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**Article (Accepted version)  
(Refereed)**

**Original citation:**

Venugopal, Rajesh and Thakur, Shalaka (2018) Parallel governance and political order in contested territory: evidence from the Indo-Naga ceasefire. [Asian Security](#). ISSN 1479-9855 (In Press)

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Available in LSE Research Online: April 2018

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## **Parallel Governance and Political Order in Contested Territory: Evidence from the Indo-Naga Ceasefire**

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Forthcoming in ASIAN SECURITY  
March 2018

### **Abstract**

*The reconstruction of stable political order after violent conflict is a central concern of peacebuilding theory and practice. While much of the literature on this subject is based on cases where there has been state collapse or international intervention, this paper draws on a case study from India's north-east, where a long-standing separatist insurgency has given way to a stable and protracted ceasefire. Drawing on fieldwork from Ukhrul district in the India-Myanmar border, the paper studies the parallel military structures and civilian governance institutions and the nature of their interaction. In doing so, it evaluates the consequences of the ceasefire political equilibrium in terms of the larger project of conflict resolution and a permanent political resolution.*

## 1. Introduction

At first glance, Ukhurul appears to be just another one of the 707 administrative districts in India. With a population of 184,000 (2011 census) and territory of 4,544 sq km<sup>1</sup>, it is governed under the modular structure of India's district level administration. But when talking of the government in Ukhurul, there is often confusion about who is being referred to. Alongside the formal institutions of the Indian government, is the 'people's government', who, in the words of one respondent 'run everything here'. In the heart of Ukhurul town, not far from the administrative offices of the Indian central government and the state government of Manipur is the regional office of the Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland/Nagalim (GPRN), run by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak-Muivah), which also contains a prison cell where offenders can be detained. As one of the GPRN's Kiloners (ministers) described it, 'We collect the taxes to feed armed cadres and run the administration. We run the people's government'.<sup>2</sup>

The reconstruction of stable political order in divided societies in the aftermath of violent conflict is a central concern for peacebuilding theory and practice. It is a particularly challenging problem in cases where there is no clear monopoly of violence, and where there are a multiplicity of contending sources of authority. Much of the relevant recent literature that addresses this issue is based on case studies where formal governance mechanisms collapsed, and where there was a heavy international presence. In contrast, the numerous conflicts that take place outside this limelight, such as those in the north-east of India have much to contribute to the understanding of this topic, but remain under-studied. Although they bear a different set of axioms, policy parameters and historical baggage, the problems that they set out to explain are mutually recognisable: the chronic dysfunctionalities of the post-colonial state, the challenges in establishing functional and legitimate governance institutions, and the relationship between the formal and informal sources of authority.

The 1997 ceasefire between the Indian government and Naga separatist insurgents of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak-Muivah) [NSCN-IM] brought a prolonged pause to a four decade long violent conflict (Kolås 2011). Although the ceasefire has endured and has proven to be effective in bringing down levels of violence, it has not as of yet translated into a final political resolution of the conflict. In these circumstances of indefinitely extended ambiguity, both sides have established competing civilian governance mechanisms, which has as a result created a duplicate set of state institutions in the same territory. Alongside two sets of militaries, both sides aspire to provide a range of welfare, security, and representation mechanisms, and people can to some extent choose which authority to approach for functions such as dispute resolution or criminal justice.

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<sup>1</sup> India had 707 administrative districts as of early 2016. Ukhurul district was sub-divided into Ukhurul and Kamjong in late 2016. In this paper we refer to Ukhurul prior to this latest demarcation.

<sup>2</sup> Interview, Kiloner V, 16-05-2016, Ukhurul

Many elements of this situation of shared de-facto sovereignty and the prolonged co-existence of rival forms of authority are remarkable and unusual, particularly so in the Indian context. There is normally no flexibility for the recognition of antagonistic non-state armed groups, much less for tolerating explicitly fashioned state institutions that operate inside Indian territory, but explicitly outside its constitution. India's attitude towards ethnic separatist insurgencies, particularly in sensitive border areas, is normally uncompromising and formalistically Weberian in its ambition. That is, it is based on the overwhelming imperative of preserving territorial integrity and regaining the monopoly of violence. The resolution of internal conflicts, particularly those involving violent insurgency in the Indian context typically amounts to a three part programme of counter-insurgency, economic development schemes, and local elections. It is another matter that this approach is often very inadequate in its design and implementation, so that it frequently generates perverse, brutal, dysfunctional, and counter-productive outcomes. In many cases such as the Manipur valley, this approach actually fuelled political instability and violence by creating a system of illegitimate and corrupt elites and violent, predatory accumulation.

The Indian government's approach to the Naga conflict also has to be situated within a larger portfolio of overlapping separatist insurgencies and violent ethnic conflicts across India's fractious north-east. (Misra 2014, Nag 2002, Verghese 1996, Baruah 2005, Hazarika 1994, Kolås 2017). Within just the state of Manipur, there were 25 armed groups as of 2015 under official 'Suspension of Operation' agreements with the government,<sup>3</sup> and numerous others in various stages of hostilities. In this geographically remote region which is also politically peripheral to India's peninsular core, and which has a distinct ethno-religious composition, anti-state insurgencies and inter-ethnic conflicts are often overlapping and interlocking, so that resolving one risks aggravating another. Sanjib Baruah well describes this region in terms of a 'durable disorder', characterised by the presence of 'ethnic militias, counter-insurgency operations, state-backed militias, developmentalist practices, and the deformed institutions of democratic governance' (Baruah 2005:13). These complexities aside, the situation that prevails under the Indo-Naga ceasefire, and the possibilities that were hinted at under the hitherto secret August 2015 'framework' agreement can potentially challenge many of the certitudes that have prevailed (Baruah 2017). Given that the Naga conflict is viewed as an 'umbrella' movement for the numerous ethnic insurgencies in the north-east region, its evolution and the nature of its resolution sets a precedent that can have much broader influence.

This paper draws on fieldwork from Ukhrul in the Indian state of Manipur between 2015-17 to illustrate how political order is built and sustained under circumstances marked by parallel governance institutions established by rival claimants to public authority. We draw on interviews, meetings, and interactions with a range of actors in the Indian administration and military, local police, senior ministers in the NSCN(IM), civil society activists, NGO workers, and other actors, together with supportive evidence from media and documentary sources. We use this evidence and draw on the conceptual/theoretical literature on plural political orders as a

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<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Home Affairs Annual Report 2015, p.17.

point of departure to explain the contours of this case, and to investigate its consequences. Section 2 establishes the conceptual basis of the paper in the contemporary literature on hybrid political orders. Section 3 is a brief historical and contextual account of the circumstances surrounding the ceasefire. Section 4 is an account of the parallel security situation in Ukhru under the ceasefire. Section 5 is on the civil administration. Section 6 concludes.

## **2. Political Order**

The study of political order and the state has been transformed in the context of the 'new wars' of the 1990s, and the breakdown of state authority in parts of the former Soviet Union, West Africa, horn of Africa, Middle East, and South-East Asia. The vast difficulties encountered in reconstructing state authority in those areas has fundamentally challenged the Weberian-Westphalian axioms of statehood and international society, based on the assumptions of individual, self-contained, sovereign states, with functional institutions, well demarcated borders, culturally homogenous populations, popular legitimacy, and monopolies of violence

In many of the exemplary case studies that populate this literature - Iraq, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Afghanistan, the D.R. Congo - there is a broad consensus that the 'liberal peacebuilding' project of transforming deeply divided, war-torn societies into modern liberal market democracies through the reconstruction of state authority has failed. In attempting to create effective, modern state institutions, the project was over-engineered by international technocrats at the apex without depth of knowledge about local society, and without an understanding of how functional and legitimate states historically evolved into being. As a result, despite the vast resources and expert knowledge devoted to them, post-conflict states were invariably dysfunctional, lacking the basic criteria for functional statehood with weak legitimacy, authority, financial autonomy, or territorial control. They depended on external recognition, funding and military support, a factor that reproduced the cycle of fragility and failure.

This experience of disappointment has inspired the rise of a new generation of scholarship dedicated to a more organic, grounded understanding of how institutions actually emerge and work in practice. As Hagmann and Peclard (2010:546) describe, it represents a 'more grounded approach to statehood whose starting point is empirical and not judicial'. Central to this new literature is the recognition that political order is composed of a plurality of sources of authority. That is, limiting the analytical and empirical frame to the 'iceberg view' of what is superficially visible –the juridical formality of the state - is to obscure and ignore the more substantial, resonant sources of authority that actually structure society and influence human behaviour. The sensibility at work in this new school of thought is captured by the idea of 'hybrid political orders' (Boege et al 2009:17):

*diverse and competing authority structures, sets of rules, logics of order, and claims to power co-exist, overlap, interact, and intertwine, combining elements of introduced Western models of governance and elements stemming from local indigenous traditions of governance and politics, with further influences exerted by the forces of globalization and associated societal*

*fragmentation (in various forms: ethnic, tribal, religious). In this environment, the “state” has no privileged monopolistic position as the only agency providing security, welfare, and representation; it has to share authority, legitimacy, and capacity with other institutions.*

Indeed, the preferred concept that is deployed is increasingly this more inherently plural, bottom-up optic of ‘political order’, rather than that the monolithic, top-down approach contained in the concept of the state. Political order itself is a term often left undefined, but functions as a synonym for structures of political authority and governance, including but not restricted to formal state institutions, or as in the case of ‘wartime’ political orders, for a military equilibrium.

We define political order here broadly as a system of stable governance of collective social life. This refers most fundamentally to the structures that authorise and regulate coercive violence, and also beyond that. It is systemic and structural in nature not in the sense that it flows from a singular, coherent source or logic of control, and nor does its stability signify rigidity. This system can be constituted by a fluid composite of different and even unconnected sources of regulatory authority - from formal states and customary law, to religion and ethno-nationalist subjectivities. The collective nature of this system means critically that it involves the participation of the governed population in the production and sustenance of this order. These structures of authority regulate social life through a variety of registers, from violent coercion and economic incentives from above and outside, to ideologies of legitimation that work through the regulation of the inner self.

Anthropology, with its bottom-up, granular view of the world, and its greater sympathy for a pluralist, Foucauldian-informed view of power, has for long been more adept than political science at identifying the superficiality and ephemeral nature of formal state institutions, and the ways they exist alongside other competing logics of governance. For example, as the literature on legal pluralism shows, the formality of European law and private property rights is often entirely at odds with alternative forms of customary, culturally resonant structures of law and normative rights, such as over land tenure or natural resources (Griffiths 1986, von Benda-Beckman 1997, Merry 1988).

Similarly, the more ethnographically oriented studies of ‘strong men’, clientelism, neo-patrimonialism, and the ‘everyday state’, (Erdmann and Engel 2007) have provided considerable insight into the ways in which the formal rules-based governance systems contend with by other sources of grounded sources of authority and rationalities of governance. The growing literature on the ‘local state’ in India has investigated how the state’s juridical sovereignty is constantly resisted, constrained and captured from within by what Thomas Blom Hansen (2005) describes as ‘sovereigns beyond the state’: the authority of caste, religion, patriarchy, customary law, corruption or criminal organisations. For example, Craig Jeffrey’s (2000) work on western Uttar Pradesh shows how a dominant land-holding caste community was able to use influence in the political hierarchy and local administration to consolidate their control. Barbara Harriss-White’s (2003) work on rural markets has described the way caste,

gender, religion and other social structures regulate and govern large parts of the economy. Paul Brass's classic study of a communal riot in Uttar Pradesh describes 'a set of formal rules and practices obeyed by a few, a set of informal rules and practices followed by most' (Brass 1997: 279).

In contemporary post-conflict societies, this grounded approach to actually existing statehood has sought to demonstrate how the apparent disorder and state collapse evident in many regions is actually part of the process of reconstituting political order (Peclard and Mechouland 2015, Tull 2004). Inspired by the historical institutionalist explanations of state-formation in early modern Europe, this literature has investigated how governance institutions are formed at the crossroads of coercive violence, revenue extraction, and public legitimacy (Reaymaekers 2014). It has developed concepts such as 'negotiated statehood' (Hagmann and Peclard 2009), 'shadow states' (Reno 1999), or 'twilight institutions' (Lund 2006).

Our approach to understanding the conditions of the Indo-Naga ceasefire draws on this literature, and on the idea of viewing statehood in grounded, empirical terms. We similarly seek to understand how these three variables: coercive violence, revenue extraction, and public legitimacy are manifest and come together in the circumstances of the Indo-Naga ceasefire. In order to do this, we present the material in two layers. Firstly, we examine how coercive violence is organised and regulated in terms of the way that the ceasefire works on paper and in practice. Secondly, we examine how civilian governance institutions for justice, revenue, and public services are organised, and how the two sets of institutions interact. In the course of this, we also seek out understandings of how authority is legitimised, and what consequences this has.

### **3. Context**

INSERT IMAGE 1 (Map of Ukhru)

The Indo-Naga conflict is the oldest running internal 'ethnic' secessionist movement in India, dating back to the time of decolonisation in 1947. Space constraints do not permit an adequate account of the evolution of Naga identity, the independence movement, and the political history, which is well documented, so the focus here is necessarily synoptic. The Nagas, who constitute a cluster of some 35<sup>4</sup> distinct hill peoples straddling the Indo-Myanmar border in the Eastern Himalayas (Franke 2012, Shimray 2005, Lintner 2015), and numbering between two and three million, have historically resisted incorporation into independent India and have fought for self-determination and independence. In this and many other respects, there are important parallels to the nearby hill peoples across the Myanmar border, many of whom also fought

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<sup>4</sup> There are 35 recognised as Scheduled Tribes in India's 1991 census. There is, however, some ambiguity and fluidity in the definition of who constitutes a Naga.

separatist insurgencies against the post-colonial state from the time of independence, followed by a wave of ceasefires since the 1990s.

As James Scott (2009) describes at length of the 'Zomia' region that this terrain naturally falls within, the hill/valley divide has historically marked Nagas apart in political, economic, and cultural terms from their nearest neighbours in the valleys of Assam and Manipur (Phanjoubam 2010). The geographical impenetrability of the hills made them difficult to access and govern, rendering them, a historically 'non-state space'. The existence of separate, parallel sources of authority in the Naga hills has its provenance in the relationship of the colonial state to Naga society. Beyond the nodal points of British control, society was constituted at the level of its largely autonomous, self-governing villages within larger tribal identities. In contrast to the valleys, the hills were governed by customary law and retained communal forms of land ownership to preserve the identity of the hill peoples and protect them from economic exploitation. The most significant socio-cultural transformation that took place in this period came through the religious conversion of most Nagas to Christianity during the 19th and 20th centuries (Thomas 2016). Since independence and the accession of the princely state of Manipur to the Indian union, there have been several attempts made by Indian authorities to incorporate Naga customary institutions and create devolved institutions of governance for the 'scheduled tribes' of the hills within an overarching Indian governance structure. This has for the most part failed because of resistance not just from Nagas, but also from other non-Naga hill tribes.

From the mid-1940s, the Naga National Council (NNC) of A.Z. Phizo advocated self-determination for the Nagas, seeking to avoid an involuntary incorporation into independent India. After decolonisation, the NNC rejected the special status and a degree of autonomous self-government that the Nagas as 'scheduled tribes' were offered under the sixth schedule of India's 1950 constitution. During the 1950's, the NNC escalated the pace of their campaign for self-determination by conducting a plebiscite, unilaterally declaring independence, launching a boycott of Indian institutions, and promoting a parallel administration based on existing village and tribal structures. By the mid-1950s, this campaign had escalated into an increasingly militarised confrontation with Indian authorities, who inducted paramilitary forces, and later, the army to fight a counter-insurgency (Panwar 2017, Means 1971, Hazarika 1994).

Political negotiations and a ceasefire in the next two decades resulted in a series of compromise arrangements whereby the Indian government sought to address Naga aspirations within the Indian federal framework. Key among these were the formation of the state of Nagaland in 1962, and the Shillong Accord in 1975. However, dissatisfaction with the perceived inadequacies of these compromises led to a renewal of Naga militancy under the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). Formed in 1980 by Thuingaleng Muivah, Isak Swi Chu, and S.S. Khaplang, the NSCN subsequently split in 1988 into two rival factions, the Isak-Muivah group as the dominant group on the Indian side, and the Khaplang group dominant in Myanmar. It is in this context that the ceasefire of 1997 with the Isak-Muivah faction brought a



pause to the conflict. Effective initially only for a one year period, the ceasefire was subsequently renewed annually until 2007, when it was extended indefinitely.

The NSCN (IM) aims to create a state of 'Nagalim' or 'Greater Nagaland' that includes the territory of the present Indian state of Nagaland, along with the neighbouring, Naga populated areas in India and Myanmar. In India, alongside parts of the state of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, the most controversial part of the irredentist geography of Nagalim relates to the adjoining Naga populated areas in the hills of Manipur. The territorial claim to Nagalim is heavily contested by non-Naga groups who fall within its territory. In Manipur, this consists primarily of the Meitei people of the Manipur valley and also by other non-Naga hill peoples such as the Kukis. The protracted political deadlock in arriving at a final political solution means the Indian government and the NSCN(IM) have been trapped in the ambiguities and uncertainties of the ceasefire phase for two decades. The process of conflict resolution has been suspended for an extended period in this interim stage: a half-way house which is neither war nor peace. In the absence of a resolution, the temporary provisions put in place to bring about an end to the violence have become a longer term reality. It is in this backdrop that the frozen military rivalry between the two sides has been channelled into demonstrative performances of expanding and deepening the reach of their civilian administrative institutions.

Of the three Naga-dominated districts in Manipur, Ukhrul has important specificities, and stands out for the extent of the NSCN(IM)'s dominance. This means that unlike other parts of the ceasefire terrain where control is more fragmented and tenuous due to the presence of smaller armed groups, there is here a relatively straight-forward situation with just the state and one large non-state armed group to contend with. It is similarly different from the situation in the Manipur valley, where there are multiple 'UGs' (underground groups) in operation, creating a more fragmented and contested terrain - although levels of violence have gradually reduced in recent years (Karnad and Jajo 2016, Bhosle 2015).

Ukhrul's peculiarity in this regard is entirely because it is predominantly populated by a single Naga tribe, the Tangkhuls. Tangkhuls comprise over 90 percent of the population, and are closely insinuated within the NSCN(IM)'s organisation and hierarchy. The NSCN(IM) leader, Thuingaleng Muivah is himself a Tangkhul from Ukhrul, as are a disproportionate share of the cadres. The districts of Senapati and Tamenglong also have significant but lesser NSCN(IM) influence on the ground, largely because of the greater presence of non-Tangkhul and non-Naga populations. In that sense, the focus on Ukhrul in this study is not intended to provide a representative case of the effects of the ceasefire across its terrain, but an illustrative case of the parallel governance system at its most acute. This generates a relatively simpler and more stable dyad upon which political order is generated and can be decomposed for analytical purposes.

#### **4. Security and the Military Equation**

Carl Schmitt (2007: 52) characteristically notes that ‘no form of order, no reasonable legitimacy or legality can exist without protection and obedience’. The regulation of the means of violent coercion is a foundational prerequisite for political order, and it assumes paramount importance at certain times, such as in the transition out of violent conflict. We thus begin the description of the parallel administration system in Ukhrul in terms of security and the military equation between the Indian security forces and the NSCN(IM).

What is important to note firstly is that under the ceasefire, the two sides are not geographically separated. Apart from a small radius around designated military camps,<sup>5</sup> there are no ceasefire lines, and no carved out areas of exclusive control to keep the combatants apart. The Indian security forces and the NSCN(IM) that they once fought against, are physically present alongside one another, cohabiting and exerting their authority over the same heavily forested hilly territory and its relatively sparse population. In Staniland (2012)’s typology of ‘wartime political orders’, this constitutes a relationship of ‘tacit coexistence’ with ‘managed expediency’ due to the fragmented control of territory and passive nature of state-insurgent cooperation. There is an ‘interweaving of state and non-state violent organizations in the context of fragmented, overlapping control’.<sup>6</sup>

The ceasefire agreement itself has a complicated series of parallel and shadow lives, both formal and informal. Firstly, the applicability of the ceasefire itself is a matter of much controversy. In de jure terms, the agreement is applicable only in the state of Nagaland, and not in Manipur, although there is an implicit understanding that it is actually in effect throughout the region. In practice, this means that it has been successful insofar as it has brought a sustained pause to the violent conflict, although this is not immediately apparent, because the security situation on the ground is often tenuous and prone to crisis. There is a constant stream of shootings, abductions, assaults, mass actions and strikes in and around Ukhrul town. Senior government officials have on more than one occasion had their cars set on fire, while the Chief Minister of Manipur’s helicopter was shot at in October 2016. The main road arteries in the district, leading to Imphal or Dimapur are often blockaded and shut down by armed groups or demonstrations. Commercial enterprises and traffic are routinely subject to ‘taxation’ by armed groups, and suffer punishment if they fail to pay.

This reality notwithstanding, there has, since the high point of the mid-1990s, been a considerable reduction in the incidence of violence. Even when it does not technically apply in Manipur, the ceasefire agreement provides a set of clear ground rules of conduct: both sides are committed to ending offensive operations against one another, and to take measures to prevent accidental violations from escalating. There is a ceasefire monitoring board composed of five representatives from either side, with a chairman appointed by the Indian government. The conditions under which this co-existence occurs is very significant to note: the ceasefire

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<sup>5</sup> Because of the ambiguous and controversial applicability of the ceasefire outside Nagaland, designated NSCN(IM) camps in Manipur are properly referred to as ‘taken note of’ camps.

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that we differ in this regard from Staniland’s own categorisation of the Indo-Naga case within his matrix, which he finds to be a case of ‘spheres of influence’ arising from segmented control.

agreement is not just a standstill between two equals, as the balance of restrictions in the rules are clearly in favour of the Indian side.

While the Indian security forces are committed to ‘not cause harassment/damage or loss of property or injury to the civilian population’, the NSCN(IM) has more onerous conditions, and is confined to a series of designated camps between which movements are restricted and controlled. They are furthermore required by the ground rules to desist from aiding other insurgent organisations, to end extortion (taxation), forced recruitment, or disrupting transport routes or government development projects. In other words, the agreement aspires to establish a system whereby the Indian state is clearly the dominant authority, preserving *de jure* and *de facto* control of the territory at large, while permitting the NSCN(IM) a peaceful, but carefully controlled, limited existence.

In practice, though, the realities on the ground are more relaxed and flexible than those in print. Its provisions are routinely subverted, and the Indian security forces appear to tolerate this. In Manipur, as in Nagaland, the NSCN(IM) is able to fluidly project coercive authority well beyond the bounds of its camps, often very openly and without challenge - although it is careful to calibrate that within a set of invisible red lines. With an estimated 5,000 armed cadres, and as an organisation that remains primarily military in its outlook and organisation, the NSCN(IM) is very aware that the political space and authority that it enjoys under the ceasefire derives ultimately from military strength, and from projecting a credible latent capacity to return to war. Consequently, military preparedness and coercion continue to play an important part for the NSCN(IM) both internally and externally. Internally, it serves to reinforce the NSCN(IM)'s pre-eminent position within Naga society, vis-à-vis rivals such as the Khaplang faction, giving it the authority to negotiate a political agreement with India. It provides the NSCN(IM) with the basis to assert domination over Naga society, wield control of a wider set of Naga customary institutions and civil society organisations, and also to enforce revenue collection such as tolls and taxes.

Externally, coercive violence serves largely to confront and contain rival organisations, to protect important sources of revenue, or to protect Naga villages against non-Nagas. For example, despite the heavy presence of Indian security forces in the area, it is the NSCN(IM) that is widely expected to keep Ukhrul safe from attacks by valley-based groups, and this expectation was shared even by members of the Indian administration.<sup>7</sup> Following a series of bomb blasts in civilian areas of Ukhrul in September and November 2014, the NSCN(IM) was reputed to have tracked down and dispensed retribution to the perpetrators.

The Indian security forces seek to contain the NSCN(IM) to some extent, by maintaining a significant presence to monitor unauthorised movements, disrupt tax collection, and prevent the NSCN(IM) from establishing new camps. This task is primarily the responsibility of the army, and more often, the paramilitary Assam Rifles, rather than the state police force. However, the

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<sup>7</sup> Interview, Government Official, 15-05-2016, Ukhrul

larger prerogative that both sides share of preserving the ceasefire means that there are limits even to covert and indirect forms of warfare, and a clear mutual sense of what constitutes permissible conduct. In practice, both sides observe a considerable degree of pragmatic tolerance and self-restraint, although these boundaries are constantly tested.

These unwritten rules are also more flexible, and can, within limits, change from one setting to another across the ceasefire terrain. For example, Indian security forces are more permissive of NSCN(IM) activity in Ukhrul, and less so elsewhere. An Indian military official described the calculation: 'It is totally different how we deal [with the NSCN(IM)] in Tamenglong (another district in Manipur with a Naga presence) and here. Here [Ukhrul] there is no other group. In Tamenglong, we see that they stay divided'.<sup>8</sup> That is, whereas the rules dictate that NSCN(IM) cadres in uniform and bearing arms outside designated camps are to be arrested, this rarely happens, and NSCN(IM) cadres are often on patrol in the open. Indian security forces on active patrol often inform the NSCN(IM) in order to avoid a confrontation, and local commanders keep in contact with their counterparts.<sup>9</sup>

In place of open confrontation, the contention between the two sides is instead pursued by other vicarious means such as covert attacks and indirect war through proxies. The NSCN(IM) has historically provided support, including weapons, to other separatist groups fighting the India state in the northeast, while the Indian intelligence services are reputed to promote rival militant organisations who undermine and attack the NSCN(IM). But even more importantly, the deployment of coercive authority takes place not solely through military violence, but through civilian force multipliers. In Ukhrul, where civilian support for the NSCN(IM) is widespread and deep, considerable pressure can be exerted through organised mass action. That is, Naga civil society organisations such as the Naga Student Federation or the United Naga Council (UNC) - are able to exert significant non-military coercive pressure, sometimes with devastating effectiveness through strikes and road blockades. Between November 2016 - March 2017 these groups brought the Manipur valley to a standstill with a four month blockade of the main road artery that connects the valley to the rest of India, triggering widespread shortages of fuel and many essential commodities. While these actions are often evidently set in motion and calibrated by the NSCN(IM) itself, the extent to which their coercive reach is conducted at arm's length, and through other organisations is testament to the broader reach and control that the organisation is able to exert.

In sum, the military equation between the two sides is contained under the ceasefire, but it retains a certain element of fluidity even so. The formal military standstill is, within limits, undermined and subverted by the covert projection of military power, but also through the overt projection of non-military coercive power. For this reason, the political order that has emerged under the ceasefire is a function not just of the *de jure* military standstill that is

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<sup>8</sup> Interview, Indian military officer, 25-03-2017, Ukhrul

<sup>9</sup> Emblematic of this is an Assam Rifles officer we interviewed who candidly described how he often crossed paths with the NSCN(IM) while both sides were on patrol, and had developed a rapport with his opposite number. Interview, Assam Rifles officer, 25-03-2017, Ukhrul

formally delineated, but also of the more complex *de facto* arrangements of the way coercive authority has come to be deployed under it.

## 5. Civil Administration

*After the 1997 ceasefire, we function openly. We have been running the government in 26 regions. All cases were brought to the GPRN. All disputes: village, individuals, all courts are Naga. No one goes to India. We settle the disputes - Kilo Kilonser (Home Minister) NSCN-IM.*<sup>10</sup>

The Indian governance structure in Ukhrul follows the standardised template that is common to district level administration through the rest of the country. Headed by a career civil servant of the rank of District Commissioner (DC), the administration is responsible for a range of functions, including law and order, development schemes, and revenue. Law and order is provisioned through five police stations in Ukhrul headed by a Superintendent of Police, and staffed with 200 police personnel (Statistical yearbook of Ukhrul 2014). The district administration coordinates with central and state level ministries and departments on a wide range of functions such as elections, policing, public health, education, irrigation, rural development, and other welfare schemes. Beyond these, the Indian administration and the related public sector bodies also serve another important function as the most important source of formal sector employment in an area where education levels are rising but the formal private sector has a weak presence. Related to this, the steady flow of government contracts and their multiplier effects also constitute the most important source of private sector accumulation and employment. The Indian state as such, encompasses the lives of people in Ukhrul in multiple dimensions through a well funded, staffed, and multi-faceted machinery of governance.

The NSCN(IM)'s administration at the district level is, just as with the Indian system, a component of a larger multi-level hierarchy of governance across the terrain of control claimed as the Naga homeland or Nagalim. At the apex of the structure is the executive, composed of the prime minister, who is the NSCN(IM)'s general secretary, Thuingaleng Muivah. The prime minister is in charge of four major ministries (Defence, Home, Finance and Foreign Affairs) that sits alongside a legislative body, the *Tatar Hoho*. Administration is devolved into 26 regions, each of which is headed by an executive Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) and a local legislature or *Leacy*. In functional terms, the CAO of Ukhrul is the counterpart to the Indian system's District Commissioner, and has responsibility for local policing and justice based on customary law. According to a budget plan presented for the entire organisation, The NSCN(IM)'s overall budget, including civilian and military operations for all its areas of control is Rs 170 Cr for 2016-17, (approximately US\$25 million).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Interview, Rh Raising, 21-06-2016, Dimapur, Nagaland

<sup>11</sup> Sudeep Chakravarty (2016) A Rebel Needs a Cause and Budget. Livemint. 29 September 2016. Downloaded from: <http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/oEGSnUNKORezAQl8sDGrcI/A-rebel-needs-a-cause-and-budget.html#.WRMylskmS1Y.email> on 22 November 2016.

While the present system of parallel governance in Ukhrul has emerged under the protracted ceasefire, the origins and basis of the NSCN(IM)'s civilian administration lie in the longer history of the Naga movement for self-determination and independent statehood since 1947. The Naga National Council (NNC) that initially led the independence movement in the 1940s was composed as a federation of tribal councils, and was as such built on the existing structure of customary village governance at the time. The NNC leader A.Phizo declared independent statehood, boycotting Indian institutions, including elections, and launching an armed struggle. The subsequent generation of Naga activists from the 1960s moved beyond the customary framework to articulate a modern constitution with a pan-Naga governance structure, the *Yezhabo*, which continues to be the framework around which the present structure of the NSCN(IM)'s administration is based.

In other words, the assertion of statehood and governance institutions has for long been an important component of the contestation for power, and predates the 1997 ceasefire. However, the ceasefire and the cessation of violence has generated the opportunity for these institutions to function, expand their reach, and to evolve with respect to Indian governance structures. As the GPRN's *Kilo Kilonser* explained, 'during the struggling period, we had a civil setup, but it did not openly function'.<sup>12</sup> In contrast to the more loosely strung structure of governance of the early NNC years based largely on the existing village units, the NSCN(IM) has advanced a set of modern, centralised, pan-Naga governing institutions staffed with functionaries, that draw in, yet supersede and transcend customary village and tribal-based institutions.

## CHART 1

There remains widespread feeling among Nagas that their incorporation into India was involuntary, illegitimate, and very brutal, and that Indian institutions are an unwelcome alien imposition to be rejected, or at best, to be pragmatically endured. In contrast, the NSCN(IM)'s institutions inspire a patriotic reverence as the expression of a hard-fought struggle for independence that brought nationalist aspirations for self-rule to fruition. Moreover, NSCN(IM) institutions are valued because they are local, accessible, staffed by Nagas, and organically connected to customary institutions. As a Naga civil society worker explained, the NSCN(IM) builds on the values of collectivism of traditional Naga institutions and is seen as an extension of the same.<sup>13</sup> This view was also reiterated by an officer of the Indian State, who candidly admitted that 'We [the Indian administrative system] are the anomaly here.'<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Interview, Rh Raising, 21-06-2016, Dimapur, Nagaland

<sup>13</sup> Interview, NPHMR member 16-05-2016, Ukhrul

<sup>14</sup> Interview, Government Official, 15-05-2016, Ukhrul

At the same time, the NSCN(IM)'s support and legitimacy are not absolute, but also have limits that are being tested as the ceasefire drags on. As the organisation has extended its spheres of control, it has also come under a growing tide of criticism from within Naga society. In our interviews, we were able to detect a level of resentment directed particularly at two elements: the widespread taxation system and the culture of military authoritarianism. While the NSCN(IM) views their de-facto government as having a legitimate right to levy tax', (and the Kilo Kilonser described how 'no one refuses to pay',<sup>15</sup>) our interviews in Ukhrul suggest that there are tensions where the NSCN(IM) asks for extra taxes, particularly where this involves intimidation. One interviewee in Ukhrul described, 'In the 1980s and early 1990s, the IM had absolute respect. After the ceasefire, when they entered the contract business, they have lost legitimacy. Now obedience comes because they have guns.'<sup>16</sup> An NGO worker in Ukhrul described how 'people cannot voice their dissent because the IM are armed'.<sup>17</sup> Under these circumstances, there are a range of alternative voices and organisations that have emerged from within Naga society, particularly in nearby Nagaland, that have openly challenged the NSCN(IM) over issues ranging from women's representation and natural resource rights, to greater accountability.

In formal terms, the Indian government and NSCN(IM)'s civilian administration systems do not mutually recognise one another or have any nodes of connection. People in Ukhrul negotiate the existence of two different systems on a daily basis, and can in some cases opt for one over the other. The two sides have separate offices, albeit close to one another in Ukhrul town, but are derived from distinct histories, cultures, and rules of operation. There are in addition, large differences in their capacities, funding, and functions, so that they craft the form and content of governance in distinct ways. Both systems provide security through their military and police services, as well as forms of representation and judicial institutions. But most public services and social welfare beyond that, such as health, education, or employment schemes, are provided only by the Indian institutions, who fund these activities not on local taxes, but on a sizeable volume of fiscal transfers from the central treasury in New Delhi.

This is to some extent a challenge to the broader idea of contractarian legitimacy contained for example in Mampilly (2011), through which the authority to rule by non-state armed groups becomes legitimised and consensual through the provision of public services. Here instead, the model appears to be inverted because the NSCN(IM) clearly has deep public support and legitimacy without providing any services, while the Indian government, which does provide services, evidently lacks that legitimacy. This is not to suggest that service provision or legitimacy are irrelevant issues here, but the causal link between them is more complex and needs further investigation. In Nandini Sundar's research on the similar juncture between the Indian and the Maoist authorities in central India, she describes how 'Forced to choose, the poorer people across villages say they prefer the Maoist state but with a real sense of regret at

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>16</sup> Interview, student union member, 16-05-2016, Ukhrul

<sup>17</sup> Interview, NGO worker, 24-03-2017, Ukhrul

the government funds they are forced to forgo' (Sundar 2014:477). There are also insights into this paradox provided in Suykens (2015) comparison of the governance forms of the NSCN(IM) to those of the Maoist insurgency in central India. He finds that Naga rebels, who base their authority on ethnicity, extended security only to co-ethnics, expected all Nagas to pay taxes, and to submit to them. In contrast, the Maoists in central India, who lacked the concreteness of an ethnic link, were far more cautious in their governance, provided social services, and had to 'earn' the support of the people.

The NSCN(IM)'s approach to establishing its authority through civilian governance lies not in mirroring and competing with the far better funded Indian system. Instead it has a three-fold strategy that is able to maximise its presence drawing on widespread public support, depth of penetration into society, and the ability to project considerable coercive pressure. Firstly, in some spheres, such as security, policing, or taxation, there is an entirely parallel structure that is staffed and operated directly by cadres of the NSCN(IM). In Ukhrul, the Indian (Manipur state) police force is mirrored by the NSCN(IM)'s 'Town Command', an alternative police force of 25 staff. Town Command is widely considered more effective and accessible than the Indian (Manipur) police force. As one informant described 'you just give them a call, no formal complaint required.'<sup>18</sup> A senior Indian police official also confirmed that most people in Ukhrul would use Town Command over the police.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, this reputation for efficiency can amount to more summary and brutal forms of punishment, and people weigh issue when making decisions on who to approach. A Tangkhul Students Union member in Ukhrul who would normally call the Town Command in most cases, explained how in one instance which involved minors, he chose to call the police instead, because 'the Town Command can be a bit rough'.<sup>20</sup>

The GPRN also has an extensive, and autonomous revenue collection system which sustains the organisation. In contrast to the Indian institutions, which depend largely on transfers, the revenue for the GPRN is raised locally, based on taxing revenue from households, commerce, employees, and government contracts. It is widely known that Naga salaried employees pay two percent of their salary (see image 2) and most village households pays a flat 250 Rupees. Image 4 is an official receipt acknowledging that five percent of the value of a government infrastructure contract was paid as tax to the NSCN(IM).

Secondly, there are other areas of governance where the NSCN(IM) does not directly establish institutions, but draws on, co-opts, and dominates existing Naga customary institutions and civil society organisations. In terms of land transactions, justice, and dispute resolution, the NSCN(IM) governs by connecting its institutions of policing with existing customary institutions, and this is the process that most people in Ukhrul will opt for over the Indian court system. Village and tribal justice institutions are hierarchically organised into an overarching structure,

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<sup>18</sup> Interview, civil society member, 16-05-2016, Ukhrul

<sup>19</sup> Interview, senior police officer, 17-05-2016, Ukhrul

<sup>20</sup> Interview, student union member, 16-05-2016, Ukhrul



(see chart 2) at the apex of which lies the NSCN(IM)'s own supreme oversight body, the National Judicial Body (NJB). An Indian official described:

*First they (the people of Ukhrul) would go to the village authorities as a first court. Then they would go to the TNL [Tangkhul Naga Long] or IM [NSCN(IM)], there is not much difference between them. If this doesn't work, they come to us [the Indian institutions] as a last resort.*<sup>21</sup>

## INSERT CHART 2

In addition to the judicial system, the NSCN(IM) also wields strong influence in a range of other civic and tribal organisations, such as the Tangkhul Naga Long (TNL), along with women's and student organizations. The NSCN(IM) greatly influences the decisions and functioning of most Naga customary and civil society organizations, to the extent that they serve to extend and amplify the organisation's voice and reach deep within society. This influence is often voluntary, and many are openly sympathetic to the NSCN(IM). However, the mechanisms of cooption and control can often be very coercive. In one particularly shocking case in 2013, the NSCN(IM) killed Jonathan Kashung, the front-runner in the election to the presidency of an important tribal body, the Tangkhul Naga Long (TNL), allowing their preferred candidate, Artax Shimray to win.

Thirdly, in other areas, including public service provision and welfare, the NSCN(IM) extends its authority over civilian governance indirectly, by influencing or even gaining control over parts of the Indian political and governance structure. This occurs on the one hand through influencing elections and exerting pressure on Naga elected representatives to the state Legislative Assembly and Autonomous Development Council (ADC), so that they act in accordance with the organisation's directives. On the other hand, influence over governance is also exerted through pressure over the Indian government's administration officials, primarily to direct the flow of contracts and resources.

In Ukhrul, more so than other areas, the NSCN(IM) is able to direct what government schemes are to be implemented, where, and most importantly, by which contractor. The *Kilo Kilonser* elaborated that 'state employees, MLA's and MP's need to be with us as we are the people's government. If they are not, we need to change it. They have to pay loyalty to the GPRN.'<sup>22</sup> While influence over the administration is most effective with lower level officials, who are mostly Tangkhuls from Ukhrul, the NSCN(IM) also exerts pressure on senior officials, who are mostly not Nagas. Indeed, Indian bureaucrats who are found to be uncooperative in this regard have been pressured to leave Ukhrul and seek a transfer, and one recent DC was even being forced to flee in secret due to the threat to his life.

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<sup>21</sup> Interview, senior police officer, 17-05-2016, Ukhrul

<sup>22</sup> Interview, Rh Raising, 21-06-2016, Dimapur, Nagaland

The NSCN(IM) influences and even explicitly directs the award of government contracts by issuing recommendation letters. Image 3 is a copy of one such letter of recommendation, directing the district administration to award the construction work on a cement footpath to a particular contractor. The recommendation is worded as 'binding and final', and to be treated as 'top priority without any changes'. On most infrastructure projects like this, the tax is five percent, and is transparently accounted for, with official receipts provided as proof of payment. Image 4 shows a receipt issued by the NSCN(IM) from the contractor of a Border Area Development Programme (BADP) project. With flagship welfare schemes like the national rural employment guarantee scheme (NREGS), the tax collected from the various parties can be as much as 20 percent of the total funds.

This form of taxation is not restricted to Ukhrul or the NSCN(IM): government contracts routinely attract demands for 'tax' by armed groups in the rest of Manipur and the north-east. Outside Ukhrul, and in places where there are rival armed groups, competition over the control of this lucrative source of revenue is fierce, and leads to violent clashes. Paradoxically, this process of predatory rent extraction is fuelled by the high volume of fiscal transfers from New Delhi, the intended purpose of which is to use economic resources to diminish the underlying causes of conflict. By constructing infrastructure projects, implementing welfare schemes, and providing government employment, the underlying motive of the Indian government is to generate bonds of economic linkage and contractarian legitimacy to counteract the weak loyalty that many feel to India. However, in practice, it appears to do the reverse, and fuels violence, and in the case of Ukhrul, forms a substantial part of the revenue base that the NSCN(IM) uses to maintain a parallel governance structure. Despite the constant flow of funds, the Indian administration in Ukhrul is often viewed as a barely tolerated outsider. As one informant in the administration described:

*People do not view this as their government. They look at the government just as a source of money. It comes along with no obedience, no loyalty. They pay no taxes and they do not consider us theirs.*<sup>23</sup>

## **6. Implications and Conclusions**

This paper has drawn on evidence from Ukhrul in the Indian state of Manipur to explain how political order has taken form in the aftermath of a lengthy period of insurgent conflict. Under the Indo-Naga ceasefire, the two contending parties have, in addition to a regulated military co-existence, constructed a parallel system of institutions to exert governing authority over the civilian population. Political order is not monopolised by any one single governing authority, but is, as Boege et al (2009) described, a 'hybrid' between the two.

Upon closer inspection, this hybrid arrangement is composed of three distinct levels of interaction. Firstly, one category of structures (primarily security) is parallel and coordinated.

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<sup>23</sup> Interview, government official, 15-05-2016, Ukhrul

There are matching pairs of institutions which are mutually recognised under the written agreement, with oversight, monitoring, and restraint to regulate and preserve that separateness. Secondly, there is a set that are parallel but uncoordinated - such as the judiciary, and police. That is, there are competing pairs of institutions, but there is no formal recognition, or much informal interaction between the two sides. People can to some extent choose between the two. Thirdly, there is a category of governance institutions and practices where the presence is one-sided, and where the other lacks a commensurate counterpart. Indian institutions provide a range of services that has no parallel equivalent, but they nevertheless come under the substantial influence of the NSCN(IM), which is able to direct and control many of their activities and spending.

What is it that can be concluded from this layered reality and what are its likely consequences for conflict resolution? There are two ways in which this the trajectory of this co-existence can be understood and interpreted.

On the one hand, it can be viewed in terms of the dysfunctionality of the outcome and the separateness of its parts. Under the protracted ceasefire and the parallel system that it has spawned, the conflict has remained frozen, irresolute, contentious, and heavily militarised. The Indian government is unable to secure a monopoly on violence and to effectively enforce the provisions of its own ceasefire. New Delhi's steady supply of funds and provision of services fails to buy legitimacy, but may actually serve to undermine its authority and sustain a parallel system. The NSCN(IM) in contrast, enjoys significant public legitimacy but is largely dependent on taxing the flow of funds provided by the Indian government for its sustenance, and is as such, also constrained and lacks autonomy. The necessary constituent elements of state formation: the control of violence, economic activity, and legitimacy, fail to come together in the body of any one authority but are haphazardly shared between two entities that deliberately keep a distance from one another. This creates a schizophrenic and incoherent political order that is frequently prone to breakdown.

On the other hand, there is a different, more forgiving explanation that is available by viewing institutional co-existence in its totality, as an evolving, productive system. The answer to the apparent contradiction between the Indian government's provision of services and the NSCN(IM)'s enduring legitimacy may be that they should be seen not as separate state entities, but as component parts of an improvised, interlocking, evolving whole. The presence of nominally separate and rival forms of authority belies the fact that they do not just co-exist but actually cohere, albeit with many problems, to piece together a system of order in which capital, coercion, and charisma are imperfectly brought together.

As Vanderkerckove (2011: 763) describes, the Indian government's Weberian ambition belies the fact that 'the state lacked *de facto* sovereign control in major parts of Northeast India'. Both in Manipur and elsewhere, substantial authority has for long been ceded to localised autocrats as part of a bargain to limit anti-government violence and to preserve the larger structure of Indian rule (Lacina 2009). As Sanjib Baruah (2009:3) describes: 'for the moment, in a region that

is peripheral to the national imaginary, the costs of letting low-intensity conflicts proliferate and fester are seen as affordable’.

The NSCN(IM)’s ability to tax and influence the spending and services funded by the Indian government means that it serves as the entity that can enable and activate public access to those services. The challenge of doing so successfully requires it to have the ability to sustain two distinct forms of legitimacy. The first is based on identity and military capacity: it is the legitimacy that derives from being an authentic representative and protagonist of Naga identity and aspirations, from being a vibrant force of resistance to the Indian state. The second is a more contractarian form of legitimacy that derives from the ability to act as the gatekeeper that enables people to access the services and material benefits of the same state: employment, infrastructure, poverty alleviation schemes. As Lund (2006:689) describes, their ‘public authority seems to manifest itself in an ambiguous process of being and opposing the state’.

Their ambitions of separate statehood aside, the NSCN(IM)’s participation in a cohering system of political order is not dissimilar to the way that numerous former separatist rebels and ethnic militia leaders in other parts of the north-east operate. Using their ethnic credentials, organisational links, funding from the centre, and coercive power, former insurgents have over time become part of the structure of ‘legal’ electoral politics within the Indian federal system. This is not to predict that the NSCN(IM) will eventually embrace this outcome formally, but that the *de facto* practice and the way they manipulate Indian state institutions already resembles this. Indeed, even beyond the north-east, many elements of Ukhrul’s parallel governance have a family resemblance to the way that parochial sources of local authority across India, such as caste, compete with the state from the outside, while simultaneously capturing and corrupting it from the inside. As Hansen (2005: 191) describes, *de facto* sovereignty in India is not a monopoly, but is more broadly shared: ‘the right and the capacity to make decisions, to adjudicate, to govern, and even to kill and punish, historically has been distributed between a range of authorities and institutions in India’.

Under the ceasefire, and with the passive participation of the Indian authorities, the NSCN(IM) has occupied a space that leverages its military capacities and wide following in Naga society to fold in customary institutions and authority, and to channel and command the financial resources of the Indian state. In doing so, political order under the ceasefire has been forged in terms of the way this wide gap between the modern centralised state and the Nagas who historically lived in a ‘non-state space’ has been bridged. This does not mean that it is a satisfactory outcome for either side, but that the whole needs to be viewed differently from the frustrated ambitions of its constituent parts.

Which of these two interpretations is more accurate? In many ways, this the same question posed in evaluating other post-conflict territories such as Afghanistan, Iraq, or the Democratic Republic of Congo. Are the fragile, unstable and contested governance authorities that emerge in these territories to be understood as having failed for producing dysfunctional and weak

formal state institutions? Or are they 'work in progress' arrangements evolving into shape between plural sources of authority that are learning painfully how to live together? Is instability, violence, and corruption evidence of failure? Or is to be viewed as a preferred alternative to war, and a necessary transitional step in the long and non-linear path to stable political order?

In the Indo-Naga ceasefire, as in the cases such as Afghanistan, the evidence available to judge between these two possible explanations is ambiguous and contradictory. The situation remains tentative, and prone to numerous contingencies and unpredictable outside influences that can lead it in different directions. Many of the very confident evaluations and categorical assertions of the one or the other are in reality speculative, and based on the premature interpretation of inconclusive and fragmentary evidence. If a functional political order is indeed evolving organically, then it is inching forward very slowly. This is perhaps to be expected given that the area has historically been a 'non-state' space, and the time that has elapsed under the ceasefire is brief in comparison.

In the meanwhile, there is a third explanation that sits astride and accommodates both functionality and dysfunctionality. That is, there is a deadlocked process of conflict resolution and persistent failure because it forms a stable equilibrium in its own right, in which there are many beneficiaries. As David Keen (2006) explains, violence and disorder are not simply irrational failures but have a logic of their own, and serve the interests of those who perpetuate it. The prolonged period of uncertainty in the Indo-Naga ceasefire persists because its key stake-holders either benefit directly from it, or find the alternative too costly – in political, military or economic terms, to contemplate. At one level, the ceasefire and the parallel system has empowered and enriched a range of actors at different levels. At another level, any negative evaluation of the dysfunctions of the parallel system will have to bear in mind the reality that the conflict is deadlocked into a mutually configured dead-end. The impossibility of resolving the multi-sided nature of the conflict and the zero-sum territorial equation between the Nagas and the Meiteis means that the only counter-factual reality may be a return to violence and an end to what is for some, a relatively comfortable and lucrative co-existence. The ambiguities of the ceasefire, and the multiple layers of de jure versus de facto versions of reality that it sustains, provide a face-saving device that can be used creatively by all sides to maintain stability by promoting a set of useful fictions. For the Nagas, it is the fiction that they have a state and self-governing territory which will eventually become sovereign. For the Meiteis, it is the fiction that they have preserved the borders of their state. For the Indian government, it is the fiction that they have control and govern throughout the territory of India.

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CHART 1

Functional Parallels: Ukhrul

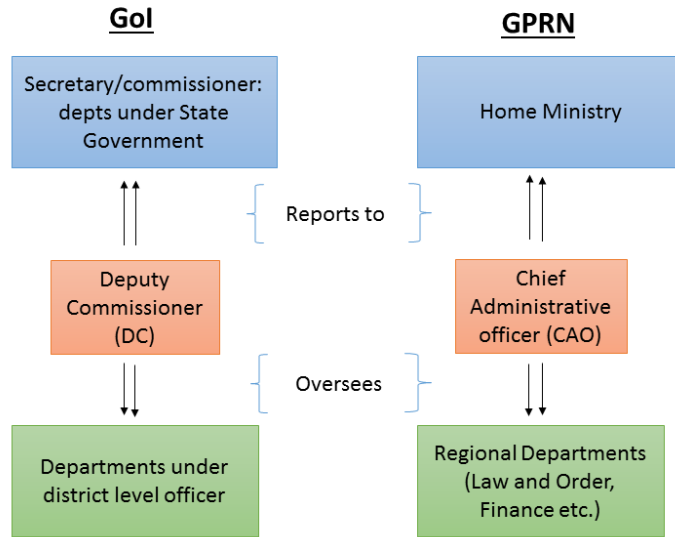


CHART 2

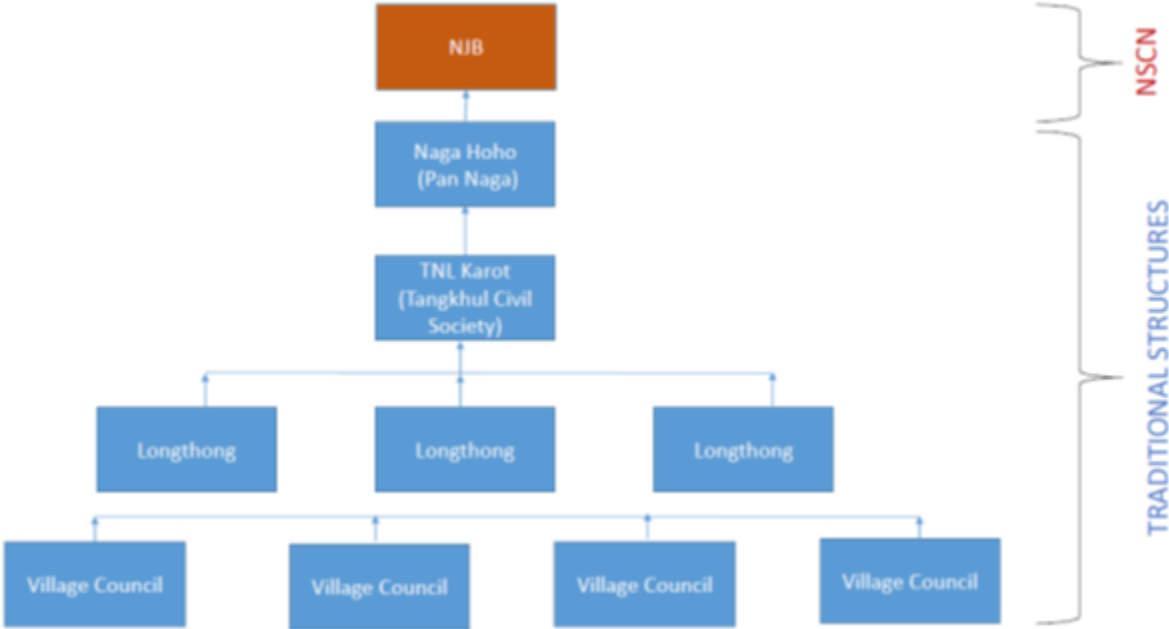


IMAGE 1



IMAGE 2:

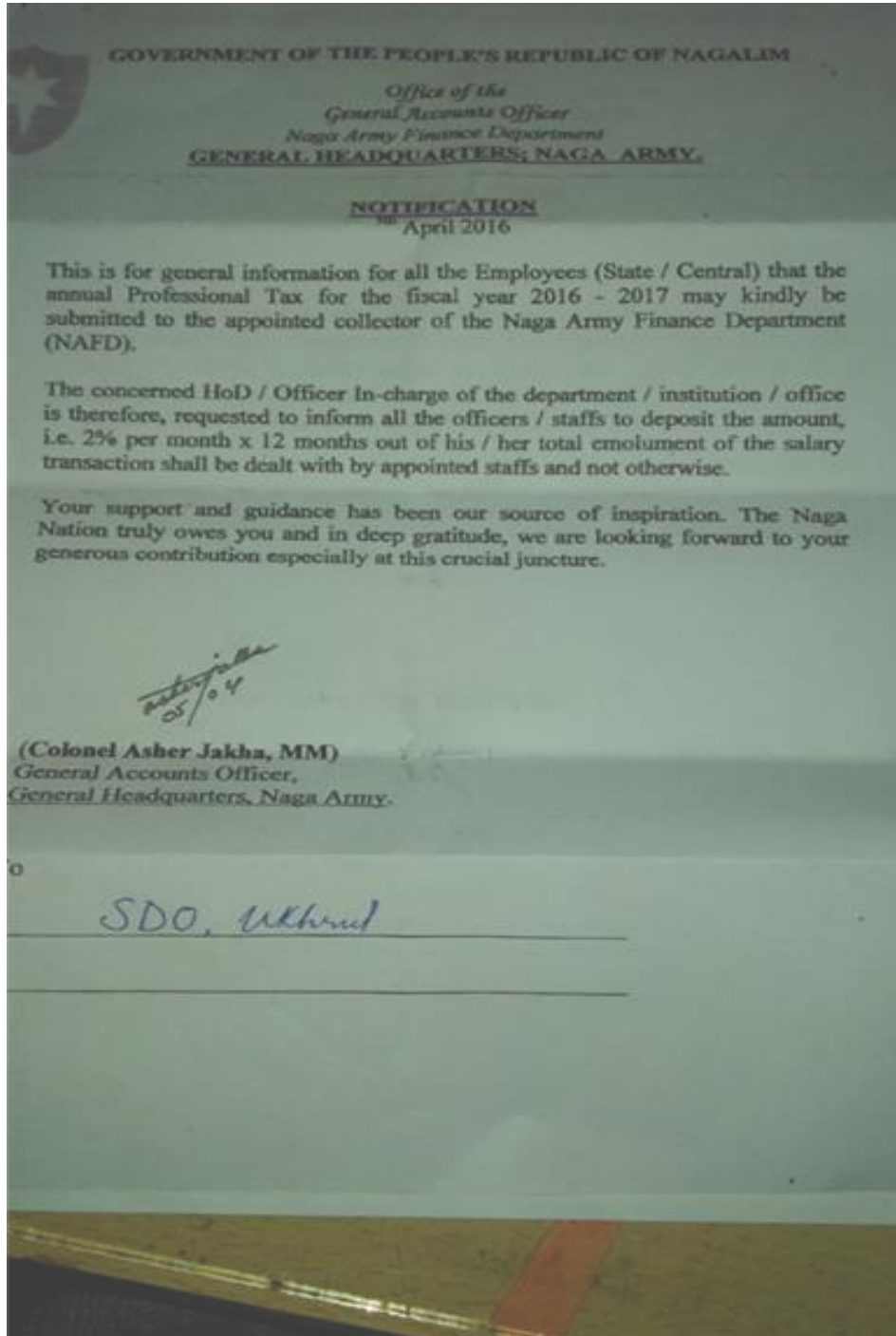


IMAGE 3

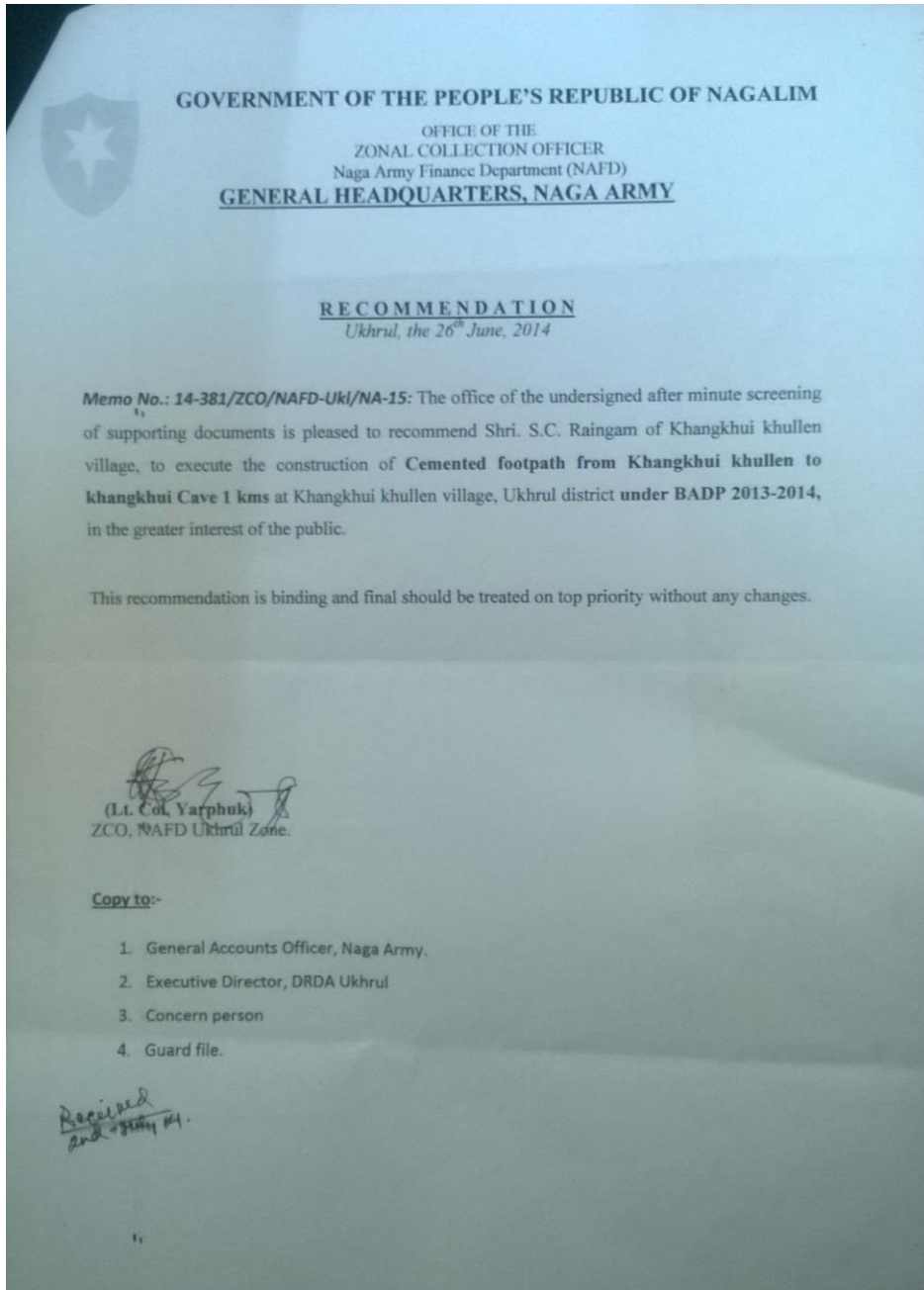


IMAGE 4

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF NAGALIM  
(CNS)  
Sl. No. 86      31<sup>st</sup> March 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2016      Date: 17/7/15  
Received a sum of rupees (Twenty five thousand only)  
on account of 5% BADP - Land Reclamation  
from Mr./Mrs. Nangbi Yaoringpau  
Rs. 25,000/-  
Issuing Authority