviews.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} www.rediff.com › News.
c) Cadres can move unarmed anywhere in Myanmar.

This has led to the authority of Khaplang being increased and is thus calling the shots there. Khaplang is supporting the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and the Manipuri outfits.

**GPRN/NSCN**

The group is Sema dominated and has stated that it has got involved in the agreement with the Government of India for the Nagas within the geographic boundaries of Nagaland only.

**Zeliangrong United Front (ZUF)**

The front was formed on 25 February 2011, and their aim was to provide recognition to the Zeliangrong tribe and the region. There have been clashes between the NSCN (IM) and the ZUF which has resulted in a turf war in the region of Peren, Tenning in Nagaland and has spilled over in the Tamenglong region of Manipur. This has become a cause of worry for the NSCN (IM) in their overall plan of Nagalim. This becomes an ideal opportunity for the state to take advantage and thus weaken the faction.

**Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR)**

Forum for Naga reconciliation (FNR) was formed on 24 February 2008 at Kohima and consists of all sections of the Naga society. The aim of the FNR is to ensure reconciliation and unity amongst Nagas and the factions. They advised the tribal community elders, leaders and citizens to be disciplined and vigilant. The forum wanted the un-disciplined undergrounds/over ground workers to work for the main stream, to shun violence and come together for peace. The NSCN (K) has been reluctant to take part in the FNR talks. This is a true reflection of the rift between the factions.

**State Government**

In Nagaland, the Nagaland people’s party (NPF) led democratic alliance of Nagaland (DAN) has been in power since 2003 and is a stable government with 38 seats in a house of 60. The chief minister Mr. N. Rio has been able to marginalize most of the political rivals to include the congress. The state government has been facing problems between their constitutional obligations and dealings with the
NSCN factions with whose support they came to power, which as per the information is NSCN(IM). Lately, it is trying to woo the eastern Nagas.

The main issue of worry is that the state government is not a signatory to the ceasefire with the NSCN groups and considers insurgency a political problem to be dealt with by the centre. This has resulted in the sufferings to the common man as the state government is not taking any stringent actions against the cadres. However, the state has formed a joint working committee, which is now known as the joint legislative forum (JLF). The central and the state government can take the following steps to weaken the NSCN middle rung leadership;

a) The strength and weaknesses of the insurgent leaders need to be identified.

b) Tribal affinity of the leadership needs to be exploited.

c) Subversion of the lower rung leaders after they have been identified is an important step.

d) Rift can be created in the NSCN hierarchy by psychological operations.

e) The NSCN leaders are living in style and this need to be exposed.

Current Situation -

a) Peace talks by the central government with NSCN (IM) which is the most potent and dangerous group with a highly motivated and euphoric leadership are in progress. The state government and the armed forces that are conducting operations and are key stakeholders are not a link in the agreement and this is a big drawback. It is imperative that the rule of law is re-established and the state government is made a part of the solution.

b) It is imperative that if all the factions reconcile and distant themselves from the path of violence it will result in facilitating an amicable solution.

c) The government of India needs to engage the factions of NSCN so as to achieve a comprehensive peace in Nagaland. With the split having taken place, the government of India should avail this opportunity to engage the NSCN (K) faction from a position of strength.

d) Nagaland is presently lacking in governance by the state. There is a parallel government under the aegis of NSCN (IM) and other cadres which is under control and carries out coercion, forcible tax collection and extortion.
Nagaland is in a state of near anarchy. The print media carries the diktats of the groups prominently and is never questioned. However, there is the population which is tired of the so called ideologues. This dissent against the state government takes the form of large scale agitations. The turf war between the cadres has also included the Longding, Tirap and Changlang districts of Arunachal Pradesh.

e) The armed forces are constrained by the ceasefire which has compounded the adverse law and order situation.

f) Muslims from Bangladesh and illegal migrants from Assam are on the increase. This could in the near future have an impact on the security environment. The state government along with the civil society needs to curb this influx.

g) The demand of the ENPO will have an implication on the overall resolution of the Naga political issue. The NSCN (IM) is looking for a solution outside the constitution of India while ENPO is demanding the statehood within the constitution of India. With its demand of “Frontier Nagaland”, ENPO has driven a wedge between the so-called ‘advanced tribes’ of western Nagaland and the backward tribes of ‘Eastern Nagaland’.

h) Eastern Nagaland is gaining importance due to the demand of the ENPO; therefore, the state government needs to allot more budget for development.

i) Nagaland doesn’t have a surrender policy and the state has no money for rehabilitation. The state government is of the view that presently, the ceasefire exists with the NSCN factions and thus do not want to encourage surrenders otherwise the situation can become a back door entry for unemployed youth/criminals.

j) The ceasefire agreement between the NSCN (K) and the Myanmar government is a matter of serious concern.

k) Elections in the state in 2013 have resulted in a thumping victory for Mr Rio and he is now wooing Christianity as the religion in the state.

l) Reports about the procurement of arms by the factions especially NSCN (IM) is a cause of worry.
m) There has been an unprecedented increase in the strength of the cadres and also in acquisition of arms and ammunition of the NSCN factions, while they are in the ceasefire mode and in the designated camps. These Government camps of each faction are spread all over Nagaland with little control over their activities and are a cancerous presence that spread their effect into respective areas of influence, resulting in extortion. This is not a happy situation and can create problems at a later stage.

n) There is a major problem being experienced in containing extortion/kidnapping and that is the infiltration of the insurgent sympathizers in the police ranks. Thus, there is a strong case for inducting armed police forces from other states in exchange as a temporary measure.

o) The businesses and the development projects have been adversely affected by the extortion. The end result is that the industry has been killed and the sick public sector units continue to be a drain on the central exchequer. It has not spared even the individual incomes and if there is any resentment, then it is only tampered by the gun.

There are ample examples in history which have revealed that accords, agreements etc. had become successful after a prolonged and sustained negotiations with the premise of accommodating each other’s views. To arrive at an amicable solution, there is a need for give and take. It is imperative that all the major stake holders realize this for the sake of the Naga people, who have been at the receiving end for the last six decades and need to reconcile. The NSCN factions also should sit across the table and narrow down their demands so that each other’s point of view can also be accommodated.

The credibility of the government of India has eroded to the extent that gaining acceptability of the people of Nagaland to achieve any political agreement has been rendered a great challenge. This has been primarily due to the lingering perception of manipulation in dealing with the Nagas. The government on the other hand has taken comfort in the fact that it has been able to broker a relative peace. The government has one of its conditions that it would hold talks with the NSCN (IM) only as the sole representative of the Nagas. The government in order to achieve a political agreement must insist on a pre condition that the armed
cadres are demobilized and disarmed because this is a risk to the society and progress of the state. It is important that primacy of the government of India is established and enforcement is the key.

Nagaland chief minister Neiphiu Rio met Myanmar ambassador to India Mr. U. Zin Yaw on 16 June 2011 at Myanmar embassy in New Delhi to discuss the development activities in Naga inhabited areas of the neighbouring country. The chief minister referred to the large number of Nagas living in Myanmar and apprised him of their problems and development needs. He conveyed that the people of Nagaland are happy that Myanmar government had recognised the Nagas and gave them representation in Myanmar’s new political and democratic discourse.27

Assam -

Assam is the gateway to north east India and comprises of riverine plains, interspersed with low hills, reserve forest and numerous nallahs and rivers. It is bounded by Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. It shares borders with Bangladesh (263Km) and Bhutan (262 Km). 28 Assam has an area of 78480 sq km with a population of 31,169,272 and literacy rate of 76.3%.29 It is connected to the rest of India by a narrow corridor at Siliguri. In 1947, Sylhet less Karimganj division was transferred to Pakistan thus Assam and north east region remained isolated from the rest of India for over two years. Assam was linked with rest of India in 1950.

Assam is a melting point of many cultures and has a large number of tribes. The main tribes of Assam are Ahoms, Aitunias, Bodo kacharis, Diaris, Dimasab, Kabis, Rabhas, Santhals, Hajong, Sonwoals, Lalungs, Meshings and Tai khamyang. The main demographic pattern is composed of Assamase (Hindus and Muslims), Bodos and others including Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains besides the tribals. Due to the demographic pattern, the society is unable to absorb rate of development, thus vulnerable to insurgency. Minority areas are vulnerable to ethnic clashes. Demographic pattern generally dictates areas of influence of various militants groups.

27 zeenews.india.com/news/.../nagaland-cm-meets-myanmar-ambassado...
28 op. cit. no. 90.
The river Brahmaputra dominates the valley of Assam and dictates certain norms on the way of life for the civilians as well as on the modus operandi of militants.\(^{30}\) Rail and road communication have not been developed to the desired levels. Topographically, Assam can be divided into three divisions namely Brahmaputra valley, Hill area of North Cachar and Karbi Anglong and Barak valley.

### ASSAM

**Brahmaputra valley -**

The Brahmaputra valley runs from north east to south west and is about 800 km in length and about 100 km in breadth. This valley lies at the foot of the Himalayas. The river Brahmaputra divides the valley into halves. The Brahmaputra has many important tributaries on the northern as well as on the southern sides. There are numerous river islands that are formed in river Brahmaputra during the dry season. During the dry season islands (chars and chaparies) in river Brahmaputra offer good hiding places for the militants. Vast

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areas of the valley are covered with tea gardens mostly owned by non-Assamese and employed labour from Bihar and Orissa. There are pocket of reserve forests all along the valley which offer good hiding places and camp sites to the militants. The area where river Brahmaputra enters Bangladesh is very wide and prevents trans-border movement. The two national highways run almost parallel to the river Brahmaputra along its north and south banks. Monsoons bring about floods in the Brahmaputra which is an annual feature of Assam. This imposes the following restrictions:

a) Large areas are inundated, especially those along the river banks. Upper Assam which is east of line Jorhat - Golaghat is more affected than lower Assam, west of the line till the border with West Bengal. In 2012 too, floods in the lower Assam left many people homeless.

b) Road communications are effected for many days at a stretch.

c) Movement is restricted to arteries and roads are often rendered unusable.

Thus, during monsoon, insurgent activities shift from active mobile operations to static/recouping activities like recruitment, training, extortion and political activities.³¹

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Between the two valleys of Brahmaputra and Barak lie the Karbi plateau and north Cachar hills, known as south Assam. The Karbi Anglong plateau (Mikir hills) geographically constitutes a part of Shillong plateau. The area has thick jungles and numerous nallahs. Hills in the region are not only steep but have gorges. It offers excellent hide outs to the militants. The area is thinly populated.

**Barak Valley** -

The Barak Valley or the Cachar plains lies in the south beyond the Baraul range. The valley is approximately 100 km by 80 km and is surrounded by hills on three sides. Barak valley has similar characteristics as that of Brahmaputra.

**Reserve Forests** –

There are approximately 40 Reserve Forests in the state which covers approximately 20% of the area. The area is often of the virgin jungle type especially in the eastern portion making movement difficult and at times impossible. Road communication through Reserve Forests is very limited making domination difficult due to inaccessibility as well as the extent of area covered. Insurgents use Reserve Forests as transit routes and for establishing camps. The Bamboo groves around the villages and other areas provide hiding places to the insurgents. Most of the villages have ponds for fishing but these are also used by the insurgents to hide their caches in water proof packets.

**Immigration into the State** -

After Independence unrestricted migration from outside continued. During the partition almost three lakh Bengali Hindus migrated from East Pakistan. These people out numbered the natives in many areas and soon became a majority. The influx of outsiders created large scale unemployment in Assam. The overall economic backwardness coupled with official indifference to the migration issue further compounded the already existing problems. A number of groups emerged who were asking for greater autonomy and statehood. These groups were All Assam Students Union (AASU), All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP), All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) and United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) .There were agitations with the demand of deportation of foreigners and illegal migrants. It was after the assembly elections in 1978, that things became bad when the results were announced and it was revealed that the Muslims had got 26 seats.
out of 126 assembly, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) 11 seats, and it was alleged that they got these seats with the help of the “foreigner’s votes”. This was followed by talks and agitations, but nothing worthwhile emerged. Political parties did not take much interest; instead they used the immigration as their major vote banks and who would hold the trump card for future governments in the state.

Assam experienced a phenomenal growth rate in population. The Assamese were reduced to only 45 percent of the total population and started feeling insecure at being dominated by outsiders. This became the root cause for the inception of insurgency in the state. This came to be called the anti foreigners agitation or the foreigners issue calling for deportation of all foreigners. The Assam Accord was signed in 1985. Under the accord, all those who came to Assam after 25 March 1971 were to be detected and deported.

**Consequences of large Scale Illegal Migration -**

The dangerous consequences of large scale illegal migration from Bangladesh, both for the people of Assam and more for the Nation as a whole, need to be emphatically stressed. No misconceived and mistaken notions of secularism should be allowed to come in the way of doing so. As a result of population movement from Bangladesh, the specter looms large of the indigenous people of Assam being reduced to a minority in their home state. Their cultural survival will be in jeopardy, their political control will be weakened and their employment opportunities will be undermined. This silent and invidious demographic invasion of Assam may result in the loss of the geostrategic vital districts of lower Assam. The influx of these illegal migrants is turning these districts into a Muslim majority region. The route of the migrants is through Dhubri, which has a long riverine border with Bangladesh, Garo Hills in Meghalaya, Karimganj and Cachar in Bengali-dominated Barak Valley, Tripura and Bengal. It will then only be a matter of time when a demand for their merger with Bangladesh may be made. The rapid growth of international Islamic fundamentalism may provide the driving force for this demand. In this context, it is pertinent that Bangladesh has long discarded secularism and has chosen to become an Islamic state. Loss of lower Assam will sever the entire land mass of

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[32] See Annexure E.
the North East, from the rest of India and the rich natural resources of that region will be lost to the nation. From Assam, the immigrants are sidestepping to other states of the region to include Nagaland, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur.

**Insurgency in the State -**

Trouble surfaced in Assam with the student agitation in 1979 on the foreigner's issue. There were talks between the government of India and the AASU and AAGSP in March 1980. It was on 28 March 1980 when the army was requisitioned to assist the state administration in maintaining law and order and also in running its refineries. On 6 April 1980, ‘Assam Disturbed Area Act’ and the ‘Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA)’ was enforced.

Violence continued intermittently till 1985 when the Assam accord between the AASU (All Assam Students Union), Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AGSP) and the Central Government was signed. The Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) swept the polls in 1985 and came to power. However, they were not effective and there was a lackluster administration which was running the state. In spite of the accord, United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) demanded secession from the union and started resorting to insurgent activities in 1988.

**United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) -**

The United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) was formed in 1979. It felt betrayed by the government after the signing of the Assam accord and thereafter launched their militant struggle against the government. The group initially started with activities with which they could garner the support of the people, but they also like AASU started getting involved in corruption and personal gain, thus leaving the cause behind for which they were formed. Simultaneously, they started negotiations with other more experienced militant groups in the region like the NSCN (IM), Kachin Independence Army (KIA) in Burma, Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan and the Liberation of Tamil Tiger Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka. They were playing their cards carefully and had accordingly infiltrated their cadres in the government departments and the lower rungs of the state police.

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force. This was of great help to them as they possibly got advance warning of the activities by the government against them. They were looked up by the youth as heroes who were cleaning the corrupt society and the government machinery.

The state of Assam was declared ‘disturbed’ on 27 November 1990 and ‘Operation Bajrang’ was launched. Due to pressure of the security forces, ULFA agreed to a truce in March 1991. Renewed violence led to launching of ‘Operation Rhino’ in September 1991. The organization spurted their terrorizing acts by threatening the assets of the state such as the oil refineries and tea estates which happen to give its major source of revenue. By 1996, these actions led to the change in the popular sentiments of the people against the ULFA. The government took advantage of this and started concerted attacks on the cadres. This brought about the surrender of the cadres. The ULFA chairman Arbinda Rajkhowa and the commander-in chief Paresh Baruah went into hiding in Bangladesh and were enjoying lavish lives. The group became keen to talks with the government of India and in 2001, Rajkhowa laid down three pre – conditions for the talks; the talks to be held outside India in a mutually agreed location, talks to be held under the aegis of the United Nations, and “sovereignty” to be the main issue. The government of India rejected the pre-conditions.

ULFA’s Myanmar-based 28th battalion faced a problem when the ‘Alfa’ and ‘Charlie’ companies in June 2008, declared a unilateral ceasefire and came over-ground seeking a negotiated settlement to their three decade old problem. By doing so they also gave up the demand for sovereignty or independence and wanted to work towards achieving greater autonomy for Assam. They declared that they would have no links with the ULFA and they would be called as the “pro-talk ULFA faction”. ULFA Chairman Arabinda Rajkhowa was released from jail in Guwahati on 1st January 2011 and is involved in talks with the government as ULFA (pro talks). ULFA, pro talk’s faction, led by its Chairman, Arabinda Rajkhowa formally announced ceasefire on 12 July 2011. In the statement, he said “In accordance with the resolution adopted in the fifth general council on February 22, 2011, the ULFA, with a view to exploring a lasting peaceful resolution of the ongoing conflict, resolves to cease all forms of armed

34 http://www.satp.org/tracking/GoTo.asp?ID=21
campaign for an indefinite period. All members of the organization are commanded hereby to scrupulously implement the decision in letter and spirit and any infringement thereof will be considered as an anti – organizational act and shall be dealt with accordingly”. The general council of the outfit had decided to initiate political negotiation with the government of India respecting the “desire “ of vast majority of people of Assam for a peaceful negotiated solution to the conflict.35

Shashadhar Choudhary, the foreign secretary of the ULFA’s pro talks faction in an interview to the Times of India revealed that the first batch of the ULFA militants were trained in Pakistan in small arms and rifles. He also committed that the Bangladesh agencies provided logistics and support. He had joined the outfit in 1985 and was trained by the NSCN. Thereafter, they went to Kachin in Myanmar and fought along with the Kachin Independent Army. As their financial situation improved, weapons were bought from China indirectly. The outfit moved to Bangladesh after the Bhutan army had evicted them in 2003 with ‘Operation All Clear’. The Bangladesh army had provided him a national identity card and passport.36

The commander-in-chief of the ULFA (anti talks), Paresh Baruah has started making all out efforts to revitalise the outfit and according to intelligence inputs, he has even “promoted” more than a hundred cadres to keep them happy. Sources revealed that around 120 to 130 members of the ULFA are in Myanmar. On 22 July 2011, Assam chief minister Tarun Gogoi raised concern about the insurgent outfits of the North East including the anti talks faction of the ULFA setting up of bases in Myanmar, even though there have been talks by the government of India. Paresh Baruah, leader of the anti talks faction was now based on the Myanmar - China border. There were reports that they were being supported by the People’s Liberation Army and the NSCN – K to carry out violence and other criminal activities like extortion in Assam.37 Paresh Baruah has changed the name of the group to ULFA –Independent (ULFA-I).38

35 The Tribune, Chandigarh, July 13, 2011.
36 The Times of India, Chandigarh, August 10, 2011.
37 The Tribune, Chandigarh, July 23, 2011.
38 The Times of India, Guwahati, 01 May 2013.
Efforts by the Central and State Government –

The government of India on May 11, 2011 agreed to set up nine rehabilitation centers for about 400 ULFA insurgents in various districts in Assam. These insurgents are those who have come over ground but stopped short of surrendering before or declaring ceasefire with the government. Out of the nine, two rehabilitation centers each in Nalbari and Sivasagar districts and one each in Goalpara, Bongaigaon, Kamrup, Nagaon and Golaghat districts will be set up.39

Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi’s ability to get the major fraction of the separatist ULFA to the negotiating table is a big factor that has restored the confidence of the common men as well as the business community. The congress government also succeeded in getting five other insurgent groups to enter into a ceasefire and start peace talks. The state is now presented with a situation where the nascent All India United Democratic Front has emerged as the main opposition party.

The government of India signed an agreement on 3rd September 2011 with the banned ULFA to end violence. The Suspension of Operations (SOO) pact signed by the central and state governments and ULFA will ensure that ULFA will not carry out any subversive activities till the time a political solution is reached to the insurgency problem and in turn the security forces will not take any action against the ULFA cadres. The approximate 600 cadres will be put in the camps; however, they have not surrendered their arms and ammunition as it is not the final agreement. ULFA had submitted their charter of demands to the centre in August 2011 to include an amendment to the constitution to protect the rights and identity of the indigenous people of Assam.40

The Bodos -

They form the major tribal group in Assam residing in the plains and constitute a sizeable proportion of the Assam populace. They are also the earliest settlers of Assam belonging to the Bodo - Kachari family. Taking cue from the All Assam Student Union (AASU) and militant and ethnic political organizations, the Bodos adopted the path of bandhs and likewise violent agitation activities to make their demands be heard and responded favorably. They were disillusioned by the

39 cdpsindia.org/assam_incident.asp
40 The Tribune, Chandigarh, September 4, 2011.
Assam accord as their interests were not protected by the AASU. This took a violent turn in the Bodo movement. The National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) came into existence in 1986, led by Rajan Daimary and the demand of the Bodos changed from autonomy to separate state/country. The area of influence of the group covers the districts of Kokrajhar, Kamrup, Sonitpur, Chirang, Darrang, Baksa, Udalgiri, Barpeta and Bongaigaon in lower Assam.

The government of India and the government of Assam had made concerted efforts for the Bodo areas in the state of Assam by signing the accord on 10 February 2003 with the Bodoland Liberation Tiger Front (BLTF). This finally paved the way for the formation of the Bodo Territorial Council (BTC) comprising the districts of Kokrajhar, Chirang, Baksa and Udalgiri. This did not have the approval of the NDFB.

Bodo agitation for a separate Bodoland comprising the Bodo dominated areas was contained to an extent. The objective was to promote autonomy within the framework of the Indian Constitution to the Bodos for socio-economic, educational, ethnic and cultural advancement. However, the NDFB a militant outfit active in lower Assam, particularly the Bodo dominated area continued with its movement and were indulging in violence and demanding sovereignty of Bodo area in Assam.

The NDFB pro talks (P) has demanded from the centre, the consolidated tribal inhabited areas which will include the BTC area, the tribal belts and blocks, also the tribal sub-plains areas which are on the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra in the state of Bodoland from the Sankosh river in the west to Sadiya in the east/upper Assam. A three-member team of the Bodo People's Front (BPF) led by BTC Chairman Hagrama Mohilary met Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in New Delhi and raised five demands before him on 5 January 2011. The demands were:

a) Immediate announcement of a unilateral ceasefire by the centre with the anti talks faction of the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB-ATF).

b) Initiation of the peace process with the NDFB.

41 See Annexure F.
c) Status to the Bodos living in Karbi Anglong.

d) Raising central grants for the BTC up to INR one billion.

e) The setting up of a medical college, a veterinary college and an agricultural university for Bodo area.

On 26th July 2011, Anti talks faction of the NDFB led by its Chairman Ranjan Diamary announced a unilateral ceasefire with effect from 1st August “to find a political solution to Bodo insurgency problem through a political dialogue”. The Bodo National Convention (BNC) also played an important role in this.42

There was a Suspension of Operations agreement which was signed between the government and the NDFB on 24th May 2005 and which had been revised and is valid up to 30th June 2013. The agreed ground rules have been revised and made more stringent. A Joint Monitoring Group (JMG) headed by Joint Secretary (North East) in the Ministry of Home Affairs had been constituted to review the implementation of agreed ground rules in relation to the NDFB-P.

**Bodos and the Muslims** -

The Muslims had started migrating into Assam in the late 19th century and carried on after the partition of India and emergence of Bangladesh. The Bengali speaking Muslims are forming 31 per cent of the Assam’s population and are dominating the areas of Dhubri, Goalpara, Barpeta, Darrang, Nagaon, Karimganj and Haliakandi in lower Assam. The Muslims are holding 28 seats in the 126 member state assembly.

There have been clashes between the Bodos and the Muslims on a number of occasions. The communal conflict had its genesis in the perceived marginalization of non-Bodos, including Muslims, in a Bodo-dominated Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) coupled with feeling of insecurity amidst aggressive mobilization by the Bodos demanding a separate Bodoland state, and acquisition by Bodos that Muslims, majority of whom are perceived to be illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, spearheaded the non-Bodo mobilization against Bodoland state demand besides encroaching tribal land and demanding exclusion of non-Bodo majority villages from the BTC. While the communal conflagration initially started between the former Bodo Liberation Tiger (BLT) cadres, supported

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by the elements within BTC, and All Bodo Minority Students Union (AAMSU), the Bodo militant groups also gradually got involved, ostensibly to protect the Bodo interests. Violence continued for a long spell on account of timely and effective intervention by the administration. The situation remained fragile with the Bodo organizations maintaining a rigid stand by insisting on possession of proper land documents before rehabilitation and even selectively targeting the rehabilitated Muslims, which reinforced the feeling of insecurity in the minority community. The Bodos are stressing on the point that Muslim settlers are illegal migrants from Bangladesh while the Muslims are saying that the Bodos are not a majority in the region.43

**Garos and the Rabhas** -

Garos are a majority in Meghalaya but a minority in Assam while the Rabhas are a majority in Assam and minority in Meghalaya. The Rabhas, in Assam have been demanding sixth schedule status in their areas or an Autonomous Council (Rabha Hasong). The Rabhas have resorted to carrying out bandhs and protests on the national highway 37, which is a lifeline for the Garos. The ethnic flare up in December 2010 between the two communities inhabiting the Assam - Meghalaya border was a flashpoint waiting to happen. The flashpoint was when some Rabha youth attacked a Garo pastor and his family on 22 December 2010 because he was travelling to Kharkutta in the Garo Hills despite the bandh called by the Rabha Hasong. When some Garo people came out to rescue the pastor, they were shot at by unidentified people and injured. After that, things just snowballed as both communities targeted one another indiscriminately. Over 2,000 Rabha families were displaced after more than 200 houses were allegedly torched by Garos in retaliation for attacks by Rabha youth.44

**Karbi, Dimasa and other Tribes** -

Assam has also been affected by insurgent movements initiated by Karbi and Dimasa tribes, the Adivasis and also the Islamists. Both Karbi and Dimasas have demanded autonomy for their homelands, while the Adivasis have demanded greater recognition of their rights. The government has been able to bring these

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43 Based on personal interviews.
44 The Shillong Times, January 9, 2011.
groups to the negotiation table. Both the Karbi insurgent outfits, United People’s Democratic Solidarity (UPDS) and Karbi Longri North Cachar Hills Liberation Front (KLNLF) and both the Dimasa insurgent outfits, Dima Halam Daogah – Nunisa faction (DHD) and the Black Widow (Dima Halam Daogah-Jewel Garlossa faction or DHD-J) have signed agreements with the government and all their cadres are staying at designated camps and have laid down their arms. Of these outfits, DHD-J laid down their arms on October 2, 2009 and KLNLF laid down arms on February 11, 2010. Two insurgent outfits of the Adivasi community, Birsa Commando Force (BCF) and Adivasi Cobra Force (ACF), are also in suspension of operation with the state government.

**United People’s Democratic Solidarity (UPDS) -**

In a major achievement government of India and the United People’s Democratic Solidarity (UPDS) signed a memorandum of settlement on 25th November 2011 as a culmination of the peace process which commenced in 2002. This was followed by the 568 militants of the group surrendering their weapons at Dhipu in Karbi Anglong Hill district. The UPDS had demanded a separate state for the Karbi tribe.45

**Summary of the Causes -**

The causes of insurgency in Assam can be summarised as follows:-

a) **Ethnic Identity** - Due to large- scale immigration the people of Assam people felt threatened. The Bengali Muslims were the largest percentage amongst the migrants and were perceived as a threat to the Assamese identity.

b) **Economic Discrimination** - Despite vast natural resources, Assam has a low percentage of the industries in India due to which there was a rise in unemployment.

c) **Political Dissent** - The political dissent is due to family voters list, non implementation of Assam accord, corruption, poor law and order sit and economic drainage of resources.

**Current Situation -**

a) There are 12 insurgent groups in the state of Assam, which have joined the

peace process, however there are six groups which are active and these are Paresh Baruah faction of ULFA, the Ranjan Daimery faction of the National Democratic of Bodoland, Karbi People’s Liberation Tiger (KPLT), Muslim United Liberation of Assam (MULTA), KLO and Harkat-ul-Mujhadeen (HuM).46

b) The designated camps in Assam house five groups. In four designated camps DHD (Nunisa) with a cadre of 512 is staying, the NDFB-P in three camps with cadre strength of 936, the ULFA (Rajkhowa) with cadre strength of 496 are in seven, DHD (J) in four camps with cadre strength of 440 and finally the KLNLF with 288 cadres in three designated camps.47
c) Dimasa insurgency to an extent has been neutralized.
d) There is an incipient influence of Maoism.
e) Paresh Baruah is still insisting on sovereignty. ULFA-I reeled from setbacks in the counter insurgency operations and have been struggling to maintain its presence in the areas of Upper Assam i.e Tinsukhia and Sibsagar districts and the lower Assam (Goalpura and Kamrup districts) by resorting to demonstrative violence.
f) There is a collision between the ULFA -I, valley based insurgent groups and the NSCN (K) for conflict continuum.
g) Recruitment from the upper Assam is prevalent into the cadres.
h) There are ongoing clashes between the Bodos and the illegal Muslim migrants in the lower Assam which have resulted in the displacement of the people from both the communities and are in the relief camps. The government is in the process of settling the problem, but it is a long drawn affair. While the violence provided an opportunity to the Popular Front of India (PFI) to gain foothold in the Lower Assam region, in the garb of rehabilitation of Muslims, signaling an ominous portent, the issue of illegal immigration was also brought to the centre stage, both in Assam and outside. The Bodos have also upped the ante highlighting the demands for a separate state and protection of the tribal land.

46 The Times of India, Guwahati, 19 August 2012.
47 Based on personal interviews.
i) On 25 July 2012, the army was requisitioned by the state government to help the administration in controlling the ethnic clashes in lower Assam. The focus of the army has been shifted to seizing all illegal weapons.

j) The influx of the illegal migrants has tended to create fissures in the integrated matrix of the Assamese society.

Manipur -

Historical Background -

In 1723 A.D Manipur captured the Kabaw Valley from Myanmar. Due to its geographical proximity not being contiguous to Manipur, it became difficult to have proper control over it from Kangla. In 1834 Kabaw Valley agreement was signed, in which it was given to the Burmese on lease. The British were happy that their influence had extended to Burma. The government of India realized that they couldn’t cope up with the agreement, thus in 1953, it was handed over to Burma. There was hue and cry by the vested interested parties over the dissection of the state. It, thus, became one of the most controversial and emotive issue for the people of Manipur.

Geographical Location –

The ancient name of Manipur was Kangleipak, which has been derived from Kangla (Imphal), its capital. Manipur is located in the north east corner of India. It has Myanmar to its east and south (398 Km), the state of Nagaland to the north and the states of Mizoram and Assam to its west. It is one of the smallest states of the Indian union with an area of a mere 22,237 sq km, population of 2,721,756 and the literacy rate is 79.85 per cent.  

The state is mostly hilly with the Imphal valley in the center covering an area of approximately 2,238 sq km, i.e 10 per cent of the area of Manipur. The heights in the surrounding hilly region vary from 3000-6000 ft and are densely forested. The climate obtaining in the state is similar to that of Nagaland. Imphal which lies in the center of the valley is the hub center for political, commercial, cultural and academic activities of the state. The valley is extremely fertile with abundance of water. Obviously the concentration of population in the area is large. However, this positive feature when combined with ever growing poverty,
unemployment allow for availability of large concentration of physically tough albeit gullible youth, which when instigated by vested interest form the ideal set up for an urban insurgency to flourish.

Differences of the Hill and the Valley Areas -

There are many differences in policies for the people of the hills vis-à-vis the valley. The hill people can own land and settle in the valley after becoming educated and getting employment in the government service while the people of the valley cannot do so in the hills even if they are working and are staying there during the employment period. The Manipur land reforms and revenue act were not applicable to the hills due to constitutional constraints so as to protect land as this is all what the tribals survive on. In the hills, each village has its own village head and has their own customs and traditions.

While the valley region has made reasonable progress, in comparative terms, both economically and from the point of view of education, the hill/remote areas maintain their primitiveness sans any development. These hilly regions thus provide the state with a suitable environment for rural insurgency. The valley region is mostly inhabited by the Meitei’s and Manipur Muslims, locally called the ‘Pangals’. The hilly region in contrast is inhabited by the tribals with the Nagas to
the north and Kukis and Mizos to the south. These hill tribes are generally Baptist Protestants. The Meitei’s migrated from Thailand and are Vaishanavite Hindus, whereas the tribals are traders and invaders. Different customs are practiced by almost every tribe and each tribe confines its activities to itself at the village level. The hill tribes have been declared as scheduled tribes and enjoy the protection of property, preferential quotas in government jobs competitions and higher education.49

The Churachandpur district is inhabited by many tribes which belong to the Chin- Kuki- Mizo Group. This group lives in India, Myanmar and Bangladesh. They have common traditions, culture, language and social life. The Kuki population is distributed in Manipur, Mizoram and Cachar region of Assam. In the district an overwhelming majority of the population has converted to Christianity.

49 Army museum-Tribes of Manipur, Zakhama.
This has materially changed the social order and life style of the people. It has become the most multi-ethnic and cosmopolitan place in the state.

**Loktak Lake -**

The lake in south Manipur is like a miniature sea and is the largest fresh water lake in the North East. The lake was covered with floating masses called “Phumdis” which are quite dense and high. Some of the fishermen had made huts and lived there. To traverse through these, it is a very cumbersome method as paths through them involved cutting a passage or even lifting of boats. The insurgents had prepared their hideouts on these Phumdis and it was difficult to locate them from air. The villagers were giving the insurgents administrative support as they were scared. The state government has now made efforts to clear these floating masses.50

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**Insurgency in Manipur -**

It is extremely intricate and embedded with complexities unlike those in most other states. The emergence of insurgency in Manipur is formally traced to the emergence of the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) on 24th November 1964 when the Naga and the Mizo insurgents put the north eastern region under fire. The alleged ‘forced’ merger of Manipur and the delay in the conferring of

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50 *Photograph during personal visit.*
full-fledged statehood to it was greatly resented by the people of Manipur. There are different types of groups operating / involved with the militancy. The course for doing so and the modus operandi, thus, differs. Of course there are some commonalties too. After a protracted agitation interspersed with violence, it was declared a separate state in 1972.

**Valley Based Insurgent Groups**

The insurgent groups in Manipur are People’s Liberation Army (PLA), United National Liberation Front (UNLF), People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), Kanglei Yaol Kanpa Lup (KYKL), Manipur People’s Liberation Front (MPLF), Manipur People’s Army (MPA), People’s United Liberation Front (PULF), North East Muslim Liberation Front (NEMLF), Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front (IBRF) and Revolutionary People’s Front (RPF). These have emerged in the valley areas consisting of four districts of the state. All these insurgent groups have been demanding a separate independent Manipur and are against the concept of Nagalim.

**Hill Based Insurgent Groups**

The hill areas of the state, comprising of five districts i.e Senapati, Churachandpur, Tamenglong, Ukhrul and Chandel have been affected by different brands of militancy. From Nagaland, violence by the Naga groups has also spilled over into Manipur, a substantial part of which is claimed by the Isak-Muivah faction of National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM) as part of Nagalim, the proposed unified territory of the Nagas as claimed by the Naga rebels. The other groups are NSCN (K), Kuki Insurgent Outfits, Zomi Revolutionary Army and Hmar People’s Convention (HPC).

There are 18 groups which claim to represent the hill residing Kuki community of which the main are KNF, KNA and UKLF. However, these groups have now organized themselves into two main organizations namely Kuki National Organisation (KNO) and United People’s Front (UPF). The government has at present signed Suspension of Operations (SOO) with the Kuki rebel outfits.

The Pangals (Manipuri Muslims) have taken up arms ostensibly for their

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They are aligning themselves with the Rohingas in Myanmar. They have been getting sustained support from ISI (Pakistan) and DGFI (Bangladesh) since early 1990’s.

**Ethnic Identity Crisis and Conflicts -**

The ethnic conflict in Manipur is very much related to socio-economic, religion, ethnic politics and insurgency. The insurgent groups have their own dictum in the areas where they are concentrated and do not hesitate to clash with other groups who tread their ideology.

**Naga-Kuki Clashes –**

It was in the 1990’s that the ethnic crisis between the Naga-Kukis started which resulted in clashes. The main reasons for the same were the ethnic identity, the Kukis not agreeing to the demand of greater Nagaland and wanting their own Kuki homeland, there was fear psychosis of the Nagas in Kuki homeland concept which would derail the greater Nagaland concept and also the NSCN (IM) policy of ethnic cleansing which would make the Kukis non-existent in Nagaland, part of Assam and the hill areas of Manipur.

**Kuki- Zomi Clashes –**

The Nagas realized that the Kukis and the Meities were the hurdle in their demand of greater Nagaland. They wanted to disintegrate the Kukis so that the separate faction could join the ethnic Naga group. However, the Naga group was successful in influencing the Zomis who were the inhabitants of Churachandpur district. This was not accepted by the Kukis, and the clashes started in 1997-98. The other reasons were that the Zomis were demanding their own homeland which was affecting the Kukiland homeland, the Zomis refused to pay taxes to the Kuki insurgent groups and finally the Zomis formed Zomi revolutionary army (ZRA).

**Meitei-Meitei Pangal of Manipur –**

While the Naga-Kuki clashes were in progress, there was a communal flare –up in Manipur between the Meities and the Pangals, in which there was hand of the ISI for paving the way to pan - Islamic revolution in the area. The Bangladeshi refugees were brought to the state, married to the local people and settled around Imphal. This affected the demography particularly in the valley area.
Naga-Kuki-Meitei Main Focus in Manipur –

In Manipur, as long as the insurgency movement remains as the main focus of the ethnic politics, the ethnic imbroglio will continue. The vested interest of the Nagas, Meitei and the Kukis are related to politico – ethnic issues. The Nagas have been looking at the Naga unification at a bigger scale with Nagaland as the central hub. The Kukis have laid stress on Kuki homeland by forming the Sadar hills revenue district as their political watch tower. They are also focused in the western Myanmar where the Chin –Kuki tribes are settled. The Meitei want to ensure that the identity of the Manipuri nationalism is maintained.

Economic Blockades -

Manipur turned tense on the news of the visit of NSCN-IM general secretary Thuingaleng Muivah to his native village Somdal in Ukhrul district of Manipur on the first week of May 2010. The Manipur state cabinet on April 30, 2010 decided not to allow entry of Muivah in Manipur as it considered that there are possibilities of disturbances in the state if the NSCN-IM leader comes to Manipur. It clamped Section 144 of Cr PC in the Senapati district and brought in additional forces in order to prevent entry of Muivah in Manipur. After this decision of the government, seven Naga MLAs resigned protesting the move. On May 6, 2010, the situation in Mao border gate, through which Muivah was expected to enter Manipur, turned tense. A number of locals stormed a temporary security barrack which lead the security personnel resort to firing leaving three locals dead and fifty others, including women, injured. After this incident and at the request of the Prime Minister’s office (PMO), Muivah postponed his visit to Somdal and camped himself in Viswema village near the Mao gate on the inter-state border of Nagaland and Manipur. 52

After the Manipur government denied entry to Muivah, various Naga tribal groups launched an indefinite economic blockade in Manipur. An economic blockade was already in place in Manipur from April 11, 2010 by Naga groups residing in Manipur protesting the state government’s decision to hold autonomous council elections and after the state government denied the entry of Muivah, the Naga groups continued with the blockade. Hundreds of trucks

52 sginhaokip.wordpress.com/category/nagaland/page/2/
carrying essentials and medicines were stranded in the adjoining state of Nagaland
with protesters blocking the national highway (NH) 39, the main lifeline to
Manipur. The economic blockade caused acute shortage of essential commodities
in the state. The government had to airlift the essential commodities to Manipur
and used alternative routes, like the national highway 53, connecting Assam with
Manipur. Eventually, on June 5, 2010, the central government persuaded Muivah
to leave Vishwema village where he had been camping since May 6, 2010. The
blockade of NH-39 was lifted on June 18, 2010 after negotiations with different
Naga groups. As a result, the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) has been
tasked to escort the truck convoys from Nagaland to Manipur and back. The
elections to six autonomous district councils (ADC) of Manipur which had not
been held for about 20 years were held in May/June 2010.

Sadar Hills –

On 01 August, 2011, the Sadar hills district demand committee (SHDDC)
launched the economic blockade on Imphal- Dimapur NH39 and Guwahati –
Jiribam – Silchar NH 53, demanding conversion of the Kuki- majority Sadar hills
area in Naga majority Senapati district into a fully fledged district. United Naga
committee (UNC), a banner organization of the Naga tribe has opposed the
demand for a separate district for the Kuki tribe and had also been involved in the
counter highway blockade since 21 August. This has affected the normal life in
Manipur with the cost of living rising due to corruption and exorbitant prices of all
the goods. To ensure smooth supply of the essential commodities security forces
are escorting trucks. The SHDDC had ended its 93 days blockade on 31October
after an agreement was signed with the state government to convert the Sadar hills
area into a revenue district after getting a report from the district reorganisation
committee. The UNC had not accepted this.

Liberated Zone -

The outfits maintain a very strict control over their cadres, due to which,
not many surrenders have taken place in Manipur. Due to their efficient
intelligence network, they were able to establish number of liberated zones across
the state. In 2004, south Manipur was known to be a stronghold of the valley

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53 articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com › Collections › Hill Districts
based insurgent groups and considered a “Liberated Zone”. However, by the end of 2007; the armed forces dislodged the insurgents from these zones with dedicated efforts which commenced in 2004. Lack of civil governance increased the reign of terror by the insurgents. The insurgents continue to terrorise and extort with impunity, and people have little option but to obey their diktats.54

SOO with the Kuki National Front -

On 15 September 2010, Kuki National Front (KNF) cadres deposited their weapons at the Ebenezer designated camp for the first time after the agreement of SOO was signed in August 2008. The camp is located near Natheljang village in the Koubru range under Kangpokpi police station. This event was conducted in the presence of the ADC of Kangpokpi, commander of the 59 mountain brigade and other officers, superintendent of police of Senapati and officer – in charge of the Kangpokpi police station. It involved the following;

a) Before the weapons were deposited, all minute details of the cadre were enlisted in pre-prepared forms by the personnel of the mountain brigade.

b) The details in the form included name of the cadre along with photo, name of parents, address, rank as well as type and registration number of the weapon/s.

c) After the weapons were taken over by the army from the cadres, the same were deposited in a separate enclosure in the premises of the camp, which was locked and one key each was given to the Kangpokpi police station personnel and the KNF.

d) As regards the security was concerned, it would be the prerogative of the KNF organisation and the number of the strength of the security has to be worked out in consultation with the members of the joint monitoring group (JMG).

e) It will be considered as a breach of the agreement, if and whenever any party attempts to or breaks the lock.  

**Effects of Insurgency on Socio – Economic Development -**

Due to the problem of insurgency, the investments meant for infrastructural development have been divested in countering the growing unemployment in the state. There has been increase in educated unemployed youths in the state and they are now becoming ready recruits for the militant outfits. The cases of extortion are also increasing. Insurgents have resorted to extorting from almost all places including places of worship, educational institutes, health centers and commercial establishments. This has led to closure of quite a few establishments in the state. Adding to the woes of the state, the Naga insurgents, operating from Nagaland and the hills districts of Manipur, have been dominating NH-39 and NH-53, imposing taxes on the use of the roads and subsequent punishment on not paying it. There

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are some permanent and systematic ‘tax’ collection points along these roads thus hampering Manipur’s link with Assam and the rest of India. Another serious problem created by the militants is the kidnapping of children to train them to become members of insurgent outfits.

Manipur is far behind the other states of India as regards socio-eco infrastructure is concerned. There are huge disparities that exist between the hilly regions as compared to the plains, which are better off. Agriculture and allied activities is the only source of livelihood and the mainstay of economy. Medium/large scales industries are name for variety and due to insurgency are almost totally absent. The civil administration has been seriously penetrated by the insurgents, corruption is rampant, bureaucrats remain confined to their offices, and politicians are not only corrupt but have strong links with the insurgent groups and other organizations and target the armed forces to carry out their role.

The common people of Manipur feel alienated from the Indian mainland and are disturbed by the seat of power in Delhi not paying heed to the problems being faced by them. Neither the Television channels nor the national newspapers are keen to send their reporters to cover the crisis prevalent in the state. The local media cannot go against the insurgent groups and perforce have to publish the material which is in their favour. The insurgent groups have a share of 20 percent in every new government contract which is given for a job in the state. 56

There is a proposal of construction of Tipaimukh hydroelectricity project at the confluence of the Barak and Tuivai rivers in Manipur. The advantage of the dam is that it will be used for generating hydroelectric power to make up the deficit in the north east and also help in controlling the seasonal floods which cause large scale devastation in the region. However, there is a misunderstanding with the Bangladesh government on the same as they feel that the dam will disrupt the seasonal rhythm of the river and also have an adverse effect on agriculture, fisheries and environment in their area.

**Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) in Manipur**

Manipur had been declared a ‘disturbed area’ in its entirety in 1980 and the Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) 1958 was imposed in the State on

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56 Based on personal interviews.
8 September, 1980, which continues to be in place except the Imphal Municipal Area. Armed Forces have been fighting insurgency in Manipur since the early eighties as part of ‘Operation HIFAZAT’.

The implementation of this act resulted in the state witnessing an unprecedented civic uprising, including the infamous “mothers’ nude protest” against the act in July 2004 on the discovery of the mutilated body of Thangjam Manorama Devi, after she was picked up by the Assam Rifles and later found dead. The post mortem report revealed that it was a case of rape and then shot at close range. The AFSPA is still embroiled in controversy and the people of Manipur are continuing their protest against the act.

In Manipur, AFSPA was lifted from Imphal’s municipal zone and the army was withdrawn. It was the Manipur police commandos (MPC) who had replaced the army. They got involved in extra judicial killings especially fake encounters and had become notorious. In 2008, their actions spread to the towns and cities in broad daylight from carrying out the same in isolated areas.\textsuperscript{57}

**Civil Society**

Civil society institutions and community based organisations have been very influential in Manipur and have often played significant role in the containment of conflict. The Meira Paibis (women torch bearers) constitute one such force. The Meitei women are in the forefront of community activities. It is a common phenomenon to find women working in the organized sector in Manipur which includes government or teaching, however there are scores of them who are involved in other roles. One of these roles is the most fascinating place which depicts the women power in the state and this is the ‘Ema Market’ in Imphal. In Manipuri, Ema is the mother. This market is an amazing place where only women are allowed to own and manage their skills.

They have also been active in protesting human rights violations and unjustifiable arrests by the security forces, and in taking action against social ills such as drug abuse and alcoholism. In 2003, they rose in anger against the AFSPA of 1958, though the Act equally affected the hill dwellers. In November 2000, there was a massacre at Malom, during which an Assam Rifles Battalion had

\textsuperscript{57} Based on personal interviews.
carried out indiscriminate firing and 10 innocent people were killed, after the rebel groups had attacked them. Irom Sharmila since then is fasting, demanding repeal of the AFSPA.\textsuperscript{58}

On 1\textsuperscript{st} January 2011, the ‘Protected Area’ status was lifted for a period of one year. This facilitated the foreigners as they were no longer required to obtain protected area permits to visit Manipur. This will give a tremendous boost to the Tourism of the state.

**Summary of the Causes of Insurgency in Manipur -**

Some of the common causes for the genesis of insurgency in Manipur are as follows;

- **a)** Geographical conditions viz its location, in accessibility, terrain conditions and lack of communication network. This has created a sense of isolation from the rest of India and vice versa.
- **b)** The peculiar demographic completions implying distribution of majority and minority i.e valley people and tribals have caused a sense of suspicion/insecurity.
- **c)** The insurgents are disputing the very merger of Manipur with India in 1949. They propagate that the maharaja was forced in doing so.
- **d)** Feeling of alienation from the national mainstream due to a lack of economic development. This has been possible due to neglect and exploitation by successive state governments.
- **e)** Inequitable distribution of whatever little development has taken place in the state in hilly areas due to short sightedness and parochial interests of leaders.
- **f)** Acute poverty and large scale unemployment.
- **g)** Disruption of border trade due to restrictions imposed by Myanmar and struggle amongst the ethnic groups to gain control over it.

**Current Situation -**

- **a)** There has been a continued political instability in the state. The elections results have added to the social discord, thus the ethnic areas have become repatriates.

\textsuperscript{58} *The Statesman*, Imphal, 31 October 2010.
b) There is an institutional degradation of administration, political and social network.

c) Large scale corruption and extortion in virtually all spheres which is affecting normal life. The government money is being used to finance the war against the state. The government employees pay is deducted for payment. Nobody at all levels is exempted.

d) There is ethnic faultiness in the society.

e) Child recruitment by the underground groups is in vogue.

f) Due to the unity in the Meitei’s groups, there has been an impetus to violence.

g) The Naga socio-political organizations are fanning discord which will have a catastrophic ethnic upheaval in north east, thus affecting India’s vital interest and security.

h) The Myanmar army is conducting operations to push the ultras into Manipur. There have been clashes near the international border. The valley based undergrounds have come back due to pressure and are in trouble. The Kukis will not get affected as they can merge with the locals in Myanmar.

i) The economic slowdown has affected the completion of old projects, thus people are available for extortion and unlawful activities. They, thus, can be with the undergrounds and the contractors. The central and state governments have failed in lifting of the blockades.

j) The ZUF-NSCN (IM) is engaged in a domination battle in the Tamenglong district and the government of India is aware of it.

k) The social agitations have become a tool for establishing political relevance.

l) The central government is very much one of the respondents for the ethnic conflicts and crisis in Manipur and the reason is its unclear approaches and adhocism.

m) The ethnic imbroglio will remain in Manipur as long the insurgent groups interfere in the ethnic politics.
Arunachal Pradesh -

Historical Background -

Most of Arunachal Pradesh is covered by the Himalayas with some parts of Lohit, Changlang and Tirap covered by the Patkai Hills. India and Tibet are divided by the Himalayan ranges, which extend towards Nagaland forming a boundary with Myanmar. Shimla Accord as a treaty was negotiated by the representatives of Britain, China and Tibet in 1913-1914 with the aim to demarcate the borders between inner and outer Tibet as well as between outer Tibet and British India. It was Sir Henry McMahon who marked the 550 miles (890 km) McMahon Line as the border between British India and outer Tibet which was agreed upon by the Tibetan and British representatives which ceded Tawang and other Tibetan areas to the British empire. The Chinese representative had reservations on the border issue between outer and inner Tibet due to which the talks failed and refused to participate and recognize the accord. Their stand was that Tibet was not independent from China. India became independent and the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949. India unilaterally declared the McMahon line to be the boundary in November 1950. The PRC has never recognized the McMahon line. The 1962 war between India and China was because of these disputes. China has been making aggressive claims for Arunachal Pradesh.\(^59\)

\(^{59}\) defenceforumindia.com › ... › Indian Defence › Defence & Strategic Issues
Arunachal Pradesh was created as a Union Territory in 1972 from a part of Assam, and got its statehood in 1986. It is the erstwhile North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). Assam and Nagaland are its two neighbouring states and shares the border with Bhutan (160 Km), China (1080 Km) and Myanmar (440 Km). It has a population of 1,382,611 with the literacy rate of 66.95% and the major religions are Buddhism, Hinduism and Christianity. The major river is Brahmaputra with its tributaries - Lohit, Subansiri, Dibang and Kameg. The minerals available are Coal, dolomite, marble, lead, zinc and graphite. It has rice mills, fruit preservation units and handloom handicrafts.

Longding (the newly made 17th District of Arunachal Pradesh - 14 March 2012), Tirap and Changlang the three southeastern districts of Arunachal Pradesh which are located between the triangle of northern Myanmar, Mon district of Nagaland and the district of Tinsukhia in Assam. This region between the Myanmar Naga hills (MNH) and Assam is the most important corridor. The region is rich in coal, timber and oil and has 12 out of 16 seats in the state assembly, thus

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60 op. cit. no 90, Page 14.

Insurgency in the State -

The Longding district has a majority of the Wancho tribe population which migrated from Thailand, with Noctes in Tirap who migrated from Myanmar, Tutsas and Tangas forming the balance. In West Changlang, the Tangsas are a majority and they have been the supporters of the Khaplang faction. The Singphos are the inhabitants of the east Changlang and they are being favoured by the NSCN (IM) against the Khaplang faction. These groups migrated from Myanmar. In Jayrampur, Chakmas from the Chittagong area have also been settled by the government.

It was in 1999, that the insurgency in Tirap was politically imported to overthrow Mr Gegong Apang’s government. However, before that the Khonsa area which was the headquarters of the undivided Tirap district had been declared as a “disturbed area”. This resulted in the army being called, but after a short time, they left apparently convinced that the police could handle the situation.

Subsequent to the Apang’s dislodging in the elections held in the latter half of 1999 some political leaders were isolated and deprived of the ministerial berths.
This paved the way for the arrival of the NSCN (IM) factions in the state. The disgruntled leaders were instrumental in inviting the NSCN (IM) to protect them from the NSCN (K) onslaught. Till 2000, the NSCN (K) enjoyed the dominance in the Tirap and Changlang. The credit for strengthening the NSCN (K) base in Tirap goes to Chipu Menon, a self styled “brigadier of the outfit”. Both the factions were trying to project themselves as the sole upholders for the Naga cause. The NSCN (K) was able to tap the thriving timber trade to generate funds for its insurgency activities. Insurgency in Tirap is not indigenous and the locals do not identify with the Naga cause.

With the passage of time, both the factions of NSCN stepped up extortions, abduction and killing besides engaging the armed forces. In 2001, the oil India limited stopped its activities in the Changlang district pulling out its technical staff after the NSCN (IM) demanded INR 6 Million. The groups-NSCN (IM) has 80-100 cadres, while NSCN (K) has cadre strength of 60-80. These cadres remain in transient in the area. There are cases of inter - factional conflicts (IFC) between them. There is a 45 kilometers stretch which is coal rich in the Changlang district. Illegal mining is the main source for funding the groups. The NSCN groups are indulging in illegal mining at Namchik Namphuk which is the only coal block allotted to the state government.

There have been forays into Changlang by the NSCN (IM), and there has been elicited response from the NSCN (K). There is, thus, a turf war between NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K). Vijaynagar in the Changlang District is a neglected area and has the Lishus and the retired Assam Rifles personnel. There are no designated camps in the area.

There is an open regime of 16 Kilometers on the Indo – Myanmar border. In Myanmar, opposite to this area, the Kachin Independent Army (KIA) has camps in Adedi area in the Kachin Jungles, while the NSCN (K) has camps in Laung Lowang and there are united camps of the NSCN (K) and ULFA in Taga Ku area. This is also the infiltration route for the insurgent groups stationed in Myanmar to go to Assam and thereafter to the coal – tea – oil belt of the region which provides ample opportunities for carrying out insurgent activities. It is also a route for the
Naga groups from Mon district to the MNH.\(^{62}\)

Tirap, Changlang and Longding districts and a 20 Kilometer belt having a common border with Assam has been declared as a ‘disturbed area’ under the AFSPA-1958 as amended in 1972.\(^{63}\) There is no ceasefire applicable to the Naga groups in Arunachal Pradesh.

**Current Situation**

a) It was lack of governance which had led to the rise of insurgency in Tirap and Changlang. Administration over the years has played along with the local politics and the insurgents.

b) In recent times, the three districts of Tirap, Longding and Changlang have been witnessing factional clashes between the outfits due to constant overflow of the Naga insurgency into Arunachal Pradesh.

c) The warring groups of NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K) have been in ceasefire agreements with the union government, but the terms of the ceasefire apply only to the territory of Nagaland, a loophole that the insurgents are exploiting to engage in continuous armed activities.

d) Another major concern is the ready procurement of arms by the insurgents from China.

e) Local industry has become a source of extortion.

f) Political neglect, inefficient administration, siphoning of development funds and deep routed corruption has resulted in establishment of financial mafia by the insurgent groups.

g) NSCN (IM) has a predominant influence in Longding and Tirap. It indulges in extortion activities in these districts. However, there are no militant activities.

h) The NSCN (K) exerts influence in west Changlang and approximately five kilometers astride the international border in Tirap. It carries out extortion in these areas, but there are no militant activities. It uses the local population of the villages bordering Myanmar to ferry rations to and from Myanmar.

i) NSCN(IM) has made efforts to carve out a safe corridor to smuggle weapons from across the border by reviving ties with Kachin Independence

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\(^{62}\) Based on personal interviews.

\(^{63}\) Ministry of Home Affairs Annual Report 2011-12.
Army (KIA). Assam based insurgent groups (ULFA/AT) and NDFB/RD used parts of the state for transit to and from Myanmar.

j) CPI (Maoist) and United People’s Democratic Front (UPDF) remained active in certain pockets.

**Tripura**

Tripura was a princely state, which had acceded to the Indian Union at the time of independence, and its administration was taken over in October 1949. It became a Union Territory on November 1, 1956 and a full-fledged state on 21 January 1972. It is bounded by the states of Assam and Mizoram and shares a border of 856 km with Bangladesh. It has a population of 3,671,032 and a very high literacy rate of 87.75%. The chief languages are Bengali, Kokborak and Manipuri. The major religions are Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Tripura is abundant in natural gas and a number of gas based industries have sprung up.

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**Geo-Political Importance**

64 op. cit. no 90, Page 14.
Due to the state being straddled and surrounded by Bangladesh, it also gives a geo-political importance in the region. There is a triangle formed by the hill tracts east of Bangladesh’s port city of Chittagong and the states of Tripura and Mizoram marks the western end of Asia’s longest stretch of tribal populations. The area is unbroken, thickly wooden mountain corridor that rises from the coastal plains of eastern Bangladesh, traverses the sprawling hill regions of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), north east India and upper Myanmar and then meanders into the golden triangle of Laos, Thailand and Myanmar. There have been long traditions of independent or effectively autonomous existence that the tribes have enjoyed. The CHT was ruled by the tribal chiefs of the Chakma race who controlled the area for over four centuries. Tripura was ruled by the powerful Kokborok - speaking tribe for almost eight centuries. The British deemed fit to avoid directly contact with the administrative control over Tripura, allowing the Manikya kings to rule the area. However, they extended their administration to the CHT, after the 1857 mutiny and ruling it as an” excluded area”. The British policy was geared to pacify the old orders of Indian society. There was the legacy of the chieftain dominated policy with its accent on customs and traditions. In Tripura, land did become an object of conflict between the tribals and the plainsman.

Before independence, people travelled through the Chittagong region and there were inland water transport systems and railway transits. Tripura shares a cultural proximity with Bangladesh since the princely days. The proximity of the CHT has provided support from across the border to exploit the militancy. This has given an added fillip to an otherwise weak movement, with very little reliance in terms of arms and equipment to sustain it. The state has been deprived of the trade routes and markets which could help in the export of jute and tea. There is a land custom station at Muharighat and Akhaura which facilitates trade between India and Bangladesh. The north east region needs to be linked with the Chittagong port through Tripura to reduce distances and ease of trade.

**Migration from East Pakistan**

The predominantly tribal population of the state was diluted by the influx of large number of migrants who migrated from the then east Pakistan and the demographic balance had been upset to the extent that, while migrant constitute
about two third of the population, the tribals have been reduced to one third of the population of the state and have been driven to the hills.

**Insurgency in the State**

In May 1967, Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS), a tribal party, was formed which wanted the provisions of the fifth schedule of the constitution (granting tribal autonomy) promulgated in Tripura. By now the Bengalis had seized both economic and political power. Subsequently in December 1978, The Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) was formed with the aim of securing independence for Tripura by armed action. The tribals who had become minority were not satisfied with the actions of the government with being given recognition under the seventh schedule of the constitution thus resorting to violence.

The army was called in June 1980 to control the situation and the militants escaped into the CHT. The government compromised and autonomous district council was created under the sixth schedule of the Indian constitution in July 1985. The entire state was declared as a ‘disturbed area’ on 29 January 1988. The June 1988 riots in Tripura wherein 1300 people died, mostly Bengalis, was seen as ethnic cleansing by the TNV, which was disbanded later. In 1989 and 1990, National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) and All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) were raised respectively, which still exist.\(^{67}\)

There have been differences between the NLFT and the ATTF, due to which they have been operating independently. The attacks by these groups were confined to the security forces, political party workers and businessmen. Because of the counter insurgency operations in the state, the top leadership and their cadres were based in Bangladesh. However, with the coming of the Sheikh Hasina government in 2008, there have been problems for the groups as she has assured India that the territory of Bangladesh will not be allowed to launch attacks in India and also no camps will be allowed. This also gave an impetus towards the end of insurgency in the state.

The counter insurgency operations have been successful in the state due to which peace is prevalent. The Tripura police needs to be credited for having taken the responsibility to be the main strike force against the insurgents with the army.

\(^{67}\) Vivek Chadha, Low Intensity Conflicts in India, New Delhi, 2005. pp. 354-358.
and the para military forces acting in co-ordination with the police, but as back up teams. This has led to the systematic downfall of the insurgents.

Current Situation -

a) Low level insurgency continues with cadres indulging in illegal tax collection and trans border crime.

b) 34 out of 45 districts are under the AFSPA.

c) The state is attracting investors, both domestic and foreign, as the development activities are on the rise.

d) The number of the insurgents surrendering is on the increase.

Meghalaya -

Meghalaya became a separate state on 21st January 1972. Assam is the neighbouring state and it has a sensitive border of 443 km with Bangladesh. The population of Meghalaya is 2,964,007 and has a literacy rate of 72.1%. The major religions are Hinduism, Christianity and the languages spoken are Garo, Khasi and English. The rivers in the state are Simsang, Manda, Darming, Ringee, Gamol and Bugi. The mountains in the region are Garo, Khasi, Jaintia Hills and Nokrek Peak. The Garo Hills are a coal rich area, which is exported to Bangladesh and is also used for extortion by the groups.

69 op. cit. no 90, Page 14.
The influx of foreign Nationals from Bangladesh and Nepal and outsiders has created an anti outsider feeling particularly amongst the youth and is the main cause of anti establishment sentiment amongst them.

The north east insurgents have found Meghalaya, particularly Shillong a convenient hideout for rest and recoup. Hynniewtreps and the Achiks are the two tribal groups prevalent in Meghalaya. Hynniewtreps comprises of the Khasi, Jaintia, Bhoi, and war tribes, belonging to the Proto-Austroloid Monkhmer race, and predominantly inhabit the east Meghalaya districts. Achiks who are basically the Garos are settled in the Garo hills and belong to the Tibeto-Burman race and are said to have migrated from Tibet. Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC) and Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC) are the main groups in the state. However, the Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA) is now playing an important role for the Garos for separate Garoland.
In Meghalaya, the central police organizations (CPOs) are responsible for the counter insurgency in the disturbed areas. They have been involved in carrying out cordon and search operations and also destruction of the insurgent camps. The limitation of the CPO’s is that they lack in the intelligence machinery. The police are suffering because of this and in the bargain they have suffered heavy casualties.  

Current Situation -

a) The GNLA cadre is quite well trained, but the combined efforts of the police and the border security force (BSF) have resulted in cutting the communications and the supply routes of the GNLA from across the border from Bangladesh.

b) To achieve a solution to the insurgency, it is imperative that the talks take place between the two parties, but this cannot be done till the time the insurgents lay down their arms.

c) The GNLA can pose problems if they feel that they can handle the actions of the CPO’s and the BSF and in addition if they get the support of the Achik’s, they can then carry on with their demand for the Garoland.

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71 Based on personal interviews.
Mizoram -

Historical Background -

During the colonial period, the present Mizoram state was known as the Lushai Hills which was later in 1898 constituted as a separate district in Assam. In 1936, it was declared as an excluded area under the inner line regulations. The Mizo union was formed as the first political party by the Mizos. In 1954, district and village councils were constituted and separation from Assam was demanded. In 1959-1960, there was a famine and it resulted in forming of Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) to provide relief to the people. In 1960, the people were not satisfied with the measures taken by the Assam Government and thus MNFF was converted into Mizo National Front (MNF). On 21st December 1961, the MNF declared its aim, to unify all Mizos under a single administration and to achieve freedom. They also feared the immigration of refugees from East Pakistan.

The Mizo National Army (MNA) was formed and underwent training in East Pakistan. The central government did not accept the demand for independence, resulting in a rebellion by the MNF and launching of ‘Operation Jericho’ on 28 February 1966. There were clashes with the security forces and police stations, telephone exchanges, government offices were raided. The army was called and the situation was restored, resulting in the MNF insurgents escaping to East Pakistan and after the 1971 war, to Burma. In January 1972, Mizoram was constituted into a union territory. The insurgent groups visited China and thereafter again shifted to the CHT with the support of Bangladesh. In 1975, the groups restarted their activities in Mizoram, but in 1976 the situation was under control and talks commenced between the government and the MNF under Laldenga. The demands by Laldenga were unreasonable, thus the talks ended in 1978. Between 1972 and 1982 there were several measures by the state for development including suspension of operations, but Laldenga kept changing his stance of unreasonable demands. The security forces had to be launched to regain control of the situation. Thereafter in 1986, the MNF laid down their arms and the personnel were rehabilitated.
Success of the Peace Agreement –

The Mizo accord was signed in 1986 between the MNF and the government of India as a result of Operation Jericho.\textsuperscript{72} The MNF agreed to work within the Indian constitution and to renounce violence. This has been successful and has resulted in a new article 371- G to be inserted in the constitution by the government of India for safeguarding the identity of the Mizos. The main reasons for success of the accord were that the political demands of the militant leaders were met and the minor tribes were integrated into a cohesive identity and were made a part of the whole system. The Mizo insurgent leaders realized that Pakistan and China were using them for their own interests and also that the destiny of Mizoram was with India. Secession was never the motive of the insurgency and when the demands were met, insurgency faded away. The society of Mizoram was very strong thus becoming an asset to the state. The central government played an important role by funding development work and for financing packages to the family members who had suffered during the counter insurgency operations. Surrendered militants were rehabilitated and settled. They agreed to surrender all weapons to the government. The church was of a great help as it brought about high literacy and health status, as also the transformation of the Mizo society into a modern western one. Some of the non government organizations (NGO’s) also played an important role.

Mizoram gained its statehood on 20\textsuperscript{th} February 1987. The neighbouring states are Tripura, Assam and Manipur. It borders Myanmar (480 Km) and Bangladesh (318Km). Its borders are more with the neighbourhood than the states of India. The population of the state is 1,091,014 with a literacy rate of 89.9\%.\textsuperscript{73} Mizoram is a land of hills with the major religion being Christianity with Mizo and English as the language. There is an ethnic similarity between the Chins in Myanmar and the Mizos. There is the Autonomous Council of the Chakmas, Brus and Hmars. The Chakmas are basically non muslims and are also across in the Chittagong Hill Tract.

\textsuperscript{72} See Annexure G.

\textsuperscript{73} Office of the Registrar General, India. Census of India 2001.
Mizo villagers had attacked the minority Bru (Reang) tribals who escaped to Tripura and are staying in relief camps since October 1997. Efforts by the government of India with the government of Mizoram after giving grant in aid have resulted in rehabilitation and repatriation of the Brus from Tripura. This is being carried out in a phased manner under the aegis of the government of Mizoram.

There is an open regime movement policy between the Indian and Myanmar governments along the 404 kilometers border, which facilitates people of both countries to move up to 16 kilometers on either side to trade in local produce, particularly food and eatables. The government of India has conveyed to the Myanmar government that if the Myanmar nationals want to travel beyond that, then they will have to obtain permission from New Delhi. Mizoram is facing problems with the unchecked infiltration of Myanmar nationals, particularly Chins and Burmese Mizos, into Mizoram in search of jobs and to escape the junta. There were over 55,000 Myanmar nationals working in shops and as domestic help in Mizoram. The Mizoram police had launched drives to detect and deport illegal migrants from Myanmar and even detected over 300 infiltrators. The Mizoram government is concerned that these illegal migrants were involved in drug peddling and prostitution.
Current Situation -

Mizoram is a peaceful state and the main cause of worry is the illegal migration from Myanmar and the insurgent groups using the state as a corridor for cross border movement of cadres and weapons.

Sikkim -

Sikkim gained its statehood on 16 May 1975. It is bound on the north by the Tibet plateau, on the east by Chumbi valley of Tibet and Bhutan, on the west by Nepal and on the south by Darjeeling district of West Bengal. It shares international border with Bhutan (30 Km), China (220 Km) and Nepal (7 Km). It has a population of 6,07,688 with a literacy rate of 76.6%. The main river of the state is Teesta. It is a multi-ethnic state comprising both tribal and non-tribal groups. The Lepchas and the Limboos are the original inhabitants of the state. The Sherpas are a marginal ethnic group in the state. The Bhutias and the Nepalese migrated to the state from Tibet and Nepal respectively. Nepalese today are the dominant ethnic group in the state. The main languages are Lepche, Bhutia, Hindi, Nepali and Limbu, with the main religions being Buddhism and Hinduism.

It is a strategic state from the national security point of view and a sensitive one from internal security perspectives. It is linked to the main land through the Siliguri corridor. The Maoists have proposed a corridor from Nepal to Orissa and the Siliguri corridor is vital to their plans. Due to its geography, it is bound to be
affected by developments in its neighbourhood. Apart from this, Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) has also made inroads. Demographic destabilization will bring along with it outside influences to disturb the peace prevalent in the state.

After two decades of uncertainty in the Darjeeling hills, a tripartite agreement for a new council was signed on 18th July 2011. The agreement involved creating of an autonomous Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA). The council will have more administrative and financial powers to independently run the three hill sub-divisions of Kurseong, Kalimpong and Darjeeling. However, the demand of Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM) for a separate state and inclusion of added areas in the “Mouzas” in the plains in Dooars and Terai areas has not been met. The government has agreed to consider the demand for inclusion of larger areas in their jurisdiction. The government has also sanctioned Rs 600 crore as special assistance for Darjeeling.74

Some areas of Sikkim continue to be protected areas/restricted areas under Foreigners (Protected area) order 1958 and Foreigners (Restricted Area) order, 1963 respectively.

Role of the Church in North East -

The roots of Christianity took place in Assam in 1836 and the Christian church in Naga soil came into existence in December 1872 and thereafter it spread to the other areas of north east. There is a council of Baptist Churches in North East India (CBCNEI), which is one of the largest Baptist groups in South East Asia. The Presbyterian church of India (PCI) is the second majority of churches in the north east. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Assam was officially constituted in 1926.75

Before Christianity came into existence in the north east, the people were animists barring the people of Assam, plains of Tripura, and Meiteis of Manipur. The Naga Hills district was created by the British, after which they sent protestant missionaries into the interiors of this district, followed by into the hill districts of Mizoram and Manipur. The growth of the Christianity was more in the hills than in the plains. The states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya and Manipur have a high percentage of Christians. There have been drastic changes in the perception

74 The Times of India, Chandigarh, 19 July 2011.
75 www.nccindia.in/resources/c3.htm.
of the people of the hills about the views of the world and has brought about radical changes to the lifestyle with the coming of Christianity. They were being told by the church that they were different from the plains people of India. The Church has done a lot in the sphere of healthcare. Education was the most important area of the missionaries which included women. Education has given tremendous opportunities to the women to come to the forefront in various walks of life. It has provided shelter and homes to the people who cannot afford homes. They are thus playing an important role in the society and the government. The church is powerful in terms of resolving issues with the government and also to provide solution to the insurgency problems.

**Impact of the insurgency**

The impact of the insurgency activities on security, society, development and politics has been serious and complex. Some of the serious impacts are as follows;

a) Internal displacement of the population from within the states.
b) Fear psychosis and a great sense of insecurity due to cases of Killing, kidnapping, threat and extortion.
c) System of administration of criminal justice has been derailed.
d) Nexus between the politicians and the insurgents has made elections a farce.
e) Education of children is frequently disrupted.
f) Large portions of the development funds are siphoned by the insurgents and some other agencies.
g) Business and enterprises have failed because of frequent extortions by the insurgents.
h) Large amount of food and other consumer items are siphoned by the insurgents and the poor suffer.
i) People’s sense of alienation due to deprivation in the economic and social fields.
j) Except Assam, the north east is an industrial desert.
k) Support from the neighbouring countries to the insurgent groups is a serious security threat to the region.