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Extremism in Nagaland: A case study of NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland)

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ABSTRACT

National Socialist Council of Nagaland is an insurgent groups working mostly in Northeast India. The important purpose and goal of NSCN was to achieve sovereign Naga State. This research paper focuses on understanding clearly about the NSCN (Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland). The paper is to analyse the most important aim and working philosophy of NSCN on achieving sovereign Naga state. It shows the importance of NSCN sharing same interest with the Naga people as to which there will be a strong sense of brotherhood among them. The NSCN do not have full support of the people of Nagaland regarding the working activities in the State of Nagaland. They do not share the same interest in each and every decision. Opinions differ sometimes. The opinion of the Naga people is very important to support the working of NSCN. This study includes the impact of NSCN on the issues of violence in Nagaland and the working and functions of NSCN to set up Sovereign, Naga State.

Key Words : National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Sovereign, Violence, Extortion, Unity

INTRODUCTION

Nagaland is known as a beautiful hilly state which is one of the North East States of India. Nagaland is known for its dynamic tradition and cultural heritage which attract people from different parts of the world. The state of Nagaland is declared the 16th state of India on 1st December 1963. Nagaland serves as a home to sixteen different tribes with many various languages and dialects. The language diversity existing in Nagaland is extreme which cannot be found in any different state in India. Kohima is the capital State of Nagaland. Nagaland has always brought a sense of mysticism and awe, intensified by the remoteness of its geographical location.

Extremism means the quality of using violent or extreme methods. It also holds extreme political or religious views. Extremism also means the state of being extreme; advocacy of extreme measures or views. The Naga Nationalist leader Zapu Phizo, who is called as the "Father of Nagas" is considered as the most respected leader till today who fought for the north-eastern state of Nagaland. History of Phizo struggle for Naga Independence has always inspired every people of Nagaland and he is still known as the dynamic leader who took a huge step for the betterment of the Naga State. 'The Naga Club' of 1929 which afterwards came to be recognized as the Naga

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National Council (NNC) in 1946, with strong aim of uniting all the Naga tribes under one political umbrella. The Naga National Council was dissatisfied with the main rule frameworks of the INC (Indian National Congress). They had gone secretive and began getting engaged in guerrilla conflict along with the Indian defence armed forces. Naga National Council confirmed Naga Independence on 14th August in the year 1947. The successful declaration of Naga Independence was welcomed with great intense excitement which made known all over the Naga Hills. Phizo created underground Naga Federal Government (NFG) and a Naga Federal Army (NFA) on March 22, 1956. Phizo was under charges of rebellion and was arrested by the Indian Government in 1948. [1]

After he was released, in the year 1950 Phizo was elected as the President of the Naga National Council (NNC). Afterwards Phizo then met Jawaharlal Nehru who was the PM of India in order to find the way for Naga sovereignty in 1950. The meeting failed with which both the parties remain decisively with their own viewpoints and demands. Group of Indian army then walked in to the scene in order to put an end to the armed resistance and search for Phizo. Howsoever, Phizo could successfully manage to hide in East Pakistan and reached London. However, he remained hiding until his last breath in 1990. In fact the fortified rebellion initiated by the NNC leaders still continued. The final Agreement finalised by the Government of India and Naga National Council in 1975 later came to be renowned as the Shillong Accord. Therefore, Nagaland's underground government was expected to agree to the authority of the constitution of India without any condition. This historic agreement was signed at Shillong, Meghalaya, on 11 November 1975; known as Shillong Accord of 1975. Some of the Naga National Council leaders which included IsakChishiSwu belonging to Sumi tribe, Thuingaleng Muivah of Tangkhul tribe and S.S Khaplang did not agree on this agreement which lead to the creation of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) under the headship of IsakChishiSwu, Thuingaleng Muivah and Khaplang in the late 1970's. It created the underground Naga Federal Government acquiring both the civil and military wings.

National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) goal to establish a Sovereign Naga State :

Later again during the late 1980s, NSCN had split mainly into two factions NSCK-IM and NSCN-K. On January 31st 1980 the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was formed by IsakChishiSwu, Thuingaleng Muivah and S.S. Khaplang against the 'Shillong Accord' sign by NNC (Naga National Council) along with Government of India. However opinion difference occurred inside the outfit regarding the matter of discussing talk process with the Government of India. On April 30th 1988, the NSCN were divided in two groups that is NSCN-K leading by S.S Khaplang and NSCN-IM lead by IsakChishiSwu and Thuingaleng Muivah. However, the main aim of NSCN is to create sovereign state in order to achieve 'Greater Nagaland'. This is termed theocratic in approach by some scholars and those affected by this approach. However, in 1988 cultural and tribal differences has made it to split to two group in which one is headed by IsakChishiSwu and Muivah called NSCN (IM) and a different by Khaplang also known as NSCN (K).

There is a widespread influence of NSCN-IM in some districts of Nagaland. Its influence went on to some other parts of district and places out of Nagaland. However, NSCN has spread its influence across the southern belt of Assam too. Here, it has established camps and training and joint co-operation programmes with ULFA (Paresh Parua Group) and with a little known outfit called the Hmar Peoples Convention (HPC). The changes taking place in the Naga insurgent's

1. Retrieved from http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/jspui/bitstream/10603/165310/12/12_bibliography(M. Alemchiba).pdf as on 20/03/2017.9:10amIST

movement reflected a larger transformation in Naga Society. NSCN (IM) which was headed by IsakChishiSwu, Thuingaleng Muivah and NSCN (K) below the guidance of Khaplang with both group having influential authority in their own area and tribe.

P.M. Narasimha Rao met with IsakChishiSwu and T. Muivah in Paris on 15 June, 1995. Narasimha Rao had chosen NSCN as one of the potential partner to discuss talks on Naga political settlement. On 25th July, 1997 the Government of India with NSCN had signed ceasefire agreement that eventually came into effect on 1st August 1997. On 31st July 2007 the ceasefire involving NSCN (IM) and Government of India extended further. Lots of changes have taken place in the political scenario of Nagaland. The Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland forwards emissary in order to acquire power and increase means for the Naga struggle. The main source of revenue for the NSCN (IM) is acquired through drug trafficking from Myanmar. It has also reported to be engaged in various activities like force, fleece, bank larceny and other various criminal activities in order to increase finance. Even through International mobilization the outfit generates funds. The NSCN-IM as well as NSCN-K runs similar methods of taxation all through the regions that they control. Throughout these years, NSCN-IM has improved wide associations in India and outer side. Also they have been receiving momentous help from the neighbouring countries. The portion of these aids ranging from arms supply and ammunitions along with logistical support. It includes distribution of equipments, facilities, technical information, trained Personnel and training facilities. The Pakistan Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) provide a huge part of funding, weapons and planning support to the NSCN-IM. NSCN-IM has connection to the Naga groups that are working inside Myanmar. The main source of income comes from the practice of drug trafficking in Myanmar.

NSCN-IM uses that money that is earned through drug trafficking in order to get arms and to [2] compensate for the preparation of their troops. The group works in order to run camps and train other militant outfits on a solely mercenary motive to which the outfit can pay them money for training. The outfit has established trusted relations for acquiring arms inside Thailand and some other South East Asian Nations. There is a fine establishment links for transportation within Bangladesh and Myanmar. Regarding those finances that are acquired through a range of fiscal operations and aids given by the ISI. Muivah was arrested at Bangkok for travelling with a false South Korean Passport. The outfit had also started opening up connections with international organisations like the United Nation Human Rights Organisation in Geneva, unrepresented United Nations People's Organisation (UNPO) at The Hague and the UN working Group on indigenous people (UNWGIP). The insurgent group of the National Council of Nagaland belonging to Isaac-Muivah group are allegedly to have been educated at two camps in Pakistan. NSCN-IM also has major faction of its followers in Thailand. NSCN-IM weapons were transferred and brought along the Thai-Cambodian boundary. The year 2016 on 28th June Isak Chishi Swu died in a New Delhi hospital at the age of 87 after a lifetime of battle to secure a future for the Naga people. The whole policy of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland headed by Thuingaleng Muivah and IsakChishiSwu- NSCN (IM) gives varied image that is shown in the course of the prism of seven dimensions of leadership and organisation, mobilization strategy, time, support, terrain, technology, and the issue of legitimacy. Alongside the NSCN (IM)'s enlistment scheme, internal support base and legitimacy have been broken in recent years because of fratricide killings and increase in bad activities.

2. Retrieved from A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland by Alemchiba M http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/60717/13/13_bibliography.pdf

Working, objectives and functions of NSCN :

The main objectives of the NSCN were to create an independent Naga state. By unifying the Naga tribes under one administration is regarded as one of the main objectives of the organisation. The NSCN has strongly maintained to focus on their main objectives in preserving the spiritual outlook on the working of NSCN. The NSCN is very much active in North- East India. Some parts of the states in Nagaland and hill districts of Manipur inhabited by the Nagas are considered major areas where the strong attachment and existence of the underground group is felt.

Impact of NSCN on the issues of Violence in Nagaland[3] :

The NSCN group was indulged in bad activities as to which the NSCN-K was in charge for 62 civilians and 26 security force losses during the period 1992 to 2000 and have lost 245 of its men over this period. The NSCN (IM) group on 1st April, 2017 appealed to all Naga people "to be cautious in words or actions which could be detrimental negative impact on the political talks" as the Indo-Naga political talks were at its crucial stage and on the verge of conclusion to create a new history. MIP maintained that it was unwise to indulge in "un-farsighted thinking and magnifying rumours" that could lead to momentary emotional outburst. While urging all to wait patiently for the better future, MIP said, NSCN (IM) was working out what was best for the Nagas and said it would "never let down the Nagas in the anticipated solution." Insurgent group NSCN-IM on 12 April, 2017 accused the centre of delaying the final settlement to the decades-old Naga issue and said "the China option" was open for the outfit. Through his illegal activities, the head of NSCN-K in Nagaland is emerging as the most wanted militant leader in North East. A 75 year old has emerged as the most dreadful militant leader in North East. He spearheaded the 4 June attack on the Indian army which has been called the most brazen and daring ambush on the Indian army in the last 20 years. SS Khaplang, chief of the NSCN-K, has changed the face of insurgency in the North-East. After much wait, Khaplang abrogated the cease fire agreement on April, 2015.

The Telegraph noted in one of their articles that Khaplang has come to an understanding with the Tatmadaw (Myanmar's armed forces), even securing permission to host his allies from the Northeast. He enjoys freedom and autonomy to run his own government. But such a scenario is difficult to imagine in India's Northeast. Invalidation of the cease fire was continued by six attacks on the Indian forces in Nagaland, Manipur and Arunachal which includes the one that took to kill eighteen security personnel in Manipur's Chandel district on 4 June. While exercising their claim for independence, they had set up the Naga militancy and shows support to former insurgent groups in the region.

Review of Literature :

Gordon P.Means and Ingunn N. Means article titled "The agony of ending a Guerilla War" stated the issue on National Independence for Nagaland. They gave a clear understanding on the struggle and sacrifices of Naga Independence leader A.Z Phizo for Naga's Independence. Inorder to see the present conflict in its proper perspective, they gave idea that it is necessary to give an outline of the previous political status of Nagaland. All one can hope to accomplish at the present time is to untangle the thread of events and present a survey of recent developments.

Nagaland in Transition authored by Charles Chasie gives a clear understanding on the opening

3. Retrieved from Nagaland: a long trip to peace by Namrata Goswami http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/nagaland-a-long-road-to-peace/article7504003.ece

up of Naga society and Naga exposure to the outer world, turned Naga society upside down and ushered in profound change that would leave ineradicable scars that could by no means be erased. The author in his book has cited important history of Naga about how the Christian missionaries firstly introduced Christianity to the Nagas. This book helps to understand the sustained violence and conflict that have become a part of Naga society and history.

Nagaland: Beyond politics of identity. One of Sanjay Sangvai's central concerns in this article is the way that violence has been traditionally encouraged by the Naga Army (NSCN) in demand for a separate statehood, due to the fact that Nagas believe themselves to be different from the mainland Indians in terms of religion, culture and tradition. Nagas define themselves as "We Nagas" rather than "We Indians', indicating a vivid description of their theme to give out a strong message to the Indians about their identity. However, one cannot deny the fact that these factions may have been harassing the common Nagas, through the use of their military power to rob people of their wealth and property. These led to the influx of Indian army in the state, many of whom feels insecure but have greatly contributed towards the neutrality of the state.

The article titled "Naga Peace Talks: High Hopes and Hard Realities" by Udayon Misra's helps us understand why negotiations is important for good relations. The article explains that the people of Nagaland suffered for 50 years to end the old prejudices come to meaningful negotiations between the government of India and the Naga underground. While the government's perceptions about the Naga struggle have undergone a sea-change and it has shown a large degree of flexibility in trying to work out a political settlement, those who have been fighting for an Independent Nagalim have also become aware of the inherent complexities involved in their struggle and the impossibility of a military solution.

The Naga Peace Accord of 3rd August 2015 :

On 3rd Augtust in the year 2015, with a purpose of ending insurgency in Nagaland the Government of India had sign the peace accord with NSCN-IM at New Delhi. The final Agreement was signed with Prime Minister Narendra Modi and National Security Advisor Ajit Doval, Thuingaleng Muivah and government's interlocutor R.N. Ravi. Union Government and NSCN had entered into a ceasefire accord in 1997. The Government and the NSCN-IM wants to carry on with the ceasefire believing that violence has always been bringing a bad impact. However, they have come to the idea of conclusion that Naga political problem can only be solved rather through peace and conciliation. Whereas, Khaplang went against to get rid away with the agreement because the fourteen years of cease fire with NSCN (K) and Indian Government has become a pointless effort. Regarding, the final Agreement of the Accord at this moment in time had brought that the social support for the NSCN-IM which comprises Naga Civil society groups requested on a peaceful path conflict resolution.[4]

After PM Modi took office, he has been quick to realise the potential that Northeast offers as a gateway to Southeast Asia and possibility to China and therefore, his early tours to China, Myanmar, Bhutan and Bangladesh were aimed at opening the way to future growth in relations. It is in this context that this peace agreement assumes importance. Prime Minister Narendra Modi promises to clear the Naga problems within the eighteen month-time frames must have been the reason for agreeing on signing the framework agreement. NSCN demand for Greater Nagaland is alive. The

4. Retrieved from Naga 'Framework Agreement' and Its Aftermath by Pradeep Singh Chhonkarhttps://idsa.in/idsacomments/naga-framework-agreementand-its-aftermath_pschhonkar_010916

NSCN seeks to establish a free Nagaland which consist of the Naga inhabited areas and neighbouring states inside India including certain areas in Myanmar. It also consists around approximately 2,000 cadre belonging to the Konyak tribe of both India and Myanmar along with the Pangmeis of Myanmar, the Ao Naga tribe of Mokokchung district, Phom Naga tribe and Yimchunger tribe of Tuensang district and the Angamis, the Semas as well as the Lothas. In fact, despite continuous struggle for a free Nagaland State, the ceasefire accord with the government of India and NSCN (IM) leaders in 1997 had cause both the side to begin discussion method. However procedures enabled the two parties to begin continuing with peace negotiations by working on the agreement and government of India had also established official ceasefire agreement with NSCN (K) in 2001. Regarding the gathering between the NSCN (IM) and the central leaders in New Delhi on November 2004, and also in February 2005 prove to be unsuccessful by achieving some ending resolution to the setback. The government of India dedication to the Naga insurgent group in order to widen the cease-fire agreement around the Naga inhabited areas of Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and foreign territory of Burma has formed a massive chaos to people and governments of their own states. They thought that by those extensions, the Government of India may give up on the demand of 'Greater Nagaland', as well as all those areas that would have caused inside-state racial conflict in the state and expansion of the cease-fire contract has been one of the reasons for new increase of fighting in Manipur. Howsoever, despite signing reconciliation agreement with the government of India, there was still certain fight between the two groups in order to achieve political power.

Conclusion :

The working of NSCN in different ways has laid a huge impact in the Naga society in both good and bad ways. The NSCN has also played a great role in many ways by protecting the Naga Sate and focusing on their main aim to establish a 'Greater Nagaland'. The key reason of forming NSCN is to put up a sovereign Naga State. Its main policy is focused on the rule for economic progress and Christian religious outlook. In case of the affairs of NSCN in different ways has brought division in the NSCN which led to forming of different factions. The most important aim for NSCN was to focus on achieving greater sovereign Naga state for the welfare of the Naga people.

The opinion of the Naga people is very important to support the working of NSCN. The NSCN and the Naga civilians do not share the same interest in every decision. The opinion of the Naga people differs with the opinion of the different factions of NSCN in some cases. Every Naga people are not in support with the views of NSCN for some different reasons. Each and every Naga civilians have their views and opinions on NSCN. One of the most important ways to gain a separate sovereign Naga State is sharing same interest with the people of Nagaland in which both can work together in unity and a feeling of brotherhood among them. The negative impact of NSCN to the Naga state should be completely stopped so that there won't be any Naga people against the working of NSCN. Since the formation of NSCN on January 31st, 1980 the group has been active throughout those years and till now it is in active participation for the purpose of achieving its main objective. Every Naga people do not support how the NSCN has influenced the Naga State. The collection of taxes from in various ways by the NSCN is also one important point that the Naga citizens are against the NSCN. The collections of taxes are sometimes in huge amount which led to negative impact on those whom the NSCN are demanding taxes from. For instance, the Government employees were ordered to give half from their salary. After all the NSCN influence on the Naga people in both bad and good ways, it is very important that the NSCN

should create a feeling of brotherhood within the Naga family in order to restore the trust among Naga society so that the NSCN and people will share the same interest for the betterment of the State.

Complete no to violence among the different factions can pave the way to unity and success. Using of violence is one major negative impact which creates massive problems. Existence of using violence also ends up hurting innocent civilians without any warning. The importance of NSCN sharing same interest with the Naga People. When NSCN and the people of Nagaland share same interest with each other, then there would be a strong sense of brotherhood among them.

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