

Appeal: President Trump to Resolve the Indo–Naga Conflict

With humility and profound sincerity, we, the Naga people, appeal to the United States regarding the unresolved Indo–Naga political conflict. For over seven decades, our communities have endured immense suffering and uncertainty, awaiting a just and honorable settlement that remains elusive.

Historically, the Nagas were **never part of India or Myanmar by "conquest or consent."** Our distinct identity and sovereignty were never relinquished. Despite decades of dialogue and ceasefires, a fair resolution of our political status remains denied. This prolonged injustice has stolen the fruits of peace and security from our people, casting a shadow of instability over a strategically critical region that links India, China, and Myanmar.

Our ancestral homeland, Nagalim, spans roughly **50,000 square miles—a land comparable to the size of the country of Greece and the state of Alabama.** This land is rich in untapped natural resources. More than **95% of our people are Christians**, guided by the democratic values, faith, and English language brought by American Baptist missionaries in the 1800s.

Furthermore, the Naga people fought **side-by-side with American and Allied forces in World War I and World War II.** Our contributions were crucial to the Allied victory in the Battle of Kohima, and Naga communities rescued downed American pilots during the Burma Campaign.

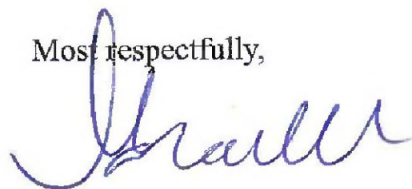
We therefore turn to you with hope and trust. We earnestly seek the **good offices of the United States to help forge a conclusive, just, and durable solution** to the Indo–Naga conflict. We demand a settlement that **recognizes the rights, dignity, and aspirations of the Naga people**, while ensuring lasting peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

We ask you to be the architects of a peace that has been delayed for generations. Your courageous intervention, supported by our shared history, would end generations of suffering and secure a historic legacy of peace, prosperity, and strategic stability in Asia.

Conclusion

America brought us the Gospel and democratic values. Today, we ask America to help us secure the peace in which these precious gifts can finally flourish. With your support, the Naga people can achieve freedom, dignity, and **self-determination.** A peaceful Nagalim will become a bridge of friendship in a troubled region. With your leadership, this vision can become a triumphant new chapter in history.

Most respectfully,



Naga-American Council

One-Naga-Voice

Nagalim: Strategic and Economic Briefing for the United States

Table of Contents

I. Executive Summary

- Overview of Nagaland/Nagalim's strategic location, resources, and U.S. opportunities

II. Introduction: Understanding Nagaland/Nagalim

- Geographic, demographic, and socio-economic context
- Overview of Naga-inhabited areas in India and Myanmar

III. Historical Context of the Naga People

- Pre-colonial and colonial history
- Political history and formation of Nagaland
- Naga self-determination movements and negotiations

IV. Cultural and Religious Identity of the Nagas

- Role of Christianity and American missionary influence
- Language, literacy, and social structures
- Traditional governance and social cohesion

V. Legal and Human Rights Framework

● A. Naga Self-Determination and Governance Structures

- Naga political organizations and councils
- Right to self-determination under international law

● B. Human Rights and Oppressive Laws

- Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA)
- Restricted Area Permit system (RAP)
- Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA)
- Historical Christian persecution

● C. Constitutional and Legal Protections (Article 371A)

- Application within Nagaland
- Limitations in Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, and Myanmar
- Linkage to economic and resource governance

VI. Geography and Strategic Location of Nagaland/Nagalim

- Terrain, rivers, forests, and natural defenses
- Position within the Chindia Corridor
- Geopolitical implications for India, Myanmar, and the Indo-Pacific

VII. Economic and Natural Resource Overview

- **A. Agriculture and Forestry**
 - Crops, shifting agriculture, and sustainable practices
 - Eco-tourism potential and rural livelihoods
- **B. Energy Resources (Oil, Gas, Hydropower)**
 - Hydropower potential and grid integration
 - Limited oil and gas reserves and energy diversification
- **C. Rare Earth and Critical Minerals**
 - **1. Nagaland/Nagalim (India)**
 - Monazite, Bastnäsite, Tin, Tungsten, Molybdenum, Chromite, Copper, Gold, Graphite, Kaolin
 - Applications in high-tech, aerospace, renewable energy
 - **2. Sagaing and Kachin Districts (Myanmar)**
 - Bauxite, Zircon, Tantalum, Niobium, Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Mica, Rare Earth Oxides
 - Integration with Indian deposits for Chindia Corridor supply chains

VIII. Opportunities for U.S. Engagement in Infrastructure and Trade

- **A. Road Networks**
 - Strategic highways, redundancy, and trade facilitation
- **B. Rail Connectivity**
 - Bulk transport of minerals and agricultural products
- **C. Ports and Cross-Border Trade**
 - River ports and overland access to Indian seaports
- **D. Historical and Contemporary U.S.–Naga Alignment: Trust, Faith, and Economic Opportunity**
 - 2023 G20/B20 MOUs for economic development
 - Shared Christian heritage and American missionary influence
 - English language alignment and historical WWI/WWII cooperation
 - Preference of Nagas to work first with American partners
 - Implications for FPIC, transparency, and investor confidence

IX. Security Considerations and Strategic Partnerships

- **A. Military Strategic Alliance Opportunities**
 - Historical U.S.–Naga cooperation (WWI & WWII)
 - Potential for U.S.-Naga strategic bases in Myanmar
- **B. Local and Regional Security Considerations**
 - AFSPA, insurgencies, border control, and law enforcement

X. Policy Recommendations by Department

- **A. White House / Executive Branch**
- **B. Department of State**
- **C. Department of Defense**
- **D. Department of International Trade**

XI. Conclusion: Path Forward for Sustainable Development and Strategic Partnership

- Integration of infrastructure, resource development, and governance
- Linking economic development to rights-based peace and regional stability
- Strategic benefits to the U.S., Nagas, and the Indo-Pacific

A “win-win” Strategic Economic Appeal and Briefing with Nagaland/Nagalim

I. Executive Summary

Nagaland/Nagalim, comprising the Indian state of Nagaland, select Naga-inhabited hill districts of Manipur, and Myanmar’s Naga Self-Administered Zone (SAZ), is uniquely positioned at the heart of the Chindia Corridor. This region bridges India and Myanmar and serves as a critical nexus for trade, natural resource extraction, and regional influence extending into the broader Indo-Pacific. Its mountainous terrain, extensive river systems, and dense forests create both natural defenses and opportunities for high-value, controlled economic development.

The region is exceptionally rich in agricultural productivity, hydropower potential, and critical minerals such as monazite, bastnäsite, tin, tungsten, molybdenum, chromite, copper, gold, graphite, kaolin, bauxite, zircon, tantalum, niobium, and rare earth oxides. Collectively, these resources represent roughly one-third of the Chindia Corridor’s total critical mineral wealth. Lawful development of these resources, particularly under community-consented frameworks, aligns with U.S. strategic interests in energy security, industrial supply-chain diversification, and Indo-Pacific stability.

Historically, the Nagas have maintained strong Christian traditions, shaped significantly by American missionaries, and have deep ties with the United States through shared language, education, and cultural affinity. During both World Wars, Nagas cooperated closely with Allied forces, including U.S. strategic efforts, establishing a foundation of trust. In 2023, Nagaland and Manipur hosted the G20/B20 for the first time, resulting in over two dozen countries signing memoranda of understanding for economic development. The Naga people’s historical alignment with American values and Christianity positions them as natural partners for U.S.-led initiatives.

Strategic infrastructure development—including road, rail, energy, and digital networks—can transform Nagalim from a historically contested frontier into a model corridor for trade, lawful resource management, and regional security. Embedding Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) and governance protections under Article 371A ensures both economic opportunity and rights-based stability. A coordinated U.S. approach can enable lawful access to critical minerals, energy resources,

and trade corridors while reinforcing democratic governance, humanitarian protection, and regional security.

II. Introduction: Understanding Nagaland/Nagalim

Nagalim occupies the rugged northeastern frontier of India, also bordering China and extending into northern Myanmar. The region spans Nagaland in India, select Naga-inhabited hill districts of Manipur, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and the Naga Self-Administered Zone (SAZ) in Myanmar, encompassing approximately 50,000 square miles of predominantly mountainous terrain about the same size as the country of Greece and the US state of Alabama. The topography, characterized by deep river valleys, dense forests, and plateaus, has historically isolated communities while preserving rich ecological diversity.

Demographically, the **4.5 million Nagas** are a conglomerate of approximately 66 tribes, sharing the English language, social structures, and customary law traditions. Over 95% of the population practices Christianity, primarily Baptist, with literacy and education strongly influenced by historical American missionary initiatives in 1831. This shared linguistic and religious heritage establishes cultural alignment with American partners, facilitating communication, trust, and community consent for development initiatives.

Economically, Nagalim remains underdeveloped but resource-rich. Agriculture, forestry, hydropower, and critical minerals form the economic backbone. Cross-border dynamics with Myanmar amplify its strategic significance, as northern Myanmar's Naga regions complement Indian deposits of rare earth and critical minerals. The region's position within the Chindia Corridor offers potential for integrated trade, energy transmission, and supply-chain diversification critical to U.S. and allied interests in the Indo-Pacific.

III. Historical Context of the Naga People

The Nagas have a long and complex history, predating British colonization. Indigenous tribes maintained semi-autonomous villages governed by customary law.

The history of the Nagas is vast, layered, and deeply rooted in oral traditions, lived experiences, and colonial records. A comprehensive overview of the genuine overall history of the Nagas from origins, traditions, and encounters with outside powers to the modern political struggles is mentioned below:

Origins and Early History:

- The Nagas are an indigenous people of the Indo-Myanmar frontier, inhabiting what is today Nagaland, parts of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, and northwestern Myanmar.
- Their origins are traced through oral traditions, folklore, and migration stories, not through a single written ancestral root to various migration routes, often linked to Tenyimi, Ao, Konyak, Angami, Sumi, Lotha, and other tribal traditions.
- Archaeological and anthropological evidence suggests that Nagas belong to the Tibeto-Burman ethno-linguistic family, likely migrating centuries ago from East and Southeast Asia.

Traditional Naga Society

- Naga life revolved around villages, which were independence political units, each self-sufficient with its own governance.
- Society was egalitarian, republic and democratic in nature; decisions were made collectively by councils of elders.
- Each village had unique customs, dialects, and identity, yet they shared cultural similarities in headhunting traditions, warrior ethos, festival (like Sekrenyi, Moatsu, Lui-NGai-Ni) and agriculture (jhum/shifting cultivation).
- Youth played a central role in educating young Nagas about their culture, warfare, and responsibility.

The Coming of Outsiders

● **The Ahoms and other Kingdoms**

- Historically, Nagas were never fully conquered by neighboring kingdoms such as the Ahoms of Assam or the Burmese kingdoms.
- There were occasional trade, raids, and conflicts, but Nagas retained their independence.

Colonial annexation introduced external administrative structures, disrupting traditional governance while reinforcing Naga resilience and cohesion.

British Colonial Period (1826-1947)

After the Treaty of Yandaboo (1826), the British East India Company took control of Assam and came into contact with the Nagas.

The British faced fierce resistance from Naga warriors during their expeditions. The Naga Hills many areas remained unadministered. 80% were left under excluded zone & in Manipur under British Court, never under the King.

Christian missionaries (from the 1870s onward, especially American Baptists) brought education, literacy (Roman script for Naga languages), and Christianity, which profoundly transformed Naga society. American Baptist Missionaries were made to functions free giving education, health care & farming.

By the early 20th century, Nagas had developed a new political consciousness, blending their traditions with modern education.

Present Day Naga Society

The Naga today are known for their rich cultural identity, resilience, and Christian faith (over 95% are Christians).

Despite decades of conflict, Nagas have produced leaders in education (the highest English literacy rate in all of India, sports, music literature, and politics).

The struggle for peace and dignity continues, with the hope of an honorable and acceptable

solution that respects Naga history and identity.

Core Truth of Naga History

Nagas were “**never conquered by force or consent**” by either India or Myanmar.

The Naga’s history is one of independence, resilience, and continuous assertion of self-determination.

Colonialism, partition, and post-1947 politics divided the Naga homeland.

Today, their journey is about healing past wounds finding reconciliation, and securing a future of peace with justice.

Post-independence, the Nagas sought self-determination, culminating in the formation of Nagaland in 1963 under the 16-Point Agreement and the 13th Amendment, which included Article 371A. Defenders of their land, demands for Greater Nagalim, and ongoing negotiations shaped the political landscape throughout the 20th century.

Key historical points include:

- Persistent demands for political autonomy and recognition of self-governance.
- Reestablishing their original land in 2/3 of Northeast India and the 1/3 in Myanmar division was caused by the decolonization by the British
- Repeated efforts at peaceful settlement with India, including ceasefires and accords facilitated by the Indian government, NGOs, and international observers.

This history underscores Nagas’ desire for self-determination, effective governance, and economic autonomy, all of which are central to modern development and U.S. strategic engagement

Key Political Pillars of the Naga Position:

Emergence of Naga Nationalism

1918: Formation of the Naga Club —educated Naga, ex-servicemen of World War I, and leaders came together. In 1929, the Naga Club famously submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission, declaring: “Leave us alone to ourselves...we are different from Hindus, Muslim & Buddhism”.

1946: Naga National Council (NNC) was formed under A.Z. Phizo.

August 14, 1947 —a day before India’s independence, the NNC declared Naga independence.

Indo-Naga Political Conflict

The Government of India rejected the declaration. In 1951, the NNC claimed that 99.9% of Nagas supported independence in a plebiscite.

From the 1950s, armed conflict erupted between Naga nationalists and Indian armed forces.

The Indian government enacted the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), leading to decades of militarization, human rights abuses and suffering.

Peace Efforts and Statehood

1963: Nagaland was created as the 16th state of India, following negotiations, but this did not settle the political question of sovereignty.

1975: Shillong Accord –some underground leaders agreed to accept the Indian Constitution, but this caused splits.

1980s: formation of the NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagalim) under leaders like Isak Chishi Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah, and S.S. Khaplang. This group sought complete independence and a “Greater Nagalim” uniting all Naga-inhabited areas across India and Myanmar

The NSCN later split into NSCN-IM and NSCN-K, both continuing the armed movement.

Ceasefires and Ongoing Peace Talks on the Indian side

1997: A ceasefire was signed between the Government of India and NSCN-IM. This marked the beginning of the longest ongoing peace negotiations in South Asia. Over 600 hundred rounds of peace talks has happened all over the world. Some in 3rd party countries and some in India.

2015: Framework Agreement was signed between the Prime Minister of India and NSCN-IM, recognizing the “unique history of the Nagas” and seeking a permanent settlement. However, disagreements over a separate flag, constitution, and territorial integration remain unresolved.

2017: NNPGs also signed the 2017 Agreed Position with the Indian government committing to a political solution.

2018-Present: Currently India has not fulfilled their promises to these two major factions thus stalling any movement for the next phase of Nagas rights to self -determination. As a result of India’s divide and rule policy to crush the Nagas rights to live free from oppression and many more parties (factions) have evolved.

So, there is currently no consensus on an honorable agreement that satisfies all Nagas in North East India and Myanmar. This is where we ask for President Trump's rare experience to break the deadlock

and flesh out a road map for peace and prosperity for the future.

Nagas in Myanmar

Myanmar: Exclusion from Panglong (1947): The Panglong Agreement of February 12, 1947, signed by General Aung San and representatives of the Chin, Kachin, and Shan peoples, laid the basis for the Union of Burma. The Naga people, however, were neither invited to participate nor represented in this conference. As a result, no Naga consent was obtained for inclusion in the Union.

No Conquest, No Consent: Historically, Naga territories remained independent of Burmese kingdoms. During the colonial period, the British administered the Naga Hills as a **Frontier Tract**, directly under the Governor and separate from Burma Proper. At independence in 1948, Naga lands were incorporated into Burma **without consultation** and later consolidated through **military presence**, rather than through voluntary agreement.

1. **Panglong Principles and Naga Rights:** The Panglong Agreement provided for ethnic rights, autonomy, and even the possibility of secession for the Chin, Kachin, and Shan. Since the Nagas were excluded from Panglong, they cannot be bound by it. On the contrary, their exclusion affirms that they retain their **original and distinct political status**.
2. **Right to Self-Determination:** By principles of international law and the UN Charter, no people may be incorporated into a state without their consent. The Nagas of Burma, therefore, maintain the right to determine their own political future, in line with the universal principle of self-determination.
3. Naga areas in northwestern Myanmar (Lahe, Layshi, Nanyung in Sagaing Region) were historically independent like their Indian counterparts.
4. They were included in Myanmar without Naga consent.
5. Today, the Naga Self-Administered Zone exists under Myanmar's 2008 Constitution, but like in India, aspiration for full self-determination remains.

As successor state, Myanmar confirmed the colonial frontier in 1967 through the India–Burma Boundary Agreement and recognizes Naga institutions through the Constitution of Myanmar (2008), which established the Naga **Self-Administered Zone** of Lahe, Leshi, and Nanyun.

Conflict inside Myanmar has also driven **Kuki–Chin/Kuki-Zo** refugee flows into Naga areas of India have not only strained resources but reignited old hostilities, creating conditions for ethnic war. Unregulated settlement has altered demographics and intensified land and resource disputes,

land encroachment, resource competition, militant infiltration, and political manipulation have turned humanitarian displacement into a source of enmity, mistrust, and bloodshed. **Kuki-Chin/Kuki-Zo**, refugees are no longer seen as victims but as threats and aggressors, cementing an enduring cycle of hatred.

Frontier rules have shifted repeatedly, from the Free Movement Regime instituted in **1968** and later restricted, to its **revocation in 2024 (PIB)**, alongside an India-Myanmar border fencing project now in progress. Myanmar's responsibility is to include Self-Administered Zone (SAZ) authorities and Naga representatives in any talks, safeguard indigenous land rights, and coordinate humane, rules-based refugee management with India.

Shared path forward: Britain created the partitioning framework, India entrenched it, and Myanmar legitimized it. All three therefore share accountability for a lawful and durable remedy. The United States can help by encouraging archival openness, convening structured tripartite engagement for settlement that protects rights, secures lawful development, and stabilizes the Indo-Pacific.

IV. Cultural and Religious Identity of the Nagas

The Nagas' cultural identity is intertwined with their religious traditions. Over 95% of Nagas are Christian, predominantly Baptist, due to centuries of American missionary work. The first missionaries came to Nagalim in 1831 and introduced English language, schools, and healthcare, establishing the foundation for social cohesion and alignment with Western norms.

Cultural practices, customary law, and tribal councils continue to regulate land use, social behavior, and resource management. This integration of traditional governance with Christian ethical frameworks creates a unique societal structure that values consensus, moral authority, and communal responsibility.

The historical cooperation between Nagas and U.S. forces during both World Wars, combined with shared religious and linguistic ties, creates strong trust toward American partners. Contemporary economic and infrastructure projects would benefit from this historical goodwill, enhancing the feasibility of development initiatives aligned with FPIC principles.

American Baptist missionaries introduced Christianity and English; over 95% of Nagas are Christian, and laid the foundations of modern education and literacy in Nagalim. Rev. Edward Winter Clark arrived in the Assam Mission in 1871 and soon established the first Naga-Christian church at Molungkimong on 22 December 1872, baptizing 15 converts and opening the first mission school in the Naga Hills. This effort not only inaugurated organized Christian worship but also marked the beginning of Bible translation and literacy in the Ao Naga language. Clark's wife, **Mary Mead Clark**, played an indispensable role in this work by contributing to translation efforts, introducing literacy among women and children, and building networks of trust within local households. The couples were assisted by Godhula Rufus Brown, an Assamese evangelist whose linguistic skills and cultural sensitivity enabled Clark's mission to take root among the Aos. Their combined work set a precedent of

collaboration between foreign and local evangelists that would become a pattern across the Naga Hills.

In the Tangkhul region, the pioneering effort was led by Rev. William Pettigrew, who began under the **Arthington Aborigines Mission** and later joined the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in 1896. By February 1897 he opened a primary school in Ukhrul with 30 students, including 20 from Hunphun (Ukhrul) and 10 from Hundung, with Chief Raihao serving as interpreter at Pettigrew's personal request. This initiative was revolutionary because it introduced Roman-script writing in the Tangkhul language, created primers and catechisms, and laid the groundwork for a written literary tradition. Pettigrew's commitment over the following decades produced textbooks, hymnals, and eventually the complete **New Testament in Tangkhul**, published in 1926, which became a landmark in Naga literary and spiritual history. His work was so transformative that Tangkhul oral tradition remembers him not merely as a missionary but as the founder of modern education in the region.

Alongside these efforts in the Ao and Tangkhul regions, American Baptist outreach also reached Kohima, where Dr. C. D. King and Dr. Sidney Rivenburg established mission stations between 1880 and 1887. Their work marked the beginning of sustained mission activity among the Angami Nagas, introducing schools, medical care, and organized church life in Kohima. These parallel beginnings in Molungkimong, Ukhrul, and Kohima collectively anchored the American Baptist presence in Nagalim across three cultural regions, ensuring that the missionary foundations of modern education and Christianity were not confined to a single community but became a shared, inter-tribal transformation.

The fruit of these missions soon gave rise to indigenous institutions. The Ao Baptist Arogo Mungdang (ABAM), founded in 1897 at Impur, became the first Naga Christian association to formally link education, church, and public service. From its schools and congregations emerged some of the earliest Naga intellectuals, such as Supongmeren, one of the first Ao converts educated under Clark, who went on to inspire later generations of leaders. By the early twentieth century, American Baptist schools, churches, dispensaries, and translation centers were well established across both Ao and Tangkhul regions, producing a literate class that was civically engaged and increasingly connected to global currents of modernity.

America's legacy in Nagalim is therefore remembered not only as a story of conversion but as a foundation of morality, education, and civic leadership. The institutions introduced alongside the Gospel created enduring structures for literacy, self-organization, and community service. For this reason, many Nagas came to see the United States not simply as a foreign benefactor but as a genuine

partner in purpose, bound by shared values of faith, freedom, and education that continue to shape the Naga national imagination. Currently Sumi Baptist Church in Zunheboto pridefully stands as Asia's largest church.

V. Legal and Human Rights Framework

A. Naga Self-Determination and Governance Structures

Nagas exercise self-governance through traditional councils, village committees, and tribal federations. These structures manage local affairs, land allocation, and customary law adjudication. International law recognizes indigenous rights to self-determination, including:

- **United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)**
- **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)** provisions regarding autonomy and cultural preservation

These rights, combined with local customary governance, form the foundation for lawful economic development.

B. Human Rights and Oppressive Laws

Historically, Nagas have faced legal and civil restrictions under Indian and Myanmar law resulting in over 300,000 cases of abuse, rape, torture and murder. These draconian laws were taught by the British and enforced on the Indians. When the British left the Indian government reenacted them onto the Nagas who asserted their rights to be independent.

- **Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958**. Enacted as a six-month emergency law, AFSPA has remained in force in Nagaland and adjoining areas for more than sixty-seven years. It empowers even a non-commissioned officer to use lethal force on suspicion, arrest without warrant, and search homes. No prosecution of security personnel can proceed without prior sanction of the Government of India, which has never been granted in Naga cases.
- The Supreme Court of India has twice intervened decisively on the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA). In **Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) vs. Union of India (1997)**, officially reported as **AIR 1998 SC 431; (1998) 2 SCC 109**, a Constitution Bench upheld the constitutional validity of AFSPA but required safeguards, including six-monthly review of "disturbed area" declarations and strict operational guidelines for the armed forces.
- Nearly two decades later, in **Extra Judicial Execution Victim Families Association (EEVFAM) vs. Union of India (2016) (Writ Petition (Criminal) No. 129 of 2012)**, the Court clarified that AFSPA does not provide blanket immunity to security personnel and that every allegation of extra-judicial killing must be subject to credible investigation. Together, these rulings underline that while AFSPA remains on the statute books; its application is constrained by constitutional

principles and judicial scrutiny.

- Authoritative commentary reinforces these judicial positions. The [PR\\$ Foundation blog post on prosecuting armed forces officers under AFSPA](#) examines the 2012 Supreme Court decision in *General Officer Commanding (Army) vs. Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI)*, which clarified when prosecution of security personnel requires prior government sanction and underscored the role of judicial checks on AFSPA powers.
- International perspectives add further weight: the [U.S. State Department’s 2016 Country Report on India](#) noted the historic significance of the EEVFAM ruling, while the [International Commission of Jurists \(ICJ\)](#) welcomed the judgment as a critical step toward ending impunity under AFSPA. Collectively, these legal and scholarly sources affirm that AFSPA remains one of the most contested laws in India, with its continuance in the Northeast repeatedly challenged on constitutional and human rights grounds.
- **Government reviews:** The [Second Administrative Reforms Commission, 5th Report \(Public Order, June 2007\)](#) urged repeal or radical reform of AFSPA, concluding that the Act was incompatible with democratic norms; an official backup copy is also available via the [Lok Sabha eLibrary](#). Earlier, the [Jeevan Reddy Committee Report \(2005\)](#) also recommended repeal, calling AFSPA a “symbol of oppression” and suggesting that essential provisions could be incorporated into the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. The Ministry of Home Affairs later acknowledged this report in Parliament ([Lok Sabha Starred Q. No. 34 \(25 Nov 2014\)](#)).

Examples of Atrocities Documented in Naga Areas

- **Pangsha Aerial Assault (November 1953)** Naga testimony recalls how the Indian Air Force bombed Pangsha village near the Indo–Myanmar frontier, killing more than **50 civilians including women and children**, destroying homes and granaries, and forcing survivors into the forests. This atrocity is preserved in oral memory and commemorated locally, while B. M. Holt’s doctoral research at the University of Leeds situates the Pangsha bombing within the broader militarization of the Naga Hills ([Holt 2022, PhD thesis](#)), and peer-reviewed scholarship by Aditya Kakati deepens the context of mid-century state violence in the frontier through his open-access article in *Modern Asian Studies* ([Kakati 2024, Cambridge University Press](#)).
- **Longpha Village Massacre (June 6, 1956)** Eyewitness testimony from the Ao region recalls how Indian Army troops assembled the villagers of Longpha and executed five men by firing squad in front of the community hall, an atrocity preserved through [oral history and video documentation](#). This account is corroborated by the *Morung Express*, which records the **Longpha Village massacre of June 6, 1956, in the Ao region during which five civilians**

were massacred by the Indian army (Morung Express report 1) and further notes the same incident as the **Longpha massacre of June 6, 1956, where five villagers lost their lives** (Morung Express report 2).

- **Thuda–Phor and Pochury Region Atrocities (1958–1984 – Lok Sabha Debates, 5 September 1960)** Families from Phor village and surrounding communities recall that soldiers of the **14 Assam Rifles**, stationed at the Thuda outpost from 1958 until 1984, carried out a prolonged campaign of violence in the Pochury region. Six community leaders were executed, including village chief **Türachu**, pastor **Yutsuchu**, DB **Chüpuchu**, head GB **Türhüchu**, GB **Yetechu Thurr**, and GB **Meghazu**. Testimonies describe a man buried alive in **Laruri**, father and son pairs killed in **Mokie** and **Yisi**, all men detained and beaten in **Lephori**, and a young woman from **Akhegwo** shot while being forced to carry military supplies. A villager named **Khithsasü** was raped and killed, and entire settlements across the Pochury region were burned to the ground. Communities were also forced into years of portage, carrying rations and supplies under duress. These oral histories are consistent with contemporary records: Defence Minister V. K. Krishna Menon reported in Parliament that two Dakota aircraft attempting to resupply the Purr–Meluri outpost came under heavy fire, one was forced down, and **nine personnel were captured for 21 months** before release (IAF History Foundation analysis). The Thuda outpost remained until 1984, leaving behind a legacy of killings, sexual violence, displacement, and collective punishment that scarred the entire Pochury community.

Matikhrü Massacre (6 September 1960) At Matikhrü village, Rev. Zhiwhuotho Katiry, who survived as a child, recalls how the 16th Punjab Regiment surrounded the village, separated the men from the women and children, tortured them, and then beheaded **nine men** inside the chief’s house before burning the village and driving survivors into the forests. The atrocity is commemorated annually as “**Pochury Black Day**” and preserved in Pochury oral memory, as reported in the *Eastern Mirror*. A separate account in the *Morung Express* also records the massacre, noting the killing of nine civilians, the destruction of the village, and the continuing observance of “Black Day” by the Pochury community (Morung Express report).

5. **Systematic sweeps and reprisals across Tangkhul villages, mid-1960s onwards** reveal a clear pattern of torture, sexual violence, arbitrary killings, and collective punishment. Oral testimonies from **Shokvao** recall villagers tied to army vehicles and forced to run, families sleeping inside the church under threat of arson, and the church set ablaze with its registers destroyed. In March 1974, the **Rose Ningshen** case at Ngapurum Khullen, where she was gang-raped by BSF personnel and died by suicide, galvanized Tangkhul women’s activism. In March 1982, **C. Daniel and C. Paul of Huining (Halang)** were taken for “questioning” and

never returned; Amnesty International recorded the court ruling holding the Union Government responsible. Weeks earlier, on 19 February 1982, Naga insurgents ambushed a convoy of the **21 Sikh Regiment** at Namthilok, killing 20 soldiers and one civilian; reprisals swept Ukhrul with torture and beatings. A women's fact-finding team published *Endless War in Manipur*, documenting electric shocks, forced signatures, and molestation in Paorei, Phungcham, and Kuirei, while Amnesty noted permanent injuries among Ukhrul town residents arrested near Pettigrew College. Even senior officials were targeted: **Deputy Commissioner G. P. Joshi (IAS)** was detained, with PUDR reproducing an Army "certificate," and oral memory recalls Superintendent Withing Momin Keishing also humiliated (Ukhrul roll). On 3 March 1982, pastors **P. Mashangva of Huishu and Mahangthei of Chingai** were hung upside down and electrocuted. Oral accounts recall torture of Oja Kongsui Luithui, ADC Chairman, and Rev. Fr. Mathew Manianchira of St. Savio's, Somsai; church and press records note Fr. Manianchira's later assassination. On 11 December 1984, **K. Esau** died in custody at Talloi camp; Amnesty cited torture, likely by electric shock. Shokvao again suffered in 1984–85 when elders like **Somi Kasom** were tortured naked with the sting plant lenghui. In January 1986, **Luingamla Muinao of Ngainga** resisted attempted rape and was shot dead, becoming a lasting symbol of women's resistance. The mid-1990s saw reprisals after NSCN guerrillas killed two officers in Wino Bazar; the NHRC Annual Report noted torture, detentions, looting, and property destruction. On 11 March 1996, **Huishu Village** was "burnt to ashes", with over 100 houses and 19 granaries destroyed. In August 2014, police commandos opened live fire on Ukhrul protesters, killing **Ramkashing Vashi** and **R. Mayopam**, confirmed by e-pao, TOI, and Ukhrul Times. Among all these, the **Nambashi atrocities of 1966–1967** stand out for their sheer cruelty: sixty houses and the church granary were destroyed, elders were forced to dig their own graves and buried up to their necks for days without food, and women compelled to carry rice and mithuns to secure their release. Survivors fled into the jungles before returning to rebuild their homes and church from ashes, living under harassment but clinging to land and faith. This testimony is preserved in an **unpublished written record by N. Ahao and the Nambashi Khullen Village Authority (VA)**, based on oral recollections of survivors and elders.

6. **Yankeli Church Atrocity (11 July 1971)** At Yankeli village in Wokha district, a unit of the Maratha Regiment entered during counterinsurgency sweeps and raped four teenage girls inside the village Baptist church. The atrocity desecrated a sacred space and left the community devastated, forcing families to flee into the forests and abandon their homes and fields. Elders recall the violation not only as a physical assault but also as a deliberate attempt to humiliate the faith and identity of the Lotha Nagas. Documentation appears in WISCOMP's *Perspectives on AFSPA and Its Impact on Women in Nagaland* (2005), pp. 21–23, and local commemoration is preserved in the *Morung Express*, which reflects on how the atrocity scarred the community and

its church (Morung Express, "Bitter Wormwood").

7. **Operation Bluebird, Oinam (July–October 1987 – Amnesty International Report)** Following an NSCN raid that killed Assam Rifles personnel, the Indian Army and Assam Rifles launched Operation Bluebird, encircling Oinam and more than 30 villages for months. Amnesty International documented grave abuses: **at least 27 villagers killed**, widespread torture, sexual assaults, and the destruction of homes, churches, livestock, and crops. The report further records the degrading treatment of women, including the case of a pregnant woman forced to give birth on the ground in full view of soldiers. Survivors and civil society continue to commemorate the atrocity, with regional coverage noting remembrance gatherings and testimonies of families who endured the siege (Times of India 2025 commemoration report).
8. **Tamenglong Operations (1990s – U.S. Department of State, 2013 India Human Rights Report)** The U.S. State Department's 2013 report explicitly noted abuses in **Khoupum, Tamenglong District**, where personnel of the army's Eighth Gorkha Squadron allegedly tortured a man in custody, situating Tamenglong within a **wider pattern of counterinsurgency violence in Northeast India. These operations saw widespread abuses such as extrajudicial killings, custodial torture, and the displacement of more than 1,500 civilians during sweep operations**, leaving villages deserted and farmlands abandoned. Regional reporting preserved in E-Pao News corroborates the Khoupum incident and records testimonies of families forced from their homes, crops destroyed, and communities uprooted throughout the 1990s.
9. **Mokokchung Massacre (27 December 1994 – Scroll.in feature, 2020)** Troops of the **16 Maratha Light Infantry** and **10 Assam Rifles** carried out a brutal assault in Mokokchung town, killing **12 civilians** (seven shot and five burned alive, including a child), setting fire to homes and shops, and committing sexual violence. A citizens' fact-finding later documented **49 houses and 89 shops destroyed, 17 vehicles gutted, and 8 women raped**, findings cited in national reporting. Survivors describe it as "Ayatai," the day Mokokchung was devastated and annual commemorations keep the memory alive (Morung Express remembrance editorial).
10. **Kohima Firing (5 March 1995 – PUDR Enquiry Findings, 1996)** On 5 March 1995, a **convoy of 63 vehicles carrying nearly 400 soldiers of the 16 Rashtriya Rifles**, stretching over five kilometers through Kohima, mistook the sound of a tyre burst for a bomb attack and opened fire across densely populated AOC and BOC areas. The indiscriminate firing, which lasted from 1:30 p.m. until after 3:30 p.m., included **1,207 rounds of ammunition and five mortar shells**. According to the Justice D. M. Sen Commission and the People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) fact-finding, the assault resulted in the deaths of **seven civilians**

and left **31 to 36 injured**, while homes and vehicles were damaged and security forces beat residents inside their houses. Allegations also surfaced of harassment and sexual assault of women during the chaos. The incident is remembered locally as Kohima's "Bloody Sunday" and continues to be marked by survivors and civil society as a day of mourning and resistance (Morung Express remembrance feature).

11. **Wuzu Killings, Phek District (16 July 2015 – Scroll.in report, 2015)** Security forces opened fire on villagers at Wuzu during a protest, killing a 13-year-old girl and a 14-year-old boy, and injuring others. Civil society groups, including the Naga Students' Federation, submitted representations to authorities and demanded accountability through a judicial inquiry. Regional coverage from the *Eastern Mirror* names the victims and documents the follow-up steps taken with state authorities, preserving contemporaneous details of the case (Eastern Mirror report, 28 July 2015).
12. **Mao Gate killings (6 May 2010)**. At Mao Gate on the Nagaland–Manipur border, thousands of Nagas gathered to welcome NSCN-IM leader Thuingaleng Muivah after the Manipur government blocked his entry into Ukhrul. Security forces opened fire on the unarmed crowd, killing two Naga college students, **Dikho Loshuo** and **Neli Chakho**, and injuring more than a hundred. Panic swept the area, and over 2,000 villagers were displaced overnight, forced to take shelter in makeshift camps across the border. The Morung Express later described the event as a brutal affront to peace and justice, noting how it deepened mistrust between the Naga people and state authorities. Each year, the Mao community observes 6 May as a day of mourning and resistance, keeping alive the memory of students who were gunned down under the shadow of AFSPA.
13. **Oting Massacre, Mon District (4–5 December 2021 – Human Rights Watch report, 2021)** Human Rights Watch documented that soldiers of the **21 Para Special Forces** ambushed a truck carrying coal miners in Oting village, wrongly mistaking the occupants for insurgents. Six civilians were killed on the spot and two wounded; clashes that followed killed **eight more civilians** and **one soldier**. A police FIR revealed that security forces had not taken basic precaution, such as requesting a police guide, suggesting an intention to shoot rather than to assess. The incident triggered widespread public outrage, with the Nagaland Police's SIT naming **30 army personnel** in a charge sheet and the Centre later refusing to sanction their prosecution under AFSPA. Regional commemorations, such as those observed by the **Global Naga Forum**, continue to demand justice and accountability for what they call the **Oting massacre** (Global Naga Forum remembrance, Morung Express, December 2024).

These Thirteen incidents do not form a complete list. Many more hundreds of thousands cases of killings, village burnings, torture, and disappearances remain unrecorded. What is presented here is enough to reveal a clear pattern of violence under AFSPA, where atrocities were minimized in official accounts and impunity was guaranteed by law.

For the Nagas, these events belong to a long, unbroken chain of suffering. Oral histories and community memory continue to preserve other episodes still awaiting formal documentation. Until these truths are acknowledged, justice will remain denied.

C. Constitutional and Legal Protections (Article 371A)

Article 371A, inserted via the 13th Amendment in 1962, provides Nagaland with **unique constitutional protections** that distinguish it from other states and regions in India. The article ensures that customary law and traditional practices remains the primary framework for governance, **particularly concerning land, natural resources, and social or religious customs**. Acts of Parliament **cannot automatically apply** to Nagaland in these areas unless explicitly approved by the Nagaland State Assembly. This legal structure gives Naga communities **effective control over all land and resources** in the state, because any decision regarding land management, mining, forestry, or water use must go through local authorities operating under customary law.

The Governor of Nagaland also has **special authority**, particularly in matters of law and order, with guidance from the Council of Ministers. Additionally, **regional councils** administer districts and oversee resource management, ensuring that decisions affecting land and resources are made by the communities themselves. Together, these mechanisms create a system in which the Naga people maintain **sovereignty over their territory and natural wealth**, preserving both their cultural traditions and economic independence.

By contrast, adjacent Naga areas in states like **Manipur, governed by Article 371C**, enjoy only partial autonomy. While 371C establishes a Hill Areas Committee to advise the state legislature on tribal matters, central and state laws **still apply unless the Governor or Committee intervenes**, meaning tribes in Manipur's hills have **less control over land and resources**. Similarly, Naga territories in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, and across the border in Myanmar **lack equivalent legal protections**, creating asymmetries that complicate cross-border collaboration and development planning.

These constitutional protections directly influence **resource management and development planning** in Nagaland. **Because the Naga people retain control over forests, minerals, water, and agricultural land, any project—whether mining, hydropower, or large-scale agriculture—requires local approval and alignment with customary law**. This ensures sustainable and community-centered use of resources while preventing external exploitation. Furthermore, the legal authority granted by Article 371 (A) shapes **cross-border collaboration** with Naga areas in Myanmar and neighboring Indian states. Since those regions lack equivalent protections, coordination on trade, infrastructure, and environmental conservation requires careful negotiation, with Nagaland acting as the primary decision-maker over resources within its borders. In effect, Article 371 (A) not only safeguards land and natural wealth but also positions Nagaland as the **central hub of legal and economic authority** in Naga-inhabited territories.

VI. Geography and Strategic Location of Nagalim

Nagaland/Nagalim's location at the center of the "Chindia Economic Corridor" makes it a geopolitical epicenter between China, India and Myanmar. Mountainous terrain, river networks, and dense forests both constrain infrastructure and provide natural defenses. Its strategic position connects resource-rich areas of Northeast India to Myanmar and Southeast Asia, facilitating trade, energy transit, and regional influence.

The region's landscape supports controlled development of agriculture, energy, and mining sectors. Its geography also enables potential military and security cooperation, acting as a natural buffer and strategic monitoring point along the Indo-Myanmar frontier.

VII. Economic and Natural Resource Overview

A. Agriculture and Forestry

Nagalim sustains rice, maize, pulses, and horticultural crops. Traditional shifting cultivation remains prevalent, but modern, sustainable methods can increase productivity while preserving ecological balance. Forestry, managed under community-based models, provides timber, eco-tourism opportunities, and biodiversity conservation, forming a significant component of local livelihoods.

B. Energy Resources (Oil, Gas, Hydropower)

Hydropower potential along Nagaland/Nagalim's rivers can support local energy self-sufficiency and regional grid stability. Limited oil and gas deposits exist, suitable for measured development. Sustainable energy infrastructure can integrate cross-border trade with India's Northeast grids, enhancing regional energy security.

C. Rare Earth and Critical Minerals

1. Nagaland/Nagalim (India)

Naga districts in India contain critical minerals essential for modern technology:

- **Monazite & Bastnäsite:** Dimapur, Mokokchung
- **Tin, Tungsten, Molybdenum:** Mokokchung, Phek, Tuensang
- **Chromite & Copper:** Phek, Tuensang
- **Gold, Graphite, Kaolin:** Wokha, Zunheboto

These minerals support high-tech industries, aerospace, renewable energy, and electronics.

2. Saigang and Kachin Districts (Myanmar)

Northern Myanmar complements Indian deposits:

- **Bauxite & Zircon:** Aluminum and refractory industries
- **Tantalum & Niobium:** Defense and electronics
- **Gold, Silver, Copper:** Kachin and Saigang
- **Tin, Mica, Rare Earth Oxides:** Electronics and renewable energy

Together, these deposits form a unified supply chain ecosystem critical to global technology and defense.

Nagalim is located dead center for all the **critical-minerals and rare earth minerals supply chains** and Indo-Pacific connectivity. Securing lawful, transparent access to rare earths and other critical minerals supports U.S. industrial and defense needs, reduces over-reliance on single-country processing, and advances a **free, open, and secure Indo-Pacific** as outlined in the U.S. Indo-Pacific Strategy and State Department policy. A durable peace that protects indigenous rights and stabilizes cross-border movement would convert a conflict frontier into a rules-based corridor for commerce and humanitarian protection for both Nagas and USA. Much like your historic transit corridor project named the Trump Route for International Peace and Prosperity(TRIPP) we believe the “Chindia Corridor” and the Indo-Myanmar could also work for the occupied Nagas who are redistricted to live 23 in Northeast India and 1/3 in Myanmar.

- **Supply-chain resilience and diversification.** The U.S. Geological Survey’s 2022 critical minerals list underscores the strategic importance of rare earth elements and allied inputs for energy, electronics, and defense. Supporting a settlement that enables responsible extraction with local consent aligns with U.S. efforts to harden key supply chains.
- **Partner alignment through the Minerals Security Partnership (MSP).** India’s 2023 entry into the MSP creates a natural channel for joint project identification, finance, and standards in Naga areas, complementing the Indo-U.S. Initiative on Critical and Emerging Technology (ICET) and broader Quad cooperation on secure supply chains.
- **Quad cooperation on critical minerals.** The Quad Critical Minerals Initiative calls for diversified, reliable supply chains, including recovery and re-processing. A just settlement in Nagalim helps anchor a trusted source region inside a friendly ecosystem rather than in opaque channels.
- **High-standards finance that embeds rights.** The U.S. International Development Finance Corporation can mobilize private capital for responsible infrastructure and minerals with enforceable environmental and social safeguards, including public impact-assessment and consultation procedures. These mechanisms dovetail with UNDRIP and FPIC guidance to ensure **free, prior, and informed consent**, lawful benefit-sharing, and grievance redress.
- **Rule-of-law stability at a sensitive frontier.** Peace that is verifiable and monitored reduces space for illicit extraction, trafficking, or predatory intermediaries and lowers the risk of cross-border spillovers that undermine regional stability and humanitarian protection, consistent with U.S. supply-chain and security objectives in the Indo-Pacific supply-chain review.

VIII. Opportunities for U.S. Engagement in Infrastructure and Trade

A. Road Networks

Upgrading and constructing highways is badly needed linking resource-rich districts, trade hubs, and a border crossing ensures resilient and secure transport. Redundancy reduces vulnerability to natural disasters, landslides, or security disruptions. Logistics hubs support mineral storage, processing, and distribution.

B. Rail Connectivity

Rail infrastructure enables bulk transport of minerals, timber, and agricultural products, reducing reliance on fragile road networks. Integration with the Chindia Corridor ensures seamless movement across India and Myanmar.

C. Ports and Cross-Border Trade

Nagaland/Nagalim's proximity to Myanmar river ports and overland access to Indian seaports like Kolkata offers trade facilitation opportunities. U.S. expertise in customs, logistics, and trade law can support lawful, monitored commerce aligned with Naga governance rights.

D. Historical and Contemporary U.S.–Naga Alignment: Trust, Faith and Economic Opportunity

In 2023, Nagaland and Manipur hosted G20/B20 events, leading to MOUs for economic development with at least 20 countries. Because the Nagas share Christian heritage, English language proficiency, and historical cooperation with U.S. Military forces there is a natural alliance. America is Nagaland/Nagalim preferred economic partners. This history of shared religion, culture, and is more politically acceptable, and preferred by local communities, reducing project risk and enhancing FPIC compliance.

IX. Security Considerations and Strategic Partnerships

A. Military Strategic Alliance Opportunities

Historical alliances during WWI and WWII created operational familiarity with Allied forces, including the U.S. The strategic location enables potential forward-operating bases, intelligence observation points, and logistical hubs in Myanmar, contingent on local consent and international law.

B. Local and Regional Security Considerations

AFSPA, insurgency, and border security concerns necessitate careful planning for infrastructure and investment. Security cooperation aligns with U.S. objectives in regional stability while respecting local governance and human rights protections.

X. Policy Recommendations by Department

A. White House / Executive Branch

- Integrate Nagalim into Indo-Pacific strategy
- Endorse economic development frameworks respecting Article 371A and FPIC

B. Department of State

- Facilitate diplomatic engagement with India, Myanmar, and Naga councils
- Support MOUs and economic partnerships, leveraging trust from historical alignment

C. Department of Defense

- Conduct security assessments for strategic corridors and potential cooperative bases
- Share in training of military and Nagas welcome opportunities for a US military base to get a foothold in between China, India and Myanmar.
- Provide advisory support for lawful infrastructure, logistics and reducing risk of conflicts and establishing economic and military stability in Nagalim

D. Department of International Trade

- Promote U.S. investment in critical minerals, renewable energy, and infrastructure
- Ensure compliance with environmental, social, and governance (ESG) standards

XI. Conclusion: If you can broker a Peace thought Trade Deal with the longest unresolved conflict in Asia.

Mr. President,

Your proven record in brokering complex international peace agreements—from the Congo-Rwanda rare earth minerals initiative to the Trump Peace and Prosperity Corridor—demonstrates a unique capability to resolve situations where others have failed. The Indo-Naga conflict, Asia's oldest unresolved dispute, is precisely this kind of challenge. For nearly eight decades, this issue has festered, a legacy of flawed decolonization that has created human suffering and regional instability.

If you could broker a cease fire agreement with Hamas and Israel we are sure you can get India and Myanmar to the table. We believe only your leadership can achieve a historic breakthrough. This is a strategic opportunity to broker a win-win-win solution that has eluded previous administrations. A just and durable political settlement would secure the aspirations of the Naga people, our natural allies who share America's democratic and Christian values. For India, it would bring stability to a sensitive frontier. And for the United States, it would secure a vital partner in the "Chindia Corridor," ensure lawful access to critical rare earth minerals, and firmly anchor both our strategic interests in the Indo-Pacific.

This is more than a diplomatic achievement; it is a strategic imperative. We respectfully urge your administration to apply its formidable diplomatic resources to mediate a final settlement. By doing so, you will have transformed a protracted conflict into a cornerstone of regional peace and prosperity, securing a legacy of American resolve and strategic foresight.

Most respectfully,

Naga-American Council

One-Naga-Voice

Page 22 of 26

Subject: Strategic Rare Earth Minerals Opportunity in Burma's Naga Region

Dear President Trump,

The **Sagaing region of Burma borders the Kachin state in Burma** (which I know your administration is already well aware of Kachin's REE), in the **Naga Self-Administered Zone (SAZ)**, is a rare opportunity for the United States to secure **billions of dollars in untapped critical and rare earth minerals (REEs)**. This region sits at the **crossroads of China, India, and Burma**, in the **heart of the Chindia economy**, making it a **critical trade, industrial, and military hub** in Southeast Asia.

The Naga SAZ is **autonomous under the 2008 Burmese constitution**, meaning the U.S. can **work directly with Naga authorities**. **Working through the Burmese Junta would be slower, politically difficult, and risky due to oppression of Christians**, while engaging the Nagas is **faster, legally sound, and fully aligned with U.S. interests**. **China is actively exploring Burma**, making timely U.S. action urgent.

The region is exceptionally rich in high-demand REEs:

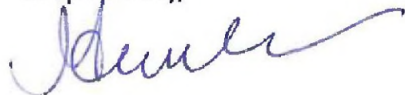
- **Neodymium (Nd), Praseodymium (Pr), Dysprosium (Dy), Terbium (Tb), Yttrium (Y), Cerium (Ce), Lanthanum (La)** — essential for **EVs, wind turbines, electronics, and defense applications**.

I have worked with Naga leaders as well as I know many of their military Generals for **27+ years**. They have **strong historical U.S. ties** — evangelized by American Baptist missionaries since 1872 (95% of Nagas are self-professed Christians), fought alongside U.S. forces in both World Wars, and **English is their primary language**. They are **eager to work directly with the U.S. government** and welcome American trade and development opportunities.

This is a wonderful chance for America to **gain a strategic foothold in the center of the Chindia economy**, secure **multi-billion-dollar resources**, counter **Chinese influence**, and establish a **direct U.S.-Naga partnership** that strengthens our national security and empowers local communities.

With your guidance, we can move swiftly to secure an MOU with the Nagas and jump on this critical opportunity.

Respectfully,



Grace Collins

Hon President of Nagalim

www.nagalim.us

DOJ FARA #5566 - #7671

Here are two short, reusable paragraphs tailored for **USGS** and **State Department** audiences.

For USGS / technical-policy context

“Sagaing Region and northern Myanmar already produce a broad suite of minerals that the United States formally designates as ‘critical,’ including rare earth elements, tin, copper, antimony, chromium, zinc, lead, barite, fluorspar and associated silver and molybdenum. This alignment with the 2025 USGS critical minerals list underscores the strategic importance of Myanmar’s existing production to diversified, secure supply chains for the United States and its partners.”

For State Department / diplomatic context

“Sagaing Region and adjacent areas of northern Myanmar already host active production of minerals that the United States classifies as ‘critical,’ including rare earth elements, tin, copper, antimony, chromium, zinc, lead, barite, fluorspar and related silver and molybdenum outputs. Responsible, transparent management of these resources—consistent with international human rights and environmental standards—could support both Myanmar’s communities and broader U.S. and allied objectives on resilient, ethical critical-mineral supply chains.”

Subject

Request for Briefing: Strategic U.S. Critical Minerals Opportunity in Northern Myanmar
Request for Briefing: Strategic U.S. Critical Minerals Opportunity in Northern Myanmar

Dear Congressman/Senator/Cabinet Members

I hope this message finds you well.

My name is Grace Collins, and I am writing to respectfully request the opportunity to brief President Trump’s policy team on a strategic critical-minerals opportunity in northern Myanmar’s Naga region.

For more than 27 years, I have worked closely with local leadership in this region, which hosts significant untapped rare earth and critical mineral resources essential to U.S. energy security, defense manufacturing, and supply-chain independence. The area offers a unique opportunity for the United States to strengthen its economic and strategic position while countering expanding Chinese influence.

I have prepared a concise one-page briefing outlining the mineral potential, governance framework, and national security relevance of this opportunity. I believe this initiative aligns strongly with President Trump’s priorities on American industrial strength, job creation, and strategic independence.

I would be grateful for the opportunity to present this information in a short briefing to the appropriate members of your team, and, if deemed appropriate, to President Trump directly.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I appreciate your leadership and service, and I look forward to the possibility of contributing to this important effort.

Respectfully,

Grace Collins 
Hon. President, Nagalim

www.nagalim.us

DOJ FARA #5566 – #7671

202-352-7164

collins.grace@gmail.com

From: NAC Collins <nagalim.us@gmail.com>
Date: January 17, 2026 at 5:38:27 PM EST
To: NAC Collins <nagalim.us@gmail.com>

Dear Mr. Mattoo,

I have now read your recently published article and wanted to follow up directly.

I appreciate that you reviewed my historical files from the 2003–2011 period and that your characterization of my past work was balanced and fair. Given the frequency with which Naga-related media reporting has been distorted or sensationalized in the past, I acknowledge the effort you made to engage the documentary record rather than rely on stereotypes or secondhand narratives.

That said, because the article was published prior to my formal written response, I want to be clear about the framework for any further engagement or future reporting. My attached response was prepared precisely to ensure accuracy, avoid misquotation, and establish clear on-the-record boundaries going forward—particularly on matters relating to my legal status, independence, and current role.

I remain willing to engage constructively, provided that future references adhere to professional journalistic standards, reflect historical context accurately, and respect the quotation limitations I have set out in writing. Where complex legal or historical issues are involved, I strongly encourage advance verification rather than retrospective correction.

Sincerely,
Grace Collins

Cover Email

Subject: Response to your inquiry of January 7, 2026

Dear Mr. Mattoo,

Attached please find my formal written response to your email of January 7, 2026, regarding my FARA registration, the Naga people, and religious persecution in India. The letter sets out my position, clarifies my independence and legal obligations, and identifies the specific statements that are authorized for direct quotation.

For the avoidance of doubt, any on-the-record use of my words must be limited to the verbatim quotations contained in the “Mandatory Quotation Notice” section of the attached letter. No other portion of our correspondence is approved for quotation or paraphrase.

If you require further factual documentation or historical sources, you may request them in writing, and I will consider providing additional materials.

Sincerely,

Grace Collins

Date: January 16, 2026

To: Mr. Mattoo

Hindustan Times (U.S. Correspondent)

Subject: Response to E-mail Inquiry Regarding FARA Filing, Journalistic Standards, the Naga People, and Religious Persecution in India

Dear Mr. Mattoo,

Based on decades of reporting on the Naga issue, I have observed consistent misquotation, selective framing, and contextual distortion in certain Indian media outlets. In light of this, I am willing to respond to your questions on this occasion—but only under the condition that any use of my words adheres strictly to the verbatim quotation guidelines outlined below. Any deviation would compromise the accuracy of the reporting and risk misrepresenting both the historical record and my position.

At the outset, questions focused on an individual's ethnicity or citizenship are generally regarded as inappropriate and irrelevant under accepted U.S. journalistic standards. While U.S. anti-discrimination statutes such as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Immigration Reform and Control Act primarily govern employment, they reflect a broader professional norm: personal characteristics such as race, national origin, or citizenship should not be used to frame credibility or motive in professional discourse. Senior U.S. press officers and journalists have confirmed that such inquiries fall outside standard practice.

That said, in the interest of transparency and clarity of record, I will respond directly.

I am a United States citizen, born in the United States. I do not hold Indian citizenship, nor am I of Naga descent. My engagement with Naga civil-society issues has always been as an independent human-rights advocate, not by virtue of ethnicity, nationality, or religion.

My active engagement with Naga civil-society issues ended in 2011 due to serious health complications resulting from medical negligence. After my recovery, I did not resume any organizational, advisory, or operational role with the NSCN or with any armed group. Since then, my involvement has been limited to independent observation, without affiliation, instruction, or participation.

You also referenced my filing with the U.S. Department of Justice under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (22 U.S.C. § 611 et seq.). FARA is a disclosure statute intended to ensure transparency with the U.S. government. FYI: FARA requires that any registrant be a U.S. person. This clearly establishes my status as a U.S. citizen and confirms that I cannot hold Indian citizenship. The publicly available filings provide full documentation of my compliance.

My interaction with One Naga Voice—like my interaction with hundreds of other civil-society organizations, churches, factions, community platforms, and individuals over many years—is voluntary, transparent, and not subject to the direction or control of any organization, faction, or government. One Naga Voice is a people-centric platform connecting Nagas across their homeland and global diaspora. I do not advocate specific political outcomes such as sovereignty or statehood; those decisions rest exclusively with the Naga people themselves and the governments concerned.

I have not been contacted by Indian authorities regarding my work in the United States. Should such contact occur, it should be directed toward advancing a peaceful resolution to the long-standing conflict between the Government of India and the Naga people, rather than toward intimidation, spinning their factual history or discrediting my human-rights advocacy.

Media Accuracy and Context

Coverage of Indigenous and minority rights in Nagalim/Nagaland has been full of misquotations, selective framing, or contextual distortion. Responsible reporting on these issues requires engagement with established historical and documentary record, including:

- The Nagas did not legally join the Indian Union by conquest, consent, treaty, or concession; the

issue was treated as external following British decolonization in 1947 and should be to this day not covered up by the Govt of India and to be pulled in as an internal issue.

□ Since 1947, Naga communities have experienced over 250,000 human-rights violations, including sexual violence, arbitrary detention, torture, and extrajudicial killings, with limited accountability.

□ Claims that India is the world's "largest" or "oldest" democracy warrant scrutiny in light of caste hierarchy and the documented rise in religious persecution since 2014.

□ Laws such as AFSPA, UAPA, state anti-conversion statutes, FCRA, and PAP/RAP regimes collectively restrict civil liberties, religious freedom, and independent scrutiny.

The denial of a visa in 2025 to Reverend Franklin Graham underscored concerns regarding systemic religious intolerance. Similar patterns of restriction, surveillance, and harassment affect other minority communities, including Christians in the Northeast, Kashmiri Muslims, and Sikhs advocating for Khalistan.

For more than a century, the Naga people have lived as a peaceful, highly literate, and culturally rich society. Reporting that relies on stereotypes or colonial-era tropes misinforms the public and perpetuates prejudice.

Conditions for Further Engagement

I am prepared to engage further only on the basis of professional journalistic standards, historical accuracy, respect for clearly defined on-the-record boundaries and discussions on how to resolve this almost 80 year old conflict.

Mandatory Quotation Notice

The following statements are the only portions of this correspondence authorized for direct quotation. Any quotation must be reproduced verbatim, in full, and without paraphrasing, truncation, or contextual distortion. No other portion of this correspondence is approved for quotation.

Citizenship and Transparency:

"I am a U.S. citizen, born in the United States, and I am fully transparent about my background and activities."

Independence:

"My work on Naga and other human-rights issues is independent and not directed or controlled by any organization, faction, or government."

Journalistic Standards:

"Questions based on ethnicity or citizenship are irrelevant and inconsistent with professional journalistic standards."

Legal Status of the Naga People:

"The Nagas never legally joined the Indian Union by conquest, consent, treaty, or concession; the Naga question has historically been treated as an 'external issue'; rather than an internal matter of the Government of India."

Oppressive Laws and Democratic Claims:

"Given the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, anti-conversion laws, the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act, the Protected/Restricted Area Permit regimes, and the persistence of caste hierarchy, it is incumbent on Hindustan Times to explain how the claim to be the world's 'oldest' and 'largest' democracy can be sustained."

AFSPA:

“The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958 has enabled decades of grave human-rights abuses in Naga and other minority areas by granting sweeping powers and de facto immunity to security forces and must be repealed to allow accountability and the rule of law.”

UAPA:

“The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act permits prolonged pre-trial detention, severely restricts access to bail, and has been used against journalists, students, Indigenous activists, and minority communities, rather than solely against violent actors.”

Anti-Conversion Laws:

“India’s anti-conversion laws are used to harass religious minorities and suppress freedom of conscience and belief.”

FCRA:

“The Foreign Contribution Regulation Act has been systematically weaponized to shut down NGOs, churches, and humanitarian organizations, undermining civil society and religious freedom.”

PAP/RAP:

“The Protected Area Permit and Restricted Area Permit regimes restrict independent access to Northeast India, suppress reporting, and limit scrutiny of human-rights conditions, particularly in Indigenous Naga regions.”

Rejection of Defamatory Stereotypes:

“The Nagas are not terrorists, insurgents, secessionists, primitive ‘savages’ or cannibals; such characterizations are false, offensive, and prejudicial.”

Human-Rights Focus:

“My engagement is grounded in universal human-rights principles, including non-violence, dignity, and democratic norms.”

Position on Political Outcomes:

“I do not advocate political outcomes; such decisions belong solely to the Naga people themselves. I report and analyze what the majority of Naga people have expressed as their aspirations for the future.”

Commitment to Peace:

“I support peaceful dialogue and civil-society engagement rather than violence. There is no justification for this situation to remain unresolved in 2026 after more than 600 rounds of peace talks.”

Scope of Further Inquiry:

“I trust this clarifies my position, my work, and the professional standards I expect to be respected. As you should also know, my filings are biannual, and any other questions regarding my work can be answered by reviewing my registered filings with FARA, which are open to the public.”

Sincerely,