



The Case of Oting Massacre and Public Mass Movement for Justice

K Hokato Sumi

Assistant Professor, Department of History, St. Joseph University, Nagaland.

Teisovinuo Dzeyie

Assistant Professor, Department of History, St. Joseph University, Nagaland.

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.22093879>

ARTICLE DETAILS

Research Paper

Received: 21-06-2026

Accepted: 31-07-2026

Published: 21-08-2026

Keywords:

Oting Massacre, AFSPA, Disturb Area, Oting protest.

ABSTRACT

On the unfortunate night of 04 December 2021, Six coal miner workers were killed by the paramilitary forces in an attempt of counterinsurgency operation, soldiers from the paramilitary forces opened fire on a truck that were carrying around 30 coalmine laborers who were returning after their routine works in lower Tiru region around 10km away from Mon district. As per the military report, there was a credible intelligence information of the movement of insurgents in the region, that a specific operation was planned in the area of Tiru that led to the firing incident at Oting which was later termed as the case of misidentity. As the news of the killings spread around in the village, hundreds of tribal people surrounded the army camp and burnt Assam Rifles vehicles, the villagers gets into a heated clashed with the troopers that led to death of eight more civilians and one security forces rising the death total to 15 at the Oting massacre, that happened on the night of 04-05 December 2022. This paper examine the course of the event and the protest movement that follow aftermath the incident at Oting.

Introduction

The incident of Oting Massacre took place at Oting village in Mon district on the night of 04 December 2021. As per the media reports, during a counterinsurgency operation, soldiers from the Para military forces

Disclaimer: The opinions, interpretations, conclusions, recommendations, analyses, and statements expressed in this research article are solely those of the author(s) and do not reflect the views, policies, or positions of the Publisher, Chief Editor, Editors, Editorial Board, Reviewers, or their affiliated institutions. The author(s) are solely responsible for ensuring the originality, authenticity, and integrity of the manuscript and for ensuring that it is free from plagiarism, AI-generated content, copyright infringement, data falsification, and any other form of academic misconduct.

opened fire on a truck that were carrying 30 or more coalmine laborers near their camp. According to the local resident statement, the incident happened on Saturday evening when security forces allegedly opened fire on a pick-up truck carrying workers returning to Oting from the coal mines in lower Tiru region, around 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away from Mon. As per the military report, there was a credible intelligence information of the movement of insurgents in the region, that a specific operation was planned in the area of Tiru that led to the firing incident at Oting on a ground of mis-identity. The troopers had intelligence inputs about some militant movement in the area and on seeing the truck they mistook the miners to be rebels and opened fire killing six laborer's as claimed by senior official. The army in defense said that the security forces were anticipating the movement of the Yung Aung faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), a proscribed outfit that operates from neighboring Myanmar. An army patrol mistakenly opened fire on miners who were returning home after their usual work in the mining killing six innocent civilian as they open fire at them without proper verification of the source of information. As the news of the killings spread around in the village, hundreds of tribal people surrounded the army camp and burnt Assam Rifles vehicles, clashed with the troopers using just the village crude weapons as a result in the second attack, eight more civilians and one security forces were killed. Following the incident, protesters threw stones at the Assam Rifles camp and tried to set fire to parts of it. The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has taken suo motu cognizance of the incident and has issued notices to the Union Home Secretary, Union Defence Secretary, the Chief Secretary and DGP of Nagaland and asked for a detailed report within six weeks, detailing the status of the investigation of the Special Investigation Team (SIT). The then Nagaland Governor, Prof. Jagdish Mukhi condemned the killings of civilians by security forces in the strongest possible words, the incident of firing on the villagers on the evening of 04 December 2021 at a point between Oting and Tiru village under Mon District.



Fig.1. Source : BBC, India Nagaland:



Fig.2. Source : Sabrangindia

The first incident occurred on 04 December 2021 when coal mine workers were returning home. The security forces opened fire on their vehicle killing six people that died on the spot, two others injured were taken to the Dibrugarh Medical College Hospital, where they were admitted to the ICU. According to a joint report by the Nagaland Director General of Police (DGP) T John Longkumer and Commissioner Rovilatuo Mor, it was at this point that the villagers grew agitated upon discovering that the army was trying to hide the bodies and whisk them away. On reaching the spot, they found the pick-up truck and the special forces personnel trying to hide the dead bodies of the six villagers by wrapping and loading them in another pick-up truck apparently with the intention of taking the dead bodies to their base camp, Villagers discovered this and protested against it as a result the security personnel shot dead seven more innocent villagers taking the death toll to 13. A serviceman was injured and later succumbed to his injuries, taking the death toll to 14 dead. In the following day, a funeral was planned at the helipad in Mon, but was later postponed to Monday without proper communication to the families and tribe of the deceased. This led to another round of violent protests where large number of public as strong as 700 in number burnt properties belonging to security personnel at the Assam Rifles Camp 27 located in Thamnan Ward and another six people including India Reserve Battalion personnel had a sustained gunshot wounds. A resident of Chi village was confirmed dead in this incident, the death toll rose to 15 in total.



Fig.3. Source : The Shillong Times



Fig 4. Source : The Leaflet

Protesters threw stones and set fire to areas around a camp belonging to Indian forces, Home Minister Amit Shah said he was anguished at the news of civilians, who were members of a local tribal group, being killed. Violence escalates aftermath the killings of innocent villagers. The unit of the security forces involved in the killings was the 21st Para Special Force based in Assam and not Nagaland were reportedly returning across the state border after the firing.

Boycott and Protest Movement

A boycott call by Konyak Union, the top body of the Konyak Naga tribe declared non-cooperation with the security forces until their demands are fulfilled and justice is delivered to the victims of the civilian killings. As part of the non-cooperation movement, Eastern Nagaland Peoples' Organisation (ENPO) resolved to abstain from any National celebrations, or such activities; non-participation in Army civic programme, and not to allow any recruitment drive within Eastern Nagaland area. In a statement, ENPO, which represents Mon, Tuensang, Longleng, Kiphire and Noklak etc. districts, has also demanded that the security personnel who were involved in the botched operation killings of 14 innocent civilians on December 4 and 5 in Mon district should be booked under the relevant law of the country and be brought under civil court for trial. The union also asserted that Home Minister, Amit Shah's statement in the Parliament on December 6 in regard to the Oting killings, where he had stated that the security forces fired in self-defense, should be withdrawn and scrapping of the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), 1958 from the entire North Eastern states and resolved to hold a public rally in all the tribal headquarters on December 16 to protest the killings and demand for justice. Nagaland Chief Minister Neiphiu Rio also question the extension to Disturb area to Nagaland as every year the Central government extends AFSPA in the state of Nagaland but when all the armed groups are in ceasefire and part of peace talks, questions the extension of it.

Across Nagaland, various other civil society organizations joined the protest movement against the killing of civilians. Expressing a deep concern over the incident at Oting, the Vice-president of Sumi Hoho S. Zhevihe Sumi issued a statement directing all the concerned Sumi individuals and groups to skip participating in the Hornbill Festival till further notice to show solidarity to the victims' families, community and the ENPO people



Fig.5. Source : The News mill

. In a letter to the Nodal Officer, Hornbill Festival, the Konyak Union directed the Konyak Community to abstain from any further participation at the Hornbill Festival 2021 citing atrocities perpetrated by the security forces on 04 December 2021 at Oting Village, Mon District.

Various Northeastern civil organizations also gave the solidarity against the killing of innocent villagers, the North East Students' Organisation, the Khasi Students' Union, Assamese Students' Union Shillong, All Arunachal Pradesh Students' Union, Twipra Student Federation, Shillong Law College, Karbi Students Union etc. among others took part in a candlelight vigil conveying the solidarity in the demand for the repeal of the 'draconian' law AFSPA. The barbaric act has irked not only the people of Nagaland but provoked the entire North East to press for the repeal of the Armed Force Special Powers Act (AFSPA).

The Civil Unrest In Nagaland And Northeast

Days after killing of 14 civilians, thousands of people, students in Kohima on Friday protested against the civilian killings by the security forces and demanded to repeal the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958 (AFSPA) from the North-Eastern region.



Fig.6. Source : The GroundXero

The Naga Students' Federation (NSF) held a huge protest rally at Kohima, public in thousands joined demanding justice for Oting victims. a memorandum was submitted to the PM Narendra Modi, to constitute a court-monitored committee headed by a retd. Supreme Court /High Court Judge, in order to ensure that the Oting incidents are probed in free and fair impartial manner. The Federation also reiterates the stand that the Special Investigation Team set up by the Nagaland government will not do justice to the willful acts of the Indian Armed Forces under the protection of the repressive AFSPA and that the Government of India must admit to the utter failure of its intelligence agencies and publically apologize to the Naga people for

furthering their subjugation of the Nagas through its policy of militarization. Justice should be delivered immediately to the victims of the Oting incidents and to all the pending cases related to the excess committed by the Indian Armed Forces.



Fig.7. Source : Social Media

The Naga People's Movement for Human Rights expresses unspeakable anguish and grief over the killing of innocent Naga civilians and resolutely condemned the barbaric incident at Oting. NPMHR in the statement said, "Ever since military aggression and occupation of the Naga homeland in 1954, civilians and common Naga people has been the target of the Indian army and the Para-military forces. It alleged that Military forces armed with Draconian and inhuman legal immunity by the Indian Parliament, the Government of India continues unabated to kill civilian and common people at any time and at any place of its conveniences. They are raped, tortured, made to give birth publicly, dearth of human dignity, and subjected to live lives of untold trauma and heavy mental burdens. It further continued and said, Women folks were stripped of all human dignity by the armed forces of the world largest called Democratic country. The Indian State does not spare any of its armed tools and occupational instruments to extinguish the Naga spirit of human dignity and spirit of equal human brotherhood. The world is prevented from knowing these ceaseless state-sponsored crimes against the Naga people and against humanity.

The Lotha Hoho also shut its Lotha Heritage Chumpo (Morung) at the Naga Heritage Village in Kisama and public rally in solidarity was held at the Wokha district, shops, schools and colleges were closed and black flag was hoisted. The movements of any Army personnel, convoy or patrol in the region was restricted, and if any passes through were considered in defiance of human rights. Phom Union Kohima also condemned the act of the paramilitary forces and expressed its solidarity with the Konyak community.



Fig.8. Nagaland Post

Various Naga civil organization vehemently condemned and held protest in solidarity with the Oting victims across the region such as Global Naga Forum, Naga Mother Association, Nagaland Tribes Council, Tenyimi Union Dimapur, Eastern Naga National Workers Union, Eastern Naga National Workers Association, Ex-Parliamentarians Association of Nagaland, Wakching Area Students union, etc. condemn the barbaric and merciless killings of innocent villagers by the Indian Security Forces and urged the state government to set up high level enquiry committee and punish the culprits and put all-out efforts to keep situation under control. It further added that since the inception of the draconian law, AFSPA in 1958, Nagas have been tormented and have lived as outcast in their own ancestral land and demanded to revoke and remove AFSPA immediately stating that justice would have not been served until AFSPA is repealed and appealed to all the unions and organizations within and beyond Nagaland to stand united in the struggle and continue to work towards the complete removal of AFSPA.

Supreme court and prosecution of the massacre

After the killing at Oting, The Nagaland Police constituted a Special Investigation Team under the state home department the very next day. The SIT on 24 March 2024 completed the probe, and by 30 May 2022, The Nagaland police completed the charge sheet against the civilian killings at Oting after which sought the sanction for prosecution from the department of military affairs of the Defence ministry against the accused security forces personnel involved in the killing. It reported the involvement of 30 Army men – a major, 2 subedars, 8 havildars, 4 naiks, 6 lance naiks and 9 paratroopers of 21 Para security Forces. However the wives and family of the accused approached the Supreme Court for a stay of the proceedings in the case. As a result, the Supreme Court halts criminal proceedings against 30 army personnel. The Supreme Court has closed all proceedings against 30 Indian Army personnel involved in the 2021 Nagaland operation that resulted in the death of 13 civilians. The Ministry of Defence has blatantly denied sanction to prosecute; the

sanction by the Government of India is mandatory for initiating legal suit against any personnel of the security forces for any action taken by them while discharging their duties under section 197(2) Cr.P.C and Section 6 of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA). The Army set up a ‘court of inquiry’ on the incident but the findings have not been made public. The apex court in an interim order dated July 19, 2022, stayed further proceedings in the case. The People’s Union for Democratic Rights also demands that the Centre give sanction for prosecuting guilty army personnel involved in the killings in Oting. The charge sheet containing over 300 pages, the SIT has accused the army on multiple grounds, and the most recent reportage on the findings are damning because they show that the commanding officer was aware for full 50 minutes and that he had suppressed the information that the team’s ambush was laid on the wrong track. Further, the post-mortem report shows that the killings of all 14 villagers, carried out over two consecutive operations, were deliberate in design.



Fig.9.Source: PUDR

According to eyewitnesses, the Army tried to remove the bodies to hush up the incident while some other witnesses alleged that the Army attempted to dress the civilians as militants to make it look like a genuine encounter. However the State Government challenged the Central Government’s decision not to persecute the 30 Armymen under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) 1958. The Supreme Court has sent the notice to the Centre on 15th July 2024 after it previously stayed the criminal persecution in July 2022. A day after the Supreme Court of India issued a notice to the Ministry of Defence, Government of India, on the persecution of the 30 Indian Army personnel who are accused of killing of 13 civilians at Oting Village, Mon District, in a botched operation on 4th December 2021, the Konyak Union has expressed its gratitude to the Nagaland Government for its decisive action in prosecuting the Para Commandos. This move to take the matter at the Supreme Court was a significant step toward ensuring justice to the victims of this horrific incident, in press statement further states, that it remains hopeful that the state government would continue its relentless efforts to bring justice, urged that the Oting case be pursued at the highest judicial level and



that it is optimistic, justice will be delivered to the victims and that those found guilty regardless of their uniform, will receive appropriate punishment. The events of December 4-5, 2021, are considered two of the darkest days in Nagaland's history and were declared "Black Day" by the Eastern Nagaland People's Organisation (ENPO), the apex body representing seven Eastern Naga tribes. In the aftermath of the incident, the ENPO announced its non-cooperation with the Indian security forces until its demands were met and justice was served to the families of the 14 civilians killed on December 4-5. The ENPO also demanded that the Union Home Minister retract the statement made in the Indian Parliament regarding the incident, and called on the Government of India to revoke the draconian Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) of 1958 from all the Northeastern states.

The movement for Justice versus Politics

As the protest movement spread wildly across the state and its solidarity for justice and to repeal the AFSPA echoes throughout the northeastern region, the situation began to shift after Phangnon Konyak, a BJP leader and native of Oting, was elected as the first Naga woman representative to the Rajya Sabha on March 24, 2022. A month later, on April 29, 2022, the ENPO withdrew its non-cooperation with the security forces following a meeting between the new MP, the Assam Rifles Inspector General, and officials from the ENPO and the Eastern Nagaland Students' Federation. While political developments were unfolding, the legal system was also progressing on its path. The Nagaland police booked 30 army personnel based on the findings of the special investigation team formed to probe the Oting killings by June 2022. However, in July, the Supreme Court stayed the proceedings following a plea filed by a spouse of one of the army officers charge-sheeted by the Nagaland Police. In September of this year, the apex court put an end to the criminal proceedings against army personnel involved in the December 2021 killings in Nagaland's Mon district. The Bench ruled that while criminal proceedings were concluded, the army retained the authority to take disciplinary actions against the personnel involved. Speaking to EastMojo, Keapwang Konyak, former president of the Oting Students' Union said, "With all the festivities, people are forgetting about the incident because *it's not their pain, it did not happen in their homes*. He revealed that in October 2024, the Oting Village Council had submitted a representation to the Konyak Union, the apex body of the Konyak tribe, requesting employment assistance for those who survived the tragedy. A lot of anger has been directed at the BJP's Rajya Sabha member S Phangnon Konyak. In March 2022, only three months after the killings, the BJP nominated S Phangnon Konyak, an Oting resident and a member of the BJP women's wing, to Rajya Sabha. For residents, however, the politics behind S Phangnon Konyak's nomination was clear, In an interview to scroll, a resident gave a statement, that the Rajya Sabha seat in Eastern Nagaland, and the nomination of a Konyak parliamentarian, was seen as an attempt to tamp down on the protests against the



killings. That's what everyone thinks...but nobody has the guts to speak. A day after the Supreme Court ruling some criticized the Rajya Sabha member's silence. But this is the fact that the Rajya Sabha MP seat for Eastern Nagas was born out of Oting tragedy, otherwise these has never even in the wildest dream that the highest parliamentary seat will just be thrown to the remotest area just like that in a normal scenario. The Rajya Sabha seat and Oting killings will remain inseparable in the political history of the Nagas. Even after being elected to the Rajya Sabha, she remained silent on this matter. One of the Oting resident said, that other members of Konyak tribe have been left disillusioned after sudden turn of event.

The council listed 16 individuals who were injured, of which seven are partially disabled and unable to perform normal daily tasks. 4 individuals, including the 2 miners who survived the ambush, have been rendered totally disabled, and the rest suffered minor injuries. The injured victims have only received an ex-gratia payment of Rs 50,000 each from the Government of Nagaland, regardless of the severity of their injuries. This financial assistance is grossly inadequate considering the extent of the physical, emotional, and economic hardships that the victims and their families have had to endure. Many of the injured cannot return to their previous work, thus facing significant challenges in supporting themselves and their families. The state government provided an ex-gratia of Rs 5,00,000 for each deceased victim, while the central government extended Rs 11,00,000 per victim. The next of kin of the deceased were offered employment in various government departments, including Soil, Agriculture, Education, Law and Justice, Nagaland Police, and the office of the district administration, serving in different capacities. Justice is compensated by the parliament seat, a few lakh of rupees, government jobs but the lives lost by the family, wife, children's and dear ones can never be compensated. What about their justice? Are these a language of justice for the poor innocent villagers in the political world must have a deeper introspection?

Recounting the bloody massacre

Marking the second anniversary of the tragedy, the Konyak Union Kohima (KUK) organized a solemn act of memorial at the Konyak Morung located at the Naga Heritage Village, Kisama, on 04 December expressing a gratitude to all the Naga tribes who stood in solidarity with the Konyak community during its darkest hours that while justice seems distant, ensuring proper care for the victims who survived, particularly those rendered disabled, would provide some relief to the affected families and the local community. It also asserts that those responsible would not forget their actions, while honoring the families of the victims. Meanwhile, a resident from Oting village voiced the dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court's judgment, expressing that the families of the lost brothers, sisters, and parents remain in mourning,

highlighting the plight of children who are now orphans and parents left childless, emphasizing that the community continues to seek justice for their grievances, yet their appeals have gone unheard.



Fig.10. Source – Morung Express

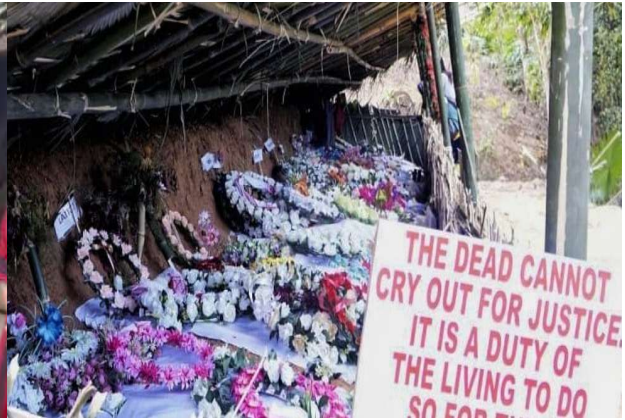


Fig.11. Source – The Wire

In a statement to the scroll, a resident said that apart from the Nagaland government condemnation, the Nagaland government has not said anything about the Supreme Court ruling and neither has the Konyak Union. Key Naga groups such as Naga Hoho, Naga Students Federation, Global Naga Forum, among others expressed their anguish and objections to the ruling of the prosecution but organizations from Eastern Nagaland have remained silent so far. the Konyak Union and Eastern Nagaland Peoples' Organisation have not said anything even though villagers are angry and hurt, another resident of Oting, who did not want to be identified, told *Scroll*. The Oting Students Union, in a statement on 19 September, appealed to civil society groups and the public to support them in seeking justice. Oting residents said it feels like a “betrayal” that its own people are not speaking out against the killings after the change in tide of political wave. Several villagers from Oting told *Scroll* that the Konyak Union and Eastern Nagaland Peoples' Organisation should take the lead in seeking justice since the families and relatives of the victims lack the resources and legal support to pursue the matter in the court. “We don’t know the procedure, whom to approach, what to do and how to do it,” said the Oting resident. A Nagaland journalist, however, pointed out that the silence of Konyak civil society was “obvious”. The political class reaped the benefit of the Centre’s placatory advances post-Oting killings. The relatives had no choice but to accept their fate and that if the ruling class of the community in this case, the village tells them to stay quiet, they will have to remain silent. That’s how village justice works. The space called freedom of speech or freedom to disagree gets narrower as it goes down the democratic hierarchy. For the families and relatives of the victims and survivors, the anguish continues. Another union leader states, it is not only about those killed that day but also the survivors who continue to suffer. “Two of them are half dead, they can’t wake up from bed, they are being spoon fed but we are also helpless. What can we do, question in pain? People have moved on in

some ways, but the suffering and pain felt are still the same, we may have forgiven but not forgotten this tragedy. A monolith in memory of Oting will be erected in the celebration of the first anniversary. He further stated that though life has return to normalcy yet people are still mentally and financially suffering in pain.



Fig.12. Source : Nagaland Tribune

Conclusion

The Oting massacre is clear example of how the Act such as Armed Forces Special Powers Act popularly called as AFSPA can be misused in allowing the armed personnel to take law in their own hands, to manipulate to one own advantage in exercising without impunity in taking the lives of innocent lives. The act that empowers the armed forces to exercise a free hand in times of crucial outbreak of law and order, conflict or war are being used on the weak, poor and innocent civilians in fulfilling personal agenda and vendetta. Even in the war or conflict, such act as AFSPA are act that are against humanity, such act as Anti-humanity and therefore must be scrapped. These acts empowers the armed forces to exercise, abuse the powers and to kill without accountability and the war crime punishable that are very dangerous in a democratic nation like India. There have been various allegations in which armed forces are said to encounter the innocent civilians in the name of terrorist for obtaining and earning various kinds of medals and promotions and that the Act in the hands of the wrong person can be abused like Oting incident. For the past many years since the conflicts begin in the Naga Hills post India independence, after the Naga declaration for self-determination on 14 August 1947, there has been various Act and schedule that were implemented in these areas. Assam Maintenance of Public Order 1947, 1953, AFSPA 1958 were implemented in the Naga hills to suppressed the movement through which the innocents civilians villagers were tortured, encountered, murdered, raped, inhumanely saluted worse than the animals. These wounds still echoes in the lives of the people in the hills and such as Oting incident reminds back those old wounds and refresh the history of humiliation, pain and suffering the Naga undergoes through. When justice are denied in such a case, India distances itself from the Nagas and create more widened gap of conciliation



with the past and therefore it is pertinent to understand that the success of peace effort of India and Nagas can be achievable when such circumstances are tackled not in defensive mode of protecting the crime committed but rather give a humanitarian outlook and must legislate in reshaping those Draconian law as AFSPA, removed the label of Disturb area from this region for a peaceful co-existence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACHR, Oting Massacre and the case for repeal of AFSPA Asian Centre for Human Rights, Briefing paper 2022.

East Mojo, Nagaland Civilian Killings, Sumi Hoho Asks Fellow Groups To Skip Hornbill, 05 Dec 2021, accessed on 16 July 2026, <https://eastmojo.com/news/2021/12/05/nagaland-civilian-killings-sumi-hoho-asks-fellow-groups-to-skip-hornbill/>

Ground zero, Repeal AFSPA and Justice for Victims of Mon Massacre: Citizens on two-day protest walk in Nagaland, 11 January 2022, <https://www.groundxero.in/2022/01/11/repeal-afspa-and-justice-for-victims-of-mon-massacre-citizens-on-two-day-protest-walk-in-nagaland/>

Ratnadip Choudhury, Fourteen villagers and a soldier died in Mon district in the December 4 Army operation that went horribly wrong, 15 Dec 2021, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/in-nagaland-protests-against-army-grow-after-botched-op-that-killed-14-2652003>

Sukumar Muralidharan, The Oting massacre and the state of exception in democracies, 22 Dec 2021, <https://theleaflet.in/analysis/the-right-to-have-rights-and-the-state-of-exception-in-democracies>

Sadiq Naqvi, Nagaland: Violence after India forces ‘mistakenly’ kill civilians, Aljazeera,

Published 05 Dec 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/5/multiple-dead-after-operation-in-northeastern-india>

Sabrangindia , Nagaland Killings: NHRC takes suo motu cognizance, Sabrangindia , 08 December 2021, <https://sabrangindia.in/nagaland-killings-nhrc-takes-suo-motu-cognisance/>

NPMHR calls Oting killing of innocent Naga civilians, genocide, resolutely condemns the butchering, 05 December 2021, <https://ukhrultimes.com/npmhr-calls-oting-killing-of-innocent-naga-civilians-genocide-resolutely-condemns-the-butchering/>



NDTV, Nagaland Governor Strongly condemns killing of civilians, Dec 05, 2021, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/nagaland-governor-strongly-condemns-killing-of-civillians-2638146>

Nagaland Post, More organisations condemn December 4 Oting massacre, 08 December 2021, <https://nagalandpost.com/more-organisations-condemn-december-4-oting-massacre/>

Nagaland Tribune, Konyak Union thanks GoN after SC issues notice to GoI on persecution of accused of Oting killings, 16 July, 2024, <https://nagalandtribune.in/konyak-union-thanks-gon-after-sc-issues-notice-to-goi-on-persecution-of-accused-of-oting-killings/>

Nagaland Tribune, Konyak Union thanks GoN after SC issues notice to GoI on persecution of accused of Oting killings, 16 July 2024, <https://nagalandtribune.in/konyak-union-thanks-gon-after-sc-issues-notice-to-goi-on-persecution-of-accused-of-oting-killings/>

NDTV, 05 Dec 2021 , <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/nagaland-governor-strongly-condemns-killing-of-civillians-2638146>

Medolenuo Ambrocia, A tragedy forgotten: How the Oting massacre was erased from memory, 12 December 2024, <https://eastmojo.com/news/aipp-eastmojo-fellowship-2024/2024/12/12/a-tragedy-forgotten-how-the-oting-massacre-was-erased-from-memory>

PUDR, Uphold SIT Investigation into Oting Killings, 08 July 2022, <https://www.pudr.org/press-statements/uphold-sit-investigation-into-oting-killings-demand-sanction-for-prosecuting-guilty-army-personnel/>

Rokibuz Zaman, Betrayed by our own': Anger in Nagaland after Supreme Court ruling on civilian killings, the Scroll,,Sep 23, 2024, <https://scroll.in/article/1073574/betrayed-by-our-own-anger-in-nagaland-after-supreme-court-ruling-on-civilian-killings>

Morung Express, Inexpressible: Konyak Morung at Kisama remembers Oting massacre, 04 December 2022, <https://morungexpress.com/inexpressible-konyak-morung-at-kisama-remembers-oting-massacre>

Sushmita Goswami and Narayan Bahadur Sagar, Can Forgive But Can't Forget': Nagaland Villagers a Year After Oting Civilian Deaths, 04 Dec 2022, The wire, <https://thewire.in/rights/nagaland-oting-civilian-killings>



The Print, Oting killing : Centre denies prosecution sanction against 30 Army men, 14 April, 2023 <https://theprint.in/india/oting-killing-centre-denies-prosecution-sanction-against-30-army-men/1518581/>

The Wire, Why Army Officers Involved in Nagaland Civilian Killings Must Be Prosecuted, Alok Asthana 15 April 2023, <https://thewire.in/security/nagaland-civilian-killings-afspa-prosecution>

Vajiram Content Team, Supreme court halts criminal proceedings against 30 army personnel, 27 Oct 2025, <https://vajiramandravi.com/current-affairs/supreme-court-halts-criminal-proceedings-against-30-army-personnel-in-nagaland/>

Zarir Hussain, Violence escalates in India's northeast after forces mistakenly fire on civilians –officials, 06 December 2021 , <https://www.reuters.com/world/india/civilians-mistakenly-killed-by-indian-forces-remote-northeast-official-2021-12-05/>

Zarir Hussain, Civilians mistakenly killed by Indian forces remote northeast, 06 December 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/india/civilians-mistakenly-killed-by-indian-forces-remote-northeast-official-2021-12-05/>

¹ Sadiq Naqvi, Nagaland: Violence after India forces ‘mistakenly’ kill civilians, Aljazeera,

Published 05 Dec 2021, accessed on 05 April 2026, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/5/multiple-dead-after-operation-in-northeastern-india>

¹ Zarir Hussain, Violence escalates in India's northeast after forces mistakenly fire on civilians –officials, 06 December 2021 , accessed on 05 April 2026, <https://www.reuters.com/world/india/civilians-mistakenly-killed-by-indian-forces-remote-northeast-official-2021-12-05/>

¹Sabrangindia , Nagaland Killings: NHRC takes suo motu cognizance, Sabrangindia , 08 December 2021, accessed on 05 April 2026, <https://sabrangindia.in/nagaland-killings-nhrc-takes-suo-motu-cognisance/>

¹ NDTV, 05 Dec 2021, accessed on 05 April 2026, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/nagaland-governor-strongly-condemns-killing-of-civillians-2638146>

¹ Op.Cit.

¹ Ibid.



¹ Zarir Hussain, Civilians mistakenly killed by Indian forces remote northeast, 06 December 2021, accessed on 07 April 2026, <https://www.reuters.com/world/india/civilians-mistakenly-killed-by-indian-forces-remote-northeast-official-2021-12-05/>

¹ Sadiq Naqvi, Nagaland: Violence after India forces ‘mistakenly’ kill civilians, Aljazeera, 05 Dec 2021, accessed on 07 April 2026, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/5/multiple-dead-after-operation-in-northeastern-india> Also see, Sukumar Muralidharan, The Oting massacre and the state of exception in democracies, 22 Dec 2021, accessed on 07 April 2026, <https://theleaflet.in/analysis/the-right-to-have-rights-and-the-state-of-exception-in-democracies>

¹ Ratnadip Choudhury, Fourteen villagers and a soldier died in Mon district in the December 4 Army operation that went horribly wrong, 15 Dec 2021, accessed on 09 April 2026, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/in-nagaland-protests-against-army-grow-after-botched-op-that-killed-14-2652003>

¹ Ibid.

¹ East Mojo, Nagaland Civilian Killings, Sumi Hoho Asks Fellow Groups To Skip Hornbill, 05 Dec 2021, accessed on 07 April 2026, <https://eastmojo.com/news/2021/12/05/nagaland-civilian-killings-sumi-hoho-asks-fellow-groups-to-skip-hornbill/>

¹ Op.cit.

¹ Ground zero, Repeal AFSPA and Justice for Victims of Mon Massacre: Citizens on two-day protest walk in Nagaland, 11 January 2022, accessed on 09 April 2026, <https://www.groundxero.in/2022/01/11/repeal-afspa-and-justice-for-victims-of-mon-massacre-citizens-on-two-day-protest-walk-in-nagaland/>

¹ Ukhrul times, NPMHR calls Oting killing of innocent Naga civilians, genocide, resolutely condemns the butchering, 05 December 2021, accessed on 07 April 2026, <https://ukhrultimes.com/npmhr-calls-oting-killing-of-innocent-naga-civilians-genocide-resolutely-condemns-the-butchering/>

¹ NDTV, Nagaland Governor Strongly condemns killing of civilians, Dec 05, 2021, accessed on 09 April 2026, <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/nagaland-governor-strongly-condemns-killing-of-civillians-2638146>

¹ Nagaland Post, More organizations condemn December 4 Oting massacre, 08 December 2021, accessed on 10 June 2026, <https://nagalandpost.com/more-organisations-condemn-december-4-oting-massacre/>



¹ Vajiram Content Team, Supreme court halts criminal proceedings against 30 army personnel, 27 Oct 2025, <https://vajiramandravi.com/current-affairs/supreme-court-halts-criminal-proceedings-against-30-army-personnel-in-nagaland/>

¹ The Print, Oting killing : Centre denies prosecution sanction against 30 Army men, 14 April, 2023, accessed on 10 June 2026, <https://theprint.in/india/oting-killing-centre-denies-prosecution-sanction-against-30-army-men/1518581/>

¹ PUDR, Uphold SIT Investigation into Oting Killings, 08 July 2022, accessed on 10 June 2026, <https://www.pudr.org/press-statements/uphold-sit-investigation-into-oting-killings-demand-sanction-for-prosecuting-guilty-army-personnel/>

¹ The Wire, Why Army Officers Involved in Nagaland Civilian Killings Must Be Prosecuted, Alok Asthana 15 April 2023, accessed on 10 June 2026, <https://thewire.in/security/nagaland-civilian-killings-afspa-prosecution>

¹ Nagaland Tribune, Konyak Union thanks GoN after SC issues notice to GoI on persecution of accused of Oting killings, 16 July, 2024, accessed on 10 June 2026, <https://nagalandtribune.in/konyak-union-thanks-gon-after-sc-issues-notice-to-goi-on-persecution-of-accused-of-oting-killings/>

¹ Ibid.

¹ Nagaland Tribune, Konyak Union thanks GoN after SC issues notice to GoI on persecution of accused of Oting killings, 16 July, 2024, accessed on 15 July 2026, <https://nagalandtribune.in/konyak-union-thanks-gon-after-sc-issues-notice-to-goi-on-persecution-of-accused-of-oting-killings/>

¹ Medolenuo Ambrocia, A tragedy forgotten: How the Oting massacre was erased from memory, 12 December 2024, accessed on 15 July 2026, <https://eastmojo.com/news/aipp-eastmojo-fellowship-2024/2024/12/12/a-tragedy-forgotten-how-the-oting-massacre-was-erased-from-memory>

¹ Ibid.

¹ Rokibuz Zaman, Betrayed by our own': Anger in Nagaland after Supreme Court ruling on civilian killings, the Scroll , 23 Sep 2024, accessed on 15 July 2026, <https://scroll.in/article/1073574/betrayed-by-our-own-anger-in-nagaland-after-supreme-court-ruling-on-civilian-killings>

¹ Ibid.



¹ Ibid.

¹ Morung Express, Inexpressible: Konyak Morung at Kisama remembers Oting massacre, 04 December 2022, accessed on 15 July 2026, accessed on 16 July 2026, <https://morungexpress.com/inexpressible-konyak-morung-at-kisama-remembers-oting-massacre>

¹ Rokibuz Zaman, Betrayed by our own': Anger in Nagaland after Supreme Court ruling on civilian killings, the Scroll, 23 Sep 2024, accessed on 15 July 2026, <https://scroll.in/article/1073574/betrayed-by-our-own-anger-in-nagaland-after-supreme-court-ruling-on-civilian-killings>

¹ Ibid.

¹ Ibid

¹ Sushmita Goswami and Narayan Bahadur Sagar, Can Forgive But Can't Forget': Nagaland Villagers a Year After Oting Civilian Deaths, The wire, 04 Dec 2022, accessed on 05 April 2026, <https://thewire.in/rights/nagaland-oting-civilian-killings>