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ANALYTICA**

A DIVIDED HOUSE - LEGACY VS REALITY:

**FRACTURE IN NSCN-IM & RISE OF
THE RIVAL PROVISIONAL
GOVERNMENT IN MYANMAR**

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National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah) {NSCN (IM)}, since its formation in 1988 {post-split in NSCN which led to formation of Isak-Muivah and Khaplang faction of NSCN, later were referred as NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K)}, suffered its first split on 21 Jul 2026. The “Eastern Flank (EF)” of the NSCN (IM) post meeting at Mt Horeb Camp, Naga Self- Administered Zone (NSAZ), in Myanmar, formally declared formation of a parallel “Provisional Government”. The new faction led by Ikato I Chish Swu (Chairman and son of late Isak Chishi Swu) and eight other members including veteran military commanders Hanshi Ramsan and Absolom Raman, refuted the authority of central command (Headquarters at Camp Hebron), non-existence of Ceasefire (CF) with Government of India (GoI) and resumption of the armed struggle.

BACKGROUND: FORMATION OF EASTERN FLANK IN 2019

The formation of the Eastern Flank has its root in contingency military planning of the NSCN(IM), through 03 September 2019, the Yaruiwo (President) Q Tuccu promulgating an executive decree (Ahza) formally segmenting the operational command structure and designating a distinct Eastern Flank of Naga Army, responsible for cadres, camps and activities in Myanmar and the adjoining areas Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh. Hanshi Ramsan, on outreach missions since 2010, was given responsibility to oversee the activities of Eastern Flank, supported by Absolom Raman, then Deputy C-in-C of Naga Army. This structural realignment was likely a direct reaction to conclusion of negotiations by government on 31 October 2019 and to have a leverage in the event of a breakdown in peace talks. The Eastern Flank matured in the period of 2019-2023, in terms of military assertiveness and operationally independent wing. However, the formation and subsequent split of the Eastern Flank highlight structural faultline within the group, which has been stable for more than three decades, since its formation. Though, in recent statements, NSCN (IM) headquarters highlighted that the formation of Eastern Flank was revoked on 23 September 2019.

ROOT-CAUSE ANALYSIS OF THE SPLIT

Structural – The major structural causes are Unresolved core demand of Naga demand for flag and constitution, Geography of command, a creation of administrative bifurcation preceding political bifurcation, fertile ground provided by ongoing internal conflict in Myanmar for consolidation of Eastern Flank and Economic and legitimacy race between Hebron and Eastern Flank leading to allegations & counter allegations.

Immediate Causes - The ‘Competencies’ dispute against central leadership that its

chief negotiator Anthony Ningkhan Shimray and others, accepting a settlement ‘within the Constitution of India’ and abandoning the non-negotiable demand for a separate flag and Yehzabo (constitution). The expulsion and reinstatement cycles against Hanshi and Absolom (terminated August 2024, reinstated August 2025, then expelled again June 2026) created an institutional crisis rather than resolving the underlying disagreement. The deaths of four cadres of the Eastern Flank (The Hongbei killings of

March 2026), was attributed by Eastern Flank to Hebron, highlighting risk to cadres lives risk from their own parent organisation. The old age of Th Muivah and unresolved questions of succession and legitimacy had sharpened factional competition.

INTERIM STRUCTURE OF NEWLY FORMED PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT



NATIONAL SOCIALIST COUNCIL OF NAGALIM

In view of the threat to the sovereign existence of the Naga nation, the Extraordinary Joint Emergency Meeting of the Civil National Workers and the Naga Army Officers of the National Socialist Council of Nagalim/Government of the People's Republic of Nagalim (NSCN/GPRN), Eastern Flank was convened and chaired by Lieut. Gen. Retd. Hs. Ramsan – VC on the 21st of July, 2026 at Mt. Horeb Camp.

Invocation: Rev. Vitovi Yeputho

Resolutions:

1. The Civil National Workers and the Naga Army Officers of the NSCN/GPRN, Eastern Flank resolved to renew the covenant with God: **"Nagalim for Christ,"** and uphold the Naga national principle for the sovereign existence of the Naga nation at all cost.
2. The Meeting declared the Expulsion order Vide No. 13/GPRN/ORD-52/YO/26, dated, 24th June, 2026 concerning Lieut. Gen. Retd. Hs. Ramsan - VC, and Lieut. Gen. A. Raman – MM, MC; and Expulsion order Vide No. 09/NSCN/EXPL-19/CMO/26, dated, 7th July, 2026 concerning Lieut. Col. Retd. Victor Angami, Mr. Ikato I Chishi Swu, Rev. Vitovi Yeputho, Mr. Pamshang Zimik, and Mr. Angyo Jingseyia to be null and void. The meeting held that these expulsion orders were part of a scheme to silence the veterans and facilitate compromise through a piecemeal solution.

The allegations levelled against them are entirely false and fabricated. In this matter, written letters, statements, and clarifications were issued to the concerned authorities and to the Naga public at large. Those who have surrendered and yielded to the pressure of the Government of India (GoI) have no right to expel/terminate those who remain steadfast in striving for the sovereign existence of the Naga nation.

3. The Meeting unequivocally condemned the 'Competencies' submitted to the GoI by the leadership of the NSCN/GPRN. In the 'Competencies' the right for the sovereign existence of the Naga nation is compromised and surrendered within the Union/Constitution of India. The 'Competencies' are also violation of the party's manifesto chapter X (a), which declares:

"we stand for the unquestionable right of the Naga people over every inch of Nagalim wherever it may be and admit of no other existence whatever."

The meeting also stated that the 'Competencies' are violation of the Preamble of the Yehzabo, which reads:

"We the People of Nagalim, solemnly acknowledged that the sovereignty over the earth and the whole universe belongs to Almighty God alone, and the Authority of the people to be exercised in the territory is the sacred trust from God."

The GoI served a three-month ultimatum, August to October, 2019 to the NSCN/IMPRG with the condition that there will be no more talks for separate flag, and separate constitution for the Nagas. Despite this ultimatum, the leadership at Hebron/GHQ continued to engage in the meaningless and endless talks with the compromised and surrendered 'Competencies' within the Union/Constitution of India.

In view of the betrayal of the Framework Agreement of August 3, 2015 (FA) by the GoI, the Chief Political Negotiator, General Secretary/ Ato Kilonser of NSCN/IMPRG, Mr. Th. Muivah issued a Statement on the 7th November, 2024, declaring:

"if such political initiative is rejected by the GoI, the NSCN shall resume the violent armed resistance against India for defending the Nagalim unique history and her sovereign existence."

The Leadership at Hebron/GHQ failed to take the necessary steps as outlined in the Statement by the Chief Political Negotiator, General Secretary/Ato Kilonser. The meeting further declared that the spirit of Cease-fire Agreement has ceased to exist since the day the GoI betrayed the FA. Therefore, we will keep continuing both political as well as armed resistance to safeguard the sovereign existence of the Naga nation.

4. Therefore, to save the nation from another surrender and to rescue the Naga political movement from its present predicament, The Extraordinary Joint Emergency Meeting of the Civil National Workers and the Naga Army Officers of the NSCN/IMPRG, Eastern Flank declared the establishment of a Provisional Government until a full-fledged government is formed.

The following National Workers were unanimously entrusted and empowered to form the Provisional Government:

1. Mr. Ikato I Chishi Swu, Chairman

2. Lieut. Gen. Retd. Hs. Ramsan – VC, Member
3. Lieut. Col. Retd. Victor Angami, Member
4. Lieut. Gen. A. Raman – MM, MC, Member
5. Brig. Detail Dani, Member
6. Mr. Angvo Jacob Jingseya, Member
7. Mr. Ngarunmi Jagoi, Advisor
8. Mrs. Merry Ramsan, Advisor
9. Rev. Vitovi Yeputho, Advisor

The entrusted and empowered Chairman and Members, as well as Advisors of the Provisional Government will be administered an oath of allegiance by an ordained minister.

5. All the Naga National workers in particular, and the Nagas in general are called upon to come and join for the formation of a unified national government that upholds the principles of the Party's founding fathers and spearhead the movement for the sovereign existence of the Naga nation.



(EDWARD SAYAI)

Additional Secretary to the NSCN/IM

The split in NSCN (IM) occurred on 21 July 2026, when the Eastern Flank formally declared the establishment of a “Provisional Government”, an administrative body was created to challenge the NSCN (IM) headquarters representation of Naga insurgency. The interim structure of leadership is as tabulated below:

<u>Appointment</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Background</u>
Chairman	Ikato I Chishi Swu	Son of NSCN co-founder late Isak Chishi Swu
Member	Hanshi Ramsan	Former NSCN IM C-in-C, Outreach Mission & NIA wanted
Member	Victor Angami	Former Member of the NSCN(IM) Collective Leadership
Member	Absolom Raman	Former Deputy C-in-C & NIA wanted
Member	Detail Dani	Active along the Indo-Myanmar
Member	Angyo Jacob Jingseya	Prominent Civil wing leader
Advisor	Ngaranmi Jagoi	Political advisor
Advisor	Merry Ramsan	Civil-military relations
Advisor	Vitovi Yeputho	Religious leader, administered the invocation during
Additional Secretary	Edward Sayai	Official signatory administrative resolutions

The appointment of Ikato Chishi Swu as Chairman is a significant setback to the central leadership of NSCN(IM), as the Eastern Flank has questioned the claims of NSCN (IM) positioning itself as the true bearer of Isak Swu's political legacy.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 21 JULY DECLARATION

On 21 July 2026, the ‘Extraordinary Joint Emergency Meeting of the Civil National Workers and the Naga Army Officers of the NSCN/GPRN, Eastern Flank’ was convened at Mt Horeb Camp. The important resolutions adopted in the meeting are, Renewal of stated covenant framed as “Nagalim for Christ” and reaffirmation to Naga sovereignty, Declaration of 24 June and 27 July 2026 expulsion orders by central leadership as null and void, Condemnation of the Hebron leadership’s for “Competencies” submission to the GoI, Declaring that the spirit of Cease-fire Agreement is non-existent and referred to 07 November 2024 statement of Th Muivah, warning that NSCN would resume ‘violent armed resistance’, if a political settlement were rejected. It also appealed all Nagas to join the formation of this set-up to spearhead the movement for the sovereign existence of the Naga nation.

COUNTER NARRATIVE BY CENTRAL LEADERSHIP AT HEBRON

The Hebron leadership has constantly refused to acknowledge the Eastern Flank, as a legitimate entity, insisting publicly that ‘no Eastern Flank exists’ within the Naga Army. The 48-point statement of 16 July 2026 traced the disagreement back to 2019 and compiled alleged violations including unauthorised contacts with Myanmar-based armed groups, unsanctioned engagement with the Kuki National Organisation /Kuki National Army, Burma and running a parallel administration, in breach of the Yehzabo. This dual, mutually delegitimising narrative with each side claiming its own legitimacy, is a central feature of the crisis.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SPLIT

Dimension	Implication
Political	Split weakens negotiating position of NSCN (IM)
Military	Two-armed group with legitimacy claims may lead to Inter-Factional
External	Eastern Flank’s exposure to ongoing conflict in Myanmar & and cross-
Social	Likely increased intimidation in terms of extortion and dominance in all
Inter-ethnic	Existing conflicts may further get complicated with the split
Naga Peace Talks	Directly impacted with formation of rival capable armed group

CHALLENGES & IMPACT: SECURITY SITUATION IN NORTHEAST REGION OF INDIA

Strategic - The formation of a new outfit with primary strength from Indian side creates Negotiation and Policy challenges, managing precedent in terms of softness towards either faction and sustaining the peace architecture gained till now. The operational and security challenges are distinction between the cadres (from Hebron or Eastern Flank) and increased complications in border management. The Myanmar dimension of linkages between Eastern Flank and armed actors of Myanmar, including reported tactical connect with junta, creates a fragile security situation along the border. The possibility of entry of external players adds on to the concerns.

Kinetic Escalation – Suspected Eastern Flank cadres carried out two incidents of ambush/ IED targeting of Security Forces in Manipur and Nagaland, further complicating the security landscape. These incidents revealed a specific modus operandi of usage of low/ medium IEDs during the day, which is a technique to avoid direct firefights while inflicting casualties. In addition, the likelihood of IFC compounded with local civil discontentment can stimulate volatile security environment.

Opportunity to Undisciplined Cadres – The state of confusion of affiliation of present cadres of NSCN (IM) provides an opportunity to undisciplined armed cadres to indulge in violent activities, smuggling of contraband and extortion.

CONCLUSION

The formation of a Provisional Government by Eastern Flank of NSCN (IM) marks a turning point in the Naga insurgency, since 1988. It further complicates the Naga Peace Process, which is stalemate and security situation in Nagaland, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. For GoI, central question remains as policy response to the situation of how to respond.



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