CHAPTER SEVEN - RESSURGENCE OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT AND PEACE TALKS
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The expectation that the freedom fighters who had not yet accepted the Shillong Accord would gradually fall in the main stream of the Indian nationalism was the underestimation of the nature of Naga nationalism by the Government of India. The ensuing years were to prove that, in fact, the peace, which was provided in Nagaland, was nothing, but a lull before the storm. Some one rightly apprehended that Nagaland was getting ready for a volcanic eruption at any time. Their apprehension became true when a group of the Naga freedom fighters. Headed by T. Muivah, Isak Swu and Khaplang, rejecting the Shillong Accord, formed a new party, namely, the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) on January 1, 1980. All these three leaders were trusted lieutenants of Phizo at earlier time. They broke up their relations with the Naga Federal Government and formed a new Government of their own.

The Shillong Accord (1975) had created the feeling among both the Naga people and the people of India that the problem of insurgency had come to an end in Nagaland for ever because the majority of the freedom fighters had accepted the Indian citizenship “on their own volition”. The sore which was pinching in the mind of the Indian as well as Naga political leaders was the non-implementation of Clause three of the Accord because the undergrounds who were overseas had refused to endorse the Shillong Accord and to accept the Indian citizenship. Mr Phizo, though did not condemn the Accord, refused to acknowledge it, but other dominant leaders of the NNC like Isak Chishi Swu, the Vice President and Thuingaleng Muivah, the General Secretary, condemned the Accord and denounced it as a complete sell-out of the Naga’s right to self-determination. The understanding of the Indian and the Nagaland governments that peace had dawned in Nagaland with the signing of the Shillong accord, thus, proved wrong. Hardly five years had passed after signing of the Accord that freedom movement based on militancy once more appeared causing great problem of law and order on the one hand, and destabilising total peace in Nagaland on the other.

It is interesting to note that Phizo was the President of the NNC and its constitution provided that “the NNC, as declared under the constitution of the Federal Government of
Nagaland, is the only legitimate political party to seek the mandate of the Naga people after affirmed settlement of the Naga issue is reached with the Central Government of India.”¹ When the underground Naga representatives and the Governor of Nagaland were signing the Shillong Accord, Phizo was the President and Muivah was the General secretary of the NNC. Logically, Phizo should have been present to be a party of the Shillong agreement which was deciding the final settlement of the Naga issue, but the NNC has already passed information through Vizol, the leader of the Unaided Democratic Front, that in the event of any settlement between the Shillong Accord signatories and the Government of India, the NNC would not consider itself bound by the Accord. Since Phizo was away from India and Muivah was not a signatory, the Shillong accord was not binding for them.

Again, an examination of the Shillong Accord brings two facts to the light. Firstly, by clause I the underground representatives “conveyed their decision on their own volition to accept without condition the constitution of India”, which means that what they accepted was their own desire, and their desire was to live within India as per the constitutional provisions. In one way there was no issue left regarding the sovereign status of Nagaland. Secondly, Clause III mentions, “The representatives of the underground organisations should have reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussions for the final agreement.” Here a question may be raised as to what the other issues are. And also what is the meaning of ‘reasonable time’ to formulate such issues? Since they had agreed to accept the constitution of India, sovereign status of Nagaland could not be an issue. Hence ‘other issues’ may be some other problems of the Nagas like unification of the Nagas living in other Indian states, border disputes between Assam And Nagaland etc. But there are some who interpret the ‘other issues’ in the sense that the Naga sovereignty would be discussed later or sooner when reasonable time comes. Thus the Naga issue remained hanging giving clue to those who were yet aspirants of a sovereign Nagaland.

T. Muivah and Isak Swu were the most dominant leaders of the NNC. The former is a Tanglekhil Naga while the latter belongs to Sema tribe. They had tried to influence Phizo by sending a seven-man delegation to London to condemn the Shillong Accord “unreservedly.

¹ M. Horam, Insurgency in Nagaland op. cit., pp.188-89.
and without delay. But no positive response was received from Phizo.¹ Muivah and Isak had also requested Phizo to come Nagaland and guide the eastern sector of the Naga army. But Phizo maintained silence over the issue.² Though there is no reason known about Phizo’s indifference towards direct indulgence in the Naga freedom movement, it appears that he was dissatisfied with the behaviours of the colleagues who had signed the Shillong accord. It may also be the reason that at such advance age he did not like to take active part in the Naga freedom movement, which had received big set back due to signing of the Shillong Accord. Any way, reluctance of Phizo to take active part in freedom struggle after signing of the Shillong Accord disappointed both Muivah and Isak. But these two leaders did not loose their vision and courage. They along with their supporters remained firm to fight for the cause the Naga people. Their commitment to the Naga’s freedom even without Phizo continued. They treated the Shillong accord as a political trick of the Government of India to finish the Naga freedom movement forever. Moreover, they denounced the leadership of Phizo on the ground that “a particular leadership staying in a foreign land has sustained the existence of Nagaland thus far and that he alone will bring the final victory, too, needs immediate correction.”³ As a first step to revive the Naga freedom movement Muivah and Isak decided to abandon the old organisation, the NNC and give birth to a new organisation, namely, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). This organisation came into being on January 31,1980 under the strong leadership of Muivah as the General Secretary and Isak Swu as the Chairman. S.S. Khaplong, a Burmese Naga, was made as the Vice President of the newly emerged NSCN. These NSCN also set up the Government of People’s Republic of Nagaland (GPRN) replacing the old Federal Government of Nagaland. The NSCN soon declared that it came into being for Naga sovereignty and to constitute Nagaland into a Christian socialism. Thus the NSCN having its own Government and expressing its hard determination to fight for the cause of the Naga people revived the Naga freedom movement from 1980 onwards, which opened a new chapter in the history of Naga freedom struggle.

³ M. Horam, Insurgency in Nagaland, New Delhi,
The concept of ‘Christian socialism’, in the words of Vashum, “is a combination of the age-old traditional socio-cultural and economic system of the Nagas with a tinge of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism...They (leaders of the NSCN) believed in combination of ‘dictatorship’ and ‘democracy/intra democracy’, and struggle through arms to achieve their cherished goal.” Muivah had been opposing the leadership of Phizo and the policy of the NNC from 1976. The vital issue among the leaders of the NNC was the policy of socialism in Nagaland initiated and supported by Muivah. There were many who viewed that once socialism was adopted, the NNC would face partition and “the blood of the Nagas will flow like river.” But Muivah was determined to go for socialism.

The leaders of the Nagaland Government under the guidance of the Indian political leaders had succeeded in giving trial to the democratic processes in Nagaland, no doubt, but the trend of the government was towards setting up a capitalist society under the guise of socialist, which was borrowed from the Indian political system. The leaders of the NSCN were quite alive to this fact and they had also observed that the established traditional Naga social, cultural and economic systems had badly been influenced by Indian political system. Muivah and Iask who has spent much time in China were under the influence of the political philosophy of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. The model of the Naga society, which they had in, their mind was neither pure socialist on the line of Marxist nor related to democratic socialism practiced in India. They wanted a new society, which structure should have been socialist, no doubt, but based on religious and moral principles: Muivah knew it well that the emerging Naga society under the leadership “has developed elements of a class-society; its upper echelons has been swept by consumerism” at the cost of the erosion of “community value”. Muivah was much inclined towards Chinese society, not towards the western countries. In his opinion the “West would only give some assurances, just to ensure that the Nagas did not go over to the Chinese totally.” He had been in china from 1966 to 1971 as the representative of the NNC, and while living in China, he was very much influenced by the Chinese revolution and also the philosophies of Mao Ze Dang. He not only appreciated the views of Chinese leaders like Moa and Cou-

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en Lie, but also liked to follow their footprints in Nagaland. It is evident from the statement of Muivah, which inter alia, said, “They (Chinese leaders) were great leaders, who changed the lives of millions of their countrymen. They were people who saw much beyond time, who gave their country a great place in the world... They were committed revolutionaries.” Muivah did not like to give any place of tribalism in his organisation and in the society that he dreamt of. He liked an egalitarian society without any reservation to tribalism, which “has split our movement before.” Thus it is very much obvious that the leaders of the NSCN, specially Muivah and Isak were highly impressed by the Chinese leaders and they set up the NSCN with a view to not only achieving Naga’s sovereignty but also to constituted a socialist Naga society based on the Chinese line. The only thing, which he did not like to give up, was the principles of Christianity. Muivah knew that teaching of Bible was the only viable means, which could protect the Naga people from falling into the lust of materialism and consumerism. So far the method of fighting with the Indian armed personnel was concerned, the warriors of the GPRN applied the old style of guerrilla warfare.

Phizo remained silent and inactive to the call of Muivah for joining the new movement for Naga’s freedom. It was this fact, which created misunderstanding between these two giant leaders of the Naga freedom struggle Phizo did not entertain the call of Muivah, perhaps, he disliked to make Nagaland a socialist country based on Chinese pattern where religion has a little role while Nagaland is a Christian state.

As strategy to make the Naga people aware of their right to self-determination and create a favourable circumstance the leaders of the NSCN, Muivah and Isak adopted the propaganda policy reiterating the old stand that Nagaland had never been a part of India and that the Nagas had forcibly been occupied by the “Indian occupations forces”. They made appeals to the general Naga people to support the NSCN and participate in the Naga freedom movement. They also claimed that the NSCN was the only authentic body of the Naga people to fight for the cause of the Naga’s sovereignty. The NSCN through its various documents spread the view that “All castes and communities had different history of their own. The Naga history is for safety and happiness. The Nagas had never made friendship with Indians. Hence there can never be peace between the Nagas and the
It is very much oblivious that the groups attached to the SDUF share common view that they had natural, right to have their sovereign and the Indian government has forcibly subjugated independent states and them. They all joined their hands together to have collective stand and force the Indian Government to liberate them so that they should have the Government and political systems of their choice suited to their people. They are also under the impression that if they fight together, it would be quite impossible for the Government of India to suppress their rebellion because the Indian Government is not strong enough to rule over the people by suppressing national feelings of the peoples of North-East India.

Government of India got convinced that insurgency in Nagaland had erupted with greater force, when the activities of the NSCN against India and the Government of Nagaland became rampant. About three hundred Khiamnugan Nagas from North Myanmar had taken

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2 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
During 1990s, the anti-Indian and anti-Nagaland government activities of the underground Nagas increased to a great extent. The Naga freedom fighters began to attack and ambush the Indian security forces openly. The superintendent of Police of Mokokchung district was shot dead in the broad daylight in the main market. Thereafter, the Deputy Commissioner of Kohima was killed by a group of the underground Nagas when he was going to attend his office.

1 Assam Tribune, (Guwahati), September 3, 1980.
2 Nagaland Times (Dimapur), Vol. XI, No. 9, September 3, 1980.
3 The Platform. V, No. 3, (Kohima), May 7, 1981.
In June 1988, Mr Khaplang and Dalley Mongro parting their way with one-time close associates, Muivah and Isak, formed a new group, namely the NSCN (K), Khaplang assumed the responsibility of the group as the Chairman while Dalley Mongro became the General Secretary of newly formed splintered group of the erstwhile NSCN. On the other hand, Muivah and Isak termed his group as the NSCN (IM). Thus the group, which had taken a vow to fight for the cause of the Naga's independence till the last drop of their blood, got splintered even less than a decade causing utter surprise and disappointment among the Naga people who were aspirants of Naga independence. The big shock and troubles which came to the Naga people was not the division among the freedom fighter, but appearance of bitter enmity between these two splintered parts because of the enmity which pushed back the major issue like Naga freedom and struggle against the Government of India, on the one hand, and brought forward unbridled factional fighting among the Nagas on the other.

DIVISION IN THE NSCN

The Government of India being alert of the activities of the NSCN deployed once more security forces where the presence of the Naga militants was reported. Armed conflicts once more began where battles began causing too much troubles and inconvenience to the Naga people. The Government again promulgated the Disturbed Areas Act with a view to controlling the situation and checking up the unlawful activities of the Naga militants. The promulgation of Disturbed area Act and Maintenance of Law And Order Act empowered the Indian security personnel to raid every household of the Nagas at any time to search the rebels and arrest them. Such military operations disturbed total peace of the state. The public began to demand the immediate withdrawal of such draconian Acts. Moreover, numerous people lost their lives and properties during the armed conflicts between these two forces. The peace of the state was once more totally shattered. The people of Nagaland and the Government of India, too, accepted the truth that Shillong accord had lost its significance on the one hand, and insurgency in Nagaland had returned back with greater force, on the other. As the years rolled down people witnessed a number of incidents where many of the Nagas were either killed or tortured. The peace of Nagaland once more began to bleed.

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Asoso Yonuo is of the view that the political unity of the Naga politicians is on the raw stage. This is "because of the fact that the Nagas are still on the way to political maturity from centuries of backwardness," They have not come out "altogether from the clutches of the traditional feuds, headhunting and tribalism deleterious to unity, and it is the fratricidal conflict among themselves into which they had been politically divided." Confirming the same view Charles Chasie says, "The fabric of Naga unity and society... are being torn. Every issue is seen through the prism of personality clashes." Mr Chasie is very much correct in observation of the cause of unity among the Naga people whether underground or over ground. Personality clash is one of the most dangerous factors among the Naga leaders, which has hardly allowed them to stand, united and work collectively. Tribalism has been another ruinous factor among the Naga people to jeopardise their unity. During the period of ceasefire (1967) considerable amount of efforts were applied to settle peace, but it had all failed causing a serious set back on the part of the underground organisation. This had resulted in inner fighting among them and weakening of the strength of the undergrounds. It was division among the underground Naga leaders, which had enabled the Government of India to control the situation and ultimately signing of the Shillong Accord in 1975. Muivah and Isak once more revived the Naga freedom movement, no doubt, but the NSCN could not remain united for long. Personality clash soon began between Muivah and Khaplang who had willingly joined their hands to fight for the cause of the Nagas. The clash ultimately resulted in the division of the NSCN in 1988. Thereafter, both the factions became bitter enemies to each other and both engaged in two fighting fronts- one against the Government of India and another against their own fellow friends who had been together till yesterday.

An analytical study and observation of the rise and growth of Naga freedom movement reveals the truth that it has always remained the victim of personality clashes among the leaders. The personality clashes among the underground Naga leaders never allowed the freedom movement to be viable. Moreover, tribalism has remained another vital issue among various Naga leaders, which has created rift among them at the cost of their mission and objectives. To quote Vashum once more, "The Nagas have been badly divided on
factional political parties cutting across tribal solidarities and allegiances... Today every Naga tribe big or small is observed to have divided as to their loyalty and affiliation to one underground political group or the other. Domination of one political group/faction with their counter-parts among the tribes is also prominent.\(^1\)

There was a time when the Naga freedom movement was under the hegemony of the Semas, but soon after the failure of the Delhi Peace talks in 1967, the leadership of the underground organisation shifted to the Agamis. After the assassination of the underground Naga General, Kaito Sema, the C-in-C of the Federal Naga Government’s army, Mao Angami was appointed as the Federal Army General. It was this change, which became “a sore point with the Sema group”. The Presidentship of the Federal Government also passed into the hands of the Angamis. It was Muivah who was made the executive head. In the words of Horam, “The Sema hegemony in Naga politics (underground) was destroyed and power passed on to the Agami tribes. After that, the Naga militancy turned towards tribalism. The Angami rebels were under the impression that Kaito had sold out to the Indians and had accepted the huge sum of money from the Government of India.” On the other hand, the Sema group doubted Anagamis’ hands in the murder of Kaito. Thus the Sema rebels kidnapped Mehiasiu Aangami and kept him under captivity for several months. By 1968, the Semas and the Angamis were far away from each other having their own respective Governments. It is, thus, evident that feeling of tribalism and loyalty of the people to their respective tribes have remained great hurdles to the Naga’s unity, either underground or over ground.

Another cause of disunity among the Naga freedom fighters has remained the unlimited aspiration of the underground Naga leaders. Generally the Naga leaders are power monger. Rivalry and quarrelling among the militant Naga leaders began for powers from the beginning of their organisation. Charles Chasie has rightly remarked that, “Naga history has only too frequently been reduced to personality clash of the leaders, whether the underground or over ground. This often eluded the thing borderline between the subject and the object of the ultimate goal. And in the name of the people, the leaders frequently expected, even demanded, that the people (should) follow wherever they lead, right or

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The basic reason of the rift in NSCN, in April 1988, was the personality clash between Muivah and Khaplang. None of them was ready to compromise at the cost of their personal superiority. In the view of Muivah and Isak, Khaplang “desired to be pumped with special power and position.” On the initiative of Khaplang “he was given second in command and his men were accommodated in several high positions.” According to Muivah Khaplang belonged to such a community where there was no place for democratic elements. He also viewed that Khaplang suffered from “superiority complex” and he preferred “power and status”. In the words of Muivah “he (Khaplang) did not hesitate to stop any thing when it came to the point of his self-gratification. He was never guided by scruples. Most of the time, he abused with power and placed himself above the organisation, nay, he was a law unto himself... He was averse to democratic practices.” On the other hand, Khaplang was of the view that Muivah, being a Tangkhul Naga, was very much against the Burmese Naga tribes to which Khaplang belongs. That is why Muivah committed heinous crime against the Konayks and the Burmese Nagas. In the opinion of Khaplang Muivah did not allow other to supersede him. Thus it is evident that both the leaders had personal cause related to their ego that ultimately divided the NSCN and made the divided factions bitter enemies to each other.

The majority of the rank and file of the undivided NSCN was from the Konyak tribe where the Tangkhuls dominated the Command structure. It was this factor, which “created discontent among the Konyaks. There was also apprehensions among the Konyaks and the Myanmaris Nagas that the Tankhuls were about to strike a deal with the Central Government”. Thus this factor “resulted in split in the NSCN in 1988. The Konyaks formed a breakaway faction under the leadership of Khole Konyak and S.S.Khaplang,” which came to be known as the NSCN (K). Thereafter, severe inter-factional clashes began in which hundreds of the activists of the rival groups have been killed. The faction of Khaplang attacked Col. Ashino Chaomai, the Deputy Chief of the Naga Army, in April

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1 Daily Review, No. 4, Dimapur, November 4, 1997, p.3.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
1988, who belonged to the faction of NSCN (I-M). The Col. Was killed in the attack along with his two sons. In the words of Muivah and Isak “On 6th May 1988, the Myanmars troops attacked us while waiting for ration at Lasa village. The attack was one of the worst in that everyone got scattered into jungles where many got killed in the hands of the chasing Khaplang’s mad dogs.”

Thus the enmity between these two factions of the undergrounds who were fighting shoulder to shoulder at a time has not allowed them to come near. Rather they are dead enemies to each other.

The vital question is not which faction of the NSCN is more or less responsible for disunity of the freedom fighters. The issue, which is more pertinent, is that their factional fighting is continued which has badly undermined the issue of Naga freedom. In the words of Timothy “The underground factions totally ignored the voice of people by killing their own brothers and sisters in the state. Naga Hoho, Naga Association of Mothers, Naga Students’ Federation and other NGOs appealed to the undergrounds not to kill each other, but no avail. Random killing in public places without caring the innocent people, even not sparing the students and children” is on.

In the words of S.S. Jamir, the Ex-chief Minister of Nagaland, “They (Naga freedom fighters) are fighting for the same cause, but they are killing each other… The main objective has taken the back seat where as ego problems and personal issues are dominating the present action.”

Once the enmity took place between both the factions of the NSCN, it went on without any pause. Both began to claim the real heir of Nagaland/number of Nagas lost their lives due to factional fighting and people faced a lot of problems. Both the factions of the NSCN claim to be real heir of Nagaland. Their aims and objective are the same, but they are at constant bloody rivalry and clashes that has created mass terror and fear among the general people. Factional fighting and anti-national activities provoked the Indian government to declare the whole of Nagaland as a disturbed area and to reinforce the Disturbed Area Act enabling the personnel of the Indian security forces to raid every Naga house at any time and take every Naga in custody simply on the pretext of suspicion and doubt. All these

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1 The Hill Express, February 6, 1990, p.4.
3 S.C. Jamir, Realities of Naga Political Problem, a Booklet issued by Press Secretary to Chief Minister, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p.5.
events harassed the general people on the one land, and badly disrupted the peace and progress of the state, on the other.

Muivah and Isak believe that the group led by Khaplang is nothing but a ‘puppet’ of the Nagaland Government led by C. Jamir while Khaplang called the Muivah’s faction as ‘blood sucker’ of the Nagas. Muivah is a Tangkhul. Khaplang maintains that the Tangkhuls are not Nagas. “The Nagas did not know about the Tangkhuls because they never participated in the Nagas’ struggle against the Indian armed forces right from 1954 to 1964.” The group led by Khaplang does not like to see the Tangkhuls in Nagaland because “There has been no place in the Naga soil where the Tangkhuls have not killed, murdered an innocent Naga.”

Thus allegations and counter allegations levelled by both the groups against each other has created more confusion among the general people. It has also brought tribalism on front. The Tangkhuls who are mostly living in some districts of Manipur are more advanced. Since 1970, the Tangkhuls increased their influence in the underground activities and come near to the over ground activities also. This is one of the vital reasons, which does not allow unity among the two dominant groups. One more reason of their disunity has been, in the words of Vashum, “some feelings of discontentment and jealousy among others, are sometimes manipulated by some politicians / leaders of respective tribes for vested interests to create confusion among the Naga masses... These crises have been a great stumbling blocks for the Naga National movement as they are divisive in Nature.”

It is also said that Khaplang has no intension at all to the incorporation of ‘Nagaland for Christ’ in the manifesto of the NSCN. According to Muivah and Isak he had objected the ethical codes of the NSCN such as abstaining from smoking tobacco, taking narcotic stimulants, drinking alcohol, stealing, misappropriation and depredation of Government

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1 The Threat, a Booklet Published by Information and Publicity affairs, Government of the People’s Republic of Nagaland. P.5.
2 Ibid. p.13.
3 R. Vashum, Naga’s right to Self-determination, op. cit., p.140.
funds, immorality in sex etc. It is also said that Khaplang prefers autocratic type of rule, not democratic or socialistic. However, the group of Muivah has mostly mooted this opinion about Khaplang and his group. Hence reality about these allegations is yet to be established. Refuting all these allegations Khaplang says that it is Muivah and his men who have accepted money from the government of India to hatch plot against Khaplang and his supporters. Thus these are allegations and counter allegations, which have been spread among the people to malign the image of each other. There is also a rumour that the Intelligence Branch of the Government of India is behind the mess between these two rival groups.

Whether the Government of India is getting undue benefit of the split of the Naga freedom movement or not cannot be confirmed. However, it is crystal clear that their disunity and internecine feuds and armed clashed have enabled the Government to fish in the troubled water of the Naga issue. High handedness of the Indian security forces into the personal life of the Nagas cannot be denied. The army and paramilitary forces have been in the North East region of India for four decades and over these years their continued presence has undermined the civil and legislative authority. Their interference in the affairs of the Nagas has brought a high degree of uncertainty and insecurity to the lives of the general people. The promulgation of extraordinary draconian laws by the Central Government in the pretext to maintain peace and order by declaring Nagaland as a disturbed area has brought about more troubles to the Naga people. It cannot be denied that the Indian armed personnel while dealing with the Naga people have committed various crimes. There are various such incidents committed by the Indian jawans which prove the reality that their treatment with the Naga people have been inhuman and merciless. For instance, the report of the DM Sen Commission, which was set up in April 1995, with the Justice DM Sen to probe into incidents of shooting arson and rape by various paramilitary forces in Akhuloto, Kohima and Mokokchung occurring between December 1994 and March 1995, reveals the truth that the Indian jawans in Nagaland have remained more indiscipline, indiscriminate and inhuman while dealing with the Nagas. On March 5, 1995, the Jawans of Rastriya Rifles while coming to Dimapur from Manipur opened

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1 Ibid. Pp.99-100.
2 Ibid. P.97.
discriminate firing on the civilians at Kohima killing seven of them. Justice Sen ascertained the fact that the RR personnel including officers "acted in a most irresponsible manner" and the firing was accompanied by cold-blooded murder of innocent civilians, some within their residential houses."  

Another incident of indiscriminate activities of the 15th Assam Rifles occurred January 23, 1995 when the security personnel in pursuit of insurgents raided some house in the village of Akhuloto. Just in the name of suspicion they burned their houses, beat the villagers. Ascertaining the fact Justice Sen noted that the arson was "unjustified" and killing of Hozheto Sema was "cold-blooded murder" He further noted that it was "a sheer act of criminality".

Thus it is very much clear that whenever the tussles and conflicts began between the Naga freedom fighters and the Indian security personnel, the worst sufferers have been the innocent villagers. The villagers are suspected that they are sympathetic to the Naga militants and they provide them support and shelter. If it is true also, the villagers do not do it willingly. Reality is that if they fail to obey the militants, they have to pay heavy price.

On the other hand, both the factions separating their way from each other became busy with increasing their influence among the people and proving their bonafide for the cause of the Naga's freedom. Both began to condemn the Government of India calling it 'occupationist,' 'emperialis' and enemy of the Naga people. Moreover, both the factions adopted various means to popularise the Naga case in abroad. For instance, the NSCN (I-M) arranged admission of Nagaland a member of the unrepresentative Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO). This organisation was founded in 1991 by the representatives of the occupied nations, indigenous peoples, minorities and other disenfranchised people with the marked objective to raise a voice for the oppressed, ignored and suppressed peoples. It also established its cells in several foreign countries. Efforts have also been applied to raise Naga voice in the various sessions of the United Nations. Voice has also bee raised condemning the violence of human rights in Nagaland. The leaders of the NSCN (I-M) along with some like-minded revolutionary groups launched affront in November 1994.

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1 Economic and Political Weekly, August 24-31, 1996, p.2285.
2 Ibid.
calling it 'Self-Defence United Front of the south-East Himalayan Region (SDUF with the following objectives:

(1) For solidarity and better coordination among the Front members; and

(2) To resist against Indian expansionism and Indian state terrorism, forced Indian occupation, Indian domination, assimilation and suppression.¹

In the meanwhile, the breakaway faction, the NSCN., floated a Front called as the ‘Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front (IBRF) for liberation of the peoples/nationalities situated in the Indo-Burma frontiers The United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), joined hands with IBRF. Thus it is obvious that both the rival groups followed the different paths, but for single cause, that is the liberation of Nagaland from India.

SPLIT IN NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL

It has already been narrated that the NNC is the oldest and first Naga organisation which under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo who had assumed the responsibility for liberation of Nagaland from India's occupation. So long as Phizo was active, the NNC remained dominant. After exist of Phizo from India, this organisation was divided into moderate and extremist Nagas. The were the moderate group which tried to persuade the Government of India for creation of Nagaland state while the group of extremists continued struggle against the Indian Government for achievement of Naga’s freedom. After signing of the Shillong Accord in 1975 and appearance of the NSCN, the voice of the NNC weakened and its strength declined. Phizo died in England on April 30, 1990. His death caused a severe blow to the strength of the NNC. In 1990, the NNC was divided because a controversy took place about the leadership of the organisation to succeed late Phizo, who was the President of the NNC. The issue to appoint a new President caused split in the NNC. There were two factions of the NNC- one led by Adeno, the daughter of Phizo, and another led by Khodao Yanthan, the Vice President of the NNC till the split occurred. These two leaders did not come to the point of unity with the result that the oldest Naga organisation was bifurcated into two groups- NNC (A) and NNC (K) in 1995. The NNC

led by Khodao merged with the NSCN (I-M). Meanwhile Zashei Hurie, the President of the Federal Government, an organ of the NNC (A), condemned the Shillong Accord first time in 1996. It may be noted that it was Phizo, the President of the undivided NNC who had not yet condemned the Shillong Accord. Now after twenty years of the Accord, which was condemned by the President of the FGN, failed to regain the lost image of the Federal Government and the NNC. Gradually the NNC lost its voice among the people, though it is still in existence.

It has already been stated that both the groups of the NSCN adopted militancy as a means to achieve the end. Militancy is a discontent of a group, which uses violence to achieve its goal. It is born out of some committed ideologies of a particular group. A militant group is always ready to use force when its target and aims are opposed. It sets rebellion against the ruling Government with a view to throwing it over by using force. In the words of K. Anand, militancy generally aims at creating mass consciousness among the people to convince them the cause of militancy and obtain their support. It also ventures to project itself that it is imbued with an ideal and common goodness of people.¹ The followers of militancy form their own Government, parallel to the ruling government, establish army, recruit youths and provide military training to them and establish contact with foreign Governments to obtain arms and ammunitions. They apply all efforts to internationalise the issue to obtain international support. They generally adopt guerrilla warfare. They target Government buildings, offices, properties, police and army posts etc. They create terror and fear in general. Militancy gives rise to terrorism, jingoism and despotism.

In its early stage the ideals set by the militant group are related to national feeling, brotherhood among their supporters and public welfare also. When no head is paid to their demand, they become adamant, turn rude and even violent. Thus mass terror and violence are the later advancement of militancy. When the militants become hopeless and irritated, they adopt the means of violence and spread fear-psychosis among the concerned authorities and people. Here militancy moves towards terrorism, which effects are more injurious to the people. To run the Government and maintain the armed forces militants

need huge amount of money, and the main source of earning money is imposition of taxes on the people. To meet this need first they contact big business houses and industrial enterprises. Thereafter they tax Government officials, private and public firms, shopkeepers, contractors and lastly the general public. Showing terror and giving threat to pay money militants force these people. At denial they are punished and harassed. It is interesting to note that the habit of extorting money from the people aggravates their thirst for money and money, ultimately, becomes their object.¹

So far the case of Naga militancy is concerned, it has remained a viable method to pressurise the government of India to consider the Naga's demand of self-determination. To support their organisations and continue freedom struggle they need money. That is why they adopted the device to collect money by imposing taxes and asking the people for volunteer donation. In the beginning, the drive of money collection from the people was not harsh and forceful, but as the years rolled down and their interest in money developed more, the method of collection money became rough and painful causing "untold miseries" for the Naga people.² Their extortion drive for money from the Government servants, shopkeepers, contractors, businessmen, each household etc. created panic all over the state. In the words of Timothy "People were taxed by undergrounds left and right. They taxed businessmen and in return the businessmen recovered the taxed paid to the undergrounds from public by increasing the prices in the markets. Taxes were imposed on vehicles, goods or essential commodities and all items in the state."³ Gradually, the extortion money from the public has become an established profession of the freedom fighters. The attachment of the Naga freedom fighters to money collection drive has not only affected the freedom movement but also created troubles and disappointment among the general Naga mass. The Naga national movement" has turned to something like the welfare of the underground activities... Their accountability to the people is very much lacking... the money they collect is too heavy for the public. Moreover, the collection is usually harsh

¹ Archana Goel, Terrorism: Causes and Consequences, New Delhi, 1997, pp.75-80.
and there is nothing like ‘voluntary payment’ nowadays. Every thing is compulsory or one has to risk his life.\textsuperscript{1}

Freedom movement demands sacrifices, but mostly the leaders of the freedom fighters have become greedy and power-mongers. They have inclined towards material prosperity. Cease-fire has enabled them to move freely in the towns and markets and live a luxurious life. They have been found applying terrorist tactics to terrorise shopkeepers, Government servants, contractors, teachers, engineers and other to collect money. They have also adopted the policy of kidnapping for money. At denial of money demanded by them the people are tortured, harassed, beaten and even killed. Such terrorist activities of the Naga freedom fighters have not only maligned the prestige of the freedom fighters but also created doubt about their sanctity of the mission in the mind of the general people. The beginning of Naga freedom struggle was fair and without any factionalism. Freedom was the cry of every Naga mouth. People were ready to sacrifice everything voluntarily in the name of freedom. Money was collected, no doubt, but not by using force. But the scenario has totally changed today. Extortion of money from the general public even without the permission of the high command of the underground authorities have become a perpetual feature of the Naga freedom fighters.

One may raise the question how and why the Naga freedom struggle has become so fearful, terrible, destructive and complex. Kezhalesa, a University student of Nagaland while answering such questions says\textsuperscript{2} The Naga nation is torn by internal dissection into several factions, anti-social elements, angry factional killings, undue demands, formidable extortion, illegal taxes, rapacious intimidations, tribalism, heartless corruption and plague economy of outland.\textsuperscript{3} He asks, “Are there the signs of struggling for sovereignty and do Nagas believe that through these means we can achieve our goal?\textsuperscript{4} Commenting on the Naga freedom struggle and the unpleasant behaviours of the Naga freedom fighters, Kaka D Iralu, a popular Naga author, said:

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\textsuperscript{1} Quoted in R. Vashum, Naga’s Right to self-Determination, op. cit., p.142.


\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
"The Naga political struggle has reached a stage where it appears that the Naga right to live or death now lies in the hands of some political leaders... There law is the law of gun. Have we Nagas surrendered our life to these leaders and to their law of gun? Is the Naga army uniform a licence for its bearers to abduct us, extort us, terrorise us and even beat us to death or shoot us to death?" Expressing the same view about high handedness of the freedom fighters in Nagaland and their unpleasant behaviours with the Naga citizens another Naga scholar says:

"The national workers and fighters fighting in the name of liberty and sovereignty have made Nagaland a battle field with their arms conflicts and terrorist tactics. They cannot be given the name of terrorist group with their threats, intimidations, violence, kidnapping and factional cashes, (but) and they can be rightly termed as terrorist group." Charles Chasie, the eminent Naga writer, says, "In the name of people, the leaders frequently expected, even demanded that the people (should) follow wherever they lead, right or wrong. The only alternative they are giving is in terms of ‘if you are not for me, you are against me’.

Since India’s independence the Naga freedom fighters have been talking a lot about Naga’s freedom and freedom movement. Huge amount of blood has been shed in the name of freedom fighting, but freedom is not in the sight. Rather the people have suffered a lot. Who is responsible? What wrong has taken place in the freedom movement? A common feeling is emerging among the general people that “national work” has become a “money-making industry” a kind of mafia, specific to our situation.” Nationalism is a common feeling and national movement is a common activity. It cannot be the monopoly of a select few. In the words of Chasie, in the name of nationalism in Nagaland “much blood has been shed which only resulted in factional positions becoming more entrenched and difficult to give up.” Factional fighting, which has taken deep root among different factions of the underground Nagas, harms more the general people. They are more disturbed because “the spate of violence is now taking place in the busiest and crowded areas, exposing the entire innocent civilian population to became human shields.” According to Naga Mothers’
Association the factional fighting has forced the Naga mothers to mourn deeply on "the deaths of our children regardless of their faults or innocence... Bloodshed cannot solve any problems rather it will only create more troubles."

The answers recorded in the table mentioned below which have been received from various respondents of different people through questionnaire regarding the major causes of rift in the rank and file of the leaders of the freedom fighters are self-explanatory.

**TABLE – ONE**

**REASONS OF RIFT IN THE UNDERGROUND SET UP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/1 No.</th>
<th>Respondents and their designation</th>
<th>Opinion/views of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>An Ex-Chief Minister of Nagaland</td>
<td>Prolonged struggle without achievement of any sort to reach the goal, personality clash propounded by greed for power, no vision, no discipline, no direction and most of the national workers are recruited from drop-outs who do not fit into society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>An Ex-Underground leader</td>
<td>Ideological differences, NNC stands for Nagaism and individualism, NSCN stands for socialism where there is no scope for individual property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>A Writer and Politician</td>
<td>Some over ground political leaders are responsible to divide freedom fighters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>A lecturer</td>
<td>Naga state political leaders for their selfish end adopted the policy of divide and rule patronising certain factions and used them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>A Principal of a Govt. College (Nagaland)</td>
<td>Leadership crisis was one of the major factors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>A University Teacher</td>
<td>Factional fighting among the freedom fighters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>A Principal of a Govt. College</td>
<td>Politicians and the Indian leaders misuse the UG leaders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>An Advocate</td>
<td>Crazy for leadership and loss of vision.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The answers recorded in Table one clearly indicate that the rift among the underground organisations is the established fact and the most notable factor of the rift is disunity among the leaders of the freedom fighters. They have fallen victim of the tricks applied by the Indian political leaders and also the Naga political leaders who are much more inclined towards the Government of India. There are also ideological differences among them. It is also a fact that the Naga freedom fighters lack true commitment to their decided goal and their vision for future politics is not clear.

Today the Naga freedom movement has taken the tribal character that has complicated the issue more. No less than four factions are in being. The veil of fear and terror is such that no one dares to speak the truth and express feeling. No one is sure about who stands where. The undergrounds cannot abandon their over ground political leaders People want peace and economic development and they are fed up with the extortion and high handed ways of various underground factions Since the Naga freedom fighters always talk of Naga nationalism and assure people of bringing it to them, they want to take all undue benefits from the people. Chasie has rightly remarked that Naga nationalism has become a licence
“to do almost whatever you wanted because you were “bringing” independence.” To quote Chasie once more” The Naga national workers seem to think that, by virtue of their having joined an underground faction, they have climbed a peg above the rest of the populace and have the right to impose themselves on the people for whose welfare... they are fighting.” Not only the National workers, even those who are directly or indirectly related to them, also pose not less than them. Having some sort of relations with the undergrounds such elements think that they can also inflict any harm to their opponents with the help of the undergrounds. All such trends, which are emerging in Nagaland under the shadow of freedom movement, are resulting in “political suicide for the advocate of Naga sovereignty.” All these activities have weakened the strength of freedom movement on the one hand, and badly maligned the image of freedom fighters, on the other. The main issue, Naga freedom movement has been put on sidetrack and personality clashes among the leaders of the freedom fighters and the issue of tribalism have come on forefront in Nagaland. Under such very confusing and alarming situation “if independent Nagaland is attained without unification of factions, it would rather create an embarrassing history ...”

There was a time when freedom movement either violent or non-violent had mass public support in Nagaland. Every Naga preferred freedom from the alien rule. Today scenario has totally changed. Freedom is still the desire of the people, no doubt, but their faith in the method, specially militancy, used by the freedom fighters, is loosing its ground because the faith of the people in violent method is declining. Moreover, observing the highhandedness of the freedom fighters, their undisciplined behaviours, selfish attitude, their inclination towards money-making affairs, the common Naga mass are not only critical to the activities of the freedom fighters but also suspicious to the goal for which they stand. This is evident from the answers collected through the questioners from various respondents. Table two presents the clear picture in this regard.

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
The Table placed above presents clear indication that the Naga freedom movement is loosing its ground and strength at faster rate due to highhandedness of the freedom fighters.
and their rapid fall in money extortion drive, their apathy towards the cause of the general Naga people, their internal factional fighting, etc. The freedom movement needs sacrifices, courage to tolerate troubles and inconveniences, not luxuries and comforts. Again, freedom movement must be directed towards the goal avoiding the diversions, which take place on the way of the movement. It is sad to note that the Naga freedom movement has been diverted from its real path due to the factors mentioned above. Economic development of the state and indulgence of the Naga people in economic activities for their better and prosperous feature has also diverted the attention of the general Naga mass from the freedom fighting.

During 1990s the situation in Nagaland had become too much alarming due to two factors. Firstly, the direct armed tussle between the Indian security personnel and the Naga militants had resulted in promulgation of disturbed areas and Maintenance of Law and Order acts creating more inconvenience and troubles to the people as a whole. Secondly the bloody conflicts among the rival factions of the underground people had created the circumstance of fear psychosis in the mind of the people and paralysed the whole process of peace in Nagaland. Peace was the only cry of the Naga people. At this very juncture S.C. Jamir, the Chief Minister of Nagaland, declared the year, 1997, as the year of ‘Peace Offensive’ making an appeal to every one including the underground outfits to observe the year as the year of peace by stopping factional fights and anti-Government as well as anti-social activities. On the other hand, the Indian Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao, while making a tour to the Northeastern region, offered peace-talks with the Naga militants without any condition. Since he was replaced from his post, his successor, H.D. Deve Gowda, personally met Muivah and Isak Swu in Switzerland in February, 1996. It was I.K. Gujral, the successor of Deve Gowda, who favoured peace talks with the underground Naga leaders without any preconditions and declared in the Indian parliament that contact had already been established with these two Naga leaders who had agreed to have peaceful negotiations to solve the Naga issue forever.¹

¹ The Telegraph, (Kolkata), July, 31, 1997.
The Naga tribal Hobos in Kohima had already declared a cease-fire on April 25, 1997 among all factions and planned to mark the occasion with a “mass rally processions and prayer”. April 26, 1995 was declared as a holiday in order to enable Government servants to participate in the proposed public rally in all districts of Naga state. The state Government offered all supports to make the proposed peace rally a success. The Chief Minister, S.C. Jamir issued the statement which said “Unless factions unite, there is a grave threat to the well being of the Naga society which would possibly witness a civil war among factions and which could pit one tribal group against other.” The movement was successful. A number of people participated in the rally and prayed God for everlasting peace in Nagaland.

The Indian Prime Minister in the parliament stating that made an announcement:

“In the recent talks with the Isak Muivah group of NSCN, it has now been mutual agreed to the ceasefire for three months with effect from 1st August, 1997 and to initial discussion at political level.”

The terms of ceasefire between the Government of India and the NSCN (I-M) are as under:

“For securing peaceful political solution, discussion has been held between the Government of India and the NSCN leadership. It has been mutually decided to ceasefire for a period of three months with effective from 1st August 1997 and embark upon political level discussions.” It was also decided that:

1. The talks shall be unconditional for both sides;
2. The talks shall be at the highest level, that is, at the Prime Minister level; and
3. The venue of the talks shall be anywhere in the world, outside India.

Thereafter, the terms and conditions for the ceasefire were decided on December 12, 1997 by the representatives of the Government of India led by Shri K. Padmanabhaiah and Mr. V.S. Atem, the representative of the NSCN (I-M). Both the parties agreed for “monitoring the ceasefire process by drawing members from both sides including some NGOs.” The ceasefire, thereafter, was extended after every three months till 31st July 1998. From August 1998 it was extended on annual basis, which is still being continued.

1 Nagaland Post, (Dimapur), April 227, 1996. Editorial page.
2 The Times of India, (New Delhi), July 26, 1997.
The resumption of ceasefire and peace talks brought enormous happiness to the people of Nagaland on the side, and gave mental and physical relief to the freedom fighters and the Jawans of India on the other. The Naga people welcomed the offer with high spirit and jubilation. However, the issue, which was irritating the people’s mind, was not inclusion of another factions of the NSCN led by Khaplang in the ceasefire and peace talks provisions. Hence the Baptist Peace fellowship of North America initiated a peace meet among leaders of various Naga national groups which was held in Atlanta (Georgia) from July 28 to August 3, 1997. Various Naga leaders from different sections attended the meeting, however, the representatives from the NSCN (K) was not seen in the meeting. The meeting welcomed the peace process in Nagaland and declaration of ceasefire between the government of India and the NSCN (I-M).

The Government of India with a view to including other underground sections of Nagaland in the process of ceasefire unilaterally announced ceasefire against the NSCN (K), NNC and FGN for a month beginning from August 1997. It was unilaterally extended by another two months with the expectation that the NSCN (K) would join the process of ceasefire. However, the NSCN (K) did not join the ceasefire with the result that its struggle specially against the NSCN (I-M) continued where several Naga belonging to both the sections have been killed.

On the other hand, the Baptist Fellowship of North America on the occasion of 125 years of advent of Christianity in Nagaland organised eight day Atlanta Peace Meet from 28th July to 4th August 1997 with the purpose to “thrash out a solution to the 50-year old Naga insurgency problem.” Though the NSCN (K) faction attended it, the NSCN (I-M) group boycotted it. Those important Naga leaders who attended the Peace Meet were Vamuzo, Yonkong on behalf of the FGN, Lok Sabha member from Nagaland, Mr Imchalemba Ao, Church Leader Rev. V.K. Nuh, Naga Hoho leader Mr Wati Aier, former Naga M.P. M. Vero and Mr Apong Pongen. The Conference called upon all the Naga people “irrespective of affiliations to relinquish old antagonism, give up old grudges and build up the best of Naga heritage.” It also appealed all the factions to work for peace and unity among the Naga brothers. It regretted that for fifty years some of the “indignity and

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1 The Telegraph (5, 1997).
Thus these two events- the declaration of cease fire between the Indian government and the Government of the NSCN (IM) and a appeal of the Atlanta Meet, in fact, created favourable circumstance in Nagaland for bringing about normalcy and setting the stage for peace talks for solution of the Naga issue. But these two rival groups did not think of resolving their differences with the result that factional fighting could not be stopped despite heartiest appeals to both of them from the people belonging to all sections. Rather the NSCN (K) denounced the cease-fire agreement between the Government of India and the NSCN (IM) as ‘treachery’ to divide the Nagas. On the other hand, the leaders of the NSCN (IM) expressing the cause of their boycott of the Atlanta Peace Meet said, “they would not team up with its rival faction led by S. Khaplang and the ‘puppet’ Chief Minister, S C. Jamir.”

I ask Swu in an interview said that “He (Jamir) was trying to form HOHO, GB Federation, Mothers’ Association and Church leaders ... paying money to everyone” and he “is still insisting that these people must be included in the talks.”

Denouncing V.K. Nuh, the Church leader, it was said that it was he who had justified the Shillong Accord and “they all are Jamir’s supporters and so “why should there be unity between patriots and traitors?” Thus despite all the efforts to bring these two dominant factions together, no success has been achieved so far. Both the groups are yet bitter enemy to each other. The editor of the Review has rightly remarked that “It is all the more tragic that both NSCN factions are unable to come to terms with each other, much to the detriment of the Naga people.”

For the last five decades the freedom struggle in Nagaland has been continuing despite various splits and divisions among the leaders of the freedom fighters nor for any ideological differences, but for personality clashes and tribalism. No one knows for how long the people of Nagaland have to face the pangs of factional fighting. The Naga issue
has become very much complex today due to involvement of various factors in Naga politics where the ethnic issue is the foremost. It has made deep dent in the underground organisations. All the factors are active in the name of freedom movement, but freedom is not at sight. Today no faction is true to its ideological frame, nor they have clear picture of independent Nagaland. The factor that has become more dominant is a bitter and inimical attitude among the freedom fighters in the name of ethnicity and tribalism. That is why no effort, which is applied to resolve the Naga issue, yields desired result. All the efforts applied by the public leaders, Church leaders, and various non-Governmental Organisations to unite the different factions of the Naga militants have remained futile due to their obstinacy. Mass rally, demonstrations fasting and prayers adopted by the public in protest against the factional killings of the Nagas have failed to change the mind of the rival Naga leaders.

The ceasefire and peace talks are going on in Nagaland since 1st August 1997 and some positive results have come out though the solution to the problem has yet to be solved. The armed tussle between the Indian security forces and the Naga militants has been reduced to a great extent. However, the factional fighting and conflicts between two rival underground groups- the NSCN (I-M) and the NSCN (K) , have not yet stopped. The then Chief Minister of Nagaland, S.C. Jamir declared some areas of Nagaland as 'peace zone', but peace is frequently disturbed due to direct-armed clashes between these two rival groups. In 1997, the 125 years of Christianity in Nagaland was celebrated in an unprecedented manner with a record of gathering of more than one lakh crowd at local ground Kohima. In this gathering it was declared, “the crying need of the land was peace, understanding and reconciliation in Christ.” Appeal was also made to all the national workers “to stop fighting against one another.”1 The Naga Church leaders are in support of a nation of the Nagas, but they condemn the violence as a means to achieve the goal.2 Rev. Nuh frankly admitted “Our freedom fighters are also violating human rights by killing innocent civilians and meddling with village internal affairs, rather than struggling for the national cause. They are creating sense of confusion, fear and despair among fellow Nagas

everywhere." Stating the excessiveness committed by the Indian security forces in Nagaland, he stated that The Indian armed forces for inflicting on civilians and thereby violating Human rights "have left the irreparable psychological scars upon our people... The Indian army and other paramilitary units have done their share of killings, torturing and raping innocent Nagas.  

It is true that the personnel of the Indian security forces while suppressing the freedom movement of the rebel Nagas from the beginning of the struggle committed a number of inhuman acts. In the words of Shishak, "The Naga freedom fighters, under the banner of 'Nagaland for Christ', have for the most part forsaken the leadership of Jesus Christ in their freedom struggle. In stead, they seem to be relying on human power, reliance on AK-47 rifles, and not on God. It will lead the Nagas to self-destruction." He further said, "I am persuaded that all the Naga freedom fighting groups at one time or another have indulged in shedding innocent blood. It is only a question of which group has shed more blood." Expressing his grave concern over the present scenario of violence created by different factions of the underground Nagas, Mr Shishak further said:

"Naga freedom movement is genuine, it is political, not economic. But if a treaty were signed today between the Nagas and the government unifying all the contiguous Naga territories in Indo-Burma into a sovereign Nagaland, I still feel constrained to ask will we build the new nation? Are you prepared for a new sovereign Nagaland? Answer is no." He further said, "The Nagas only know how to suck the blood of others." Thus it is very much obvious that the Naga freedom movement, which began with the hard determination to emancipate the Nagas from the 'Indian occupationist forces' and form an independent sovereign Naga Nation has been jeopardised. The movement is still on, no doubt, but it has deviated from its right course of action. The general Naga mass are gradually losing their faith the commitment of the Naga freedom fighters and doubting their broken strength to fight against the might Indian forces.

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1 Ibid., p.107.
2 Ibid. p.108.
4 Ibid.
6 Ibid.