
**Life Under Military Rule:
Human Rights Violations
of Nagas in Burma**

**A report by the Naga Youth Organisation, Burma
OCTOBER 2010**

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FOREWORD

The Euro-Burma Office (EBO) has been working since 1997 to support the Burmese democracy movement in preparing for a transition to democracy and to keep the international community informed about Burma.

EBO envisions building in Burma a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society in which conflict is resolved through dialogue and consultation rather than through the use of violence. It hopes to contribute towards the establishment of a federal union where the rights of its citizens and ethnic nationalities are respected and promoted, and where ethnic nationalities have the right to define their own political future.

EBO considers the existing differences between all nationalities of Burma as sources of strength rather than weakness. It views Burma's cultural diversity as a cornerstone for creating national unity, rather than an added benefit. The recognition of pluralism is therefore the most viable way to reduce costly and destructive conflicts.

With this vision in mind, the EBO decided to fund this report for three reasons:

- To support the Naga movement in gathering data on abuse of human rights in Naga areas and in highlighting human rights issues;
- To encourage this research to contribute to present and future strategies on Burma;
- To promote the development of civil society in disenfranchised communities in Burma
- in particular the development of the Naga Youth Organisation.

EBO hopes that this report will allow for a better understanding of the background and current situation of the Nagas in Burma, an ethnic group that is currently overlooked. We also hope that this increased understanding will fit into our overall vision of contributing to a democratic, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and peaceful federal Union of Burma.

Harn Yawng hwe
Executive Director
Euro-Burma Office

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is the indomitable spirit of the Nagas to live as a people in dignity amidst extreme pain and distress that has inspired us to do this work. This report is intended to contribute to a better understanding of our past and present. We hope that this contributes to our struggle for justice and peace.

The Nagas from Burma provided us the primary support and the information required without which this task would have been well nigh impossible. This demanded enormous courage and carried high risk.

Our sincere gratitude to Euro-Burma Office (EBO) for their solidarity and generous financial support to make this initiative a reality, Harn Yawghwe, the Executive Director of EBO for writing the foreword, and their staff for their contribution towards the making of this report.

Our sincere gratitude to Dr Achan Mungleng for being with us all along in this arduous journey from the very initial stage of conceptualizing this report till the publication of this report.

Our special thanks to C.R. Bijoy for his tireless inputs from restructuring to editing, and proof reading that made it possible to convert the raw information collected into this report.

To our Naga friends and well-wishers, thanks for your encouragement, prayers, support and valuable advices.

PREFACE

The concept of humans as the bearers of duties, not as the bearer of rights, was well developed under the authoritarianism of traditional Burmese absolute monarchy. This authoritarianism is still practiced by General Ne Win and his successors, including the current military junta, the State Peace Development Council (SPDC).

The Burmese pattern of governance was moulded over 800 years from 1044 to 1885, during which the Burmese lived under absolute monarchy. Authority was never challenged by any liberal forces during these years until it was overthrown by the British in 1885 establishing Burma as its colony until independence in 1948. These developments laid the foundations for a significant change in the Burmese political structure, but could not bring about revolutionary change in the Burmese mind. The British administration destroyed the old Burmese officialdom, but its ethos was never broken.

As Maung Maung Gyi has argued, "Suffice it to say that the medieval mind underwent no essential change after being ruled by the British over 60 years (in upper Burma) to over 100 years (in lower Burma). One should not, therefore, have serious doubts as to whether the reversion to a one-man-dominated authoritarian rule pattern 1962 was not an atavistic trend, a return to the age-old Burmese political system with modern trappings of communist genre, which itself is an offshoot of authoritarianism"¹.

The struggle for human rights in Burma, therefore, has historical roots in political culture. True democracy has yet to take root. Human rights violations are both systemic and sanctified by the prevailing political system - the rule of an authoritarian military junta under the rubric of an independent nation. The situation of the Nagas in Burma is one of the most underreported. Whereas the systematic human rights violations in Burma, especially those in the seven ethnic states, have been well documented and reported.

Notorious for its human rights violations, the Burmese government has mistreated and created difficulties for the Nagas, as it has other ethnic nationalities in Burma. As a result of the difficulty for outsiders to access Naga areas in Burma, strict security surveillance, poor transport and communications, in addition to that very few Nagas have the knowledge and/or experience to

¹ Maung Maung Gyi: Burmese Political Values: the Socio-Political Roots of Authoritarianism

document and publish human rights report to date the Naga experience has gone unnoticed during the past 48 years of military rule.

This report attempts to highlight:

- the sufferings and struggle of the Naga people;
- religious persecution in Naga areas;
- displacement within Naga areas;
- violence against Naga women by the Burmese military regime;
- health care and educational system in the Naga areas; and
- illegal conscriptions and encroachment by the Burmese military regime into Naga areas

Information was gathered from Nanyung, Lahe, Tanai, Khanti, Layshi, Homlin and Tamu Townships and also from some selected towns and villages in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur of India where the Nagas from Burma have taken refuge after fleeing from Burma. The tools and techniques used to collect information and to understand the human rights violations in the Naga areas in Burma include observation (both participant and non-participant), and informal/unstructured interviews, etc. Verbatim quotes are used to convey the interviewees' vivid experiences, and occasionally a camera was used as a mechanical aid.

The Naga Youth Organisation (NYO) undertook this arduous and risky task of documentation, travelling without pens and notepads, cameras or any other type of recording devices as well as facing an extremely cautious and alert military. NYO members were under constant threat from Burmese military regime. The travel between the villages to acquire details was mired with hurdles including taxes and registration fees and various degrees of interrogation. Most of the information presented in this report was diligently obtained, with great care taken to capture the information as precisely as it was conveyed. In some areas language was a barrier. It was also not safe for the villagers to be seen talking to or giving interviews to an outsider, making the research extremely difficult. Inside Burma, NYO staff covered several townships in Sagaing Division, and on the Indian side they covered the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur. Apart from participant and non-participant observations, the main informants were various leaders, elders, women's groups and organizations such as the Naga Cultural Centre Committee (NCCC), the Naga Baptist Convention (NBC), the Naga National League for Democracy (NNLD), and the Naga Hill Regional Progressive Party (NHRPP).

All accounts of the various human rights violations perpetrated on the Naga could not be fully presented in this report as there are too many; however this report gives an overview of the travails of the Naga in Burma.

The primary aim is to inform other ethnic peoples from Burma and the international community of the situation in the Naga areas of Burma.

THE NAGA AND BURMA

1.1 THE HISTORY OF THE NAGA

History has many important lessons for the Nagas. One of the most important lessons has been that borders are not natural divisions, but a political device to divide and rule people. Colonial rulers imposed arbitrary borders all over the world dividing people across states, tearing apart communities, destroying the solidarity and integrity of peoples and their ancestral domains. In our part of the world, the British rulers had drawn a historically unjust and unfair boundary which ran through our villages, fields and even homes.

With the Treaty of Yandaboo (1826), the British imperialists arbitrarily divided the Naga homeland by drawing an international boundary across it and splitting it between Burma and India, without the consent of the Nagas. Unfortunately, after Burma and India won their independence, they chose to deny the Nagas their right to be a free people living as one nation. Since then, the two countries have been tactically employing divisive strategies to crush the aspirations of Nagas living within their borders.

In India, the Naga homeland was further divided and merged with four states: Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. The state of Nagaland was carved out of the Naga areas in Eastern Nagaland in 1963 to create an impression that Nagas have their own homeland within India while the fact remains that the majority of Nagas within the Indian Territory live outside Nagaland state.

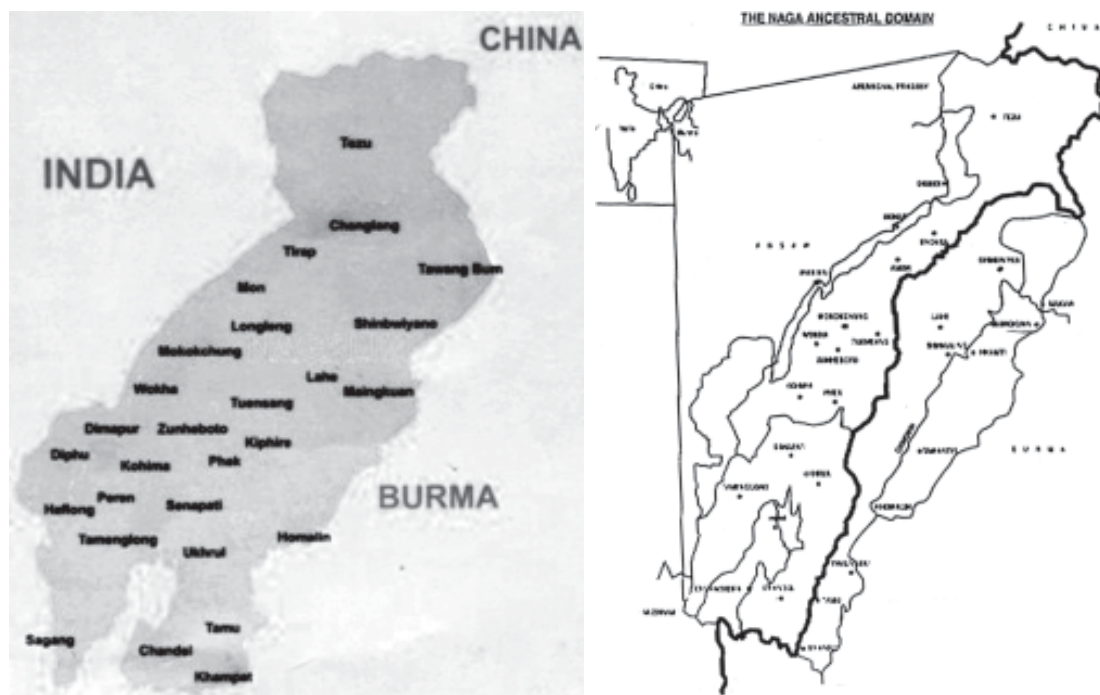
In the same year, the Burmese General Ne Win divided the Naga homeland within Burma between Kachin State and the newly created Sagaing Division. In addition to this, the Burmese military junta, as part of their determined attempt to assimilate the Nagas into the Burmese fold, concocted another heinous policy with the aim of further depriving the Nagas of their homelands in the guise of creating a “Naga Self-Administrative Zone” which excludes most the important townships and mineral rich areas – Tanai (presently in Kachin State), Khanti and Homlin Townships.

Eastern Nagaland has greatly suffered under the coercive control of the Burmese military junta. The military stationed in the Naga-inhabited Sagaing Division have been committing large scale human rights violations (including rape, physical torture of innocent civilians, unwarranted

raids, extra judicial killings, etc), which have been kept well hidden from the outside world. Other excesses include burning of granaries, desecrating places of worships, forced conversion, forced labour, forced recruitment and curbing democratic freedoms and freedom of expression. Rude behaviour and abuse without provocation are common. During raids, household goods and fields are vandalized. The Nagas face grave threats to their lives and livelihoods not only in Eastern Nagaland (Burma), but in Western Nagaland (India) as well.²

The Naga homeland is land-locked and encircled by India in the west, Burma in the east and the south, and China in the north. As a result, the land of the Nagas occupies a strategic position between South and South-East Asia.

Nagas live in a compact contiguous area of about 120,000 sq kilometres lying between the longitudes of 92.5° E and 97.5° E and the latitudes of 23.5° N and 28.5° N. The Nagas have a population of about 4 million and share a close history, as well as racial, social and cultural affinity with the South East Asian people. The Nagas are neither Indian nor Burmese by race or culture, nor historically or politically³.



Map of undivided Naga Areas

² Naga homelands in Danger: The politics of constitution making in Myanmar (Burma), 2007.

³ Let Freedom Ring by A S Atai Shimray (2005).

1.2 BURMA: AN INDEPENDENT NATION

The Union of Burma came into existence with Burmese independence in 1948. The country briefly flirted with 'democracy' for a little over a decade, but since 1962 it has been under the authoritarian control of several military dictatorships. In 1974, it is renamed as the "*Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma*" and in 1989 it is again renamed as "*Union of Myanmar*".

Burma is an ethnically diverse country with about 135 ethnic groups with each their own different dialects, distinct identity, beliefs and customs. Most of these ethnic non-Burmans inhabit the mountainous frontiers which make up about three-quarters of the country. Burma has an area of 261,228 sq miles with a population of (approx) 56 million and consists of 14 provinces; or rather 7 states representing the areas of 7 main ethnic nationalities and 7 divisions. All 7 states are more or less mountainous, whilst the divisions are mainly plains with the exception of Sagaing, Bago and Thaninthayi divisions.

The seven ethnic states are:

1. Arakan (Rakhine)
2. Chin
3. Kachin
4. Karen
5. Kayah (Karenni)
6. Mon
7. Shan

The seven divisions are:

1. Ayeyarwady
2. Bago
3. Magwe
4. Mandalay
5. Sagaing
6. Thaninthayi
7. Yagon

1.2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BURMA⁴

Colonial period (1886-1947)

The British expanded their colonial empire by fighting three wars against the Burman Empire to finally conquer it in 1886. With the occupation of Mandalay, Burman monarchy was abolished. In 1885 the British exile Thebaw, the last Burman king, and his queen Supayalat, near Goa on the western coast of India, and incorporate Burma as a province of India in 1886. They then attempt to pacify the independent Karenni and Shan states, as well as the Chin and Kachin

⁴This particular section from NCGUB human rights yearbook 2002

hills. The Karenni territory is recognized as a sovereign nation, and in 1922 the independent Shan states are incorporated into a Federated Shan States under British protection. In 1937 Burma separates from India under the Government of Burma Act of 1935.

On the eve of the Second World War, the Japanese secretly promise to help Burma recover its freedom by training 30 Burmese youths, who form the nucleus of a national army - the Burma Independent Army, led by Aung San. In 1942 the Japanese invade Burma and drive out the British and govern the country under military rule until 1 August 1943, when they grant Burma independence under Japanese protection. On 27 March 1945 the Burmese army revolts against the Japanese and joins the Allies. The British return and promise home rule. The Panglong Conference of 1947 leads the Chin, Kachin and Shan leaders to agree to join their homelands with "Burma Proper" as equal partners and seek independence from Britain. During the war period, the leaders of the new Burmese army, together with an underground civilian group, form a broad anti-Japanese coalition, "the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League" (AFPFL), led by General Aung San and head of the army. On 19 July 1947, General Aung San and some of his colleagues are assassinated while the constituent assembly that is writing a new constitution is in recess.

Constitutional period (1948-62)

On 4 January 1948, Burma gains its independence from the British with U Nu, a civilian and close colleague of Aung San, leading the country to its independence. A parliamentary federal union system is introduced as the system of government.

Independence, however, does not bring peace and stability to Burma. Within three months of independence, the Communists revolt, taking two army battalions with them. In January 1949, following growing hostility between the Karen and Burmans, the Karen also revolt. Several other ethnic and political groups also take up arms against the state. The multiple insurgencies nearly cause the Union of Burma to collapse. Prime Minister U Nu manages to keep his government in power, and while it gradually recovers control of the people and territories, it is unable to create peace.

During this tumultuous period democracy takes root and begins to grow. However, in 1958, unity among the leaders of the ruling AFPFL dissolves. Prime Minister U Nu proposes that the parliament decide which group should govern the country. U Nu wins by such a small margin that within a few months he resigns and recommends that General Ne Win, the head of the army, replaces him and conducts new elections.

General Ne Win's caretaker government, comprising of senior military officers, is short-lived, lasting only 16 months. When the promised multi-party elections are held, the U Nu-led faction wins pledging to make Buddhism the state religion. The Constitutional conference in Taunggyi calls for the amending of the 1947 constitution. The "Federal Movement" is founded in order to rebuild Burma as a federation of equal states as initially intended at the Panglong Conference.

U Nu calls for a meeting in February 1962 where he plans to discuss with all ethnic leaders a way to find a solution to their grievances through peaceful and frank discussions. However, before U Nu can announce his recommendations for peace, the military (led by General Ne Win) seizes power on 2 March 1962. General Ne Win establishes a Revolutionary Council comprised of 17 senior officers, effectively ending the constitutional period.

Military rule (1962-74)

The Revolutionary Council establishes a military dictatorship, replacing the parliamentary federal system enshrined in the constitution. In July 1962 the Revolutionary Council creates its own party, the “Burma Socialist Program Party” (BSPP), after having failed to win the backing of the established political parties. The Revolutionary Council publishes its first ideological statement entitled “The Burmese Way to Socialism” at the end of April 1962. A year later it moves to a policy of rapid nationalization and assumes direct control of the economy. In 1971 the BSPP transforms itself into a civilian government, retaining the same military rulers, many of whom have retired from the armed forces. In 1974 a new constitution is adopted with additional centralized powers further entrenching BSPP’s position as the only legal political party in the country.

Military rule (1974-1988)

The second constitution of independent Burma differs markedly from its predecessor. The highest level of government is the *Pyithu Hluttaw* or People’s Assembly, a single chamber legislature. Under the new laws, U Ne Win, as he was then called, as head of the BSPP is selected as President of the country. During this period of military rule, the government faces popular unrest with workers staging violent strikes in 1974 and 1975. Students also protest throughout this period with the most serious protests in 1974, which break out due to a struggle between students and the government over the proper burial of the remains of U Thant, the third Secretary General of the United Nations. In 1976, the leaders of nine ethnic - nationalities groups form the National Democratic Front (NDF) to create a unified resistance for “genuine federalism”. The civil wars continue, with the military launching regular campaigns against the forces of the ethnic nationalities and the Burma Communist Party (BCP). Freedom of association, press and assembly are severely repressed under the one-party regime. In 1981, Ne Win abdicates the presidency but continues to head the BSPP.

In 1987 Ne Win suddenly begins to criticize government and calls for economic reforms. A few weeks later and without warning, the government demonetizes three currency bank-notes and offers no reimbursement. Nearly 70 percent of the currency in circulation becomes worthless.

In March 1988, students and local people are involved in a fracas at a tea shop in Rangoon and a major brawl ensues. The intervention of riot police leads to the death of a student from the Rangoon Institute of Technology (RIT) and RIT students begin protesting daily. The protest

spreads to other universities. After twelve days of violent clashes with the police that causes many deaths, the government closes the universities and promises to investigate the student deaths. When the students return to the universities in June they demand an account of the still missing students and call for the arrest of those responsible for student deaths and injuries. Again the police and military respond to the student protests with force, killing at least 20 students and arresting hundreds of others and once again the universities are closed. The wave of social unrest spreads and the resistance movement becomes stronger as the people called for political change. As a result, the military declares martial law.

On 23 July 1988, the BSPP appoints the reviled General Sein Lwin as the new party head and later President. A general strike takes place on 8 August 1988. In response, the police and army attack the demonstrators, killing an estimated 3,000 peaceful protesters.

On 12 August 1988, General Sein Lwin resigns and is replaced by a civilian lawyer, Dr. Maung Maung. During this period, the jails are opened and thousands of criminals are released causing fear as crime rises. Rumours are also spread by government agents that the water supply is poisoned and that other heinous acts are being committed.

Peaceful student-led demonstrations are crushed on 18 September 1988 as the military stages a bloody coup and establishes a new dictatorship under martial law, calling itself the "State Law and Order Restoration Council" (SLORC). It brutally puts down the popular movement resulting in thousands of deaths and arrests. Many students leave the cities and their homes and flee to the border areas. The SLORC suspends the 1974 constitution.

SLORC's military rule (1988-1997)

On 23 September 1988, having established himself as Burma's leader, SLORC head General Saw Maung assures the public that the sole aim of his military intervention is to restore law and order, improve the economic condition of the people, and organize multi-party elections at the earliest. He insists that it is not his intention to "cling to State power for long." This is intended to appease international condemnation and domestic upheaval. Within months, political parties begin to register with the arrival of a new election law. The National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of the national hero General Aung San, is formed soon thereafter and quickly emerged as the leading opposition party.

July 1989: The SLORC places Daw Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest and disqualifies her from participating in the elections. The country's name is changed to Myanmar. Ceasefire agreements are made with Wa and Kokang armies. The heroin industry is permitted to grow while foreign enterprises are welcomed into the country.

27 May 1990: NLD wins the elections held on 27 May 1990 by a landslide, winning 392 of the 485 seats contested. The SLORC backed National Unity Party (NUP) wins only 10 seats.

27 July 1990: Having been rejected at the elections, the SLORC begins to systematically eliminate its opposition. It refuses to allow the *Pyithu Hluttaw* (People's Assembly) to convene, claiming that the actual purpose of the election has been to form a constituent assembly. On 27 July 1990, the SLORC announces Declaration 1/90 confirming this and that “[the SLORC] is not an organization that observes any constitution; it is an organization that is governing the nation under Martial Law.” Following this announcement SLORC begins to arrest and intimidate NLD members as well as members of other political parties.

December 1990: The SLORC persistently refuses to allow the newly elected NLD led parliament to assemble, and some elected MPs flee to liberated areas on the Thai Burma border. In December 1990, the Parliament members meet and elect the “National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma” (NCGUB) with the support of all major ethnic groups struggling to assert themselves within Burma. The army campaigns against Muslims in Arakan state causing 300,000 refugees to flee to Bangladesh.

24 April 1992: Two years after the elections, the SLORC issues Order No. 11/92 - “*Convening of a National Convention*”, this states that a national convention will be convened “in order to lay down basic principles to draft a firm constitution”.

January 1993: The National Convention is finally assembled with 702 delegates, of whom only 106 are elected representatives. The remaining delegates are either hand-picked by the SLORC to “represent” workers, peasants, intellectuals, national races, and service personnel, or are “specially invited persons.” The SLORC states that the convention will only be drawing up the “principles” of a new constitution and the final draft would still be written, as promised, by the elected representatives. Moreover, the SLORC states that the principles discussed by the delegates have to conform to the “objectives” of the convention as defined by the SLORC, which includes the “participation of the *Tatmadaw* (armed forces) in the national political leadership role of the State in the future.”

1994: Intense army offensives in Karen, Karenni and Mon states lead to the flight of some 110,000 refugees over the border to Thailand. The UN General Assembly calls for tripartite dialogue between the military, the democracy forces and the ethnic nationalities in order to restore democracy.

10 July 1995: Aung San Suu Kyi is released after almost six years of house arrest.

November 1995: The NLD withdraws from the SLORC controlled national convention due to its undemocratic processes. After this move, the pace of political arrests and persecution accelerates dramatically. The SLORC responds to the NLD withdrawal by expelling the NLD permanently from the convention. A call from the NLD to begin a dialogue with the SLORC in order to start a process of national reconciliation is refused by the SLORC.

May 1996: The NLD announces that it will hold a meeting to commemorate the sixth anniversary of its 1990 election victory. The SLORC reacts by arresting hundreds of NLD Members of Parliament and other supporters in an effort to prevent the meeting.

7 June 1996: The SLORC also issues Order No. 5/96 containing sweeping provisions that allow for up to 20 years imprisonment for anyone who expresses political views or, notably, discusses constitution processes publicly despite that the state sponsored daily newspapers are reminding the public that it is their duty to be involved in such processes.

December 1996: More than 2,000 people, including hundreds of students involved in peaceful student demonstrations, are arrested for calling for human rights reforms.

SPDC's military rule (1997-Present)

15 November 1997: The SLORC is renamed the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC).

16 September 1998: The Committee Representing the People's Parliament (CRPP) is formed in response to the military regime's refusal to cede power so that the elected representatives can form a parliament and the NLD can form a government. Two hundred and fifty-one elected MPs (52% of MPs elected in 1990) give their authority to the 10 founding members to form the CRPP, based on the principle articulated in the 1974 Pyithu Hluttaw Law that requires State Authorities to convene parliament if 34% or more of the members of parliament so desire. The CRPP's objective is to convene the Parliament until all MPs elected are able to do so. The CRPP's first act is to issue a proclamation that repeals all SLORC and SPDC orders, decrees, notifications, rules and laws. The SPDC declares the CRPP to be illegal.

However, despite serious restrictions and the almost immediate gaoling of the Chairman Dr Saw Mra Aung, the CRPP survives and on 16 September 2002 holds a ceremony at NLD headquarters to celebrate its 4th anniversary.

2001: The United Nationalities League for Democracy (UNLD), an umbrella organization of non-Burman political parties formed after the 1988 uprising, is revived by exiled politicians. Official refugee figures of Burmese in Thailand rises to 136,000, not including the 1 million "illegal Burmese migrants". Mizoram state in India shelters at least 50,000 mostly Chin people. Ethnic leaders appeal to the military and to Aung San Suu Kyi to return to the spirit of Panglong to work together to rebuild the nation.

The consequences of the long march to democracy have been traumatic, leaving the people poverty stricken and brutalised by the military regime and their goal still unattained. The intense desire of the people for a genuine democracy with equal rights for all ethnic nationalities remains strong, but reality remains a far cry, though the hope continues to inspire people.

1.2.2 The rights and struggles of the ethnic nationalities of Burma

Ethnic nationalities, which make up more than one-third of the population of Burma, have long struggled for political rights and greater independence from the government as a reaction to political isolation and oppression.

During the Cold War, the Ethnic Nationalities of Burma did not receive enough support, internally or internationally, in their struggle for the rights to self-determination, including greater autonomous status for their national states within the Union. Instead, most of the international community, especially the UN and neighbouring countries such as India, supported the territorial integrity of the newly independent Burma. Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s, the government's efforts towards "nation building", "national integration" etc. were directly and consciously influenced by historical developments in the West, and also by the anti-colonial movements in their fellow developing countries.

Thus, human rights violations and denial of ethnic rights in Burma should be analyzed within the historical context of "state formation conflict", which began soon after Burma gained its independence in 1948.

State formation conflict in Burma is a conflict between a Burma military-monopolized "state" and the Ethnic Nationalities whose rights have for so long been suppressed by the "state" and not an ethnic conflict between different segments of the country's population. The political crisis in Burma is therefore a constitutional problem stemming from the reversal of Aung San's policy of federalism and the principle of "unity in diversity" on which the historic 1947 Panglong Agreement was based.

Aung San persuaded the Chin, Kachin, Shan and other ethnic nationalities to join the Union with a clear policy of "nation building" based on the principles of "equality" and "unity in diversity". He criticized the notion of religious-oriented traditional Burmese nationalism of "one race, one religion, one language", which he said "*have gone obsolete now*". And he clearly stated "*religion is a matter of individual conscience, while politics is social science. We must see to it that the individual enjoys his rights, including the right to freedom of religious belief and worship. We must draw clear lines between politics and religion because the two are not the same thing. If we mix religion with politics, then we offend the spirit of religion itself.*"

However, after Aung San was assassinated, U Nu adopted the state religion of Buddhism as a means of "national integration". Buddhism indeed had been inseparably intertwined with the Burmese national identity, as an old saying so clearly put: *Buddha bata, Myanmar Lumyo*, meaning "*to be a Burmese is to be a Buddhist*". U Nu was convinced that Buddhism could make a significant contribution to some aspects of national integration.

When U Nu became the leader of the Burmese independence movement and Prime Minister of the newly independent Burma, he reversed Aung San's version of the Union Constitution, particularly the clause of separation between religion and politics, declaring "*in the marrow of my bones there is a belief that government should enter into the sphere of religion*".

U Nu's government, therefore, adopted Buddhism as the state religion as a means of "national integration". The Ministry of Religious and Cultural Affairs was created to promote the process of assimilation, even before Buddhism was promulgated as a state religion ending Aung San's policy for a secular state and pluralism in Burma. Buddhism was declared the state religion of the Union of Burma in 1961.

For many of the ethnic nationalities, the promulgation of Buddhism as the "state religion of the Union of Burma" was the greatest violation of the Panglong Agreement. They therefore viewed the passage of the state religion bill not only as religious issue, but also as a constitutional problem that had allowed this to happen. They now viewed the Union Constitution as an instrument for imposing "a tyranny of majority", not as something that protected them.

There were different responses to the state religion reform from different ethnic nationalities. Sao Shwe Thaik of Yawnghwe, a prominent Shan Sawbwa and the first elected President of the Union of Burma, strongly opposed the state religion bill although he was a devout Buddhist because he saw it as a violation of the Panglong Agreement. As President of the Supreme Council of United Hill Peoples (SCOUHP) formed during the Panglong Conference, he invited leaders of the Chin, Kachin, Shan (the original members of the SCOUHP), Karen, Kayah, Mon, and Rakhine (Arakan) to Taunggyi, the capital of Shan State, to discuss the constitutional problems. The conference was attended by 226 delegates and came to be known as the "*1961 Taunggyi Conference*" and the movement itself became known as the "*Federal Movement*".

At the Taunggyi Conference, all delegates except three, who belonged to U Nu's party, agreed to amend the Union Constitution based on the Panglong Agreement of 1947, the principles of political equality for all member states of the Union, the right of self-determination for all ethnic nationalities in the country and democratic rights for all citizens of Burma upholding the principles of federalism and democratic decentralization.

In response to the demand of the 1961 Taunggyi Conference, U Nu had no choice but to invite all the political leaders and legal experts from both Burman and non-Burman nationalities to what became known as the "*Federal Seminar*" at which "the issues of federalism and the problems of minorities would be discussed with a view to finding a peaceful solution". The meeting opened on 24 February 1962 in Rangoon while the parliament was also meeting in regular session. But before the seminar concluded, and just before U Nu was scheduled to speak, the military led by General Ne Win seized state power in the name of the "Revolutionary Council" in the early morning of 2 March, arresting all the non-Burman participants of the Federal Seminar and legally elected cabinet members, including U Nu himself, dissolving the parliament, suspending the constitution and ending all the debate on federal issues.

In order to curb the rights of the Ethnic Nationalities of Burma, the military junta implemented a “divide and rule policy”. The military government encouraged the majority Burman troops in ethnic areas to oppress the general population. As a result, Burmese soldiers are responsible for a large number of documented and undocumented abuses against ethnic peoples including killings, beatings, and rapes.

The SPDC also responded to the struggle of the ethnic people with its “four cuts policy”, which aimed to separate the armed opposition groups from their communities. Begun in the 1970s, the centrepiece of the policy has been the forced relocation of villages. Villagers who refuse to relocate are immediately suspected of aiding armed forces or being a part of the armed group and are shot at sight, or worse, raped, beaten or tortured before being killed.

1.3 THE NAGA IN BURMA

The Naga in Burma are found mainly in the Sagaing Division of Burma, which borders Chin State in the south, Shan State in the east, Kachin State in the north and Manipur, Arunachal, Nagaland and Manipur states of India in the west.

There are 22 Naga tribes in Burma. They are:

1. Anal
2. Cheru
3. Chirr
4. Dikhiri
5. Heimi
6. Kengu
7. Khiumnungan
8. Konyak
9. Lamkang
10. Lainung
11. Makury
12. Namshik
13. Pakang
14. Pangmi
15. Para
16. Phellungri
17. Phom
18. Rangpan
19. Saplo
20. Shangpuri
21. Tangkhul
22. Yimchunger

The Nagas in Burma live in 229 villages in Sagaing Division and in Kachin State with a population estimated to be around 500,000. In Sagaing division, they inhabit seven Townships and Tanai Township in Kachin State.

1	Layshi	Sagaing Division	Tangkul, Makury, Para, Yimchunger, and Kikhiri.
2	Khanti	Sagaing Division	Kengu, Chirr, Konyak, Khiumnungan, Lainung, Tangkhu etc.
3	Homlin	Sagaing Division	Tangkul, Makury, Nimshik, Lamkang etc
4	Lahe	Sagaing Division	Konyak, Khiumnungan, Lainung, Phom, Saplo,
5	Nanyung	Sagaing Division	Heimi, Pangmi, Rangpan, Cheru, and Pakang.
6	Tamu	Sagaing Division	Tangkul, Anal, Lamkang
7	Khampat	Sagaing Division	Pongoo*, Paingu*
8	Tanai	Kachin State	Heimi, Konyak, Khaklak**, Tangan**

* Over a period of time, these two tribes have now assimilated with the larger dominating Shan group.

** Over a period of time, these two tribes have now assimilated with the larger dominating Kachin group.



(i) The Ancestral Naga Domain



(ii) The Naga area created by General Ne Win in the 1974 Constitution.



(iii) The proposed "Naga Self Administrative Zone" under the 2008 Constitution

The Naga areas shrink each time the military government creates a new constitution

Khanti is the headquarters of the Naga people. It covers an area of 3,165.45 sq kms and is geographically central to the Naga inhabited area and a major socio-cultural influence. It is accessible by land, air and sea. All main educational and commercial institutions are located here.

The distance of the other townships and sub-townships with Khanti are:

From	Townships/sub-townships	Distance
Khanti District	Khampat Township	240 Miles
Khanti District	Tamu Township	210 Miles
Khanti District	Tuangdu (Samsok) Region	147 Miles
Khanti District	Homlin Township	126 Miles
Khanti District	Tamanthi	72 Miles
Khanti District	Layshi Township	111Miles
Khanti District	Lahe Township	56 Miles
Khanti District	Nanyung Township	105 Miles
Khanti District	Pangsau sub-Township	135 Miles
Khanti District	Somra	154Miles
Khanti District	Tanai	88 Miles
Khanti District	Rangoon	650 Mile

1.4 NAGA ORGANISATIONS AND THEIR RESPONSES

1.4.1 Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council (ENRC)

The Naga people have been living in their own ancestral homeland since time immemorial, and were never under the reign of the Burmese kingdom. The British used the Nagas as porters for transportation of goods, but they too never ruled over the Naga areas in Burma and hence named the area as “Free Naga”.

When the Naga territory was divided between and within India and Burma, it was without the knowledge of the Naga people. There was also no political representation of the Nagas in the transfer of power from the British to India and Burma. Neither did they have any knowledge of the formation of Union of Burma through the signing of the Panglong Conference on 12 February, 1947 by the Shan, Kachin, Chin people and Burma proper.

After independence, the Burmese Military Junta forcibly took over the Naga Hill Areas of Burma. The military resorted to raids and armed attacks on the people in the Naga areas. In 1951, the Burmese Army raided the Sawlaw (Solo) village using three inch mortars., which enraged the Nagas who strongly opposed being ruled over by force. However, the Naga people had no one to represent them in their struggle. Realizing this, the Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council (ENRC) was formed on 7 April 1965 at Somra village under the leadership of Eno V.Jopoh.

The ENRC later merged with the Naga National Council (NNC) on 10 March 1979 under the leadership of its President, Eno S. S. Khaplang.

1.4.2 Naga Cultural Centre Committee (NCCC)

After the military coup in 1962, the military banned the formation of any new political groups or organisations. The Naga people felt the need, however, to come together to build better relationships among the different tribes and also to preserve Naga culture. A platform under the banner of Naga Cultural Centre Committee (NCCC) was formed in 1972 under the leadership of V. Baghung of New Somra Village, U Kailung from Lainung Village and other 10 Naga elders.

The Committee functions with the Central Executive Committee members representing the Naga townships, sub-townships and other areas where the Naga people live. The members are democratically elected by the Naga people.

During the 1990 election, there were five candidates representing the five townships. However only two, V. Teipoh representing Layshi constituency and U Kailung from Lahe constituency, were elected, while the other three were disqualified as they did not get enough votes to be declared successful.

When the National Convention was convened in 1993 the Naga expected that V. Teipoh and U Kailung would represent them. However, the Burmese Military Junta handpicked individuals and sent them to participate in the National Convention in 1994, instead of the elected MPs. The military accused the elected MPs of having connections with underground groups and they were expelled from mainstream politics. Further, the MPs were warned against moving beyond the vicinity of their villages. The Naga representatives chosen by the military are also involved in propagating the ideologies and policies of the military junta to the Naga people at every opportunity such as at festivals, in churches, etc.

This was strongly opposed by NCCC, and, as a response to this opposition, the military dismissed some of the most influential Naga leaders and replaced them with handpicked candidates. The NCCC continued to function with two types of membership – one democratically chosen by the people and the other handpicked by the military.

When the NCCC submitted a memorandum on the inalienable and indivisible right of the Nagas to their ancestral homeland on 1 November 2004, all the founding members and the committee members were expelled at gunpoint and a new committee which obliged the Junta's demands was elected for the National Convention. The same thing occurred in every town and village council.

The NCCC constitution was also redrafted under the supervision of Burmese military. The following is the NCCC's new constitution draft by the Burmese military⁵:

⁵ Since the military has destroyed all the documents of the NCCC, the researcher was unable to get a copy of the old constitution.

1. All Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members should register and have United Burma national identity card;
2. To be a member of the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) one can either be a Buddhist or a Christian or from any other religion;
3. The Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members should not be involved in any political party;
4. All the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members should strictly follow the Burmese Government Rules and Order (Constitution);
5. Any of the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members who have a criminal record and violate the Burmese Constitution in words, actions or otherwise will be expelled;
6. Neither individual nor group of the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) should neither interfere nor mix with other ethnic nationalities, politics or otherwise;
7. As opposed to the previous norm, anyone with a mixed heritage (wherein one of the parents is not a Naga) can be a member of the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC);
8. The Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members should follow the Rules and Regulation of the Central Committee which the National Government has given;
9. The Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members who are against the National Government rules and regulation can have their membership revoked;
10. The Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) sub-committee should participate in the Naga Cultural Centre Committee general election;
11. All the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) aims and objective should be planned and worked out according to the Central Committee's policy;
12. All the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) policy decision should be accepted only through the Central Committee;
13. All the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members should carry out their own given duties (health, education, cultural etc) and cannot mix with others political parties;
14. All the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) members should have mutual understanding of one another;

The numbers of Central executive members has also changed. Currently, there are 23 members, however earlier there were more than 36 members⁶.

1	Khanti (Headquarter)	9
2	Homlin	2
3	Nanyung	2
4	Lahe	2
5	Layshi	2
6	Din Oo Lwin	1
7	Myitkyina	1
8	Tanai	1
9	Tamu	1
10	Mandalay	1
11	Yangon	1
Total		23

1.4.3 Naga Hills Regional Progressive Party (NHRPP)

The Naga Hills Regional Progressive Party (NHRPP) was established in 1989 with the support of the entire Naga people in Burma and the formation of the party provides the opportunity for the different Naga tribes to express their voices and strengthen their solidarity. Before the formation of NHRPP, the Nagas came together under a loosely formed network called the “Youth Association”. The leader and members of this association were actively involved in the democracy movement, especially during 1988 uprising.

When the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) made an announcement on 18 September 1988 that it had assumed state power, inter alia, to stage democratic multiparty general elections and permitted parties to register and recruit members in order to hold free and fair multi-party democratic general election, the Nagas decided to take this opportunity and came together to form the “Naga Hills Regional Progressive Party (NHRPP)”. The majority of the members of the party were the leaders and members of the “Youth Association”.

The party was formed with the objective of restoring democracy, respecting human rights and working towards the development of Naga areas, promoting education, and preserving and promoting the rich culture, tradition, custom and heritage of the Naga people. This was the first and only political platform in the history of the Naga people in Burma. All the Nagas supported this party and joined their hands and souls together and pledged to fight for the restoration of democracy in Burma.

⁶ The researcher was unable to get the exact numbers of CEC members representing the townships and sub-townships.

When the General Election was held on 27 May 1990, five Naga candidates from the five Naga townships stood for election. The Naga party won 0.4 percent (10,612) of the vote and two candidates, V. Tweipoh of Somra village representing Layshi Constituency and U Kailung of Lainung village representing Lahe Constituency, won the general election. However, the euphoria quickly vanished when the SLORC refused to honour the result and refused to hand over the power to the elected representatives. The military government later forced the NHRPP to close down, and now the NHRPP no longer exists.

1.4.4 Eastern Naga Youth Organisation (ENYO) / Naga Youth Organisation (NYO)

With the backdrop of human rights violations, forced labour, forced dislocation, forced conscription, extra judicial killings, curbing of democratic freedom, burning of granaries, desecrating places of worships and forced conversions perpetrated by the Burmese military against the Nagas in Sagaing Division, some Naga youths collectively came together and formed “Eastern Naga Youth Organization (ENYO)” on 20 January 1996.

ENYO was later renamed the “Naga Youth Organization - Burma (NYO-B)” in New Delhi and restructured with the following aims and objectives on 2 October, 2002:

- To work towards the right to political, economic, cultural and social self-determination;
- To support the movement for the restoration of democracy and human rights in Burma;
- To work towards a new democratic order within Burma in which political power is shared between the minority nationalities on a just and equal basis;
- To work towards a more meaningful education system;
- To work towards self-reliance of the youth;
- To work towards enforcement of international human rights standards;
- To work for the preservation and development of natural resources, land, forests, water and minerals;
- To cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for just peace and justice;
- To work towards the equal rights of Naga men and women;
- To evolve our social institutions in accordance with our traditional democratic values and contemporary needs;

1.4.5 Naga Response to the Formation of the Union of Burma and Military Rule

From the very beginning, the Naga expressed their reservations about their future under the Union of Burma. In 1947, when the “*May Myo Enquiry*” was prepared, the Naga sent several delegates such as L. Longpoh, V. Ka Chang, C.L. Khaprangpoh U Basan, and U Tingpyu, but did not send any delegates to the subsequent Panglong Conference held on 12 February 1947 and were not a party to that Agreement. In the “Hills Investigation Party” on 25-26 March 1947, the representatives of Somra Tract submitted the following points⁷:

⁷ Free translation from the 1947 Basic Law, Volume 1 (original in Burmese language).

1. The Naga Hills districts, i.e. Somra Tract, Khanti district, Homlin sub-district and Thaingdu region, people do not wish to be a part of the Union of Burma and they would decide their own future after the British left;
2. The Naga would decide whether they would join the “Union of Burma” after the British left depending on whether the Naga could live in accordance to their own customs and social practices under the new Government in Rangoon;
3. The Naga would agree to be in Burma if and only if it was a genuine union of all the nationalities and if the Naga would have the same status as the other national minorities such as Shan, Kachin, etc. Also each region of the Naga would have to have equal representation in the Parliament;
4. The Naga had decided in a District Mass Meeting that the British should take responsibility for health care, education, and the communication system. The Naga representatives wanted the British to implement certain programmes before leaving Burma;
5. Khanti, the regional chief, also expressed that there is no need to send any regional representative to “Union of Burma” because we are ‘Free Naga’;
6. The Naga Hills District representative stated that if Nagas did at all join the “Union of Burma”, they would do so only if they could live in accordance with their customary laws;

The Eastern Nagas have been offering resistance to every move to take away their homelands. Even under the brutal military regime of General Ne Win, they maintained their homelands and their right to preserve their culture, society and way of life. On 14 May 1987, the Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC) submitted a memorandum to the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) demanding:

- Freedom to practice own language;
- Freedom to practice own culture;
- Rights to natural resources; and
- The right to live together as a people of all Naga Lands;

In the Parliamentary election under General Saw Maung, the people of Burma elected their representative in the free and fair election on 27 May 1990 led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy (NLD) which won 392 out of the 485 seats. Five Naga candidates from the five Naga townships stood for elections that year under the Naga party, “Naga Hills Regional Development Party (NHRDP)”. Two candidates, V. Tweepoh from Somra representing Layshi Township and U Kailung from Lainung representing Lahe constituency, won the election.

1.4.6 The Naga and the Burmese Military National Convention

From the time of the first Prime Minister of Union of Burma, U Nu, to General Ne Win and General Saw Maung to General Than Shwe, the nation building process has been carried out on three basic principles:

“One Race, One Language, One Religion”
that is
“Myanmar –Lumyo, Myanmar-Sa, and Buddhism”

The successive military rulers have had no respect for the democratic aspirations of the people living under Burmese domination. However, the military leaders know that Burma cannot continue to be under a military junta and that in the future there has to be a democracy. Therefore, the military came up with the “Road Map to Democracy” with seven points⁸:

1. Reconvening of the National Convention that has been adjourned since 1996;
2. After the successful holding of the National Convention, step by step implementation of the process necessary for the emergence of a genuine and disciplined democratic state;
3. Drafting of a new constitution in accordance with basic principles and detailed basic principle laid down by the National Convention;
4. Adoption of the constitution through national referendum;
5. Holding of free and fair elections for Pyithu Hluttaws (Legislative bodies) according to the new constitution;
6. Convening of Hluttaws attended by Hluttaw members in accordance with the new constitution;
7. Building a modern, developed and democratic nation by the state leaders elected by the Hluttaw; and the government and other central organs formed by the Hluttaw.

The Burmese Military Junta has been trying hard to show that the National Convention is a genuine a democratic convention even though the Chairman of the Convention has been Lt. Gen. Thein Sein since its inception in 1993.

The six objectives of the National Convention are:

1. Non-disintegration of the Union;
2. Non-disintegration of national unity;
3. Perpetuation of national sovereignty;
4. Promotion of a genuine multiparty democracy;
5. Promotion of the universal principles of justice, liberty and equality;
6. Participation by the Defence Services in a national political leadership role in the future state.

⁸ http://www.burmatoday.net/burmatoday2003/2004/02/040218_khinmgwin.htm

Section 2 refers to composition of national convention delegates and inter-alia the state:

1. Indigenous nationalities' delegates
2. Peasants' delegates
3. Workers' delegates
4. Intelligentsia's delegates'
5. Civil service delegates
6. Appropriate persons

The National Convention, however, is a sham. It is tightly controlled by the military to ensure its acquiescence to a constitution drafted entirely by the military. The SLORC adopted several mechanisms in order to control the National Convention. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the representatives were not those who were elected and chosen by the people in the May 1990 elections. Rather, the representatives were hand-picked by the military. The elected members formed only 30 percent of the total number of those who formed the convention.

None of the Naga elected members of the parliament was invited to the National Convention. Instead, the military regime handpicked five Naga delegates for the National Convention who they knew would comply with their wishes. With such proxies and manipulation, the National Convention is reduced to a rubber stamp of the military and the principle of inclusiveness is violated.

The Nagas delegates to the National Convention are five men, all of whom were forcefully made to be members of the Union Solidarity and Development Association (USDA). These delegates attended the National Convention without the knowledge of Naga Cultural Central Committee (NCCC), the head representative body of the Nagas. Out of the five delegates only one person will be chosen for the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (Union Assembly).

The Military Junta did not publicize nor broadcast any information about the National Convention. They did not attempt to encourage any participation in the process. The overwhelming majority of the Nagas were totally ignorant of the process and most of them have never even heard of the National Convention. Even those who had heard of it did not know what the exact aims and purpose of the National Convention are. There was no consultation and hardly any debate amongst the people. As the military also restricts freedom of expression, even if those who were aware had expressed sentiments against the government policies, the government reprisal would have been very harsh even to the extent of imprisonment.

The military has tried to brainwash innocent villagers and town dwellers with lies about the real motives of the National Convention, and used Naga against other Naga. They have targeted government employees organized under the banner of USDA to support the National Convention

and the false plan for the Naga Self Administrative Zone. They have used several million of Burmese Kyat in an attempt to bribe Nagas through promotion of rank and offering higher education to the sons and daughters of acquiescent Nagas to become doctors, engineers, or join the special forces of the Army, etc. The military has mobilized in the Naga Areas spreading false propaganda in order to mislead the Naga and also the world at large with their attempt at democracy is legitimate.

Currently, the National Convention includes one Central Party Committee member, five national convention delegates, and 66 persons mobilized from the Naga Areas. However, these individuals hold no roles of consequence, as they would have in the past.

On 10 December 2003, the Naga National League for Democracy, (NNLD) issued a statement denouncing the National Convention proposed by the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) to the Democratic Voice of Burma, and a statement to various other Burmese organizations based in India and abroad of its disapproval of the National Convention.

The statement noted that the National Convention is nothing new and it is an attempt by the Burmese Military Junta to prolong their hold on power. The statement also mentioned that it is the Junta's way of finding a temporary solution to appease the international community which has imposed economic and other sanctions against the Junta.

The elders of the Naga National League for Democracy (NNLD) categorically objected the National Convention since it is not a tripartite dialogue involving all parties concerned. As the Naga Delegates were handpicked by the Junta, the National Convention composed of none elected by the public and thus there was no public consultation or participation. The Nagas finds this outrageous deed as unacceptable.

Also, the Naga National League for Democracy (NNLD) would not accept any other delegate representing the Nagas not chosen by the Naga people. The Nagas and Naga National League for Democracy (NNLD) will support the National Convention if it is genuine, free, and fair and convened for the benefit of all the national races in Burma including the Naga people.

1.4.7 The Burmese Military's "Naga Self Administrative Zone"

During the National Convention when the military's new constitution was being drafted, it was clear that the military wanted to create a "Naga Self Administrative Zone". The proposed "Naga Self Administrative Zone" will only include a small part of Sagaing Division - the mountainous region with the Townships of Layshi, Lahe and Nanyung.

This Naga Self Administrative Zone excludes the valley townships, namely Khanti, Homlin, Tamu, Kampat and Tanai (at present in the Kachin state). These Townships have been a part of the Naga Homeland from time immemorial. However, the Burmese military want the valley area of the South Sagaing Division as these areas have rich mineral deposits.

The Burmese Military Junta tried to hide their real intentions of keeping the valley townships by coming up with a policy that blatantly attempt to alienate the people from their land with conditions such as:

1. If more than 60% of the population in an area or in one township belongs to any ethnic tribe (not only Nagas), the majority has the right to the township;
2. There have to be government employees such as army officers, educational officers, doctors, engineers, etc, for any of the ethnic tribes to claim the rights of a township;
3. There has to be a Buddhist temple and monks in the township;

Sadly, the valley townships did not meet the first two criteria as many other ethnic groups, such as Shan, Burman and Kuki, have settled there and now outnumber the Nagas. Secondly, there are also no Naga educated or qualified enough to hold the position of army officers, educational officers, doctors, engineers etc. Thirdly, since the Shan and the Burman are Buddhist, there are many Buddhist temples and monks in these townships.

According to the military constitution, to be given such a status, the requirement is to have five townships. Since in the proposed “Naga Self Administrative Zone” there are only three townships, in order to suit the military constitution, Pangsau, a village of 290 households was given the status of sub-township in 2008 and in 2009 and Somra, a village of more than 300 households, was also given the status of sub-township. Very soon, these two sub-townships will be upgraded to the status of township, thus meeting the criteria of the military constitution. These five townships will be the new “Naga Self Administrative Zone” of the Naga.

The Naga consented neither to the creation of statehood nor the exclusion of the two important Naga townships, Khanti and Homlin. This was clearly mentioned in the memorandum submitted to the Chairman of the National Convention Steering Committee on 1 November 2004⁹, where they highlighted the inalienable and indivisible right of the Nagas to their ancestral homeland and that the hand-picked Naga delegates to the National Convention must not commit the Nagas to anything or speak on their behalf without consulting the entire Naga people. The Naga people have a right to determine their own future by themselves.

The move to create the Naga Self Administrative Zone is purely a political ploy against the Naga’s aspirations. The motive behind and the threat associated with this policy is crystal clear - to further divide the Nagas homeland and to deprive the Naga from important areas within their homeland.

⁹ Appendix-1: Memorandum to the Chairman, National Convention Steering Committee Submitted by NCCC

1.4.8 The Military National Election and the Nagas

Since the announcement for National Election, the military junta has been telling the Naga people who have crossed the border to India (Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur) to come back and participate in the 2010 General Election.

The Burmese Military Junta has ignored and rejected Naga history and Naga Customary law. It is clear that the undemocratic plan of 2010 elections will neither lead to peace, development, and genuine federalism nor ensure basic rights for all people, including the Naga. The Naga believe that it is not possible to resolve the current political, social and economic crises in Burma through the SPDC's 2010 election plans as they are absolutely undemocratic. They are based on a sham constitution that was undemocratically drafted by military and forcibly ratified against the will of the people of Burma. The goal of the 2010 election is to annul the results of the 1990 election and the opposition's landslide victory, with a view to legitimizing the dictatorial power of military regime and their suppression of the rights of the ethnic nationalities.



February 2010: The military force the Naga villagers to carry school bags and books from Khanti to different villages. The bags and books are given to the villagers by UNICEF but the military used it to promote and campaign for the upcoming election.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE NAGA AREAS OF BURMA

The primary occupation of the Nagas in Burma is agriculture. Relationships of families, relatives and the clan groups are strictly monitored by the kinship system.

In the past, all the villages were independently administered through hereditary Chieftainships. The village chief, along with the elders representing the different clan groups' which were chosen democratically by their clan members, constituted the village council. But since the military came to power, the village authorities are no longer chosen by the village members but chosen directly by the Military. The hereditary chief continues but without any power, the post is only symbolic.

The Nagas living in Burma follow Christian, Buddhist and traditional beliefs (Animism), while those living in India are mostly Christian. Many of the Naga tribes still practice the rites and rituals (associated mostly with agriculture), which were prevalent in the past. For instance, sowing can commence in the villages only after the village chief had performed some ritual acts.

Each of the Naga tribes have their own different traditional attire, each with distinct colour, patterns and designs that clearly distinguish one tribe from another. However the military, in order to eliminate such cultural diversity, has forced the Nagas to wear a common dress since 1994.

2.1 BURMESE MILITARY POLICY IN NAGA AREAS

2.1.1 Power of the Burmese Army

Many people have been arrested under Article 5 (j) of the 1950 Emergency Provision Act¹⁰ in Burma. Nagas have also been arrested, tortured, fined and associated with underground organizations like the NSCN and other factional groups. Due to the military regime, the victims cannot even complain to the government of their gross mistreatment. Every town and village have checkpoints, and in order to pass them villagers must register and pay a fee of 500 Kyats. Those with domestic animals are charged the value of the animal or sometime looted of both their animals and belongings and thrown into prison. Both the police and the army are involved

¹⁰ 5 (j) to effect the mortality or conduct of the public or a group of people in a way that would undermine the security of the Union or the restoration of law & order

and have been given the title as ‘those with the license to loot’. The Burmese military also have the power to arrest any person who leaves their village to live on the Indian side and returns after a brief period of 4 months, even to the extent of confiscating houses and all other properties. Those arrested can face charges of being a democracy activist or as a foreigner and can be sent to prison for a long time.

The justice system in Burma is completely controlled by the ruling military junta. When the Burmese Military attacks or searches for members of the NSCN-K, the SPDC often uses civilian forced labour to move its supplies, such as rations and ammunition. The best known form is “operation portering”. These operations involve up to 2,000 troops at a time and on average two to five porters are required for each soldier to carry the required ammunition, rations, heavy weaponry and other supplies. Once at the frontline, porters are assigned to units and given a load to carry over the mountains. The soldiers generally carry nothing except their personal weapon and a small personal kitbag, while each porter is forced to carry 30 to 50 kg loads in bamboo baskets which due to the weight rip the skin off their shoulders and backs. They generally have no change of clothes and are given little or no food, often just one or two handfuls of rice per day and do not have access to adequate supplies of water. They are not paid. They are often sent in front of the column as human minesweepers and used as human shields. Those who are wounded or fall sick are generally not treated, but simply left behind as medicine is reserved for the soldiers. If the porters are slow while carrying their loads, they are usually kicked, prodded with bayonets or beaten to keep them moving. If they collapse and cannot continue, they are left behind, often being beaten unconscious.

The Burmese army not only burns down houses but also churches. They often loot granaries, domestic animals, and money, and sexually assault or even rape local women.

2.1.2 Military Presence in Naga Areas

The following are some of the infantry battalions in the Naga Hill Areas. Each battalion has 1,000 soldiers.

Townships	Battalions Number
Khanti	Battalions no: 2292 Battalions no: 523 Battalions no: 3474 + Brigadier groups
Homlin	Battalions no: 222 Battalions no: 367 Battalions no: 370
Layshi	Battalions no: 52
Lahe	Battalions no: 272
Nanyung	Battalions no: 126

2.1.3 Destruction of Villages and Forced Relocation

The SPDC has implemented a policy to destroy villages and forcibly relocate civilians as a counter-insurgency strategy for many decades, primarily targeting Naga minority groups, and continues to use it to this day. Some of the villages burned down by the military while searching for NSCN include:

SLNo	Village Name	Houses	Properties	Year	Commanders	Township
01	Nan O line	206	Granary	1978	52 Battalion	Khanti
02	Chock yak	321	Granary	1978	52 Battalion	Khanti
03	Khanky	60	-	1982		Nanyung
04	Noknu	300	27 Mithun, 50 Cows	Jan 1984	52 Battalion	Nanyung
05	Noknu	300	25 Mithun	Dec 1984	52 Battalion	Nanyung
06	Chankosayee	300	Granary	1984	52 Battalion	Nanyung
07	Noknu	302	31 Mithun	Mar 1985	52 Battalion	Nanyung
08	Noknu	302	13 Mithun	Dec 1985	52 Battalion	Nanyung
09	Chanlam	250	102 Cows	Jan 1985	52 Battalion	Nanyung
10	Chanlam	250	48 Cows	Nov 1985	52 Battalion	Nanyung
11	Chankosayee	300	Granary	1986	52 Battalion	Nanyung
12	Khalay	150	Pig, Chicken, House use	Nov/1994	Major Newtin (347 Battalion)	Lahe
13	Huthra	80	Pig, Chicken, House use	Nov/1994	Major Newtin (347 Battalion)	Lahe
14	Shwelo	180	Pig, Chicken, House use	17 th May 2001	Brig Miswee (229 Battalion)	Lahe
15	Yanchin	200	Pig, Chicken, House use	14 th May 2001	Brig Miswee (229 Battalion)	Lahe
16	Huya	60	Pig, Chicken, House use	10 th May 2001	Brig Miswee (229 Battalion)	Lahe
17	Chen Hoyat	-	Cows & pigs	June 2001	52 Battalion	Nanyung
18	Throilo	-	Cows & pigs	June 2001	52 Battalion	Nanyung
19	Nyanching	-	Cows & pigs	June 2001	52 Battalion	Nanyung
20	Rokhu	200	7 Cows	Nov 1987	52 Battalion	Nanyung
21	Koiya	300	-	17 th Feb 2002	Major Mitsew U	Lahe
22	Silong	369	-	21 th Feb 2002	Major Mitsew U	Lahe
23	Yangchei	287	-	29 th Feb 2002	Major Mitsew U	Lahe
24	Long Dun	250	Pig, Chicken, House use	2 nd Nov 1994	Major Newtin (347 Battalion)	Lahe
25	Yangkukgang	45	Granary		52 Battalion	Lahe

2.1.4 Confiscation of Land

The government has confiscated hundreds of acres of land from civilians without compensation. The SPDC has prided itself in undertaking efforts to improve the nation by building roads and bridges, etc. Yet, it has been at the expense of villagers that these national infrastructure projects have been carried out.



Lower Primary school in Somra village constructed on the land forcefully confiscated without paying any compensation to the owner.

2.1.5 Coercive Procurement of Crops

The Naga have an agrarian society, depending primarily on terrace cultivation or Jhum. However, the military forces every Christian Naga family to give 30-40 kg of rice, 3000-5000 kyat, seasonal vegetables, fruits and other vital food items on an annual in addition to a compulsory paddy each harvest to the army. Buddhist Naga, however, are exempt from this, as well as from forced labour, extortions, mistreatment, and other penalties. As a result, the livelihood of the Naga has been adversely affected. Every farmer must pay 300 kyat per acre or paddy worth 300 kyat as land revenue. Often farmers are forced to sell certain amount of rice and other crops to the army at a price far below the market rate. Due to the practise of forced labour, the procurement of crops, and extortions, etc., life has become unbearable for many Naga, which has led many to leave their homes in search of a means for survival in neighbouring countries.

2.1.6 Forced Labour

From 1962 to date, forced labour is a pervasive problem in Burma. It has been used by the military regime s one of the main tactics suppress the people. Everyone in the Naga areas, including children, the elderly, government workers and religious leaders, has been exploited as forced labourers. When the men are taken away to work for the army, the women find it difficult to support their families since they must manage their homes and work in the fields, which often leads to malnutrition of the children.

After having a reputation as Asia's breadbasket, by 1997 Burma had become one of the least developed countries in the world and the regime resorted to using forced labour as a resource in its development programme. As a part of its Border Areas Development Program, the military

used forced labour largely for road construction, roads which it claimed were for the people of the area. In reality, the roads were built to improve the movement and communication of the Burmese soldiers. Throughout the Naga Hill Areas, the people have been put to work on road upgrades for military purposes. As there are only a few roads, villagers were often forced to serve as porters for the soldiers. They must often walk long distances carrying heavy loads, and receive very little food and water and no medical treatment.

Villagers are also used as forced labour to build army camps, roads and to clear new sites for terrace cultivation. They must fetch water, and often carry loads that include rations, ammunition, bedding, clothing and machines from one place to another over many days.

Instances of forced labour and portering include:

1. On 1 February 1997, the Chairman of the Layshi Township, U Mya Han, and the commanders of the #222 mobile column, Major Aung Swe Oo, demanded civilian porters from six Naga villages to carry rations for 1000 soldiers. A total of 560 people were collected to transport the rations between Somra and Layshi which normally takes two to three days on foot. The villagers were told that they would not be paid and had to bring food for themselves. Major Aung Swe Oo threatened the villagers that should they fail to produce the number of people demanded, they would have to provide the rations for 1000 soldiers themselves.
2. In almost all the Naga Areas, there has been a gradual expansion of the control by the military of land for the purpose of cultivation to support the military and its troops. Naga are forced to work on these military-controlled pieces of land for months together without being paid, and are expected to provide themselves with their own rations, tools and other necessary things. Owing to inadequate medical facilities and improper nutrition, many have reportedly died during these periods of forced labour.
3. Villagers from Makuri, Para, and Somra regions have been forced to construct the road between the Layshi and Tamanthi since 1992 and the work on the road continues to the present. Over the years, several Naga villagers have been trapped at this construction site and treated as slaves. Since 1994, prisoners have also been put to work on the road and many have died, mostly from malnutrition and mistreatment. Although the government did allocate some funds for the construction of these roads, the money did not go to the workers. The villagers are called five times in a year each time for a month. Moreover, forced relocations often accompany the intensified demands for forced labour to build roads, temples and infrastructure for army units.
4. At Nanyung Township, a group of villagers had to work for the army every day on a rotating basis to chop firewood, repair fences, fetch water, cook, and man sentry posts, do other manual tasks, and also serve as messengers and deliver letters to soldiers at other military posts. Essentially, the military treats villagers as its source for private labourers. The villagers of Nanyung Township have to work every day in the following army posts:

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Chuyonoknu Post | 2. Chumsa Post |
| 3. Youngkon Post | 4. Chavan Post |
| 5. Nunyon ADC Post | 6. Yongngoi Post |
| 7. Manlep Post | 8. Liklei Post |
| 9. Ngamei Post | 10. Pangshu Post |
| 11. Yingyong Post | 12. Wanshila Post |
| 13. Minsoi Post | |
5. On 24 February 1998, the military ordered the Bagas villagers to carry 33 bags of cement from the neighbouring Nagaland state in India for a month for the construction of a communication road. The distance between the two places is about 50 km or more, which they covered on foot.
 6. On 3 November 1998, the Burmese army captured three Nagas villages: i) Tamkho ii) Langmah and iii) Hazit Longku. From Tamkho and Langmah, they took away public properties like guns, dao (a large traditional Naga knife), and money, etc. From Hazit Longku they took away and tortured the men, molested the women and stole their jewellery. There are documented accounts of rape on 6 November 1998 in these villages.
 7. In another incident, the military ordered villagers from K Lonchan to carry their wine from Taklang (Lahe) twice a month.
 8. In yet another incident, the villagers of C. Longkai were forced to carry sugar, salt, detergent, pulses, oil, onions, garlic and an Indian-made alcohol from India once a month.
 9. From 25 May to 2 June 2007, the 229 Battalion of the Burmese Military, during their routine rounds from Lahe town to Nanyung town, forced people from many villages to carry army rations, oil, alcohol, ammunition, salt, and sugar, etc. The following table shows the detailed list:

Sl. No	Village Name	Township	Male	Female	Number of Persons
01	Chuyo	Nanyung Township	210	90	300
02	Longpa	Nanyung Township	50	20	70
03	Shayep	Nanyung Township	24	40	84
04	Longkai	Nanyung Township	39	22	61
05	Hazit	Nanyung Township	9	6	15
06	Longkhu	Nanyung Township	12	12	24
07	Chopkho	Nanyung Township	43	2	45
08	Longoi	Nanyung Township	51	15	66
09	Rokho	Nanyung Township	73	5	78
10	Mamsa	Nanyung Township	37		37
11	Pongsom	Nanyung Township	27		27

12	Kaishan	Nanyung Township	110	30	140
13	Chanlam	Nanyung Township	91	91	
14	Longchan	Nanyung Township	49	31	80
15	Lannyu	Nanyung Township	40		40
16	Nahen	Nanyung Township	50	50	
17	Yangno	Nanyung Township	34		34
18	Langpan	Nanyung Township	71	5	76
19	Longket	Nanyung Township	139	31	170
20	Golang	Nanyung Township	84		84
21	Vintor	Nanyung Township	80	40	120
22	Chamnyu	Nanyung Township		42	42
23	Chamsa	Nanyung Township	11	59	70
24	Hakon	Nanyung Township	2	61	63
25	Chomkok	Nanyung Township	68	32	100
26	Tingpa	Nanyung Township		47	47
27	Nokpa	Nanyung Township	32	45	77
28	Lama	Nanyung Township		29	29
29	Haho	Nanyung Township	14	41	55
30	Poty	Nanyung Township		34	34
31	Longpoh	Nanyung Township		30	30
Total number of villagers used as forced labour					5239

The following list shows the roads and their lengths where Naga villagers were used as forced labour:

In Lahe Township

Lahe to Khanti	56 miles
Lahe to Chung	534 miles
Lahe to Yanchung	784 miles
Lahe to Bungneo	57 miles
Lahe to 'R' Riching	24 miles
Lahe to Anobow	

In Layshi Township

Layshi to Tamnthi	1 mile
Layshi to Somra	42 miles
Somra to New Somra	56 miles
Somra to Chalou (India border)	6 miles
Somra to Tusom (India border)	6 miles
Pansat to Pahu (India border)	7 miles
Somra to Kokailung	9 miles

In Nanyung Township

Nanyung to Pangsau to Ledo
Nanyung to Lahe
Nanyung to Shingbwi Yanga to Danai
Nanyung to Naryang
Nanyung to Chaukan

At Khanti Township

Khanti to Lahe	56 Miles
Khanti to Hpa Kant	
Khanti to Haungpa and to Sey Zin	
Khanti to Taro and to Mung HkunKhanti to Rituga	
Khanti to Kaunghein	



Pictures of forced labour



Pictures of forced portering

Forced labour during Naga New Year Festival

The Naga have even been forced to work during the Naga New Year Festival. Since 1994, the villagers from Layshi Township, Lahe Township, and Nanyung Township have been forced to construct tourist resorts (especially housing) and roadways without being given any compensation. For three consecutive years (from 2003 to 2005) the festival was held in Lahe Township, during which reportedly over 500 tourists from Japan, Spain and many other European countries visited in order to see the festival. During the festival, the villagers were not allowed to interact with tourists, who were constantly shadowed by military intelligence personnel in civil clothes. The military charged each tourist a huge amount (around US\$3000) to visit the Naga areas during the festival. In 2009, around 200 foreign tourists visited the festival in Layshi village. However, many tourists had to return due to the exorbitant fee charged. Naga elders elected to the Cultural Affairs Committee have little authority to decide where the venue of the festival will be held – rather everything is decided by the Burmese military.



2.1.7 Forced Conscription

The military actively strengthens itself by offering employment incentives, as well as forcing people to join the army. It encourages parents to enrol their children in the “Ne Nyunt” (Youth Training Center) organized by the army, which promises access to basic and higher education. However, these training centres only send the children to military schools, who are then forced to join the army.



Teachers are also employed as scouts to identify young boys as possible future soldiers. Every year, the State Peace Development and Council (SPDC) visit each village in order to recruit soldiers according to the population of the village. There are reports of the SPDC forcing young boys to join the military. In a small village of about forty to fifty houses, 3 are usually conscripted with the pretext that they will be trained to as part of the self-determination of the Naga Hills people. These conscripted boys are also asked to bring 150,000 Kyat per person for travelling expenses. During training, there have been reports of recruits being fed rice with stones in it, beaten and treated inhumanely.

With the new elections scheduled for November 2010, the junta has stepped up efforts to recruit more people, including minors, into the military without proper training. There have also been reports that students appearing for their High School Leaving Examination in 2010 have been told that they would be promoted if they join the police force.

Mandatory one-year military service for every male child

When they turn 18, every male Naga must serve for one year in the Burmese army. They are recruited as ‘volunteers’ of the village, and are then trained by the police and army. The police and army choose a leader from each group to monitor the other ‘volunteers’, who are in turn monitored by the police and army. They are given the authority to intervene as and when any conflict takes place in the village. The recruits also work as informers and provide information to the army on the movements of armed groups. When forced conscription takes place, the army chooses those who have already worked as volunteers.

2.1.8 Arbitrary Arrest and Killing

The successive military regimes in Burma – the Revolutionary Council (RC) from 1962-1974, Burma Social Program Party (BSPP) from 1974-1988, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) from 1988-1997 and the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) since 1997 have all arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned many Naga without trial. These jailed Naga include:

SL No	Name	Father's Name	Village	Tribe	Year	Place	Occupation
01	V.Theibung	V.Yapoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
02	V.Nwentei	V.Longpoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
03	V.Nwentei	V.Khating	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
04	V.Nithangpoh		N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
05	V.Yengpoh	V.Khapoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
06	V.Swepoh	V.Phrangpoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
07	V.Sosa	V.Phrangpoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
08	V.Leishifen	V.Phrangpoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
09	V.Aso	V.Jopoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
10	V.Jopoh	V.Nihthangpoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
11	V.Afentei	V.Jopoh	N. Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
12	M.Khan	M.Chanlweypo	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1965 (3months)	Khanti	Missionary
13	M.Katah	M.Sinon	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1965 (3months)	Khanti	Missionary
14	M.Changpoh	M.Sinon	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1965 (3months)	Khanti	Missionary
15	A.Sajo	A.Kochipoh	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1965 (3months)	Khanti	Missionary
16	V.Yapoh	V.Thalengpoh	N.Somra	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Tamu	Missionary
17	S. Phroh	S. Rweypoh	Somra	Tangkhum	1968-1977 (10 yrs)	Mandalay	Civilian
18	B.Valan	B. Khan	Somra	Tangkhum	1968-1977 (10 yrs)	Mandalay	Civilian
19	S.V.Khasong	S.V.Yapoh	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1968-1977 (10 yrs)	Mandalay	Civilian
20	L.Nithungpoh	L.Raakhan	Somra	Tangkhum	1967 (3 months)	Layshi	Student
21	L.Beikok	L.Thang	Somra	Tangkhum	1967 (3 months)	Layshi	Student
22	S.Phroh	S.Kashipoh	Somra	Tangkhum	1967 (3 months)	Layshi	Student
23	S.Seijo	S. Vangleng	Somra	Tangkhum	1967 (3 months)	Layshi	Student
24	S.Phing	S.Valah	Somra	Tangkhum	1967 (3 months)	Layshi	Student
25	M.Alung	M.Reethei	Somra	Tangkhum	1987-1991 (5yrs)	Monywa	Civilian
26	V.Alangpoh	V.Khating	Somra	Tangkhum	1987-1991 (5yrs)	Monywa	Civilian
27	K.Shulong	K.Matang	Mayelung	Tangkhum	1987-1991(5yrs)	Monywa	Civilian
28	B.V.Pati	B.V.Longpoh	Phungdret	Tangkhum	1964-1966 (3yrs)	Khanti	Missionary
29	K.Sheelong	K.Sahpoh	Pansat	Tangkhum	1968-1971 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
30	S.V.Yapoh	S.V.Phroh	Pansat	Tangkhum	1968-1971 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
31	K.Kashipoh	K.Gongpoh	Pansat	Tangkhum	1968-1971 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
32	C.L.Khaphrao	C.L.Thangpoh	Pansat	Tangkhum	1968-1971 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
33	S.P.Phroh	S.P.Mazen	Pansat	Tangkhum	1968-1971 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
34	K.Kathah	K.Kakhon	Mayelung	Tangkhum	1966-68 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
35	S.P.Sironpoh	S.P.Masah	Mayelung	Tangkhum	1966-68 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
36	B.Azwepoh	B.Yapoh	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1966-68 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
37	K.Nenrey	K.Yhengpoh	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1968 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
38	S.V.Sotang	S.V.Ngoon	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1968 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
39	S.M.Nashang	S.M.Sahpoh	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1968 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
40	L.Sahpoh	L.Atang	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1968 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
41	V.Yapoh	V.Kachan	N.Somra	Tangkhum	1974-1983 (10yrs)	Rangoon	Missionary

42	B.Phroh	B.Charapoh	Kokailung	Tangkhul	1985-1989 (5yrs)	Monywa	Missionary
43	S.V.Kathah	S.V.Rapoh	Kokailung	Tangkhul	1985-1989 (5yrs)	Monywa	Missionary
44	S.V.Khapoh	S.V.Jopoh	Kokailung	Tangkhul	1985-1989 (5yrs)	Monywa	Missionary
45	V.Baghung	V.Sajo	N.Somra	Tangkhul	1990-1992 (3yrs)	Homlin	Cultural
46	C.Dosang	C.Siranpoh	Phungdret	Tangkhul	1993-1995 (3yrs)	Monywa	Cultural
47	C.L.Longpoh	C.L.Lak	Pansat	Tangkhul	1993-1995 (3yrs)	Monywa	Civilian
48	P.Longpoh	P.Saratang	Somra	Tangkhul	1991	Somra	Civilian
49	P.Gifa	P.Athong	leiyung	Tangkhul	1992	Somra	Student
50	J.Ahngyo		Kaishan	Heimi	1987 (3months)	Kaishan	Pastor
51	S. Saijo	S. Vengleng	Somra	Tangkhul	1994 (3 months)	Layshi	Pastor
52	L. Kashitei	L. Nithingpoh	Somra	Tangkhul	1995	Somra	Civilian
53	R. Yapoh	R.Kangong	Somra	Tangkhul	1995	Somra	Civilian
54	L. Ningthang	L.Khapoh	Somra	Tangkhul	1995	Somra	Civilian
55	C. James	C. Sipoh	Mayelung	Tangkhul	2009	Mayelung	Civilian
58	Willson	Relakh	Phungdret	Tangkhul	1996	Somra	Civilian
59	Langtang		leiyung	Tangkhul	1997	Somra	Civilian
60	L.Siranpoh	L.Swepoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (5 months)	Khanti	Civilian
61	M.Leng	M.Yapoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (5 months)	Khanti	Civilian
62	S.V.Alung	S.V.Latang	Kokailung	Tangkhul	2007 (5 months)	Khanti	Civilian
63	M.Salen	M.Kasonpoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2006 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
64	M.Achun	M.Abaa	Somra	Tangkhul	2006 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
65	B.Venlon	B.Doren	Somra	Tangkhul	2006 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
66	S.V.Sajo	S.V.Valah	Phungdret	Tangkhul	2006 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
67	C.Masy	C.Raaken	Phungdret	Tangkhul	2006 (3months)	Khanti	Civilian
68	L.Meirentei	M.Beikoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (3months)	Layshi	Civilian
69	L.Naafentei	L.Nithungpoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (3months)	Layshi	Civilian
70	L.Zangnihte	L.Thanen	Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (3months)	Layshi	Civilian
71	R.Brofact	R.Reephang	Somra	Tangkhul	2006 (3months)	Homlin	Civilian
72	S.V.Shiproh	S.V.Ladang	Kokailung	Tangkhul	2004-2006 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
73	K.Katak	K.Sakpoh	Pansat	Tangkhul	2002-2005 (3yrs)	Khanti	Civilian
74	S.P.Kalai		Pansat	Tangkhul	2002-2005 (3yrs)	Monywa	Civilian
75	S. Saw kyaw	S. Simon	Somra	Tangkhul	1998	Somra	Student
76	S. Nyit Lay	S. Simon	Somra	Tangkhul	1998	Somra	Student
77	L. Vareyo	L. Yapoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2003	Somra	Student
78	S. Titus	S. Phroh	Somra	Tankhul	2003	Somra	Teacher
79	M. Ashang	M. Tarung	Somra	Tangkhul	2003	Somra	Student
80	L.Seranpoh	L.Swepoh	N. Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (6months)	Khanti	Missionary
81	M.Leng	M.Matang	N. Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (6months)	Khanti	Missionary
82	R.Changpoh	R.Yapoh	N. Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (6months)	Khanti	Missionary
83	S.Rangshitpoh	S.Ngalang	N. Somra	Tangkhul	2007 (6months)	Khanti	Missionary

Those that have been executed by the military include:

SL. No	Name	Father's Name	Village	Tribe	Year	Occupation
01	K.Khang		Phungdret	Tangkhum	1975	Civilian
02	K.Reeshang		Pansat	Tangkhum	1975	Civilian
03	S.V.Nwenpoh	S.V.Phapoh	Kokailung	Tangkhum	1984	Civilian
04	Shikungahng	Jongmongyah	Chanlam	Heimi	1985	Civilian
05	Mahkai Wangyah		Chanlam	Heimi	1985	Civilian
06	Viku Mangji	Keturyah	Chanlam	Heimi	1985	Civilian
07	Umno Shekramyar		Chamlan	Heimi	1985	Civilian
08	Kuimo		Noknu	Heimi	1985	Civilian
09	Anglu Komahudyah		Chanlam	Heimi	1985	Civilian
10	Sharung Ahketyah		Lungchan	Heimi	1987	Civilian
11	U Thatin		Khanti		1978	Civilian
12	K.Yapoh@Tupai		Goki	Tangkhum	1993	Student
13	U Phiri Para		Layshi	Para	1993	Civilian
14	Kapempuk Para		Layshi	Para	1994	Civilian
15	C.Changpoh	C.Aso	Pansat	Tangkhum	1998	Civilian
16	L.Deila	L.Changpoh	Somra	Tangkhum	2001	Civilian
17	S.P.Kalai		Pansat	Tangkhum	2005	Civilian

2.1.9 Crimes Against Women

Under the pretext of combating insurgency, there have been frequent occurrences of the rape and sexual abuse of women and girls by the military. Violence against women has been employed by the army as a weapon to instil fear amongst the people. As a part of the "Burmanisation" policy, Naga women are often raped by Burmese soldiers in order to bear Burmese babies. This policy also encourages the soldiers to force the raped women to marry them in order to receive promotions, more pay and rations.

Women have always been held in high esteem in the Naga society, but under the military junta they have been subjugated to extreme shame and torture. Army officers guarding the forced labour camps demand sexual favours in return for lighter duties or release from conscription. Many children are born without knowing who their father is. Out of the many incidences of rape and molestation, listed below are few such incidences of those who have been raped by monks, the police and the military:

SL. No	Name	Father's Name	Village	Tribe	Year	Occupation
01	A.Rweytei	A.Asapoh	Hingkuk	Tangkhul	1972	Civilian
02	S.Avontei	S.Vazah	Somra	Tangkhul	1974	Civilian
03	K.Kasentei	K.Reephren	Pansat	Tangkhul	1975	Civilian
04	K.Phrotei	K.Longpoh	Kokailung	Tangkhul	1980	Civilian
05	Mahkai Wangyah		Chanlam	Heimi	1985	Civilian
06	C. Afentei	C.Redang	Nameyuibing	Tangkhul	1986	Civilian
07	K. Khatei	K.Shapoh	Nameyuibing	Tangkhul	1986	Civilian
08	S.V.Sarahtei		Yerong	Tangkhul	1987	Student
09	M.Nwentei	M.Leng	Somra	Tangkhul	1994	Student
10	R.Syfentei	R.Alweypoh	Somra	Tangkhul	1994	Student
11	Nenang Jampayah	Anglu Jampa	Rokhu	Heimi	1994	Civilian
12	Mamui	Wngkui Kouram	Rokhu	Heimi	1994	Civilian
13	V.Nonting	V.Reeshah	N.Somra	Tangkhul	1997	Nurse
14	R.Achimala	R.Rayhenpoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2001	Civilian
15	R.Thenihntei	R.Reengah	Somra	Tangkhul	2003	Student
16	K.Sylen	K.Mazen	Kokailung	Tangkhul	2003	Student
17	C.Paothingla	C.Reidant	Leiyung	Tangkhul	2003	Student
18	Roklu		Chuyo	Heimi	2003	Student
19	Kickpinchoh	U Tang On	Layshi	Para	2002	Nurse
20	C.Ninghorla	C.Neenpoh	Mayelung	Tangkhul	2004	Student
21	K.Wonderla	K.Nizadang	Pansat	Tangkhul	2004	Student
22	Sirartei		N.Kokailung	Tangkhul	2005	Student
23	R.Nilentei	R.Reetun	Somra	Tangkhul	2007	Civilian
24	L.Setei	L.Yapoh	Kokailung	Tangkhul	2007	Student
25	C.Manirtei	C.Katak	Mayelung	Tangkhul	2007	Student
26	Sheipeichoh	U Tang On	Layshi	Para	2007	Student
27	K.Lajori	K.Shapoh	Numiyuibing	Tangkhul	2007	Civilian
28	L.Enitoo	L.Mongsan	Somra	Tangkhul	2008	Student
29	B.Laalar	B.Majipoh	Daaya	Tangkhul	2008	Student
30	C.L.Rweythentei	C.L.Dourung	Pansat	Tangkhul	2009	Student
31	C.L.Jubileefen	C.L.Phroh	Pansat	Tangkhul	2009	Student
32	K.Fafentei	K.Malunpoh	Goki	Tangkhul	2009	Student
33	R.Phennotei	R.Alweypoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2009	Civilian
34	S.Sathentei	S.Kongpoh	Somra	Tangkhul	2010	Student
35	Chusanshe Makuri		Matori	Makuri	2010	Civilian

2.1.10 The Naga New Year Festival

Since the formation of Naga Cultural Centre Committee (NCCC) in 1972, all the various tribes of the Nagas in Burma celebrate a joint festival in January now called the Naga New Year Festival. It is a time when all the villagers gather together and celebrate with several important cultural activities performed by various village-folk dancers and folk singers. The crucial importance of this festival is that it brings new hope for a better life, and it has become an important part of the shared Naga culture. It can be held anywhere in the Naga inhabited region.

In the recent years, the military has banned celebrating the festival in Naga regions except for in Layshi, Lahe and Nanyung. The last festival celebrated at Khanti was in 1991.



These pictures were taken during the Naga festival. The Nagas are often forced to assemble and perform dances for the Tourist during the festivals.

2.2 RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

When U Nu became the Prime Minister of the newly independent Burma, he reversed Aung San's version of the Union Constitution, particularly the clause of separation between religion and politics. U Nu's government adopted Buddhism as state religion in 1961 and saw this as a means of "national integration". A Ministry of Religious and Cultural Affairs was created to promote the process of assimilation, even before Buddhism was promulgated as a state religion.

The majority of the Naga are Christian. The conversion of the first Nagas in Burma to Christianity dates back to 1813 when the first American Baptist Missionary, Adoniram Judson, arrived in Burma. But Christianity came to the Naga people much later, after 126 years of Christianity in Burma. This was brought by Rev V. Theibung of Somra village in 1936 after he went to Ukhrul (Manipur, India) to study. While studying there, he learned about Christianity and soon became a believer and was baptized. When he came back to the Naga areas in Burma, he started

spreading the Gospel and it was in 1948 that more than a hundred Nagas were baptized for the first time in the history of the Nagas in Burma. Christianity slowly spread to all the Naga areas in Burma. In 1993, an association was formed under the aegis of the “Naga Baptist Convention” with an affiliation to the “Myanmar Baptist Convention”.

Rev. Theibung, being the pioneer of Christianity in Burma especially for the Nagas, faced many ruthless persecutions and harassments in the hands of the Burmese Military. He was not only involved in missionary work but also deeply concerned and focused in education. Several times during his lifetime, he lived in hiding and had to flee from different places for his safety.

From 1948 to 1950, the Somra church building was forced to relocate three times. And from 1952 and 1958, the lower primary school was also forcefully relocated. The army was specially threatened by the changes he brought, especially in educating the children.

In 1962, Rev. Theibung, along with few Christian converts, moved towards the valley and formed a new village called “New Somra village” where he continued his evangelism. As a result, the Burmese army handed a warning letter for him to the Chairman of Somra village. The Chairman had no choice but to follow the military command. Rev. Theibung had to go into hiding for the next 3 months. On his return, he was ruthlessly beaten and seriously injured.

In 1964 Rev. Theibung and the following people were sent to Tamu jail for three years because they were caught preaching the Gospel in Somra They included:

1. V. Newntei daughter of V. Yapoh
2. V. Nwentei daughter of V. Longpoh
3. V. Nithangpoh
4. V. Yengpoh son of Khapoh
5. V. Swepoh son of Phrangpoh
6. V. Swepoh son of V. Phrangpoh
7. V. Sosa son of Phrangpoh
8. V. Leishifen daughter of Phrangpoh
9. V. Aso son of V. Jopoh
10. V. Jopoh son of V. Nihthangpoh
11. V. Afentei daughter of V. Jopoh
12. V. Seranpoh son of V. Swepoh
13. M. Leng son of M. Matang
14. R. Changpoh son of R. Yapoh
15. S. Rangshitpoh son of S. Ngalang.

2.2.1 Promotion of Buddhism by the Military Government:

In order to control non-Buddhist ethnic religions all over the country, the government continued to show preference for Buddhism. It coercively promoted Buddhism over other religions in order to make it the only official religion of Burma. State-controlled news media frequently publicized junta members paying homage to Buddhist monks, making donations at pagodas throughout the country, and officiating at ceremonies to open, improve, restore or maintain the pagodas.

State-owned newspaper routinely featured banners of slogans in the front pages quoting the Buddhist scriptures. Buddhist doctrine remained part of the state-mandated curriculum in all elementary schools. The government officially continued to fund two State Sangha Universities in Rangoon and Mandalay to train Buddhist clergy to go on Buddhist Missions in ethnic minority areas, especially Christian populated regions, in order to persuade the people to convert to Buddhism and to prevent Christians from proselytizing to those who practice traditional indigenous religions. Translations of the Bible into indigenous languages could not be imported or printed legally.

The military also created rigid restrictions on church attendance, celebration of religious festivals, conventions and any sort of religious gatherings. In most areas, religious ceremonies and celebrations are performed and observed after obtaining prior permission from the Junta. Many times, for no reason, the Burmese Army would close down churches for weeks and the singing of Christian songs would be banned. Under military rule, the Buddhist movement has been greatly promoted and a well prepared strategy has been launched against the Christians in all the ethnic areas.



A church in Shwe Pi Aye village.

2.2.2 Forced conversion to Buddhism:

In all Naga areas, there have been many incidences of forced conversion to Buddhism.

- In April 1999, the Burmese army toured the Ponyu area (Khamniungan Naga) and forced the Christians villagers to disown their faith at gun point. They even forced them to sign documents that they were disowning Christianity and embracing Buddhism.

- On 24 April 1999, all Christians of Pongyu Noking were forcefully made to sign agreements converting them to Buddhism. The army destroyed the church building and gave orders to worship Buddha.
- In another incident, Pai, the pastor of the Solo Baptist Church, was harassed and cease his work as the pastor. The church services were banned, and he and his congregation were forced to disown Christianity and to convert to Buddhism.
- On 23 August 2005, the villagers of a Naga village were forcibly converted to Buddhism under the command of IB 229 Officers. Preaching the Gospel was banned, forcing the Christian evangelists to go into hiding.
- In yet another incident, the commander of the Youngkon post forced many Nagas to attend the Buddhist Festival celebration and ordered them to convert to Buddhism.
- In 2004, Naga Christians were forced to convert to Buddhism at gunpoint by the IB 52 and 229 Infantry Battalion led by Major Khien Soe. Villagers were forced to sign a document of conversion from Christianity to Buddhism and made to build pagoda. When they resisted, the military Buddhist ordered them to leave the village. Attending church services, the celebration of religious festivals, gatherings and conventions were banned for more than three months.

2.2.3 Conversion to Buddhism through Marriage

One of the ways by which the armies “spread” Buddhism is to ‘arrange’ marriages between Buddhists and Naga Christians and then forcing the later to convert to Buddhism.

2.2.4 Luring With Food, Exemption of Taxes & Forced Labour

The Buddhism Hill Missionary, which was established by the regime, actively participated in preaching and forcing Naga Christians to convert to Buddhism by various means. The army lures the people to convert to Buddhism by offering free food, tax exemptions, and exemption from forced labour and portering.

2.2.5 Arbitrary Arrest of Religious Leaders

Religious leaders and pastors have very important role in the community. Therefore, pastors are often arrested, interrogated, humiliated and put into jail in the presence of the other Christians in order to intimidate them. Some examples include:

- In the middle of the night in 1997, around 30 Burmese army soldiers stationed at the Somra outpost surrounded the village and ordered all the villagers to come out from their homes. They were then made to stand in a line on the village grounds and adjoining lanes. Without any provocation, the military personnel forced all the villagers to chant at gun point “*Taru, Taru*”, which is the Buddhist way of saying “Praise the Lord, Praise the Lord,” with heads bowed just like the Buddhist monks.
- In the Somra areas, all church doors were locked by Buddhist monks for months to keep the villagers from attending the services. When the Tangkhul Naga Baptist

Association elders tried to open the doors, soldiers started firing at them and launched a search for all the pastors. The pastors were forced to seek safety in the jungle for two weeks without proper food. These included:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. S.V. Phroh | 2. S.V. Lopoh |
| 3. M. Raatho | 4. B.Samuel |
| 5. S. Rev. Seijo | 6. L.Alapoh |
| 7. L. Rev. Zangkhongpoh | 8. C. Hoset |
| 9. Rev. Pakhok | 10. Thunye |
| 11. Rev. Monglang | 12. V. Rev. Alangpoh and
many others villagers |

- On 29 December 1998 around 19:00, army soldiers led by Captain Demongso came to Wolam (Kingphu) village. They abducted and tortured the pastor, Metchiu, in the army camp for a week without food. The church building was locked and any Christian trying to enter the church and worship was threatened to be burned alive or shot.
- In November 2005, Pastor Raygo of Chamtok village was kept under house arrest by the 229th Battalion of the Burmese Army.
- On 15 December 2005, the Burmese army arrested the village leaders and members of Chavan village and attacked pastor Rokvay

2.2.6 Forced Labour for Celebrating Buddhist Festivals

On 30 January 2006, in Chuyo village the Burmese army summoned the Christians of the village at gunpoint and forced them to clean the ground within two days for the Buddhists to celebrate their festival. They did not spare the village head, "Angh", because he was a converted Christian. The commander of the Chuyo post also forced five men of the village to go to Longkai village of Mon district in India along with INR 1670 to carry their things.

2.2.7 Buddhist Monks - Informers for The Military And Agents Of Forced Conversion

Many monks who live in the village pagodas are not genuine, but rather armed Junta informants. For example, of the 10 monks in a temple, half of them are often soldiers who often carry pistols or guns. All the monks receive financial assistance and food from the government. Normally, they receive 60,000 Kyat per month. They also receive rice, oil, sugar, salt and other daily necessities which they sell at exorbitant rates to the villagers because the villagers are forced to buy from them.

On 7 April 1999, 4 monks and soldiers called all the Christians of the Ponyu Nokyan village to the army camp, where they were blindfolded for 4 hours. The monks and soldiers made derogatory statements such as '*Jesus is an illegitimate child*' and threatened the Christians that if they did not deny their religion they would have to leave and go to "where Christianity came from". Six soldiers tortured the youths by hanging them upside down and also making them dig their own graves.

2.2.8 Desecration and Burning Down of Churches

The military junta strictly prohibits the construction of churches and other buildings for worship. They do not allow free worship services at many churches in Naga Areas without permission.

Some of the incidences that have occurred over the years are:

- The Shamplu Baptist Church building construction was stopped by the SPDC, and when the church elders sought to buy some time to acquire the required permission the military did not allow and asked for a bribe of 10,000 Kyats.
- On 20 January 1999 at around 4 pm, the army led by Captain Zoolen entered Houthat village along with the Buddhist monks to stop the villagers building their church. They were also stopped from worshipping. Instead, the pastor and church elders were beaten and tortured in their own houses. They were later released after being forced to sign a statement stating that nothing had been done to them.

In Naga areas, many churches have been burned down, destroyed, dismantled and annihilated.

- 25 January 2005: The IB 52 of the Pangsau post under the leadership of a Major entered various churches and seized the logs that were used to build the church and the pews, office materials, chairs, solar panels and many other church properties.
- November 2005: The Burmese Army took the church's solar panels and its accessories, inverters, microphones, amplifiers, and every other electrical fitting and brutally assaulted the local Pastor in Thingpa village.
- 1 December 2005: A solar panel from Chuyo church was taken and the Burmese Army demanded 10,000 Indian Rupees.
- 3 December 2005: The Burmese Army took a solar panel, battery and shawls from Pastor K. Chanlan's house and demanded two more solar panels.
- 6 January 2006: The 229 Battalion captured many civilians and tortured them. They took away an ivory tusk, three pairs of ivory bangles and other public property along with 20,000 Indian Rupees from the Phokon Baptist Church.



Remnant of the church burnt down by the Burmese military in Nanyung Township

2.2.9 Forceful Construction of Pagodas

Pagodas are constructed at every village of Naga Areas with government funds while churches are destroyed and new church constructions are banned. The people are forced to build pagodas in the best area of the village. Presently, out of the 229 Naga villages that exist in Burma, there are now 117 villages where the Buddhist pagodas have been constructed.

In following villages pagodas were forcibly constructed:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Mayelung | 2. Goki |
| 3. Old Kokailung | 4. New Kokailung |
| 5. Pansat | 6. Phungdret |
| 7. Somra | 8. Mayelung |
| 9. Old Numityungpi | 10. New Numityungpi |
| 11. Lungpo | 12. Leiyung |



Pagoda in Somra village: The villagers were forced to contribute the materials required to build the Pagoda and build it on land that was confiscated by the military.

2.2.10 Christianity and Naga Armed movements

The military government sees Christianity as the religion of the Naga armed groups and therefore, all Christians are accused of supporting the armed movement. By using National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN–K) as an excuse, the deployment of Burmese army has increased tenfold in the Naga Areas since 1988.

2.2.11 Creation of Divisions Among The Naga People

In every Naga village, Buddhists and Christians remain divided where there are distinct differences in their treatment. The converted Buddhists (along with other Buddhists) are free from forced labour, portering, taxes, extortions and they also receive salaries and their children have more opportunities at schools and colleges. Those who converted from Christianity to Buddhism are given salaries varying from 800 kyat to 1500 kyat per month. They are also provided with rice, free education and free medical treatment. Many Naga have converted to Buddhism in order to take advantage of these opportunities, which created resentment with

other Naga. The Junta has had a direct hand in sowing this seed of hatred among the Naga and the divide it generated. Any decision taken or order given by the Naga against forced conversion is immediately reported to the army personnel and the 'perpetrators' are arrested.

The military Junta has gone out of its way to find fault with the Christians. They claim that some support democratic movements, that they are the main support of the underground movements and are harbouring and supporting members of these movements as well as the non-compliance of religious orders, etc. In addition, under this pretext, women, girls and minors are molested and raped in front of their relatives and at public places.

2.3 DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

Education is one of the most important means in bringing about change in a society as well as for individuals. However, the educational system in the Naga areas of Burma is in a poor state. Schools in Naga areas exist merely in name. Until today, there is not even a single doctor, engineer or other professionals among the Naga of Burma as the Naga people have been denied proper education.

It's possible that the Nagas have the greatest lack of education in Burma. There is only one high school (up to Class X) in each of the five townships and in the two sub-townships, Somra and Pangsau, totalling 7 schools in all. In all the other Naga villages, there are only lower primary schools (up to Class IV). There are no colleges in the Naga areas.

From 1948 - 1962 most schools in Burma followed the English/British educational system. However since the area where the Naga people live is one of the most remote and not easily accessible, there were no schools in the Naga areas then. By the time schools were beginning to reach these regions, General Ne Win took over (2 March 1962) and thereafter the state educational system and infrastructure in Burma declined significantly.

In order to adhere to the constitution, the military government established a primary school in every village and a high school in each township. Unfortunately, these schools do not function as they are neglected or mismanaged by the state. For example, there is a lack basic infrastructure, schools suffer highly from teacher absenteeism and lack of materials. The educational system is drastically underfunded, with most of the country's annual expenditure earmarked for the military. As a result, schools are managed and supported by the villagers themselves at their own expense. They often employ local college drop-outs as teachers.

There is also an inequality in the treatment of the Christian students and Buddhist students. The Christian students are not provided with the requisite textbooks and materials, which are supposed to be provided by the government to all the students irrespective of creed and colour. Only the Buddhist students receive these items.

In the past few years, few government boarding schools/homes have been instituted for the Naga. These boarding schools/homes provide facilities free of charge, including food and lodging. However, since admission to these is handled by Buddhists, Christians tend to be rejected out-right. As a result this discrimination, Christians suffer greatly due to an enormous lack of subsequent opportunities. They are not given equal opportunities in government jobs, for example; only Buddhists tend to be hired and are given promotions. In addition, this lack of education allows few Naga to improve their situation. Not only are Naga discriminated against in schools, but teachers have the right to use forced labour by insisting students carry their firewood, paddy-rice, etc. This has been sanctioned by the Burmese government so that the schools can be run with as little expenditure as possible.

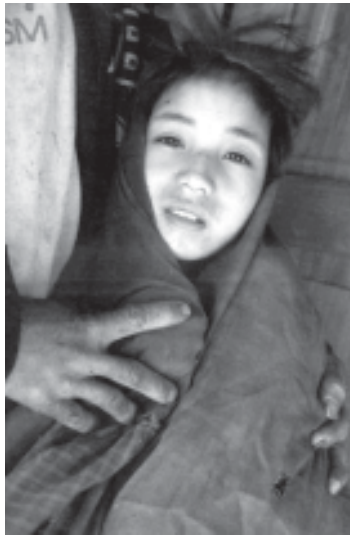
2.4 DENIAL OF HEALTH CARE

Health care and medical facilities are almost non-existent. There are only 7 hospitals in the Naga areas. There are nurses all the hospitals, however only 4 of the hospitals also have doctors.

	Townships	Hospital	Doctors	Nurses
1	Layshi	Yes	1	4
2	Khanti	Yes	1	5
3	Homlin	Yes	1	7
4	Lahe	Yes	1	2
5	Nanyung	Yes	-	1
6	Pangsau	Yes	-	1
7	Somra	Yes	-	1

The majority of the villages do not have any medical facilities. In some of the bigger villages (sub-townships), clinics are set up with a few nurses. The clinics are open only twice a week. However, since the Naga areas are not easily accessible as there are hardly any drivable roads, it is difficult for the people to access the medical centres/hospitals as that would require walking for miles on foot. In many cases, the ailing persons cannot make it to the hospitals/clinics and die en route. And even if they reach the hospitals/clinics, most often the doctors are not available. The nurses are also not very well trained. In addition to this, the very small quantities of medicines sent to these areas are sold by the nurses and doctors on the black market.

Some of the common diseases the Naga people mostly suffer from are diarrhoea, dysentery, malaria, typhoid, tuberculosis, Hepatitis B & C, liver cancer, blood cancer (leukaemia), kidney failure and stones, and HIV/AIDS. Due to the lack of awareness amongst the people, HIV/AIDS patients are not accounted for. Malnourishment, poor health care facilities and ignorance have adversely affected the health of the people.



Pic: A young girl suffering from malaria being cared for by her grandmother

2.5 DRUG TRAFFICKING

The infamous Golden Triangle in Burma is well-known as the region which produces the largest amount of heroin. Drug trafficking is rampant in the Naga region including in Homlin and Khanti. Drugs produced in the Shan areas are smuggled to the township of Homlin and Khanti, particularly to those locations where gold and precious stones are mined for hefty prices. As these places are a hub for precious stones trading and drugs trafficking, smugglers and peddlers have close ties with the Burmese military Junta. It is an established fact that heroin is smuggled across the border by the military personal in order to be sold to other parts of the world. There are four important centres from where heroin is distributed to India:

1. Tanai to Nanyung and from there through Pangsau to Arunachal Pradesh state in India.
2. Homlin to Somra and from there northwards through Jessami to Kohima in Nagaland.
3. Khanti area through Noklak to Mokokchung in Nagaland.
4. Khampat and Tamu to Moreh and from there to Imphal in Manipur.

2.6 DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN NAGA AREAS

The Burmese Military Government has sanctioned the following amount for development in the Naga Areas (the so called “Naga Self Administration Zone” created in the present National Convention without the knowledge of Naga people which has excluded the entire important natural rich resource valley).

SL.No	Purpose	Township Name	Year	Cost (in Kyat)
01	Schools, hospitals, offices, border development, etc.	Layshi	1988-1998	90,934,110
02	Schools, hospitals, offices, border development, etc.	Layshi	1999-2009	2,139,980
03	Schools, hospitals, offices, border development, etc.	Nanyung	1988-1998	40,331,112
04	Schools, hospitals, offices, border development, etc.	Nanyung	1999-2009	1,139,710
05	Schools, hospitals, offices, border development, etc.	Lahe	1988-1998	70,934,110
06	Schools, hospitals, offices, border development, etc.	Lahe	1999-2009	2,989,980

(208,469,002 Kyats = INR 90, 63,870 = 198,362 USD)

If this amount was distributed to 250,000 people (population of three townships: Layshi, Nanyung, Lahe), then each person would receive 0.87 USD for period of twenty years.

2.6.1 Homlin International Airport

Homlin is situated in the northernmost township of the Sagaing Division in Upper Burma, and is the largest Naga settlement. It was officially recognized as a Naga Headquarters in 1896 under the British. The name Homlin originate from the Somra word "*Humalak*" meaning, "*the plate not washed/cleaned after eating food from that plate*".

Homlin is one of the most important and beautiful Naga towns and is frequently visited by foreigners. It is well connected by rivers, highways and air. It is surrounded by many natural resources and fertile agricultural land, hence why the military would like to control it fully.

The military government constructed the Homlin International Airport, the second largest airport in Burma, in August 2003 spending a massive 120 Billion Kyats. The construction of the airport started on 31 June 2000 and was completed on 22 August 2003. It was inaugurated on 3 August 2003. The construction of the airport has resulted in flights from Homlin through Mandalay to Rangoon twice a week.

On the occasion of the Airport inauguration, the Burmese Prime Minister Soe Win in his speech as the chief guest categorically said, "*Now we have reached the jet age. So this airport is to improve transportation, communication and promote better relationship with the neighbouring countries and to make peace*".

The Prime Minister thanked the Naga people for their hospitality and warm welcome to their land. This particular remark angered many Shan people as in the present time, the majority of the people living in Homlin are Shan, while the Nagas have been reduced to minority group.

For the construction and maintenance of the airport, many Naga were forcibly relocated without any compensation.

2.6.2 The Tamanthi Hydro-Electric Power Project:

The Tamanthi Hydropower and Multiple Purpose Project is located between 25° E and 26° E latitude; 95° N longitude and the dam site is about 52 kilometres north of Homlin.

When General Than Shwe, head of the SPDC, visited India from 24–29 October 2004 an agreement was signed between the two countries to construct the Tamanthi Hydro-electric Power Project at Tazone, Tamanthi (the largest National Park in Burma) on the Chindwin River in the western Sagaing Division. The dam is to generate about 1,200 megawatts of electricity and will be the longest dam in Asia. It is 539 feet high and according to one dam engineering expert, the Chindwin River has a potential electricity generation capacity of 4,000 Megawatts. The dam will provide India 80% of the power generated by exporting it to the National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC-India) whereas only 20% will be for the Burmese people.

The dam has been a cause for grave concern for the Naga. It is being built with forced labour, it will cause ecological havoc, and there will be a forced relocation of Naga villages and huge amounts agricultural land will be lost. With the signing of this agreement, the number of soldier's stationed Khanti District has increased.

The Burmese Military Regime's policy is to evacuate all the Nagas who are living in the valley so that it will be easier to create the "Naga Self Administrative Zone" without the consent of the Nagas. By evicting all the Nagas from Homlin and Khanti it will make it easier for them to declare that these two regions never having belonged to the Naga people.

When General Than Shwe visited Thamanti Dam in January 2007, in his speech, he said that the dam will give the Naga people great opportunities in this electric technology system era. He urged the Naga people to have patience for the success of the project and to refrain from creating any disturbance either by underground or over ground.

Ecological Destruction of Thimanthi dam

- The dam would lead to the fragmentation of the ecosystem, decreasing bio-diversity in the area;
- The silting rate of the river is high and the geographical, geological and climatic conditions of surrounding areas will change dramatically;
- The flood caused by the dam would cover at least 300 square kilometres;
- Extensive deforestation can result in massive soil erosion, reduce soil fertility and agricultural productivity, catastrophic floods and acute water shortages;

- The area is also home to birds and wild animals like tigers, elephants, mithun, wild buffaloes, bears, deer, etc. and the project will endanger the life of these animals.

In the name of development, the military will have sold off the fertile Naga lands and the identity of the Naga people.

2.7 OTHER FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEPRIVATION OF NAGA LIVELIHOODS

At the township and village levels, there is a lack of government funding, and local people are made to compensate for this deficiency. In addition to their economic burdens, local people also have to support the demands of the military personnel stationed in their regions, as explained above.

Through several officially sanctioned fees and taxes, as well as arbitrary demands for cash by corrupt officials and army personnel, the Naga people are expected to pay for everything from road construction supplies to state sponsored ceremonies. The incomes of the Naga are constantly sapped by petty fees, and most households are often forced to pay several thousands of kyat per month. Many villagers are unable to pay and are often forced to flee their traditional homes to avoid punishment by the authorities.

A common practice, especially in conflict areas, is for the villagers to pay a mandatory “porter fee” to the local army battalion. The funds collected from this fee are supposed to go towards hiring porters for army operations. Yet, in most cases, these fees are kept by the battalion officers, who then proceed to demand that the villagers supply porters for the army, even after the fee has been paid. These fees are usually around 200-500 kyat per household per month. In addition, villagers who refuse are made to pay fines of varying amounts to the local government or army authorities.

Often the government does not provide enough money for state-sanctioned festivals and ceremonies, including religious and sports festivals. When the government falls short, the people are expected to contribute. Government officials, including USDA members, commonly send letters or go door to door demanding money on such occasions. In some instances, even after the people have contributed, the event doesn’t even take place.

As the social, educational and health sectors of the Naga are seriously neglected by the SPDC, the local people themselves often pay for the construction and maintenance of educational and health-care establishments.

In addition, the SPDC continues to engage in activities that result in the uncompensated destruction of property, such as homes and fields. In areas of ethnic conflict this practice is

carried out under the “*four-cuts*” policy, whereby the military seeks to wipe out the armed groups. Under this policy, through a “*scorched earth*” campaign, SPDC troops relocate villages from a known armed group’s area, then burn and destroy everything. Burning villages is common following relocation or in campaigns to “*search and destroy*” rebel activity.

Restrictions on trade, movement and cultivation imposed by the SPDC, especially in armed conflict zones, have made things even more difficult for the ethnic people attempting to make a living and survive. Many living in areas under SPDC control are restricted from leaving their villages and must pay for passes. These passes are often only good for short periods, sometimes only from dawn to dusk. For villagers attempting to work in locations far away, it is nearly impossible to do so. Sometimes people are banned from leaving their villages altogether. In these cases, harvests are often destroyed or lost along with other work opportunities. Trade restrictions imposed by the authorities also result in economic hardship for the Naga.

SITUATION OF THE NAGA FROM BURMA IN THE NORTHEAST STATES OF INDIA

In 1953, the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru invited Burmese Prime Minister, U Nu to Kohima, the British Headquarter at that time and began the process of dividing Nagaland between the two. In 1972, the international boundary between India and Burma was officially drawn. In doing so they divided the Naga people between two nations. Naga people belonging to the same tribe were divided between the two countries. In some cases the border even runs through villages and houses. India share 1,643 kms border with Burma in the four states - Arunachal Pradesh (520 kms), Nagaland (215 Kms) and Manipur (398) with the Sagaing Division of Burma and Mizoram (510 kms) with the Chin state of Burma.

Many Nagas from Burma fled into the Naga areas in India owing to the harsh situation which has already been mentioned in the earlier chapters. There are about 15,000 Nagas from Burma in India in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Manipur and with majority of them living very precarious lives. In some way or the other, there has been some support from the Naga people living in the Indian side to the Nagas coming in from Burma as they are people belonging to the same tribes or clans. The Nagas in India have been sympathetic towards them and have been accommodating them in the Naga areas in India.

3.1 WORK

When the Nagas from Burma fled to India, they have to find ways for their survival. Some of them work as housemaid, in weaving and handicrafts, eking as daily wage-earners, woodcutting, cultivation etc. They are employed as carpenters and in road construction, building activities and in labour works for communication. These kinds of jobs are difficult to get as such development activities are rarely taken up in the northeast part of India. There are also people who earn their livelihoods by chopping fire woods (for daily kitchen use) and logs for building purposes. For all these kinds of work, they are paid around Indian Rupees 100 - 200 per day depending on their expertise. But many of them do not get the money on time. They have to wait for days to get paid for their work. Some of them are engaged in cultivation work. Since the Nagas are primarily agriculturist, they find it easy to work in paddy fields. They approach some of Naga well-to-do land owners to allow them to cultivate their land. On harvesting the crops or vegetables, they share the paddy with the owners. They are mostly underpaid and work for long hours. Most of them do not attend schools or only attend the early morning schools. There are many cases where they are treated inhumanely.

About 35% of women and men handloom workers in border areas of India, especially in Manipur, are Nagas from Burma. With little experience in weaving since it is not practised in Burma, the weavers have to learn the whole process including the modern weaving style. Some of them are unable to afford the fees for the training and have to seek other means to earn their living. They live in rooms that are usually dark as they put the machines in congested rooms with two or three families living together. Even if they work hard they can get between Indian Rupees 700 (USD 15) to 1,400 (USD 25) per month. The few very skilled ones would get around INR 3,000 (USD 65).

3.2 EDUCATION

There are also some Nagas from Burma sponsored by churches, associations and individuals for education in India. But this initiative is not very successful due to many reasons:

- As mentioned in the earlier chapters, except for the townships or sub-townships, the Naga villages have only Lower Primary school (upto Class IV). After that they have to go to the townships or sub-townships for high school. Many parents cannot afford to send them there. Therefore there are many cases of drop-outs. And the little education that they get in their village is sub-standard and is taught only in Burmese. When they are brought to the Indian side, these students face many problems. They develop inferiority complex in the school due to the huge age difference between them and their classmates. For e.g. in India, a 10 yrs old child would be in Fourth grade whereas the students coming in from Burma would be around 15 -18 yrs.
- Another problem for these students is the language limitations. Since they do not know the local dialects spoken in the Indian side nor English, they cannot fully understand the lessons that are being taught at the schools.
- To add on, the supports are sometimes very limited in terms of financial assistance. Only the lucky few get into good educational institutions while majority of them are put in not-so-good institutions.

Apart from this group, for those working as house helpers, though the family for whom they work for understand the importance of education and put them in school (morning school), the students do not have sufficient time to do their studies and homework as they have to attend to the household chores. This leaves them lagging behind in their school work.

3.3 SECURITY

Eastern Nagas are increasingly fleeing Burma for reasons including large scale human rights abuses such as forced relocations, rape, forced labour, torture, confiscation of land and property, arbitrary arrest and lack of personal security. Even though there is a ceasefire between the Government of India and the NSCN (IM) that has helped reduce tension in the region, there is still a threat of arrest or harassment from the Indian military and police if the Nagas from Burma are found out. In such kind of situation, the "refugee status" given by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) office would have been helpful. However, since UNHCR

office functions only in Delhi, the Nagas from Burma are totally left at the mercy of the Indian Army and security forces manning the border. They are often cheated and looted out of their possessions. They are arrested and pushed back into Burma. Physical assaults and harassment are very common in the hands of the Assam Rifles of India and Indian Police. They cannot file complaints against any crime committed against them.

CONCLUSION

The Naga in Burma remained a free people and were recognised tacitly as such even while the British extended their colonial empire to include their homeland. It is with independence that the actual subjugation of the Nagas commenced. Independent Burma followed a trajectory, unlike most decolonised countries, into a military dictatorship rather than a democracy, apart for a brief flirtation with democracy, and remains so to date. The Naga and their homeland in Burma came under the double tyranny of military rule and parochial ethnic discrimination of the Burman ruling class. This report on the Naga experience attempts to rectify the lack of documentation of this group, which is not so much the case with other ethnic nationalities.

An examination of the Naga experience in Burma clearly depicts systematic and systemic persecution that is state-sponsored, primarily carried out through and under the dictates of the military Junta. A whole people have been subject to brutal and blatant violence with scant regard to laws, both domestic and international, as a result of state policy.

The human rights violations span the entire spectrum of civil, political, social, economic, cultural, religious and environmental rights with equal intensity. Abduction, torture, killings, rape, forced labour, abuse, and terror have been a common experience among the ethnic groups living in Burma. Forced relocation, the destruction of crops and entire villages, the dispossession of material wealth and dwellings, and the dispossession of land and resources have been tools the military have used to particularly target Naga communities ever since coming to power. Also a matter of concern is the forced 'assimilation' approach whereby Naga identity (manifested through their customs and traditions, belief system, language and culture) is being trampled upon mercilessly, which in effect is genocide. What is tragic is that this is being carried out in full view with impunity and tacit sanction of Burma's neighbours and the international community which have not been able to reign in this rogue state that has institutionalised violence now for over half a century.

Memorandum to the Chairman, National Convention Steering Committee

Naga Cultural Central Committee
Khanti District Sagaing Division
Ref.No// NYR-2005
Date: 01/November/2004

To,
The Chairman,
National Convention Steering Committee,
Nyaung Hnapin Camp,
Yangon (Rangoon)

Subject: The Naga indigenous people's stand on the proposal to create a Self-Administered Zone by the Military under the National Convention

1. The above issue arose at the first National Convention in 1993. In that convention it was agreed that those minority nationalities who wanted autonomy and statehood would be granted their inalienable right to form self autonomy region or statehood. Prior to the convention Khanti District of Sagaing Division was included in the autonomous Naga but today only three townships are mentioned for inclusion into the proposed autonomous regions of Naga State, Namely Layshi Township, Lahe Township, Nanyung Township. Regarding autonomous regions of Naga, the government may need to investigate to decide according to the fact and with the concern of Naga people's as shown below.
 - (a) Prior to the independence of Burma, Nagas were inhabiting both the plain or valley and hilly region but due to the British's "Divide and Rule" policy between the Nagas brother of pain/valley and hilly region and their indirect administration upon the hilly region of Nags tribal result to total loss of communication between the brothers of plain and the hill.
 - (b) Due to the total loss of communication between hill Nagas and the plain Nagas. Therefore, Naga were poor in education and knowledge there was no qualified person to represent their won people opinion/attitude in Panglong Agreement. That is why,

there are poor in communication, economic, social development are much behind than the other ethnicity.

- (c) After the independence of Burma in 1948 to 1988 due to the myriad militants and the political crisis in Myanmar Municipal Department has made little progress and there has been almost no development in hilly areas for the last 40 years.
 - (d) During the year 1948 to 1988 Municipal Department has constructed the road between Thamanti to Layshi Town (41) miles, Sinte Town to Lahe Town (52) miles, Lahe Town to Nanyung Town () miles, Nanyung Town to Tanai Town (). The roads are all narrow and not broad enough for commercial transportation system. Due to the disconnected between the above townships causes to poor in economic, poor social welfare development and poor social standard leaving far back from modern standard.
 - (e) Since from 1988 the ruling military government is been engaging in road construction but till today there is only seasonal roads in Naga inhabited region. There is no road for the whole season or permanent road which vehicle can funs all year round even in raining season.
 - (f) Layshi, Lahe and Nanyung-these three townships are in the same range, regions are connected and have link to each other though there is no road for communication either by airline, navigation and vehicle road. Therefore, if a person want to go to Lahe from Layshi that he/she may go to Homlin, Homlin to Thamanti, Thamanti to Khanti and Khanti to Lahe through navigation by car/truck. And in the same way if a person want to go to Nanyung from Layshi then he/she have to go to Thamanti, Thamnati to Monywa, Monywa to Mandalay, Mandalay to Myitkyina, Myitkyina to Tanai, Tanai to Nanyung by means of navigation, by car and on foot, reaching for Nanyung after the step by step journey is tiresome journey.
 - (g) Naga ethnic of Layshi Township, Lahe Township, and Nanyung Township regions are rocky areas, there is no sign of available costly thing or material and valuable natural resources neither from over ground not underground being yet found.
 - (h) There is no commercial transportation system till today in Layshi Township, Lahe Township, and Nanyung Township.
2. By analyzing the above mentioned points that are starting from No. 01 (1 to h) regarding to communication system whether by means of navigations, airline, highway, Khanti has some foundation and it can be extendable for further development and according to the geographical location Khanti District could be the centre to have link with the other states capital for commercial and other business purpose. There are 48% of Naga ethnic population in Khanti, it is the junction of the Nagas, the region have too advantage for further development. If autonomy regions are to creates under the consideration to include Khanti District in the Nagas autonomy regions including the west of Chindwin river sub region like Keta, Piapin, Kawya, Nongpin, Thamanti etc. of Homlin Township to function under the administration of Naga autonomous region. The mentioned regions have links

with each other and are at the some areas having connected not only to Homlin Township and Khanti District but connected to Layshi Township, Lahe Township and Nanyung Township. To meet the right figure and the characteristics of self governing and to promote social welfare concerning to trade, communication, and other development programmed in these regions.

3. As an aid to bring solution that could be face in autonomy administration the honest need is to make favour to the minority Naga as the National Convention's basic constitution articles (104) base on population. To meet qualified population kindly make include Layshi Township, Lahe Township and Nanyung Township. Khanti District and the west of Chidwin River sub region like Keta, Piapin, Kawya, Nongping, Thamanti Keta, Piapin, Kawya, Nongping, Thamanti of Homlin Township if there is to create Naga autonomy region.

On behalf of the people of Naga

Chairman
Naga Cultural Central Committee,
Khanti District

Copy to:

- General/Office of the General of Nation, Yangon
- General Secretary (1), SPDC, Yangon
- Chairman of National Convention Steering Committee, Yangon
- Chief General of North West head of Military department, Muywa
- Brigadier No. (2), Khanti base military generals
- Chairman, District SPDC Khanti District, Khanti Town
- Chairman, Township SPDC Layshi, Lahe, Nanyung
- Chairman Naga Cultural Central Committee Layshi, Lahe, Nanyung etc.