

Armed Conflict and Nagaland: Points to Ponder

Sudhir Jacob George

Nagaland has been suffering due to the conflictual situation prevailing since the early 1950"s. Initially it was the rebellion (armed) led by Z. A. Phizo that shattered the peace of the region and the people of Nagaland for over a decade and more....The demand of the Nagas under Phizo for independence was ruthlessly suppressed by the Armed forces leading to a virtual running battle between the Naga Underground and the Indian Security Forces....After decades of unrest in 1975 some of the elements of the Naga Federal govt. surrendered and the Shillong Accord was signed between the Govt of India and some of the Naga rebels....This was rejected by a few and a hard core revolutionary group emerged i.e. the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). Since the 1980's the NSCN became the most powerful force operating in the North-East and it infact became the umbrella set up which supported and trained groups viz; ULFA, Hyniewtrep, some of the Tripura Rebels etc.... The struggle between the NSCN which has been fighting for a Sovereign Xian Nagaland continued for a decade and more leading to uncertainty and armed conflict in Nagaland and the other areas of the N.E. where the NSCN held its sway....The running battle between the security forces and the NSCN cadre left the innocent civilians in severe hardship and suffering. The working out of a cease fire (limited) since 1997 which is still holding has provided some breathing space in Nagaland, though it an uneasy calm that prevails in the State. In this scenario the peace talks between the govt. and the N.S.C.N. (IM) that is trying to hammer out a permanent solution to the Naga tangle assumes importance....Stable peace is the need of the hour for the Naga areas. Armed conflict and uncertainty for years, has been a great drawback for growth, and economic development in the Naga areas. Due to the abnormal situation prevalent inspite of the cease fire and the excessive presence of the security forces the full potential of the vibrant Naga people have come to nought....This is a loss not only for the region as also for the country.....Even the educational sphere is in a limbo due to the uncertain conditions in the state. In this paper while an attempt will be made to analyse the conflictual situation in Nagaland, in particular since the emergence of the NSCN, the paper will also try to highlight the resultant deprivation confronted by the Nagas in every realm and sector. A blue print for stable peace is the need of the hour and this will be attempted in the conclusion.

Civil society movement amidst multi-cornered conflict(s):
Of appropriation and legitimacy

Bhagat Oinam

Recently, questions have been raised from within the civil society groups about the state of civil society movement in the Northeast India that these groups are increasingly becoming uncivil, thus raising the issue of legitimacy in a serious way. The concern is that these groups are losing both in content and goal what a civil society ought to be.

The concern is of appropriation of civil society movement by those who are not within the discourse. This can be exemplified in the functioning of many civil society groups in the region, largely in Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland. These groups seem to slowly lose moral legitimacy that they had been earlier enjoying.

Studying these cases suggests that appropriation of civil society bodies by non-civil society groups are witnessed in places that are ridden with conflicts of various kinds. One of the major factors is the multi-cornered conflict between the State and non-State forces (the insurgent organizations) and also among various non-State forces have led to an atmosphere of violence, where each party attempts to appropriate not only the issues but also the functioning of the civil groups leads to a conflicting site of appropriation, protest and threat.

It would also be important to study the militarization of civil society movement where civil societies are slowly losing democratic values and space for dialogue. This may be seen as an impact of the wider wave of militarization that has spread over every walk of social life in the region.

Financing Insurgency: A Look at Northeast India

Rakhee Bhattacharya

After 9/11 there has occurred a world wide transformed opinion on the role and functioning of terrorism and insurgency, and it is now vastly acknowledged that the life-line of terrorism is money. Five years since 9/11 it has become apparent that economics, not politics or ideology, is the engine of the armed struggle. This is the unexpected and disconcerting truth unveiled by economic analysis of five decades of modern terrorism. Terrorism vis-a-vis insurgency is an ever-increasing expensive business to run. Thus apart from the implicit political purpose of terrorist and insurgent activities, there are other organizational factors that reinforce these activities, such as: the socio-economic deprivation, internal dynamics of illegal markets, increasing financial flows and its utilization and ascendance of profit motives. In the post globalisation phase, the 'economic motives' behind such underground activities have been spreading very fast across borders over the globe through inter-linkages amongst the terrorist groups. India's northeast, which is struggling with the problem of conflict and insurgency for decades together is also one such breeding area, where an illegal economy has been functioning due to money laundering and a continuous transfer of resources and fund from government and non-government sectors to the coffers of insurgent/ militant groups in the region. According to Sahni (2000), 'This is not only the result of direct extortion, to which most government departments succumb, as do private enterprises and citizens, but also of a web of voluntary and mutually beneficial arrangements that evolve over time, and on occasion, predate the emergence of militancy itself'. This paper attempts to gauge into the following.

- Cost of insurgency in the region which is met primarily through siphoning of money.
- The mode and functioning of 'financing' the insurgent industry.
- And due to such parallel illegal financial set-up, what are the visible impacts that can be seen in the growth and prosperity of its already damaged economy.

Another 'Kurukshetra' in the offing?
(Naxalites vs Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh)

Abhijit Choudhury

Another 'Kuruksheetra' and where? Yes, because 'Kuruksheetra' symbolizes contest for power and concomitant control over resources— a theme recurring in world history! This is precisely what is unfolding in Chhattisgarh, which was carved out of Madhya Pradesh- once India's largest state. The Naxalite movement had been going on for a long time in the tribal belt of the erstwhile composite state. Lying on the inter-state borders with Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra these belts are supposed to be governed as Scheduled Areas under the Fifth Schedule of Indian Constitution [Article 244 (i)], to ensure development of the tribals. However, lack of motivation among government functionaries, rampant corruption and absence of commitment on the part of the policy-makers were the factors for non-fulfillment of promises of socio-economic upliftment and political development of tribal communities in these areas. Their leaders and representatives remained virtually ineffective. Problems of poverty and consequent exploitation by moneylenders have been perennial. Poor communications compounded these conditions. This situation led to the emergence of Naxalism, and two Naxalite outfits— Peoples' War Group and Maoist Communist Centre—gradually rose to dominating positions. They enforce their dictats on the tribals with 'ruthless' efficiency.

The creation of Chhattisgarh during the NDA regime professedly aimed at delivering goods to the 'tribal' majority. Chhattisgarh virtually covers the northeastern, eastern and southeastern parts of the erstwhile Madhya Pradesh. Though the new State proceeded with programmes of socio-economic development by way of industrialization, new problems are arising out of land acquisition. These disputes have political and social ramifications. To counter the Naxal-led opposition to land acquisition, the State Government sponsored a movement since May 2005. It is the 'Salwa Judum', which has since been mobilizing those tribal villagers who apparently tried to resist Naxal highhandedness especially of its lower ranking cadres. The Government provides arms training to its members. However, these State-sponsored activities have occasionally invited violent reprisals from the Naxalites.

Hence the tribals are caught in the crossfire. In recent times, the Salwa Judum has forced tribal people out of their lands in Dantewara district to facilitate exploitation of rich mineral resources and setting up of industries under private dispensations. Of late, the paradigm shift to Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in context of globalization is being highlighted. But the corporate houses need social stability and public participation and support in such type of developmental exercises. This may not be forthcoming under the prevailing circumstances. Therefore, questions arise as to where the tribals will land; are they going to be sacrificed in the ensuing all out conflict between left extremism and state-sponsored terrorism and how are we going to define the 'space' for the tribals in this particular context! This paper intends a brief study of these issues at stake.

Un-Ending conflict in NE India : In search of people's security

Nani G. Mahanta

In the conflict zones of India particularly in North-east (NE) India and Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) there are essentially two discourses-'Indian nationalist discourse' and 'Self-determination discourse'. Both the approaches have its limitations and tend to neglect some of the basic issues of people's security. The paper, mainly drawing experiences from Assam, argues for a 'people-centric federalist discourse' that could help in resolving some of the protracted conflicts in the region and help in ensuring people's security. The paper urges for a re-look to the issue of 'State-sovereignty' which

is today is an extraordinarily flexible and manipulative concept. It also highlights how the 'self-determination discourse' popularized by the armed groups have failed to take up the people's issues in its quest for sovereignty.

The paper draws a parallel with the conflict situation in J&K and tries to delve with three critical areas—centre-state relations, internal devolution of power within the state and building co-operation across border. The recent initiatives taken by the Prime Minister of India in the context of Jammu and Kashmir, if extended to the NE region also, could go a long way in accommodating some of the burning issues of sub-national groups in the region. In this regard the paper examines some of documents such as 'the Delhi agreement of 1952', the Jammu Kashmir Autonomous Report appointed by National conference and the recent proposal put forwarded by the leaders of NSCN (I-M).

Women and Power

Sujata Miri

The immense contribution of women in providing a strong basis and support to the society in her multifaceted roles has been much emphasized in recent times. The recasting of historical knowledge to highlight women's contribution to society has grown in the last thirty years or so.

Women have been perceived in two prominent ways:

- (1) As helpless victims of the consequences of conflict situations engineered by men; whether the conflict is a result of economic scarcity, cultural differences with other communities, weakening state structures or individual groups achieving their ends through violent means.
- (2) As active peace- makers between families, clans and underground insurgents. They are seen as empowered to articulate a view of peace, security and social justice overcoming traditions, which had left no space for them in the indigenous structures of power and representation.

Though considerable changes have taken place in North East polity and society vis-à-vis the role of women, the political status of women has remained largely unchanged. Critics decry the negligible presence of women in the Legislative Assemblies and the District Councils in the region. Barring a few, most village councils remain exclusive male domains.

In our eagerness to push women into the political/public sphere we must not sideline her role in shaping the destiny of the future generations for even when politically inactive and excluded, her "presence" in what are considered 'activities of men' is incalculable. For patriarchy politics is a profoundly gendered activity; women cannot by nature be part of it. But, as patriarchic ideology itself is quick to assert, women are mothers, sisters and daughters and, as such, are the makers and sustainers of a healthy and prosperous home; women thus willy-nilly play a determining role in shaping the male political animal.

In my view more than patriarchy it is modernization that is responsible for a debilitating confusion in envisaging gender equity. Changes initiated with modernization require that she see her traditional roles as mother/sister/daughter differently, leaving her, in most case, in a state of uncertainty and confusion. While she changes gear she is unable to exercise influence over her male counterparts as a consequence of which her space in civil society becomes terribly restricted. She watches in desperation and

disbelief the disintegration of her family seething under the tragic impact of violence: in a very large number of cases being a helpless witness to the male child either joining the underground or taking to drugs and alcoholism.

Women were viewed as carriers of tradition primarily because as mothers they fulfilled the need for maintaining harmony and stability for the healthy growth of her offspring. That her partner takes precedence over her in political matters while she holds the reins in economic and other matters could well have been a self-conscious and highly pragmatic division of function in a traditional community rather than a patriarchal ideological construct.

In an extension of her role as a sustainer of tradition and the life of the home the woman was in the forefront when it came to sharing of customs and beliefs with neighbouring communities. Prolonged political upheavals a necessary requirement of establishing democracy in the region, have taken a heavy toll on the traditional modes of civilized exchanges. Women no longer build bridges between the different communities for there are newer enemies increasing by the day. The people who she shared her daily life with, her neighbours, are today no longer there for they are part of the hordes of invisible enemies out to do harm to her community, so she is told to believe by emerging leaders. Carving out a political space in a democratic set up appears almost always at the cost of a healthy intercommunity relationship. Hence whatever the drawbacks of traditional life styles in the North east, there was more harmony between the various communities of the region in the not so remote a past. The pursuit of modern democracy and bureaucratic (non)governance has on the face of it, opened the floodgates of conflicts on almost every issue.

The educated elite now perceives the goal of progress as resting firmly on the shoulders of social and gender justice. This involves necessarily the vision of woman playing a role in all spheres of human activities. The process has started, at least in the urban areas where the picture appears far from rosy. The demands of playing so many roles is burdening the 'modern' woman both emotionally and physically, leaving her in a state of inertia. She must play her public role to appear suitably progressive. Work inside the house is termed disparagingly as household chores. Thus there is a growing vacuum when it comes to doing the specific functions associated with a healthy well organized and wholesome home.

Forces beyond her control are determining the fate of her life and also of her near and dear ones. The new rights and wrongs, dos and don'ts are yet to be decided. She has great strength that the other sex may not recognize, and she may not even be worried about such lack of recognition. She will survive. The question is whether she survives for herself alone or for others as well – for the good of the community as well

Democracy, Armed Conflicts & the Development Impasse: Reconciling paradoxes in
Northeast India

Rajesh Dev

The links between the "identity problematique", development and democracy is no where more obtrusive than the "Northeast" which is simultaneously represented as "conflict-ridden" as also "paradise unexplored". A paradoxical quest for democratization matches a renewed frustration with democratic processes and institutions and an acute development deficit is accompanied by a refusal to endorse conventional development paradigms, simultaneously combined with claims of 'neglect'. The region has become a

crucible where “dilemmas of development” and claims of indigeneity are sought to be reconciled by institutional designs and policy interventions that recognize historical claims aimed at securing autonomy of ‘life-worlds’ yet potentially “ghettoizing” the development strategies and political initiatives.

These institutional designs and policy interventions are perceived to have accelerated the ethnicisation of the social and political processes, deepened ethnic faultlines and intensified identity claims. Such policy interventions and institutional designs are believed to result in the hierarchical formatting of ethnic groups and initiate an “ethnic structuration” of the economic pie. The concomitant effects of such processes in a region of dense ethnic heterogeneity is the redeployment of the bases of cultural and political mobilization, typified by the armed ‘identity’ contests, in a pattern that essentially interrogates this inequity and maldevelopment.

This presentation, notwithstanding the autonomy of the historical claims of the identity assertions and the consequent armed contests in the region, would attempt to underscore an emerging phenomenon that is triggered by perceptions of insecurity released from exclusions and lack of participatory access to institutions and resources.

Impact of Armed Conflict on gender relations in Manipur.

N Vijaylakshmi Brara

The crucial point that often goes un-noticed is that the power and autonomy of women’s groups depend on how they had come into being — created by an establishment or a political order, as in Manipur where they emerged as a consequence first of the British rule and later by the army rule and/or armed rule. Their autonomy depends on their relationship with the regime – whether legitimate or revolutionary. For example, the women’s organizations in the erstwhile communist regimes of East European countries, where not being autonomous even if consistent with the party, deprived them from articulating their opinion as women. In cases where women have tried to show their autonomy, as in Chipko movement, they had to confront the cash hungry men of their own community. The Women had also to face the wrath of the village patriarchal structure since political power within the village has been in the hands of men despite the near total burden the women carry in sustaining the economy. Therefore, the movement that started off to save the trees ended up, because of the autonomy of the women, in altering gender relations in the area. Today, in Manipur, it is the autonomy aspect which needs further probing by our gender analysts. Prof. Xaxa often mentions the issue of collective rights and individual rights. It is in the collective interest/rights or so called interest/rights that women get marginalized.

Issues of independence and national liberation have altered women’s political consciousness. The imperatives of Sovereignty and freedom commit them to national struggles. They are in the forefront mounting the barricades beside their countrymen in the wars against “Imperialism”/ “Colonialism”. These women subsume their priorities as women in the wider political conflict. I wonder, whether they ever wonder as to what place they will occupy after the struggle is over, in the process of “National reconstruction”?

In the north east India hegemonic ideologies revolve around indigenous rights, traditions and tribal identities as well as autonomy. Modernization is often seen as a threat of being mainstreamed.

Speaking of traditional barriers, it has been observed by various scholars that cultural and religious roots influence women whatever the reason. Traditions of carrying

on traditional prevail. In other words women have links with the traditional base, sometimes deriving strength from it and sometimes suffering through these traditions. It is said that they are motivated by fear, ignorance, lack of opportunity and lack of power and hence cling to these legacies, Our "*Tohoide*"(not supposed to be done) concept carries within it all the above stated characteristics. Most countries/ communities/ groups have found that the most powerful way to resist cultural domination and revive self – confidence in the citizens is to go back to their roots. And usually in many Asian countries roots are in religion, customs and traditions, in other wards in "*Chatnabis*"(the laid down norms). Raising the voices for the reform gets put down as being unpatriotic, whereby the identities will be washed out. Specially, during the fight against colonialism, nationalists under the threat of cultural invasion treat gender inequality as a Secondary problem. Therefore we tend to cling to our cultural uniqueness. Given this scenario the real issues of food, livelihood, health and the vulnerability of women under oppressive structures of patriarchies get deflected in the name of protecting one's culture. How to achieve gender mainstreaming?

To ensure their place not just in rank and file, but also among the policy makers, our women today have to upgrade their technical skills needed for planning and management. They need to learn about the women's movement across the world. They have to learn new ways to communicate, to learn, since knowledge is one sure path to empowerment.

Another source of empowerment, we see is through economic power and we get very satisfied with the fact that we have Ima – Keithel (all womens' market) in Manipur. While one cannot dispute that women can use economic independence as a bargaining chip for access to other opportunities and it complements what Amartya Sen terms their "fall back position", but it should be accompanied by greater control over household decision making, reproductive control and physical security.

In Manipur today women are mainly driven towards economic pursuits not for their emancipation and their need to get empowered but mainly due to poverty and conflict situation. Due to conflict situation, the number of female-headed household is increasing, whereby they are the sole means of support. According to Davaki Jain, "The poorer the community, the higher the work participation rate of females and children." Today, because of armed violence, even the sex ratio of Manipur has changed. The sex ratio of Imphal is 1000 females per 800 something males. If we just go by statistics we may think that Manipur state is very progressive since we have positive sex ratio. But, unfortunately it is the high mortality among men because of the armed conflict. One needs to do a small survey of the Ima – Keithel to realize as to how many women among them are the sole bread earners of their families. Therefore one needs to ponder whether the existence of Ima – Keithel can be an index to measure our women's empowerment or inversely are they today the least empowered? While sitting in their stalls, today, are they formulating strategies for nation building or are they thinking of how to arrange the next meal for their children.

Armed Conflict and Development in Manipur

E. Bijoykumar Singh

The quality of development in Manipur and the environment of uncertainty reated

by continuing armed conflict cannot be seen separately. Both have been linked in a causal manner. Though the impact of armed conflict on quality of development is considered pervasive, not much has been done to study the interaction systematically. The time path of the current phase of of armed conflict in Manipur is well documented. So are the contemporaneous indicators of development such as per capita income, poverty and unemployment. Along with it there has been dramatic growth and qualitative changes in civil society groups operating in the state. Women activists, student activists and human rights activists have created their individual space there modifying the discourse of interaction. The dynamics of this modifying influence is equally interesting. Manipur offers a unique combination of qualitatively different armed conflicts in the valley and the hills. Their interface is also ambivalent. The conflict in the hills is much more homogeneous than the valley. The paper will explain inter alia the influence of emerging complex of factors.

Though armed conflict has become an institutionalised way of expressing dissent, its cost in terms of development foregone and compromised quality needs to be studied. Equally interesting is the need to conjecture the alternative path provided by different forms of registering protests. The transformation into armed conflict needs to be demystified.

Armed Conflict, Development, and Governance in Northeast India An Outline

Ramashray Roy

If we take the three terms that constitute the title of the seminar, we find that they are causally linked and that the strategic term is development. Perhaps what is intended is can be put in two different ways. First, it may be that what is meant is whether development, interpreted in terms of the rising standard of living as a result of economic development with a view to pulling the people suffering from wants of various kinds, is shaping well or is encountering roadblocks? This draws our attention to the fact that there are certain factors existent in the socio-economic environment that impede economic growth. This signifies that the values underlying the modern paradigm of economic development have largely been accepted by the people.

Alternatively, it can also be argued, and argued, I believe, persuasively, that it is the process of development that is at the root of the armed conflicts which in turn, make governance, let alone good governance, difficult, if not impossible.

Theoretically speaking, then, two causal links offer themselves for closer exploration and analysis. One causal link underlines the violation of ethnicity as the primary good, a good that happens to be the activator of other factors in the chain of causation. In contrast, the other causal link suggests the aggravation of ethnicity as the prime cause of armed conflicts with its adverse consequences for governance.

While the first theoretical link does not involve a complex socio-economic process impinging both on the phenomenon of armed conflict and the act of governance, the other causal linkage does involve a complex social and economic process. In the first causal chain, ethnicity is *ab initio* the cause of conflict and therefore the important factor in the act of governance, in the second causal chain, it is only a factor that becomes aggravated as a result of certain ongoing processes of social and economic development.

Insofar as the first causal link is concerned, ethnicity assumes importance because it is felt by a particular ethnic group to lose its autonomy and its distinctive way of life as a result of its being absorbed in a larger political entity where it fears that it will be reduced to the status of a dependent people. In view of the straight forward case of the direct relationship between ethnicity and armed conflict, it is desirable to focus on the complex relationship among the three factors in the title of the seminar.

What constitutes the primary causative factor in the second causal linkage is the paradigm of modern development. This is so for the reason that it seeks to uproot man from his traditional moorings and relocate him in the soil of modernity by radically transforming the pattern of his life and relations. The key to such relocation is the internalization of the value of equality and what Plato would term an elegant life style. However, economic growth frustrates the aspirations of many because it cannot develop fast enough to meet demands that are generated by heightened aspirations. As a result, distributive justice becomes a very contentious political issue. The need to become politically effective becomes instrumental in politicizing traditional socio-cultural referents of identity formation. It is reinforced by the growing strength and impact of homogenization. Ethnicity happens to be one of the referents of identity formation that is usually used as a weapon of political battles by those groups who feel that they are the losers in the battle of who gets what, when, and how..

What complicates the picture is that the progressive introduction of socio-economic changes does extend the boundaries of modernization, to be sure; however, it does not succeed in completely eroding the traditional ways of thinking and doing things. The traces of tradition retain their strong hold in certain socio-economic segments of the population. When faced by the growing minority alienation as the consequence of the interplay of frustrated aspirations and the fear of homogenization, the government knows no better than introducing more and more doses of homogenization.

Instead of checking minority alienation, it further exacerbates alienation. As a result, political strife escalates; the government treats escalating strife as an indicator of the breaking down of law and order and seeks to repress it; repression leads often to violent political risings which eventually graduate in many cases to armed conflicts. The inevitability of armed conflict has thus its roots in the government's act of dilly-dallying; the government is ultimately forced to adopt the course of negotiated truce on the condition that it will remove certain irritants in the situation but frequently fails to abide by the conditions of the truce. This does not allow the political situation to become normal and allow good governance.

It is these elements in the causal nexus among armed conflicts, development, and governance. It is this causal model that we can see operating in the Northeastern region of India.

Blueprint for Ethnic Reconciliation in Tripura

Subir Bhaumik

The paper will be based on two basic premises —(a) indigenous tribes people and Bengali settlers from the plains of East Bengal, now Bangladesh, have lived with each other in the kingdom of Tripura and there is no reason why that cannot happen again (b) relations between the two communities have worsened since the 1970s leading to the ethnic conflagration of 1980 and the bloodletting by tribal insurgents ever

since — so a conscious effort of ethnic reconciliation is the need of the hour and that it has to be based on socio-economic justice and equitable political power sharing.

The paper will first provide a historical background of ethnic relations in Tripura and examine the causes responsible for its worsening in the years after Partition. Then the paper will outline a roadmap for bringing down ethnic tensions in Tripura and giving institutional shape to the process of ethnic reconciliation.

Burdens of conflict – How do women cope

Patricia Mukhim

Conflict has almost always been seen through a very narrow prism. This prism is a construct of patriarchy. Naturally it excludes women completely because they are seldom directly involved in the conflict as armed combatants. Women in conflict situations end up as widows and as mothers who receive and cremate the bullet-ridden bodies of their sons and husbands or as unpaid nurses who have to bandage bullet wounds and nurse their male relatives back to health. Very often, the bodies are not even returned because they are consumed by wolves and jackals somewhere in the jungles. In such cases women do not even know if they are widows or if their husbands have gone underground and will one day surface.

This uncertainty and dilemma of whether to patiently wait for their husbands to return, or, to look for another man as a bread earner and fellow sojourner troubles many a woman. Worse of all is the ordeal of having to live in a camp for years together because their hearths and homes have been uprooted by militants. What are the burdens that women carry? Does anyone ask? Does anyone care? Neither governments nor NGOs have made special interventions to ease the problems of women in conflict situation. Of course their problems have been described but only from the point of view of the conflict and the immediacy related to it. So far only the North East Network has documented the sufferings of women in relief camps.

This paper seeks to further explore into the dark alleys of a post-conflict situation, to document the spoken and unspoken tragedies of women, it seeks to give a face to the faceless and a voice to the voiceless who have learnt to accept suffering as their fate. Above all this paper will narrate case studies of women who have borne the scars of conflict uncomplainingly because their voices do not matter anyway. The paper also explores the suppression of women's sexuality in conflict situations and shows how sex is often used as the only means of survival. Conflict studies today are so advanced that they focus only on the political angle and refuse to see how it pulverizes the lives and livelihoods of women; how it narrows their social, economic and political space and traumatises their very existence.

Beginning from the Naga struggle onwards, men have invariably been invited to share their narratives in some of the most important fora where equally interested listeners clap for what is seen as their struggle and their sacrifice. But what about the other half who keep the homes fires burning when the heroes go underground? Who cares for that single woman who has to be mother and father to her child/children? There is no clap for her because her role is taken for granted. It is a role carved out for her by the oral narratives of her ethnic group. The narratives are embedded in patriarchy. This is where conflict has a larger gender dimension which needs to form an important part of the current discourse.

Paul Wallace, Prof. Emeritus

Four major movements emphasizing political violence have threatened India during the past three decades. Two are dealt with in this study: Punjab & Kashmir. Terrorism has been particularly evident in the Punjab insurgency from 1980-1993, with over 20,000 people killed, and in the continuing Jammu and Kashmir problem where approximately 60,000 have been killed since 1989. These two movements are examined in some detail from the perspective of what measures by the government worked and what measures have been counter productive. Questionnaires from military and academic experts are used to provide information and balance. Five areas are delineated and explored:

1. Military responses
2. Special Legislation
3. Human Rights
4. Negotiations
5. Closure

Military efforts at containing and eliminating terrorism are necessary, but not sufficient. All of these five areas are important in counterterrorism, and must be appropriate to the context. Lessons learned from Punjab and Kashmir are applicable to Northeast India.

This manuscript is an abbreviated and revised version of a chapter by Paul Wallace, "Counterterrorism in India: Kashmir & Khalistan" in a book edited by Robert Art and Louise Richardson, *Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons From The Past* (Washington DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, Nov. 2006).

Impact of Armed Conflict on Women: the case of Nagaland

Preeti Gill

The North-East has been one of the most continuously militarised regions of India since independence. During the 1990s, in terms of numbers, there has been one soldier of the security forces for every ten civilians in the region. The common problems of economic underdevelopment, exploitation of natural resources, environmental degradation and shifting demographic profiles in the states of the region have provided fertile ground for the growth of local militancies, many of which have turned into popular secessionist movements. Many states of the region have been besieged by 3 to 5 decades of armed conflicts and unrest, and a look at the history of the recent past in Nagaland, Tripura, Assam and Manipur (and Mizoram not so long back) provide ample evidence of the way this has affected the lives of local populations. Most importantly it has cemented the borders and the distances that exist between people of the North East and the so called 'mainland'.

It is an obvious fact that women experience conflict and its devastation in ways that are different to men. They find themselves more vulnerable with greater restrictions placed on them as far as mobility, access to health; access to livelihood, education, employment and even leisure is concerned. They find themselves facing violence from 3 quarters—the State, the militants and also an escalation of violence in their own homes.

Migrations or forced displacement resulting in fragmented families is another common thread in much of the research findings from these conflict afflicted states. Most of these conflicts are related to identity, land, resources, religion, desire for autonomy,

ethnic differences etc. In many states, militants are running parallel governments and challenging the elected representatives of the people. They challenge state authority and the institutions of state authority. The result of all this is escalating violence and insecurity especially for women and children who are the most vulnerable sections of society. All this suffering and stress often results in emotional and mental trauma. The loss women face in times of conflict is not just emotional, or physical but also transfers into the economic and social spheres. Most women experience a decline in social legitimacy and find themselves on the fringes of society with no one to take care of them or to speak on their behalf. Since they form the bulk of the uneducated and the unemployed, women are ill equipped to take on the burden of the household and become completely poverty-stricken.

All too often the violence that forms their outer reality makes inroads into their homes. Nothing is safe, nothing is sacrosanct and so what were earlier perceived as safe spaces too turn into the unsafe— church gatherings, neighbourhoods, market places. Everyday life becomes full of terror and fear when women are left alone to fend for themselves and their children. Civil war and armed conflict are devastating to social and cultural forms because they impact at the level of the whole society. The severity of the damage is not quantifiable but there are deep psychological, physical and economic scars in terms of low development paradigms that hamper growth. These are some of the issues that will be looked at in the course of this presentation along with interviews with Naga women whom I met in the course of my research in Kohima and Dimapur and some of the villages in the Chakesang area close to Kohima.

An Anthropological and Historical analysis of the Indo-Naga war and Suggestions for Resolution of the Conflict

Kaka. D. Iralu

For the past half a century (1954 to 2006), an almost unknown war has been raging between India and Nagaland. Although political conflict between the two countries had started as early as 1946, the conflict became a full scale war only when fifty three thousand Indian troops invaded Nagaland in October 1955. In the ensuing war, between 1955 - 1957, six hundred forty five Naga villages were destroyed and burned to ashes as Indian troops assisted by bombers, jet fighters, light armoured tanks and heavy artillery attacked Nagaland. In the first three years of conflict alone, over one hundred thousand Nagas died from bullets, starvation and disease. In the subsequent years thousands upon thousands more have died from this hidden war.

On the part of the Nagas, up to fifteen foreign missions for procurement of arms and ammunitions as well as for military trainings were undertaken from 1962 to 1996. However despite the noise and din of the war and heavy casualties on both sides, India's politicians have been able to keep this war a secret by putting down a blanket censorship of the war. This censorship has been so effective that only four foreign journalists were able to enter Nagaland between 1960 to 1980. As for India's millions of citizens, perhaps only a few thousand know about this war. The war has continued to rage on despite three ceasefires and peace talks. The first ceasefire and peace talks were held from 1964 to 1972. The second ceasefire was in 1975, and the third one has been going on from 1997 to the present.

For the past half a century India's politicians have been desperately trying to project this Indo-Naga war as an internal law and order problem. These Indian politicians

first tried to project the war as a case of succession where Nagas who had always been a part of India were trying to secede from mother India. However, after 52 years of military conflict, India has finally conceded to the fact that Nagas have a unique history of their own. This confession has finally been admitted in a joint statement issued by the representatives of the Government of India and the representative of the NSCN 1M during the ongoing peace talks.

In the light of this background, the present paper will establish the true anthropological and historical facts about Nagaland and India in order to show that Nagas and Indians are two separate and unique races. It will show that the war is not an internal law and order problem within India but that the conflict is an international conflict between two nations. Also in the process of establishing these facts, it is hoped that whimsical notions of the conflict in Nagaland being caused by "underdevelopment", "poverty", "flawed development strategies" etc will be swept aside. The paper will however highlight the nexus between the Indian puppet state of Nagaland and some so called Naga revolutionaries who have turned the conflict into a big business enterprise and have made their millions out of the conflict.

Finally, the paper will present though suggestions that the author believes can only solve the longest conflict in modern Asian history.

Outline of the Paper

An anthropological and historical review of the Naga nation and the Indian nation:-

1. (a) The anthropological roots of the Naga nation.
(b) Route of the migration from Central Asia to Mongolia to China and on to Nagaland (B.C 1246 to A.D 150 and beyond.)
(c) Religious and cultural factors that shaped the modern Naga nation.
2. (a) The anthropological roots of the Indian nation.
(b) A general outline of Indian history.
(c) Religious and cultural factors that shaped the modern Indian nation.
3. The development of ethnicity to nationality vis-a-vis India and Nagaland.
4. The genesis of the Indo-Naga war.

Phase I - The memorandum, the talks, the political and legal actions and the outbreak of war.

Phase II - The burning of villages, the counter self defence measures, the creation of an Indian state and the two failed peace talks. The ambiguity of the present peace talks and the only way out for a final solution.

LIFE AND DEATH OF SLOBODAN MILOSEVIC:
Insights from and for International Relations Theory.

Robin Remington, Professor Emeritus.

This paper examines the utility of the analytical framework developed in my forthcoming study Globalization, Codependency, and Regime Change: The New Russia and the New Europe (Rowman and Littlefield, It has been revised and updated from an earlier version presented at the Warsaw East European Conference. WARSAW UNIVERSITY, POLAND, July 5 – 8, 2006. That version was divided into eight parts: Definition of Key Concepts, The Intellectual Dilemmas of Political Science, Democratic Peace Theory and Civil Military Relations, Slobodan Milosevic: Man, Politician, Myth,

Methodology, Anticipated Findings, Lessons for International Relations Theory and a Select Bibliography. For purposes of this revised version. I have brought the section on methodology forward. A new concluding section will be an updated analysis on Peril of Empire and Political Decay specifically directed towards the current foreign policy of President George W. Bush.

Beyond the Visibles: Political Economy of Ethnic Conflicts in India's Northeast

Prasenjit Biswas

Ethnic conflicts in Northeast moves beyond the limits of democratic form of mediation by giving rise to a set of sovereignty free actors, which interestingly simulates a global economy of floating signifiers that 'act without the agency', the form of late capital that assumes only a phenomenal role in conflicts. While the ethnic actors assume a cellular form of disjunction and difference, the floating signifiers of capital assume a non-linear sub-symbolic co-construction of global spaces. This effectively means a tension between situated governance and localized territoriality on the one hand and otherness of solidarity groups. Establishing a boundary between the acts of sovereignty free actors such as militant groups and the phenomenal financescapes becomes the problematique of shifting ethnoscaapes in which such sovereignty free groups act. Such acts concatenate in the fertile ground of deterritorialization in which money, commodity and displaced personalities typify cultural goods and political experiences that increasingly get brutalized and introduce irregularities that 'disorganizes capital'. To prevent such threats of internal majoritarianism of the ethnic groups, disorganized capital organizes itself around the idea of asymptotically given social agent, who is a consumer and a potent political actor who can renegotiate boundaries of political economy. North East Indian conflicts need a strategy of grounding that comes from retrospective affiliation and the language of the primordial. This also produces the complex loop between violence and aspiration in an imagined world.

Political and Theatre of the Estranged Selves
On identity, violence and postcolonial psychology

A. Bimol Akoijam

Violence runs through the umbilical cord that connects the ideas of the political and identity. While this can be argued as an *originary* truth, its reality is neither unheard of nor intangible in the contemporary world. In fact, the violence implicated in "identity politics" is its ominous reminder. However, its manifestations are not universal insofar as they are mediated by specificities that are temporally and spatially distinct. One such specificity is a distinct postcolonial psychology that marks the "Invisible East", popularly called the "North East India". This mediation has produced a mutation in the nature of the link between the ideas of the political and identity, which, in turn, informs the text of "identity politics" that is being enacted as a theatre of the estranged selves in the region. The present paper explores and examines this theatre in the context of the violence that runs through the ideas of the political and identity as mediated by a postcolonial psychology.

Reangs: an untiring battle for survival

Syed Sajjad Ali

An existential crisis-this is how the predicament of the primitive Reang tribesmen can be characterised. From the high confines of neighbouring Bangladesh's Chittagong hill-tracts to the arid highland of Mizoram across denuded hill-ranges of Tripura and Cachar in northeast India - the Reang's search for roots continues. Identified by central government as the lone 'Primitive Group' in Tripura, Reangs (also known as Brus), at least majority of them-continue to languish in pristine tribal way of nomadic life as shifting cultivators.

A section of them belonging to advanced clans have inexorably progressed towards achieving nationality status along with other major tribesmen of Tripura state (population 3.2million) but the vast majority of Reang cling to their traditional ways of life as shifting cultivators. To any scholar researching on northeast's varied and exotic ethnic mosaic, aptly termed by an anthropological museum, Reangs scattered over Tripura, Mizoram and forest areas of Karimganj district in Assam present an enigma.

Long considered a part of the Tripuri tribesmen (of Tripura) —in fact the erstwhile king of Tripura Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya had included the Reangs in his official list of five privileged Tripuri tribal groups along with the Debbarmans, Jamatyas, Noatias and Halams. (Tripura merged with India on October 15 1949). But with a legacy of periodic revolts against the princely rulers of yesteryears the Reangs look for an identity quite distinctive from the major tribes of Tripura.

The Reangs are much disciplined community. Head of the community enjoys the title "Rai" meaning supreme in all matters of internal disputes and hence to be obeyed by all belonging to the clan. They by and large avoid normal court for justice.

Although generally treated as only a major clan of the generic Tripuri tribesmen-Reangs forms the second largest tribal group in Tripura as in neighbouring Mizoram-scholarly opinion varies on the arrival of Reangs in Tripura. Down the past century tribesmen in Tripura have been known to have parted from the Bodo tribesmen in Assam and slowly made their way into Tripura around 8th or 9th century before setting up a full-fledged kingdom by the fifteenth century. But the Reangs trace their roots to the legendary Hindu saint Kashyapa and a myth regarding their arrival into Chittagong hill-tracts of southeastern Bangladesh and through waves of migration from the Arakan region of Myanmar (Burma). As their claim to have a distinctive identity is based on the facts that the Reangs prefer to call themselves as 'Brus' and their language as 'Kai bru', not 'Kokborok' as the lingua franca of Tripura's tribesmen is generally known.

As a matter of fact a major had erupted on the eve of the last census held in February 2001 when a banned tribal separatist outfit National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) had issued a fiat that all tribals of Tripura must uniformly register themselves as 'Borok' people and their language as 'Kokborok' in order to force a unity of identity. The Reangs had resisted this triggering off clashes between NLFT and the Reang dominated rebel outfit Bru National Liberation Front (BNLF) resulting in the death of twelve BNLF activists in a pre-emptive and treacherous strike by the rivals. This coupled with the hardship and privation the Reangs have been subjected to in Tripura's neighbouring state of Mizoram, leading to an influx of 35 thousand terror stricken Reang refugees into north Tripura in October 1997.

The Reangs, second largest tribal group of Mizoram, had long been demanding setting up of an Autonomous District Council (ADC) based on 6th schedule of the (Indian) Constitution in Reang-dominated areas of Southern Mizoram. The demand had been raised under the banner of a new party called Reang Democratic Party (RDP). Long-accustomed to treating Reangs as 'bonded labourers and slaves', the majority Mizo tribesmen have looked upon the Reang demand with deep hostility.

Tension brewed when the Bru National Union, a political party of Reangs or Brus formed in the early 90s, in September 1997 demanded Autonomy within Mizoram. There was a tough response from Mizo Student Federation (MZF) who said that "if the Reangs wanted to divide or disintegrate Mizoram further, it would be better that they go away. The demand for an Autonomous District Council could not be accepted by Mizos". MZF further warned Mizoram is the only land Mizos have and it could not be lost to 'foreigners or other communities'.

The Reangs who fled to neighbouring Tripura alleged of intimidation and repression and target attacks that followed killing of 10 Reangs in September 1997, allegedly by Mizo hardliners. Influx continued unabated particularly after the murder of a Mizo forest warden allegedly by the Bru National Liberation Front which allegedly had nexus with) formed with clear agenda in 1994 to protect and fight rights and demands of the Reangs.

Bru leaders alleged their cultural practices were thwarted and they were forced to adopt Mizo names and Mizo languages as their medium of instruction instead of the native 'Kokbarak'. Names of about 20,000 Reangs were deleted from the Electoral Rolls. The Mizos have always lived in isolation and they have a very strong attachment to their homeland, thus they become emotive and frenzied when any minority tribal group talks of an autonomy and separate political setup.

The refugee problem only heightens the uncertainty of existence looming large over the backward tribal group. What illustrates the predicament of the Reangs best is that neither the government of India New Delhi, nor state governments appear to be swayed enough the pathetic plight of the refugees who have been stranded in subhuman conditions in the six camps of north Tripura.

Vision, Strategy and Tactics of the Actors in Armed Conflicts in Eastern India

B. B. Dutta

- 1) A purposive definition of vision, strategy and tactics.
- 2) Genesis of the Armed Conflicts – tracing roots:
 - a) Prevalence of colonial and feudal attitudes and practices.
 - b) An inadequate political framework resulting from an insensitive constitution. Use of ethnicity, language and religion by idealist and ideological state and non-state actors in the formulation of tactics and strategy in response to the challenges thrown by:
 - i. Linguistic formation of states on the basis of a dominant Linguistic Community.
 - ii. Demolition of inter-tribe and inter-community disturbance of equality.
 - iii. Hereditary minority-majority syndrome.
 - iv. Absence of a healthy electoral system causing the dilemma of:
 - a) Electing unrepresentative representatives.
 - b) Legislators getting increasingly involved in non-legislative activities and
 - c) Causing undue interference in administration.
 - d) Conversion of political constituencies into political zamindaris.
 - v) Inadequate education system.
 - e) Sinking levels of governance and administration.
 - f) Inadequacies resulting from declining institutions and steady erosion in value system.

- g) Resistance and protest from marginalized social groups.
- 3) Revolt of the few from Socially and Politically disadvantaged groups who found themselves marginalized in decision making process and policy formulations and who did not find any reflection of their identity and culture in the Polity of which they are citizens and felt totally unsecured in the prevailing power structure.
- 4) Armed Conflicts:
 - a) Choice of violent paths
 - b) Organised army versus unorganized militia.
 - c) Proliferation of the non-state actors and the motive behind it.
 - d) Peace as a precondition for development and development as a precondition for peace in a situation of dynamic social change.
- 5) A critical evaluation of the role of the actors:
 - a. In terms of vision.
 - b. In terms of strategy.
 - c. In terms of tactics.

Transformation process of the CPN (Maoist) of Nepal from an armed revolutionary group to a competitive political party

Leena Rikkilä

The aim of the presentation is to understand the transformation of CPN (Maoists) of Nepal into to a political party in a post-conflict environment in order to better understand the key challenges, potential prerequisites for success as well as the role the international actors in supporting the transformation.

Issues addressed by the case studies

The following issues related to the peaceful transformation:

- Ideological aspects including analysis thinking behind the aims of their struggle and the motivating factors of a transformation process
- § Strategic issues from the armed groups' point of view, including analysis on shifts in the leadership's strategy for how to achieve the aims, levels of acceptance of new strategies at all levels of the armed group: leadership, second tier, women, children engaged in conflict (do they access the peace process/transformation differently, implications for their adjustment to a new political and social world); analysis on the processes by which the new political agendas are formed and methods of pursuing them non-violently sustained; how the ideologies and programmes are reinterpreted and how the groups came to grips with democratic politics
- § Strategic issues from the state's point of view, including responses adopted (or not adopted) by the state in entering communications with the non-state groups
- § Organisational issues, including analysis on organisational changes in the process of transformation, on the method of leadership, on the extent to which leadership has been tied to persons, and on the different methods and levels of communication between the Maoists and the state
- § Economic factors, including analysis on the extent to which known and expected access to resources (natural or monetary) before and after the peace process influenced the motivation
- § External factors, including the impact of changes in global, regional and national power structures and policy environments, and the role of international actors in the peace process and the impact of their actions into the transition processes

- § What interventions would be useful (from the actors' perspective) to assist in such transformations
- § What are the lessons learned for the international actors on:
 - o How these factors should be taken into account in determining their role and responses to such transformations
 - o An internal reflection within the international community on why they respond positively to some transformations over others and the consequences of such privileging

Political party reform is absolutely vital for the success of the peace process in Nepal. The democratic renewal of political parties, selection of leaders who represent the demographic and ideological realities of Nepal; who manage parties in a transparent, inclusive and responsive way; their informed and responsible participation in Constituent Assembly debates are vital for the democratic processes. The call is for the CPN (Maoists) to return to the "mainstream". Yet there needs to be a discussion on what constitutes this "legitimate" mainstream in Nepal, how effective and useful it has been to the political process and if "mainstream" practices themselves need to be renewed? Realism calls for a recognition that the Maoists are not going to simply melt into the existing mould of political parties. What is called for is a transformation of political representation and practice through renewed and responsive political parties and institutions to which the Maoists too will adhere and be a part of.

The project includes a series of interviews with the Maoist leadership at different levels in order to understand what particular challenges the CPN (Maoist) may face when implementing their decision to return to the mainstream politics. What are the challenges emerging from within the party itself? Are there differing opinions on speed, direction, content of the transformation? What kinds of pressures are coming from outside; from other political parties? From International community? What is the role of Maoist front organisations in this process? Of larger civil society? How the process is carried out and implemented in every day life?

Successful return of the CPN (Maoist) of Nepal to a political party can have far-reaching positive impact to the Maoist and Naxalite movement in South-Asia, especially in India.

‘Woman Waging Peace’: Whose Peace? Whose Wage?

Sukalpa Bhattacharjee

Traditional thinking about war and conflict either creates victimized image of a woman or ignores her presence - war and political violence being patriarchal domains of power. The paper proposes to recast woman as a major actor in a conflictual zone of political and social violence and see how in a multiple ways in complex power game women negotiate and redefine their identities. Attempt would also be made in looking at the representation of women in the post-conflict scenario to see how women translate their wartime experiences into creative memories and thereby use them to critique national discourses of women's political disengagement and passivity. An indirect critique of the concept of 'inclusive security' would also be maintained drawing on discourses of institutionalized Human Rights vis-a vis the rights of women as human beings. Various images of women in war and 'women waging peace' would be drawn from countries like Arab and Bosnia and contextualized in relation to NE-India. Sources

would be drawn from historical documents, government reports, personal diaries and creative literatures to trace the role of women in wartime crisis and post-war reconstruction.

PROFILE

Prof S.Jacob George has been an eminent professor of Political Science at North Eastern Hill University, Shillong before joining the Central University of Hyderabad. He has been a keen analyst of the Naga Conflict in the North East and has had several publications to his credit. He has recently retired as Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science from the University of Hyderabad.

Dr.Bhagat Oinam is an associate professor of philosophy at JNU. He had been a faculty of North Eastern Hill University Shillong and School of Humanities IIT, Mumbai. He has also been a visiting associate fellow at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, N.Delhi and Editor at PHISPC, N.Delhi and is currently executive editor of Eastern Quarterly. Bhagat Oinam has also been associated with numerous institutions in various capacities and resource person for the textbook writing team of NCERT. His research interests are in the area of moral philosophy, human rights and democratic discourse in eastern India

Dr.Rakhi Bhattacharjee is currently a Fellow at the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata. She has worked as a lecturer of economics at Shillong College, Shillong for several years before joining research activities with bodies in different parts of India and abroad. She has published articles in edited books and journals.

Sri Abijit Choudhury teaches History at St.Edmund's College, Shillong. He has contributed scholarly articles in edited books and journals.

Dr. Nani G. Mahanta is currently senior Lecturer in Political Science ,Gauhati University, Assam, India. Dr Mahanta, an MA from JNU, New Delhi had recently completed his Ph D on ULFA from Gauhati University. He had spent two years (2002-2004) at the University of California, Berkeley as the Rotary world Peace fellow in Peace and Conflict Resolution department of International Area Studies. Dr Mahanta's publications include Economic and Political Weekly (EPW), Journal of Political Science apart from articles in various edited volumes. The Omeo Kr. Das Institute of Social Change and Development has recently published paper series of Mahanta entitled "Assam-portents of violence and hope for peace' in 2005. Dr Mahanta is also the coordinator of two PG diploma courses on Peace and Conflict Studies and Human Rights recently introduced at Gauhati University, Assam, India.

Prof Sujata Miri was a professor of philosophy at the North Eastern Hill University, Shillong. She has several books and articles to her credit and is also an accomplished painter and writer. She has held several positions during her professorship in the university and had been visiting fellow to several institutions of repute.

Dr. Rajesh Dev teaches Political Science at Women's College, Shillong and is also currently Guest faculty at the Department of Law, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong. He is the Executive Secretary of Argue India, a research group based at Shillong and makes regular commentator on social and political issues of contemporary relevance. He is the co-editor of "Ethnonarratives: Identity and Experience in North East India" & "Ethnic Identities & Democracy: Electoral Politics in North East India". His research papers are published in several edited books and Journals and works in the area of minority rights, identity politics and democratic processes.

Dr. N Vijaylakshmi Brara is a Gender and NGO Coordinator at NERCORMP/IFAD, Shillong. She works on areas related to gender and has several publications in this field.

Prof. E. Bijoykumar Singh teaches Economics at Manipur University. He is a former member Manipur State Planning Board Former consultant, State Fiscal reforms Study, national Institute of Public Finance and Policy, Delhi, Core member, Drafting committee, Manipur State Human development report, UNDP Consultant, Manipur State Development Report, Planning Commission & Institute of Human development, Delhi.

Prof. Ramashray Roy currently a Fellow at G.B.Pant Social Sciences Institute, Allahabad. He has also been the Director of Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) N.Delhi and has published a number of books and articles on issues of analytical concern. Ramashray roy did his Ph.D in political science in 1965 from the university of california, berkeley. he had joined CSDS in 1963 and served as its director from 1976-1982. he was a national fellow of the ICSSR; fellow at IAS shimla and national fellow of ICHR. he is currently a visiting fellow at GB Pant Institute.

Subir Bhaumik is BBC's bureau Chief for eastern India. He is a former Queen Elizabeth House Fellow in Oxford University and author of the well acclaimed INSURGENT CROSSFIRE that details the proxy wars of South Asia and thus unravels an important aspect of South Asian diplomacy. In his 25 years in journalism, Bhaumik has broken some of the biggest stories in northeast India, Bhutan, Burma and Bangladesh and has written for Reuters, Time and other leading newspapers and magazines. He was also written for atleast 25 academic compendiums and anthologies and delivered papers at nearly fifty regional, national and international seminars. His next book "THE Troubled Periphery: Crisis of India's Northeast" is being published by the Penguins.

Patricia Mukhim is a Columnist and Social Activist based at Shillong. She has published a number of articles that provoke us to undertake another critical look at our institutions and processes. She has also been awarded by several distinguished organisations and has been the recipient of the Padmashree.

Paul Wallace is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Missouri, Columbia. He is the author or editor of seven books and 40 book chapters and articles. His last book, with Ramashray Roy, is India's 1999 Elections and 20th Century Politics (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publications, 2003). He also wrote "India," Encyclopedia of World Terrorism: 1996-2002, Volume I. Editors, Frank Shanty & Raymond Picquet (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003). His latest book chapter,

“Counterterrorism in India: Khalistan and Kashmir” will appear in “Counterterrorism in Democracies: Lessons from the Past” edited by Robert Art and Louise Richardson (Washington, DC, U.S. Institute for Peace), forthcoming spring 2006. In Sept. 2003, Prof. Wallace served as the expert witness on Sikh violence at the Air India trial in Vancouver, British Columbia, and has been a consultant on South Asia to government agencies in the US and Canada, as well as to defense lawyers and private institutions. He is a member of the Editors/Advisory Board of the annual edition of “Violence and Terrorism,” and the terrorism expert for KMBZ radio station in Kansas City.

Preeti Gill works at Zubaan books, New Delhi as a Senior Editor and also handles Foreign Rights and Acquisitions. She has travelled and been involved in projects in the region over the past more than 10 years— One of these was a study on the impact of armed conflict on women for the NCW. Apart from this she has worked on 3 documentaries on the North East and is in the process of actively building up a list of women writers, both fiction and non fiction from the North East for Zubaan.

Kaka D Iralu has completed his MA in philosophy from Osmania University, Hyderabad and has worked in different capacities in India and United Kingdom. He has been an active social worker and writer. He has a number of scholarly publications to his credit and has researched extensively on the Indo-Naga conflict. Some of his books are Nagaland and India: The Blood & the tears and How then shall we live. He has also published scholarly papers in reputed journals in India and abroad.

Robin Remington is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Missouri who first visited Yugoslavia when she was a graduate student in 1967. She is fluent in Serbo-Croatian and has traveled widely in all parts of what once may have been the world's most unique multi- ethnic state. She did her Ph.D. from Indiana University, in 1966. She specializes in Comparative Politics (East-Central Europe), Post-Communist Systems (Ethnic Politics, and Party Building), European Security, Politics and the Military. She is a Manuscript reviewer for American Political Science Review, Armed Forces and Society, The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies, Etude Internationales (Quebec), International Studies Quarterly, The Journal of Developing Areas, Political Science Quarterly, Slavic Review, Southeast Europe, Soviet Union, Studies in Comparative Communism.

Prasenjit Biswas has been a Jawaharlal Nehru Scholar in Philosophy during 1997-99. Besides publishing widely in Continental Philosophy and NE-Indian Studies, he has taught at ISM, Dhanbad, IIT, Mumbai, IIT, Guwhati & currently teaching Philosophy at North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

Dr. A. Bimol Akoijam is a faculty at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), Delhi and is a researcher on North East. He taught Psychology at the University of Delhi and has published papers in national and International Journals.

Syed Sajjad Ali is a journalist and based in Agartala, capital city of India's northeastern Tripura state. He has 15 years experience in journalism and documentation. He is recipient of media fellowships awarded by National Foundation of India in 1998 and the Panos in 2006. He was short listed for the prestigious media fellowship of World Press Institute (WPI), USA, in 2004. He has been regularly attending media seminars and active in press right movement. Mr. Ali is currently reporting for the Hindustan Times, India's leading English daily newspaper published from New Delhi, and also working for the Reuters news agency. He has been mainly reporting on various topics besides social and human rights issues.

Dr. B.B.Dutta Member of the State Planning Boards of the State of Meghalaya and the State of Assam during 1980s and 1990s, Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha- Upper House) from 93 – 99 as a Presidential Nominee. Served in the Standing Committees of Defence, Human Resource Development, Petition Committee of the Rajya Sabha and Rural Development. Served also as member of the Consultative Committee of External Affairs. He is an M.A PhD in Economics, Specialising in Banking, took voluntary retirement as Head of the Department of Economics, St.Anthony's College, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong and has published many articles, edited books on Economics, Social Science and Political Science.

Ms Leena Rikkilä is currently working as Programme Manager of the South-Asia Programme at the International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) in Stockholm, Sweden. Since 2004, she has been coordinating IDEA's programme on Constitutional Dialogues in Nepal. The objectives of this initiative are to forge national consensus on political reform and to develop capacity of Nepalese stakeholders on constitutional options. Leena is former Secretary-General of Finland's Advisory Board for Relations with Developing Countries which monitors and assesses issues related to Finland's development relations and global policy. Prior to her work with the Advisory Board she was teaching at the University of Tampere, in the Department of Political Science and International Relations from where she graduated. She is a former chair (2001-2002) and current board member of Network Institute for Global Democracy (NIGD). Amongst her work with NIGD, she has co-ordinated the projects promoting North-South Dialogues on democracy and globalization and been involved in the World Social Forum (WSF) process. She is the co-editor of *From a Global Market Place to Political Spaces* (2002) which discusses Southern views on initiatives on global democracy: She has also written on matters related to gender and politicised religion in violent conflicts, especially in South-Asia.

Dr. Sukalpa Bhattacharjee teaches English at North Eastern Hill University, Shillong. She has lectured in various Universities of Europe and Asia. She has authored, *Post-Colonial Literature: Essays on Gender, Theory and Genres* and is one of the Editor-Contributor for *Human Rights and Insurgency: The North-East India* and contributed to *Anthologies on Multi Ethnic Literatures of United States (MELUS)*, *Literary Theory, Cultural Studies* and journals on *Postcolonial Studies*.

Prof Omprakash Mishra is an eminent educationist and is the Coordinator of the Centre for Refugee Studies, Jadavpur University, Kolkata. He is also the Executive Council Member of the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata. He has written extensively on terrorism and migration and has several research articles and books to his credit.

Professor MRINAL MIRI has been Vice-Chancellor of Northeastern Hill University for close to five years. Prior to becoming Vice-Chancellor he was Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study at Shimla from 1993 to 1996. Professor Miri took his PhD in Philosophy from Cambridge University and has taught philosophy in Delhi University and Northeastern Hill University. He has been Visiting Professor in several Universities in the country and abroad. His main interest in Philosophy is in the areas of philosophy of culture and moral philosophy. He is the author of several books and numerous papers in professional journals. Professor Miri has been a member of bodies like the UGC, ICSSR, ICPR. He has also been the Chairman of the Indian Council of Philosophical Research. Currently, he is a member of the CAGE and CABC. He is the recipient of several awards including the Padma Bhushan for his contribution in the field of education and literature.