

EVOLUTION AND NATURE OF THE NAGA MOVEMENT

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CERTIFICATE

This is to Certify that the dissertation entitled "**EVOLUTION AND NATURE OF THE NAGA MOVEMENT**" submitted by **YARONSHO NGALUNG** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** has not been previously submitted for any degree to this or any other university, this work is the result of his own research.

We recommend that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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To

My Only Younger Sister

Late Lantimla Ngalung Who Died

On

November 6, 2002

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MAP OF NAGALIM



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CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation has focused on the Naga Movement within the framework of Naga nationalism, politics, splits and strategy of accommodation. Naga nationalism indicates the co-existence of modern and traditional features of nationalism. Naga Movement's ideology has been indicated as National Socialism of its own brand. Naga politics is conducted vis-a-vis India's democratic political system and the Government of Myanmar. This dissertation brings up the tension of conflict between the Naga Movement for freedom and Indian and Myanmar States.

The Nagas as 'a group of people' have constituted themselves as an organised community like other people of the world. They are struggling for their collective rights through Naga People's Movement. This movement is a nationalist movement, addressing from slavery to freedom and a movement desiring to live together as family members, from alien interference or imposed rule to 'self-rule'. This is definition of Naga Movement for Freedom.¹

A Brief Review of the Naga Political History

The Nagas are an ancient people whose forefathers migrated into their present habitat somewhere before the Christian era of AD1. Their forefathers belonged to the Sino-Mongoloid race that came in waves from South East Asia during the great migratory upheavals that took place all over Asia and other continents during the transition period between BC 1 and AD 1. Their entry points to their present lands were through the Himalayan region and the Burmese corridor. The Naga, who pierced their ears to accommodate big wooden plugs and other ornaments, were given this name while they were passing through the Burmese territory during

¹ Ao, A. Lanunungang, From Phizo to Muivah: The Naga National Question in North East India, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 5.

their migratory stage. The name “Naga” is derived from the Burmese word “Naka”, meaning “people with perforated ears”.

Whether in historical records or oral traditions passed from one generation to the other through word of mouth, there was no mention whatsoever of the Naga driving away some inhabitants of the land to make the lands their own.² The fact is one where their forefathers, like any other nations in the world, at some specific time in history (around AD 1) migrated from more populated regions of the Asian continent and settled down in their present lands and made it their land. Their continuity as a people inhabiting their present lands is an established historical fact.

The Nagas had been resisting against intrusions and raids from Manipuri and Ahoms Kingdoms and others like the Burmese, Tripuris, Dimasas and the Cachar Kingdom from the 13th century to the 18th century. The Nagas strongly resisted against the British intrusions. But the British were able to conquer and rule over some portions of Nagalim for 70 years. Lastly as far as the 55 years Indo-Naga conflict is concerned, prior to 1947, not to talk of Naga territory being part of Indian or Myanmar territory, no Indian or Burmese King or Prince had never even set one foot into Naga territory. The political conflict between the Governments of India and Myanmar and the Nagas therefore is over the issue as to how one lac twenty thousand square kilometers of ancient and historical Naga lands can simply disappear into Indian and Burmese territory when both the countries declared their respective independence. This brief historical account may help us in tracing the rise and growth and the nature of Naga nationalism.

The story of the emergence of Nagas as a people –the Naga nation in the words of the independentists³ is one of the most remarkable 20th century stories of a radical transformation of political structures and

² Iralu, Kaka D., ‘Is Underdevelopment the cause of Insurgency in Nagaland?’ in Naga Journal of Indigenous Affairs, A Biannual Review of Indigenous Peoples, Naga People’s Forum Publication, June-November 2002, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 34-35.

³ Baruah, Sanjib, ‘Confronting Constructionism: Ending India’s Naga War’, Seminar Presented at CPS/SSS, JNU, New Delhi, 22nd January, 2003, p. 7 (Mimeographed).

world-views within a relatively short period of time. Although the Nagas were resisting the external interference of Manipuris, Ahoms and British from 13th century till 19th century, the road to Naga nationhood, however, did not open up till the 20th century. It perhaps began when during the First World War a Labour Corps of 2000 Nagas, were sent to France, where they saw great 'civilised nations' fighting for 'their ends and interests while Naga were condemned as barbarous for their head hunting ways'⁴.

Those Nagas were greatly influenced by the spirit of the rise of the nationalism in many countries of the world they witnessed during the war. After they returned home, they were regarded as the war heroes and thereby; became more patriotic and considered the most enlightened group in their land. This had further contributed to the birth of Naga nationalism in the early stage.⁵

After the WWI, the Nagas formed the Naga Club based on socio-political interest with a view to bringing all Naga tribes together into a common platform. This was the first socio-political organisation formed by the representatives of tribal nations in the form of a "Common Wealth of Tribal Nations"⁶. This Club brought all the isolated Naga tribes together with common goal and common political identity. It had created a sense of 'we feeling' amongst themselves ever experienced by the Nagas. This Club submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission stating that, 'the Nagas should be left alone as they were before the British rule so that they could continue to live independently as before.

During the Naga National Council (NNC) phase, the construction of the Naga national question continued the same line of argument consistent with its predecessors. It decried what it described as Indian occupation of Naga Hills. It asserted that the Nagas were never conquered

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁵ Ao, A. Lanunungsang, *From Phizo to Muivah*, *ibid*, p. 40.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 41.

by India.⁷ Accordingly they declared Naga Independence on 14th August 1947. They stood for separate Naga Nation State. The construction of Naga National question of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland can be understood from their observation about the Naga nationalism or nationality. The concept of human race, internationalism and myths of nations could in no sense deprive the Naga of the basis of being a family and a nation of their own existence. This self-determination is their righteous cause and Nagas shall always to be the people of this noble cause.

The NSCN then described the Nagaland-India tangle as: the rulers of India and their strong men could not understand Nagaland and her people. They only know that the Nagas were naked and on this account despised them and disregard all their historical rights. However, Naked Nagas also have their homeland and it had never been conquered by the Indians nor by the Burmese. Neither have the Nagas ever joined the Indian Union nor that of Burma by consent. The NSCN termed India and Myanmar as a colonial nation which not only subjugated the Nagas but the other weak nationalities of the region. For them, the struggle of the Nagas was not only 'to defend Nagaland's independent existence' but also 'safety from the doom of silent invasion of Indian and Burmese capitals and cultural conquest.'⁸

It then philosophized

"In this world of bitter history where powers and unruly ambitions make life insane, the only way for a people to hold out their salvation is to cling to their freedom, because it is freedom and the love for it that give meaning to life. Therefore, freedom the very precious most, shall on no occasion be yielded to whatever guests history may still afford... We shall

⁷ Nag, Sajal, Contesting Marginality: Ethnicity, Insurgency and Subnationalism in North East India, Manohar, 2002, p. 314.

⁸ Swu, Isak Chishi and Muivah, Th., Free Nagaland Manifesto, NSCN: Dated Oking 22-11-1993, pp. VI, 10, 15-18.

hold fast to our freedom, for what remains when it falls! Yes, we will never back down from our principles; they are all the world to us. This is our treasured philosophy. The fate is decided, it is in our hands. We shall live only in freedom".⁹

Now let us briefly present here definitions and views of different scholars on nationalism in general and Naga nationalism in particular.

The Naga scholars generally subscribed to the theory that the Naga Movement were nationalist movement. According to them, the definition of a nationalist movement was a movement of group or people who had achieved or trying to achieve the status of nation or nation state largely through revolutionary and armed struggles where people support their cause. The scholars of the radical school described the Naga Movement as a struggle against national suppression and made a case for the Nagas right to self-determination.¹⁰ In terms of Clifford Geertz, the Nagas nationalism was based on primordial attachment in terms of blood ties, race, language, region, religion and customs.¹¹

Ernest Gellner denies the existence of nationalism in agrarian societies, situates the nationalist phenomena primarily in the early stages of industrialization, and believes that it may fade away in more 'mature, homogeneous industrial societies. In agrarian societies there was always a cultural gulf between the rulers and the ruled. High (literary) and low (non-literary) cultures being normally larger than any individual state and the low culture normally smaller: almost everything in an agrarian society thus 'militates against the definition of political units in terms of cultural boundaries'.¹² Industrial society by contrast, require a homogeneous

⁹ A Brief Political Account of Free Nagaland, Nagaland for Christ, Published by the Publicity Department, GPRN, pp. 45-47.

¹⁰ Nathan, Dev, 'Varieties of National Oppression', Economic and Political Weekly, 2 July, 1988, pp. 1356-7.

¹¹ Geertz, Clifford (ed), Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa, Amerind Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1963, p. 113.

¹² Gellner, Ernest, Nations and Nationalism, Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd., Oxford, England, 1983, p. 11.

system of education that merges high and low cultures, either by imposing the high culture on the population or by upgrading a low culture to high culture. It is during this homogenization that nationalism is generated.¹³

In his imagined communities, Benedict Anderson argues that the nation is a cultural construct, not in the sense of building on historical tradition but in that of being collectively imagined by all those going to the same kinds of school, viewing or listening to the same media, sharing the same mental map of the nation and its surrounding, or visiting the same museums. There is thus nothing immanent or original about nation, but it is a construct, similar everywhere, only using different symbols, but it always considers itself as antique: it creates its own narrative, imagining itself as 'awakening from sleep'.¹⁴

He defines 'nation' as 'an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow – members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the images of their communion. All Communities larger than primordial villages of face to face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a million living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. Finally, it is imagined as community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over

¹³ Tonnesson, Stein and Antlov, Hans, 'Asia in Theories of Nationalism and National Identity' in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D. (eds.), Nationalism: Critical Concepts in Political Sciences, Routledge, London and New York, 2000, Vol. 1, p. 846.

¹⁴ Tonnesson, Stein and Antlov, Hans, 'Asia in Theories of Nationalism and National Identity', ibid, p. 848.

the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes the shrunken imaginings of recent history generate such colossal sacrifices? Anderson believes that the beginnings of an answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism.¹⁵

According to Anthony D. Smith, modern nations have ancient ethnic origins and were not invented or imagined. Smith Shares with Gellner and Anderson the view that nationalism and the nation-state are modern; he distances himself from 'perennialist' or 'primordial' theories. But he insists that nations have roots in pre-modern ethnic communities. Instead of emphasizing the break between agrarian and industrial society, he establishes the historical 'genealogy' of modern nation, the most cohesive of which were formed around on 'ethnic core'. Nationalist leaders have had to embed their image of the nation in such historical myths and symbols that could have the deepest resonance in the popular imagining, and it is precisely this historical embeddedness which have given nationalism its force.¹⁶

In 1983, Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger launched the *Invention of Tradition*, a book title, like *Imagined Communities*, became an academic catch-word. In his preface to the book, Hobsbawn defines invented tradition, in short, as 'responses, or which established their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.'¹⁷ He is careful to distinguish between invented and genuine traditions: 'where the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented' and goes on to claim that the element of invention is particularly clear in the ways that history has been

¹⁵ Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, Verso, London, New York, 1991, pp. 6-7.

¹⁶ Tonnesson, Stein and Antlov, Hans, 'Asia in Theories of Nationalism and National Identity', *ibid*, pp. 850-851.

¹⁷ Hobsbawn, Eric and Ranger, Terence (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 1-2.

used to forge, that comparatively recent historical innovation, the “nation”, with its associated phenomenon: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest.’ According to Hobsbawn, their novelty is no less novel for being able to dress up easily as antiquity’.¹⁸

The ethno-culturalist approach roots nationalism in premodern ethnics or politics. The defining features of ethnic/nation can be language, religion, custom, a ‘homeland with symbolic places, or a shared history. Such qualities have long been embedded in the popular imagination as signs of differences. The contents of tradition have changed, and sometimes radically, but there have still been striking continuous patterns of demarcation between the We and the Other.¹⁹

According to Udayon Mishra, Nagas have many of the features that go to make a nation: a common descent, a distinct territory, common political and economic patterns of life, customs and traditions, and a psychological structure on which a common Naga culture is based. As for national consciousness and corporate will, the Naga have a common religious belief – Christianity – contrary to that of the Hindus or Buddhist: they also have a collective will separate from India and Myanmar and have their own ‘home-rule’. The Naga have solved the problem arising out of the large number of mutually unintelligible tribal languages by evolving a pidgin called Nagamese which is used as a lingua franca. It cannot be called a dialect, as it is not the local patois of any standard Naga language, which are all independent of each other.²⁰ Apart from Nagamese Nagas used English as a common language.

Horam call the Nagas a nation and the Naga Movement a nationalist movement: “The Nagas do share a common homeland and belong broadly

¹⁸ Tonnesson, Stein and Antlov, Hans, ‘Asia in Theories of Nationalism and National Identity’, *ibid*, pp. 855-856.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 855.

²⁰ Mishra, Udayon, ‘Naga National Question’, in *National Question in India*, Andhra Pradesh Radical Students Union, Hyderabad: APRSU, 1982, pp. 61-82.

speaking, to mongoloid race group... Naga nationalist sentiment is based on the fact that Nagas are different from Indians”²¹ and Myanmarese.

Historically, “Nagas originated from the east, a tribe of the Mongoloid race. The historical evidence of origin ascertained that Nagas are not Indians. Nagaland was and is not Indian territory... Also it is a historical fact that India was never politically united in the past... This India as a cultural entity did not include the Nagas and other peripheries of present India.. (thus, it is) forcefully and powerfully the present India emerged as one political entity. The concept of nation is a contractual entity. In this context, the Nagas in general argue that they were not even a party to the contract of Indian nationhood. Therefore, they state that, they have every national right to determine their future as sovereign independent people”.²²

The corporate will of having a separate state for the Nagas was activated by this consciousness. As pointed out by the Naga scholars themselves that Naga national sentiment was based on the fact that they are neither Indian nor Burmese. These were some of the factors that helped in unification of the Naga tribes and in streamlining them into a nationality.

The Naga independence movement is then a nationalist struggle.²³ The Naga nationalist movement was national because ‘a nationality is formed by the decision to form a nationality and nationalism in a state of mind striving towards transforming this consciousness into the political fact of nation-state’. In this sense Nagas are a nationality wherein a significant number of people in the community feel that they belong to or want to have a nation.²⁴ Considering the above definitions and views of

²¹ Horam, M., Naga Insurgency – The Last Thirty Years, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 33-34.

²² Mao, Xavier, ‘Secessionism and Historical Inevitability with Special Reference to Nagaland’, Paper read in North East India History Association, Imphal, 1990 (Mimeographed).

²³ Nag, Sajal, Contesting Marginality, ibid, p. 352.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 353.

the different scholars and the NSCN Manifesto and other writing on nationalism we could identify some traits in majority of the writers which can be attributed to the Naga nationalism. However, the process of achieving what the Nagas called Sovereign Independent Naga Nation-State is still on.

The ongoing ceasefire for dialogue between the Government of India and the NSCN since 1997 was entered upon to resolve one of the world's oldest armed conflict and also one of the least known: the conflict between the Government of India and the Nagas. The positive and progressive contribution of the Naga Movement had been that it had integrated the disunited tribes into a nationality and collectivity.

The single most important development that made the imagining of Nagas as a collectivity possible was their conversion to Christianity. Today Christianity is an essential part of Naga identity. If the Naga conversion to Christianity was the result of their incorporation into a larger political, economic and cultural universe, so was their journey on to the road to nationhood.²⁵

The importance of the Naga Movement is that it is for the people. The Movement has injected a consciousness into the Nagas' minds about their rights. The Nagas had been able to expose the human rights violation committed by the security forces to the outside world. Many international NGOs started recognizing the genuineness of the Naga struggle for freedom. In fact, the international communities came to know about the Naga people's struggle through the leaders of the Nagas. It is because of the genuineness of the Naga cause that the Government of India has also recognized the unique history and situation of the Nagas. The Government of India has realized that military solution is not possible as the problem is a political one. Nagas have come a long from head hunting stage to civilized nation stage. The Naga leaders are working in their best possible

²⁵ Baruah, Sanjib, Confronting Constructionism, *ibid*, p. 9.

manner and level to fulfill the yearning of the Naga people for peace, unity and reconciliation, justice and freedom.

Objectives

Keeping in mind the historical evolution and nature of the Naga Movement, the driving force of this study and objective is to understand the root cause of the Naga struggle for freedom. The on-going talks between the Government and the Nagas have also created a lot of interest, which induces one to know how the two entities are really going to resolve the vexed Indo-Naga conflict. It will not be surprising to know that, while the Government of India has been insisting that the Naga problem can be resolved only within the framework of the constitution of India, the Nagas have been insisting that their independent existence should be maintained at any cost. The next objective is to examine as to how far the Naga Nationalist Movement is a genuine base movement or not. Another objective is what are the factors for this movement to survive such a long year. Another objective of the study is to know what are the factors of the failures of the past agreements and accords etc. Lastly, in line with the above objectives, this dissertation had tried to understand the factors leading to the emergence of the Naga nationalism, and also the leadership and ideology of the Naga Movement. The study indicated a deep and profound yearning for violence free world-peace.

Methodology

To materialize the work, this dissertation had made use of both the secondary data and primary sources. The secondary sources consist mainly of Textbooks, Articles, Journals, Magazines and Newspaper. The primary sources consists primarily Government and Non-Official Documents, Reports, Statements, Private Publications, Unpublished Articles, Interviews, and also private discussion with friends and elders and also attending different Seminars and Workshops, viewing of documentary films to strengthen the knowledge. The approach of the study is analytical, descriptive and non-statistical, based on historical

past, present developments keeping in view the importance of the future research.

Chapterisation

The second chapter deals with the British imperialism and its implications for Nagas. This chapter basically revolves around the Naga People and their lands and their relations with Manipuri, Ahoms and Britishers.

The area of distributions of 40 Naga tribes in India and Myanmar had been located. The main argument in the Nagas' relations with Manipuris and Ahoms is that they did not conquer the Nagas. It was the British who conquered some portions of the Naga lands. One of the main implications of the British rule was the division of Nagas in two Sovereign States, i.e., India and Burma and the subsequent placing of Nagas in different States after India and Myanmar declared their respective independence. This is the crux of the present Governments of India and Myanmar and the Nagas-problem.

The third chapter deals with the various phases of the Naga Movement. The phases are (1) Formation of the Naga Club in 1918 till the non-violence period (1952), (2) After Nehru and UNu visit in 1953 till the signing of the Shillong Accord, and (3) Post-Shillong Accord: Emergence and split of the NSCN till the rising of the NSCN-IM as the strongest organisation. Before discussing the various phases, the chapter brings out some definitions of Naga nationalism given by some scholars and leaders.

Chapter fourth deals with the ideology and leadership of the Naga Movement. It traces the evolution of ideology and also briefly discussed the ideology of the Naga Movement. This chapter also describes the contribution of Four Naga prominent leaders to the Movement. There is an introduction and conclusion forming first and fifth chapters preceding and following, respectively second, third and fourth chapters.

Hypothesis

The Naga Movement is a Struggle for Sovereignty.

CHAPTER - II

BRITISH IMPERIALISM: ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR NAGAS

When one looks at the map of Asia, one will find the Nagas in the tri-junction of China, India and Myanmar. The land inhabited by the Nagas is known as Naga Ancestral Domain or Nagalim.¹ Historically speaking, the Nagas were contentedly living in their ancestral homeland till the arrival of the Britishers in the early part of 19th century. Each village was a State by itself with a Chief and Council of elders.² The Naga village is the unit of peoples' sovereignty and also the first institution of the Nagas.³ This unit has a territory with clear-cut demarcation within which the villagers have due their space and good life. This unit has its own systems in the social, religious, political and economic sphere. It also has its own Customary Laws for the administration of justice without any interference from outside world. The land and people belong to the system just as the system belongs to the people and the land. These village units were never under the rule of any government before the advent of colonial Britain.⁴ Even after more than 130 years of Christian influence and introduction of the government system, the villages still retain their uniqueness and de facto sovereignty. Broadly, the academic consensus is that the Nagas are "a conglomeration of a number of distinct tribes belonging to the Mongoloid racial group that share a set of physical and cultural traits." This definition of the Naga social identity was suggested by J.P Mills in 1922. This received a clearer elucidation in 1925 by W.C.

¹ The Nagas have started using the word "Nagalim" in place of "Nagaland" since 1997. "Lim" simply means "Land" in Ao Naga language. When Nagas refer to "Nagalim" they mean the entire area inhabited by Nagas in the same way they used to use the word "Nagaland", which was divided by the British between India and Burma. But people wrongly interpreted the word "Nagaland" to mean only the present state of Nagaland. To dispel this misconception, the term "Nagalim" has started being used.

² Timothy, K. & Sumi, V., Cry for Justice, published by Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland (GPRN): Oking, 1997/98, p. 22

³ White Paper on Naga Integration, Compiled by the Naga Hoho, Adopted at the 7th Naga Hoho General Assembly, Senapati, May 20-22, 2002, p. vii (foreward).

⁴ Ibid, p. vii

Smith, a British anthropologist.⁵ Among the common characteristics, in Smith's list of 14, are also head hunting, village dormitories for unmarried youth both boys and girls called Morung, sexual promiscuity and the slash-and-burn method of agriculture or Jhum.⁶ While it is debatable whether these characteristics ever actually defined the Naga identity, it is certain that they do not apply in the modern context.⁷

Udayon Misra suggests that a deep attachment to native soil, to local tradition and rejection of outside domination characterize the modern Naga identity.⁸ All the Naga tribes belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. However, linguistic variations- 60 dialects according to the encyclopedia Britannica are deep and far-ranging. Even the same tribe living in different villages speak very dissimilar dialects and, when meeting, must use a lingua franca: Nagamese, a pidgin of broken Assamese and local argot, or Meitei in the Manipur hills, or English.⁹ The number of Naga tribes suggested by NSCN (IM) is 43 while NAGA HOHO suggests 66 Naga tribes.¹⁰ Vashum estimates the total strength of the Naga population in all areas today to be 3 million.¹¹ He gives a complete list of 40 tribes with an area of distribution that spreads over the four States of Northeastern India (Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh) and over the

⁵ Mills, J.P., The Lhota Nagas, Macmillan, London, 1922, pp. XV-Xvi; Smith, W.C., The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam, MacMillan, London, 1925.

⁶ Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement between Government of India (GOI) and National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN): Promises and Pitfalls, For Civil Society Initiative on the Naga Peace Process, published by Civil Society Initiative on the Naga Peace Process and Other Media Communications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 12.

⁷ Pillai, Sushil K., "Anatomy of an Insurgency", in Faultlines, Vol. 3, The Institute for Conflict Management, New Delhi, November 1999, pp. 44-43.

⁸ Misra, Udayon, The Periphery Strikes Back: Challenges to the Nation-State in Assam and Nagaland, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 2000, pp. 16-17.

⁹ Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy, Laxmi, Four years of Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, Ibid, p. 13 (See footnote no.5).

¹⁰ NSCN WEBSITE, <http://www.angelfire.Com/mo.Nagaland/Background.html>; Naga Hoho's White Paper on Naga Integration, Ibid, p. 57, The Naga Hoho is a federation of all Naga tribes and is the third institution of the Nagas after the Naga village and the Naga tribe. It was born on 25th June 1994 at Wokha and its constitution was adopted after official formation of the NAGA HOHO during the 11& 12 March, 1998 session at Zunheboto. It is neither a political nor a govt. body or like other NGOs and social organization but it is the tribe based apex body of the Nagas under the traditional system and practices of the Naga people.

¹¹ Vashum, R., Indo-Naga Conflict: Problem and Resolution, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 2001, p. 3.

Northwestern part of Myanmar in Sagaing division, clustering in the hill villages around Kamhti, Layshe, Lahi, and Nan yun townships, down to the Chindwin river in the east, and in Kachin State in western Myanmar.¹² The tribes and their areas of distributions in the States of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam, Arunchal Pradesh and Burma can be described as under.

In Nagaland, the Angami Nagas are concentrated in Kohima district and some parts of Dimapur (A newly created district as of late in 1997 and erstwhile sub-division of Kohima district) while Mokokchung district is said to be the abode of the Aos, the Semas are mainly concentrated in Zunheboto and Dimapur districts and fringes of Tuensang district.

The Lothas and Konyaks dominate Wokha and Mon districts respectively. Phek district is said to be the homeland of the Chakhesangs and Pochuris. The Rengmas are mainly concentrated in the Tseminyu-sub division of Kohima district. Tuensang district is dominated by the Yimchungers, Khiamnungans, Phoms and Sangtams (the Sangtams are also concentrated in Phek district). The Zeliangrongs (a combination of Zeme, Liangmei and Rongmei) are found in Peren sub-division (of Kohima district) and Dimapur district. The Tangkhuls and Maos among others are also settled in Dimapur and Kohima.

In Manipur, The Nagas dominated the four districts, namely, Ukhrul, Senapati, Tamenglong and Chandel. Ukhrul district is dominated by the Tangkhuls, Tamenglong by Zeliangrong and it is the home of Kharam Nagas. The Maos, Poumais, Marams, and Thangals are concentrated in Senapati district. In Chandel district, 8 Naga tribes are found, namely, maring, Anal, Lamkang, Mayon, Monsang, Chote, Chiru and Tarao. Koirengs, Chirus and Chotes are sparsely distributed in Chandel Bishnupur and Senapati districts.

¹² Vashum, R., Nagas' Right to Self-Determination- An Anthropological Historical Perspective, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 10-11; Vashum, R., Indo-Naga Conflict: Problem and Resolution, Ibid, p.4.

In Arunachal Pradesh, three Naga tribes have been identified. They are Tangsha, Wancho and Nocte. They are concentrated in Tirap and Changlang districts.

In Assam, two Naga tribes are found, namely, Zeliangrongs and Rengma. They are distributed in Sibsagar, Golaghat, Jorhat, Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hill districts.

In Myanmar, the Naga tribes found are: Konyak, Tangkhul, Phom, Yimchunger, Moyon, Pangsha, Hemi, Hkalak, Tsaplo, Htangan, Lainung, Shangpuri, Pangaw, Pyangoo and Rangpan.

Many people in the past have talked about the land of the Nagas. Claudius Ptolemy wrote about the Nagas in his book *Geographia* as "Nagalagoi" which means "the realm of the Naked". This is his description of the Naga country.¹³ Mr. Non. W.Mui, who was the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department in his letter to the Secretary to the government of west Bengal, letter No. 538, Shimla, 8^h June 1866, has mentioned about the name "Naga" and boundary as below:

"That the tribes inhabiting part of the great mountain system which lies to the south of Assam Valley- tribes, many in number and differing in characteristics but extended under the generic name of Naga from Bori Dihing River and Singapho country of Lakhimpur West to the Kopolli River in Nowgoan and South to the confines of Manipur and Cachar".¹⁴ Sir James Johnstone, KSCI, found that Naga territory was outside the British territory. In the matter of land survey, he categorically stated that the Red Line should not be extended. (The rule was that whenever the Red Line is marked in the map, it was necessary to carry out survey work in the ground). In justifying his decision, he recorded as below:

"Nagas are not a British territory and we do not want to extend the Red Line (in the map)- "That is Nagaland". (My Native country by Rev. (Dr.)

¹³ Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia*, Vol. Vii (ii) p. 18, cited by Naga Hoho in their White Paper on Naga Integration, *ibid*, p.8.

¹⁴ White Paper on Naga Integration, Naga Hoho, *ibid*, p.8.

V.K. Nuh, 2002, p. 133).¹⁵ The above description of the Naga territory is approximately 120,000 sq.km of landmass which correspond very closely to J.P. Mills' description of the Naga lands: the area inhabited by the Naga tribes is bounded by the Hukawng Valley in the Northeast, the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley to the North-West, of Cachar to the South-West and of the Chindwin to the East. In the south the Manipur Valley roughly marks the point of contact between the "Naga" tribes and the very much more closely interrelated group of Kuki tribe- Thado, Lushei, Chin etc!¹⁶ The Website of the NSCN-IM describes precisely the geographical areas belonging to, what the NSCN-IM calls the Naga Nation:

Nagaland (Nagalim) has always been a sovereign nation occupying a compact area of 120,000 sq. km of the Patkai Range in between the Longitude 93° E and 97° E and the Latitude 23.5° N and 28. 3°N. It lies at the tri-junction of China, India and Burma. Nagalim, without the knowledge and consent of the Naga people, was apportioned between India and Burma after their respective declaration of independence. The part, which India illegally claims is subdivided and placed under four different administrative units, viz., Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Nagaland States. The eastern part, which Burma unlawfully claims, is placed under two administrative units, viz., Kachin State and Sagaing division (formerly known as the Naga Hills). Nagalim, however, transcends all these arbitrary demarcations of boundary.¹⁷ This "ancestral domain of the Nagas, loosely referred to as "Naga Hills, belongs to the Northeastern Himalayan wall known as the great Arakan arc, which consists of very tightly packed parallel ridges, rarely exceeding 2000 metres, and narrow valleys: with high monsoon rainfall, the ranges have dense tropical and deciduous forests. The Nagas traditionally built their huts on hilltops to

¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 9.

¹⁶ Mills, J.P., ICS, *The Lhota Nagas*, Macmillan and Co. Ltd., St. Martins Street, London, 1922, p. xvi, Mills spelt this tribe as Lhota. But this is wrong, the correct name is Lotha.

¹⁷ Baruah, Sanjib, *Confronting Constructionism: Ending India's Naga War*, p.3, He quoted the paragraph from NSCN-IM Website: *ibid*, (2 Nov. 2002). This paper was presented in a seminar organized by CPS/SSS, JNU, New Delhi, 22nd January, 2003, (Mimeographed).

stay away from malarial valleys and to defend themselves against the raiding groups of headhunters.¹⁸ It is from this position that they preferred to cultivate downhill patches, clearing thick vegetation by burning Jhum or taunga meaning mountain field-with the aid of dibble sticks to sow hill rice, maize, millets and other crops.¹⁹

This ancestral domain of the Nagas would have been still retained, had there been no split up of the said areas. This feature of geo-strategic measurement through compartmentalization of Naga territory serves the purpose of continuity and legitimacy for existing governance or colonial hegemony.²⁰ Starting with the East India Company dominance (1757-1857) till the rule and exit of the British Crown from India (1858-1947) and beginning with the post-independent India till today, the Nagas have been exposed to a wide range of experimental colonial dominance.²¹

Apart from the fact that little was known of the Nagas by the outside people, not to mention the geo-topographic areas they inhabited, it would be highly scandalous to overestimate the ignorance of colonial forces as implicit to the administrative blocks that were randomly carved and that divides the Nagas today.

Rather, it was a systematic planning of deep insight that virtualized the policies of control and containment, both by the British imperialist and the Indian State of the aspiring if not visible tendencies of Naga Nationalism.²²

This chapter is an attempt to delineate, analyze and discuss the implications of the British imperialism for Nagas. Such exercise may pave the way for us to understand more clearly the subsequent chapters that

¹⁸ Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p.14.

¹⁹ *ibid*, p.14.

²⁰ Yhome, Kekhriehaulie, "Naga Nationalism and the Geo-strategic imperatives of politics and Discourses on 'Administrative unit' under British and Indian Rules", A paper presentation on the Naga History at Naga Study Forum, JNU, 2001, p.1.

²¹ *ibid*, p.1.

²² *ibid*, p.2.

follows. Purtongzuk Longchar suggests several periods in the history of the British relations with the Nagas, the period of control from without by a system of exploration or military promenades; the period of control from within; the period of absolute non-interference and the second period of control from within merging into gradual absorption of some portions of the Naga Hills into British territory.²³

The Naga Relations with their Neighbours before the Advent of the British

The Nagas were known to the outside world by the end of the 12th century A.D. It is a fact that there was occasional war and peace between the Nagas and their neighbours of Assam and Manipur.

Relations with the Ahoms

Meager accounts of their relationship are available in the official chronicles of the Ahom kings called Buranjis. Gleaned out by some scholars and expanded by reasonable conjectures, these accounts form the basis for the reconstruction of the early political history of the Nagas.²⁴

The first Naga armed encounter was with Sukapha, the founder of Ahom Kingdom in Assam, when they crossed the eastern Naga country of Nocte, Wancho and Tangsha in 1228 A.D. This trespassing into Naga territory were met with stiff resistance from the Nagas who challenged the Ahom. This strong resistance by the Nagas enraged the prince and he treated the Nagas with ghastrly barbarity' by forcefully feeding his captive to their relatives.²⁵ This barbarous treatment given by the Ahoms silenced the Nagas for sometimes and since then the hostility towards outsiders became deeply rooted in the minds of the Nagas and against

²³ Longchar, Purtongzuk, Historical Development of the Ao Nagas in Nagaland, composed at Print Home, Dimapur, Nagaland, 2002, p.16.

²⁴ Kumar, Ram Narayan and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, pp. 15-16.

²⁵ Horam, M., Naga Polity, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1992, p. 25.

encroachment of their land.²⁶ The Nagas began to retaliate and used to raid the Ahom frequently. This rivalry continued till the 16th century. But in the 17th century their relationship improved during the reign of Sachimpha (1644-1648) and Jayadraj Sinha (1648-1663).

There were exchanges of gifts between them such as gongs, spears, and daos by the Nagas and earrings, beads and cotton from the Ahoms. The Ahoms policy towards the Nagas was based on the desire to control the 'brine springs' in eastern Naga territory, which was manufacturing salt.²⁷ The Ahoms maintained cordial relations with the Nagas to draw out sufficient quantities of salt from these brine wells. At the same time they exchange their products of rice, other foodstuff and medicines. Another aspect of Ahom policy was to stop the Nagas to carry out any raid in future. The Ahoms granted free revenues of lands and fishing water to the Nagas. These lands were called 'Naga khats' in Assamese.²⁸ These Naga Khats were opened by the King Godadhar Singh (1681-1696). He took shelter in the Naga Hills when he was once overthrown by King Laluk Buraphukan. After recapturing his kingdom, he was married to an Ao girl called sentishila. During the short reign of king Godadhar Singh, the Ahom-Naga relationship was peaceful and tranquil, but it was confined to the Naga living in the low hills of plain areas bordering Assam. The Ahom kings did not regard the Nagas as their subjects and they never attempted to conquer the hills.

There was no treaty and agreements signed between them. The Nagas paid nominal tributes to Ahoms in the form of mithuns and other commodities but did not allow to extend their jurisdiction over any Naga Hills.²⁹ The Ahom Kings made no war with the Nagas to protect their

²⁶ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement: The Prospect of Peace and Arm Conflict, Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2001, p.7.

²⁷ Mackenzie, A., North-Eastern Frontier of India, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1979, p. 91.

²⁸ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, Vivek Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, p. 56.

²⁹ Alemchiba, M., A brief Historical Account of Nagaland, The Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, Nagaland, 1970, p. 40.

frontier from Burmese invasions, and when the Ahom Kingdom was threatened from Burmese military expansion, some of the Nagas were recruited by the Ahoms for their superior muscle strength, to build up a strong military army. But Ahoms became weak in the 19th century A.D. due to internal instability and rebellions and loss all prestige following the Burmese invasion 1816 and subsequently the British occupied Assam in 1824. The Nagas then began raiding the plains with regularity, especially in Nowgong and Sibsagar districts, which made the British first take note of them.³⁰

According to J. Butler, the Naga territory was never considered an integral part of sovereignty of Assam.³¹ Again another British writer Sir. Edward A. Gait, who wrote the History of Assam clarify that "the hilly tract inhabited by various tribes known to us collectively as Nagas has never been subjugated by the Ahoms, and it was not part of the British policy to absorb it."³² Thus, the Ahoms and the Nagas lived as good neighbour for about 600 years which were sometimes punctuated by bitter times.³³

Nagas Relations with Manipuris and Kukis

Nagas relation with manipuris (or as they call themselves Meithis³⁴/ Meiteis) and the Kukis are quite different altogether.

An ancient poem of the Meiteis mentioned Manipur valley as the real and only Manipur around which the hills stand and the tribals live; these tribals are the Nagas and the Kukis.

³⁰ Singh, Prakash, Nagaland: India-The Land and the People, National Book Trust, (1972), Fourth edition, 1995, pp. 10-11; Vashum, R., Naga's Right to Self-Determination, *ibid*, pp. 60-61; daili-Mao, Ashikho, Nagas: Problems and Politics, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 14-15; Elwin, Verrier, Nagaland, Spectrum Publications, reprint 1997, p. 19.

³¹ Quoted by Alemchiba, p.40, From A Sketch of Assam (1847), p. 152.

³² Gait, E.A., History of Assam, Thacker Spink and Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1993, p. 366.

³³ Vashum, R., Indo-Naga Conflict: Problem and Resolution, *ibid*, p. 26.

³⁴ Elwin, Verrier (ed.), The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, Apollo Bunder, Bombay, 1969, p. 451.



*"Manipura Sana- Leimayol,
Chingnakoyna Pansaba,
Haona Koyna Panngakpa!"*³⁵

Free English translation as following:

*"Manipur, the land of precious gems,
The range of hills surround you as fence,
The Haos (tribals) keeping watch the fence"*³⁶

Although racially, the Nagas, Manipuris and Kukis are allied Mongoloid stocks, the Nagas relation with them can be described as having war as well as fraternal relationship.³⁷

In the beginning the Nagas relations with Manipuris/Meiteis were friendship, mutual and cordial treatment to each other, intermarriages, mutual exchange of visits and gifts, but at times there were occasional wars between them.³⁸ Only those Nagas who were living in the neighbourhood of the Manipur Kingdom had exchanges and at times war.

The Nature of Naga-Manipuris relations were sometimes confined to the collection of tributes from the Naga villages. There were occasional raids by the Angamis and Mao Nagas, whenever the Kings of Manipur tried to extract tributes and extend and impose duties from the Naga tribes of Angami, Mao and Tangkhul. The subsequent invasion by the Nagas also caused great fear to the Manipuri Kings. Intermittant war and peace existed between the Nagas and Manipuris, but the Nagas were not the subjects of the Kings of Manipur.³⁹ The hill ranges that surround Manipur State are the abode of the tribal people who ruled there

³⁵ Roy, Jyotirmoy, The History of Manipur (1958), East light Book house, Calcutta, 2nd (ed.) 1973, P.V, (foreward)

³⁶ Territorial Rights of Outer Manipur Tribals: The Chiefs are Lords of the Soil, All Tribal Student Union Manipur (ATSUM), Imphal, 2000, p.15.

³⁷ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p.9.

³⁸ Cited by Aosenba in his book- The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p. 9, from Asoso Yonuo's book, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, 1974.

³⁹ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p.9.

themselves without outside interference. The Maharaja of Manipur ruled over his own Manipuri subjects in the Valley.⁴⁰ The British left the tribals very much to themselves to rule and govern themselves according to their customs and traditions and religious beliefs, under their vigilant supervision. The Manipur state Durbar of the Maharaja never have a say in the hill area administration as noted by Sir Robert Reid, the Governor of Assam; (b) Cases where hill men are concerned and cases arising in the British reserve are excluded from the Durbar 'civil and criminal jurisdiction'.

(c) Separate rules govern the administration of the hills; and they are detailed in the chapter dealing with the subjects.⁴¹ "The Naga Chiefs are the

Lords of the Soil"⁴² as pointed out by Betram S. Carey and H.N. Tuck

The Nagas and the Kukis had unusual relations from olden days. Kukis are believed to be the last migrants from the Chin hills of Myanmar who came and occupied the foot hills of Manipur, encroached the Naga Hills and ruled by the hereditary despotic chiefs.⁴³ It is argued by some that from the beginning the Tangkhul Nagas, Zeme, Liangmei and Rongmei Nagas were the victims of the Kukis, which they used to raid and punish them heavily. After the invasion of Assam and Manipur in 1824, the British made the Kukis as frontliners in the war against Nagas. This further antagonized their relationship. Thus, the Nagas and the Kukis did not have any significant relationship. The relationship between them can be said that the past history has a bearing on the contemporary pattern of Kukis- Naga relationship.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ ATSUM, Territorial Rights of Outer Manipur Tribals, *ibid*, p. 16.

⁴¹ Reid, Robert, History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam from 1883-1941, Shillong, 1942, p. 78.

⁴² Quoted by ATSUM in their document, Territorial Rights of Outer Manipur Tribals, *ibid*, p. 17 from Betram S. Carey and H.W. Tuck, In the Chin Hills, Vol. II, p. 201.

⁴³ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, p. 52.

⁴⁴ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p. 10.

The Kuki-Naga clash in Manipur in 1992-93 showed that some Kuki undergrounds started demanding homeland within the Naga territory for which the Nagas defended themselves against such illegal claim of the Kukis.

Anglo-Naga Relations

The first Anglo-Burmese War (1824-1826) resulted into defeat of the Burmese by the British. The British drove out Burmese from Assam and signed a treaty called Yandabo Treaty in February 1826 (Signed between the king of Burma and the British) due to which the British made both the Ahom and Meitei Kingdoms their protectorates. A cursory examination of the annals of the British involvement in the region shows that until the Treaty of Yandabo, they had no knowledge of or interest in the Naga people.⁴⁵ The first time the British took note of the Nagas was, because of the predatory raids that had left many headless bodies in the Valleys of Assam and Manipur.⁴⁶

Shortly after assuming authority in Assam and Manipur in 1826, the British got themselves involved with the hills tribes particularly the Nagas in order to keep their interest going on in Assam, Manipur and Burma. However, in the beginning, the British did not wish to get directly involved with the Nagas and left it to the Meitei Kingdom and the State of Cachar to keep them under control.⁴⁷ But, after the failure of Manipur and Cachar to subjugate the Nagas the British were pushed into direct confrontation with the Nagas to safeguard their interests in the Area.⁴⁸ On 14th August 1832, Cachar was annexed at the death of its Raja and British became direct master of the land.

⁴⁵ Kumar, Ram Narayan and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of The Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p. 17 (see footnote No.33).

⁴⁶ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 1993, p.7.

⁴⁷ Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p.18.

⁴⁸ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, p. 72.

Apart from preventing headhunting raids into their lands, the British interest in the areas was to develop a road link between Imphal and Assam, which required some exploration. The urge for the construction of a direct route to Manipur resulted in several surveys in the Naga Hills since 1832.⁴⁹ So, in January 1832, captain Francis Jenkins and R.B. Pemberton led a 700 strong Meitei force and 800 coolies or Porters into the hills on an exploratory mission. They traversed the Zeliangrong hills under the direction of a Manipur Levy but had to face heavy resistance from the Nagas. The Nagas rolled down stones from the summit of the hills, threw spears and did their utmost by yelling and intimidation to obstruct the advance of the Force, but all in vain, the village of papoolongmaie, consisting of 300-400 houses were burnt down and it was only at the point of bayonet that they managed to advance toward Assam. The route they pursued was via Sengmae, Myung Khang, Mooram Khoohoo, Moheelong, Yang, Papool ongmaie, Dhunseree river, Mohong Dejoa and Ramsah, which place they reached about the 23rd of January that year.⁵⁰

In the cold season following (1832-33) Raja Gambhir Singh of Manipur, accompanied by the Manipur Levy under Lieutenant Gordon, again march through to Assam by a route 25 miles east of the route pursued by Captain Jenkins.⁵¹ They do had to fight almost every step on the road. Facts come to light, which made it clear that the object, which Gambhir Singh had in view, was the permanent conquest of the Naga Hills. The British officials did not like the idea for the reason that his soldiers were not regulars and lived entirely on plunder. It was clear that the depredations carried out by Manipuri soldiers, would lead to bitter conflicts that the British did not cherish, also in view of the policy they

⁴⁹ Longchar, Purtongzuk, Historical Development of the Ao Nagas in Nagaland, *ibid*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ Moffat Mills, A.J., Report on the Province of Assam, 1854, in Elwin, Verrier, The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, *ibid*, p. 114.

⁵¹ Mackenzie, A., History, 1884, in Elwin, Verrier, The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, *ibid*, p. 147.

were evolving with regard to Burma. The idea was to use the tribal population as a screen between the newly acquired Indian territories and Burma. The British persuaded the former raja of upper Assam to transfer the Gabharu Hills, bordering on Naga land, to serve them as permanent base to control the tribes. This area soon became the base for the operations of the Assam Tea Company, the most prominent of all tea plantation firms in the region.⁵²

In 1835, the district of Nowgong raised a Cachar levy, to guard the borders and to protect tea estates. As this fence proved inadequate to deal with border transgressions, it was decided to raise a Jorhat militia, also called Shan militia. These two forces later merged to become the Frontier police and then in 1891 the Assam military police, finally becoming the Assam Rifles in 1920.⁵³ Thus, the first- expedition was set out in 1839 under the command of E. R. Grange, Sub-Assistant to the Commissioner of Nowgong to investigate the causes of the Naga raids, and endeavour to punish the Chiefs of the large villagers of Khonoma and Mezoma. But the expedition returned without achieving much success due to the unflinching Naga resistance and partly because of mismanagement by the British authorities.⁵⁴

However, Mr. Grange second expedition of 1840, succeeded to some extent in which he burnt down five villages and captured eleven Naga prisoners, then reached an understanding with the hostile Nagas to pay tributes to the British.⁵⁵ The Third and Fourth military expeditions was conducted under Lt. Bigge from January 1841 to December 1842. He met with most of the leading communities and a depot for salt was at their request opened at Dimapur and Dhunsiri was fixed as the boundary between the British districts and the Angami tract. The boundary between

⁵² Barpujari, H.K., Political History of Assam, Vol. I, Gauhati, 1977, p.1.

⁵³ Kumar, Ram Narayan, Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p. 18.

⁵⁴ Horam, M., Naga Polity, *ibid*, p. 9.

⁵⁵ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, p. 77.

the Angamis and Manipur was to be finally settled, to prevent irritation on that side, and a road was to be opened to Samaguting from the plains⁵⁶ Lt. Bigge in conference with captain Gordon, Political Agent at Manipur, decided that, commencing from the upper part of the Jiri river, the western frontier of Manipur, the line of boundary formed (1) by the Dotighur mountain, or that range of hills in which the Mukro river takes its rise, east on the Barak river; (2) by the Barak river upto where it is joined by the Tayphani river, which flows along the eastern line of the popolongmai hills; (3) by the Tayphani river upto its source on the Burrail range of mountains; and (4) by the summit or water pent of the Burrail range on to the source of Mow river flowing north from the point towards Assam was the best boundary between Manipur and Angami country.⁵⁷ The Nagas were irritated by this intrusion and in 1843, the Naga became more enterprising and in 1844, instead of paying tributes to the British, they indulged and committed a series of raid on the neighbouring plain areas and killed 4 persons.

They also killed nine (9) persons in the Rengma areas and another three Shan Sepoys in the N C hills. Accordingly, Captain Eld, Principal Assistant was sent in December 1844 to chastise the Nagas. He burnt down several villages, including part of Khonoma. In November 1845 Butler, political Assistant of Nowgong was deputed to the Naga Hills, Mezoma, Khonoma and Berima promised him to remain tributary and paid their tributes in ivory, cloth and spears. Butler felt that a strong permanent post in the hills would be effective. As a result of his effort one out post at Chumukedima (Samaguting) was opened in 1846, and Bhogchand a well-known Assamese Darogah was posted incharge of it in 1847.⁵⁸ Now the period of control from within began and the Sixth and

⁵⁶ Mackenzie, A., *History*, 1884, in Elwin, Verrier, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, *ibid*, p.154.

⁵⁷ Yonuo, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas*, *ibid*, p. 78.

⁵⁸ Bareh, H., *Gazetteers of India*, Nagaland, Kohima District, 1970, p. 27.

Seventh military expeditions proceeded in 1847.⁵⁹ Bulter paid a second visit and covered 277 miles. There were raids and feuds all around in an intensive scale. The land disputes between Jubeelee of Mezoma and Nilholy of Khonoma villages was another cleavage among the Angamis. In 1849, Jubeelee sought government assistance against Nilholy. Bhogchand offered mediation to both the parties assuring them impartiality, but surprising enough, both the feuding parties unitedly attacked Bhogchand as a common enemy at Phephemah when he had encamped and speared him to death brutally.⁶⁰

The Eight expeditions were dispatched to avenge Bhogchand's death. Led by Captain Vincent, the Junior Assistant Commissioner, it set out from Dimapur in November 1849, and was joined by other regiments from Cachar under the command of Lt. Campbell. The expeditionary troops had destroyed the grains and property belonging to Nilholy. But tributary allegiance of Kohima and Jotsoma did not arrive. Vincent and Campbell had to retreat and called for more reinforcements. In early March 1850, the troops equipped with two or three pounder guns and four inch of mortars made a demonstration through to hills and several villagers who opposed their progress were burnt.⁶¹ Mezoma was stormed and many Naga Warriors fell dead. On February 1, 1851, Kikrima village challenged the British troops. The defense was strong but finally Kikrima was reduced. It was the bloodiest battle ever fought in the eastern frontier hill region.⁶²

These experiences resulted in the policy of non-intervention or Laissez Faire in the Naga affairs formulated by Dalhousie in February 1851. The Governor- General, Dalhousie wrote: "I dissent entirely from the policy which is recommended of what is called obtaining control, that is to

⁵⁹ Longchar, Purnongzuk, Historical Development of the Ao Nagas in Nagaland, *ibid*, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, p. 80.

⁶¹ Allen, B.C., Assam District Gazettes, Vol. IX, Naga Hills and Manipur, 1905, p.11.

⁶² Bareh, H., Gazettes of India, *ibid*, p.31.

say, of taking possession of these hills and of establishing our sovereignty over their savage inhabitants. Our possession could bring no profit to us. Hereafter, we should confine ourselves to our ground; protect it as it can and must be protected; not meddle in the feuds of these savages; encourages trade with them as long as they are peaceful towards us and rigidly excluded them from all communications.... if they should become turbulent or troublesome.⁶³

Accordingly in March 1851 the government withdrew the troops from the hills. This policy guided the British relations with the Nagas for approximately the next 15 years. The Nagas were happy and resumed their plundering activities and before the end of that year no less than 25 Naga raid were reported. In 1862, the Commissioner of Assam, Henry Hopkinson, wrote to the Lt. Governor, Cecil Beadon the ineffectiveness of the policy: "It is not creditable to our government that such atrocities should recur annually with unvarying certainty, and that we should be powerless alike to protect our subjects or to punish the aggressors....The non-interference policy is excellent in theory, but government will probably be inclined to think that it must be abandoned".⁶⁴ Lt Governor agreed with these views and proposed that the government had to assert its authority and bring them under a system of administration suited to their circumstances and gradually to reclaim them from the habits of lawlessness to those of order and civilization. This circumstance led to the abandonment of Laissez-faire though it was excellent in theory. The above views of the British officers resulted in the development of the second period of control from within merging into gradual absorption of some portions of the Naga Hills into the British territory. The Control lasted till the transfer of power in 1947. The period of control was also influenced by a serious study of the causes that agitated the Nagas most.

⁶³ Mackenzie, A., History, 1884, Quoted in Elwin, Verrier, The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, ibid, pp. 162-163.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 165.

It was found that with the discovery of tea and its commercial value, the British planters were encroaching on the hills. The Indian moneylenders had already caused much nuisance in Burma in 1854. In 1866, the Naga Hills district was formed and Lt. John Gregory was ordered to re-established at Samaguting (Chumukedima) as its headquarter, Asalo in North Cachar was abandoned. A road was opened from Dimapur to the New Station where a compact force of 150 armed police hill men was placed at his disposal. In 1869, Captain Butler took charge of the Naga Hills district from Gregory as Deputy Commissioner whose title was changed to that of Political Agent in 1872 with more power.

The immediate task of Captain Butler was to resolve the fresh complication that had arisen between the Naga Hills and Manipur on the question of the demarcation of boundary. We have seen that the boundary laid down in 1842 had been reasserted in 1867, which had arbitrarily been drawn by the British, keeping the interest of Manipur vital in their mind than that of the Nagas. However, in the winter of 1869-70, Captain Butler and Dr. Brown, the Political Agent of Manipur appointed Boundary Commission and boundary was eventually settled in July 1872, without the consent and even the knowledge of the concern Nagas.⁶⁵ In this, the Gordon-Bigge line of 1842 was maintained in all-important points except demarcating the unidentified positions.

After Butler assumed as the Deputy Commissioner, the political situation appear to be stable. So, survey operation were undertaken one from the North Commanded by Captain Badgeley and Lt. Holcombe and it moved from the Sibsagar side; the other from the South led by Butler himself from Samaguting. The Nagas attacked both the parties Killing Holcombe and eighty men while fifty other including Badgeley were injured. Butler party was ambushed in 1875 in the Lotha area near village Pangti, Butler himself losing his life. One year earlier, the Naga

⁶⁵ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid.*, p. 92.

Hills were made under the charge of the Chief Commissionership of Assam from Lt. Governor of Bengal because the state of Bengal was too unwieldy. For a more effective operation in the Naga Hills the British headquarters were shifted to Wokha in 1876 from Samaguting.

In 1874, Johnstone, who was officiating for Capt. Butler, took three villages under his control to pay token revenue to mark their submission. Defiance, when it occurred, brought strong retaliation. In the Mezoma's refusal for cooperation, Carnegy with a force of 246 soldiers commanded by Capt. Brydon, burnt down Mezoma in 1877 but its villagers continued to harass the British with the support of Khomoma and Jotsoma, and it was not until reinforcements were sent to Mezoma were really subdued. Carnegy was shot dead accidentally by one of his sentries in December 1877. In March 1878, district Headquarters was shifted to Kohima for Wokha and occupied it on 14th November lying in the principal Angami village states along the frontier of Manipur. By this time, the British protectorate was accepted by 16 Naga villages-states out of which thirteen paid revenue of Rs. 1032.⁶⁶ In July of the same year, Government of India informed Sir S.C Bayley, the Assam Chief Commissioner to enforce the general views of the forward policy advocated by Col. Keatinge, to bring the Nagas into complete submission.⁶⁷ Such designs propagated by the British had forced the Nagas to defend their country. Amidst all these, there was an inter-tribal feud among Angami Nagas. To prevent and to punish the guilty villages by fine and penalties, Damant, the political officer of Naga Hills in the early part of 1879-80, put the British policy into action. At the same time, some complications occurred in April 1879, when a policeman was shot dead by a Naga to obtain the rifle while he was escorting the mail runner who seized the rifle.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 100

In October 13, 1879, Damant set out for Jotsoma, Khonoma and Mezoma to find out the culprit. From Jotsoma he started for Khonoma with only half of his force despite the warning given by a Jotsoma interpreter. When Damant reached the village gate he was shot dead and the escort party was attacked. Colonel Johnstone was called in with 2000 Manipuri troops from Imphal. A detachment of the 43rd Assam Light Infantry and 44th Sylhet Light Infantry also combined their forces under Brigadier-General Nation. An attack on Khonoma, fortified with great labour and skill, was launched on 22 November 1879. Nearly 50 soldiers and three officers were killed, but still the fort could not be breached. The next day a large British force stormed the fort only to find that the defenders had abandoned it and had melted away in the surrounding hills of the Burreil range. Mopping up operation followed and the Angami areas suffered tremendously under the British retribution.⁶⁸ On 28 March 1880, the leaders of Khonoma surrendered. This 'Forward Policy' was described by Robert Reid, Governor of Assam from 1937 to 1941, in his history of the Frontier Areas "the process of penetration which went on, inexorably if irregularly. It was impossible to draw a line as the boundary of our area of control and to say that we should be blind and deaf to all that went on across the line..... the frontier moves on forward".⁶⁹ Thus, the Ao country was also incorporated in 1889 with the full concurrence of the people. By these circumstances the sub-divisional headquarters of Wokha was shifted to Mokokchung, the formers being left to the charge of a Tahsildar. Sir Robert Reid writes: "The first decision to make the Naga Hills a British territory was taken in 1881 and slowly the whole or the present Nagaland, excluding the Tuensang and the Mon districts came under the administration of the Assam province. It was called the Naga Hills, a district of Assam and Mokokchung the present district was then

⁶⁸ Kumar, Ram Narayan, & Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p. 21.

⁶⁹ Reid, Robert, History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam from 1883-1941, Shillong, 1942, pp. 100-101.

a sub-division only.⁷⁰ Right upto the end of British period, much of the Naga ancestral domain remained un-administered.⁷¹

Implications of British Imperialism for Nagas

The following discussion would mainly focus on the periods right after the establishment of the Naga Hills as a British district till the transfer of power to India in 1947. However, some inevitable points of implications have also been pointed out vis-a-vis Indo-Naga relations to make this chapter more comprehensive and balance.

Inner Line Regulation

Even before the formation of Naga Hills district, Inner Line Regulation of 1873 had been set up to control and limit the kind of intercourse between the tribal and plains people, that apparently was resented by both parties. The objective of the Inner Line was primarily to restrict the traffic in rubber and tea, which generated troublesome relations between the trading classes and the frontier people of the hills. The Inner Line did not necessarily indicate the territorial frontier, but the limits of the administered areas. The European planter especially resented the regulation. But it was necessary because beyond the Line the government could not guarantee his protection. Beyond this Line, the Nagas ruled themselves by their own Customary Laws, administered by their own tribal and village Councils, in both Civil and Criminal matters. The law made by the British government for the rest of India did not apply. This was the meaning of the exclusion under the Frontier Tract Regulation II of 1880. In the beginning, the British called the area beyond Inner Line Backward Areas, as laid down in the Government of India Act

⁷⁰ Longchar, Purtongzuk, Historical Development of the Ao Nagas in Nagaland, *ibid*, p. 22.

⁷¹ Singh, Prakash, Nagaland, *ibid*, pp. 23-24; Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid*, p. 9; Elwin, Verrier, Nagaland, Spectrum publications, Reprint 1997, pp. 24-28

of 1919, in the sense that the modern institutions of administration had not taken there.⁷²

With the introduction of Dyarchy system, forest became transferred subject. As a result, a number of Naga Hills Reserved Forests were transferred to Nowgong and Sibsagar districts to meet the administrative convenience. By the recommendation of the Simon Commission, the backward areas became excluded and partially excluded areas. This happened under the Government of India Act, 1935, issued in fact on the 1st April, 1937. Exclusion meant that no Act of the Central or Provincial legislature applied to the Naga Hills unless the Governor so directed.

Impact of Christianity

Christian Missionaries as they have done world wide, followed the British flag to the Naga Hills. Christianity, as we know, is traced to the teachings of Jewish Jesus Christ, however the Ten commandments of Moses forms substantial background. Jesus, the son of Joseph and Virgin Mary born in Bethlehem in Judea in about 4 A.D. lived to save his people from sins. Proclaiming himself as the Son of God and promising the 'Kingdom of Heaven' He preached love, belief and repentence and served the poor, down trodden, exploited and unfortunate people. Jesus was crucified by the Romans in 29 A.D. (hence Good Friday) and buried in a private tomb from where He rose on the third day (hence Easter Sunday) appeared before his mother, disciples and he was taken up into Heaven to reappear on the day of Last Judgement. Then his disciples spread his teachings to all parts of Romans empire, mostly due to the endeavours of the Apostle Paul. But Christianity is believed to have been brought to India in 52 A.D. by St. Thomas, one of the disciples, of Jesus Christ just after twenty years of Christ's crucification on the cross.

⁷² Kumar, Ram Narayan & Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p.22.

With the advent of the British the task of civilizing the tribals became mainly the work of the Christian Missionaries. David Scott, the first Commissioner of Assam, arranged to bring a number of English Missionaries to work among Garos. He opined that, "rude tribes were more likely to profit by the teachings of the gospels". It was through a subsequent Commissioner of Assam, Jenkins' attempt that Rev. Nathan Brown of the American Baptist Mission arrived in Sadiya in 1836 to take up Missionary work in Assam. Rev. & Mrs. Nathan and Rev. & Mrs. O.T. Cutter were the first ABM ever to come to Sadiya in Assam in 1836.⁷³

As decided by the American Baptist Mission to take work in the Naga Hills while they were at Jaipur, Rev. Miles Brownson set out in the Naga Hills and set up a Naga Mission school in 1839/40 at Namsang, a village in the Tirap Frontier for preaching Christianity. But with Brownson's sudden departure prompted by illness, the work came to a standstill until E.W. Clark replaced him in 1869 to be the Missionary of Assam. Only in 1851 the Nagas from the villages of Longjang and Merangkong, were baptized by Rev. S.W. Whiting and soon they became the members of the Church in Sibsagar of Assam. In October, 1871, Clark sent Godhula to Dekahaimong in order to preach the message of God. On 8th November 1872, Godhula took with him 9 persons down to the Dikhu River where on The 11th of November 1872 Clark baptized them and they became the members of the Church in Sibsagar. On 23^d December, 1872, 15 persons were baptized in Molung village, this was the first foundation of a Church in the soil of Naga Hills. The first Missionary confined his activities in Ao area which now form part of Mokokchung District. A mission centre was opened at Impur on 4th October 1894, and the Mission activities by then shifted to Impur from Molungyimsen.

⁷³ Alemchiba, M., A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland, Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, Nagaland, 1970, p. 153.

By this time a number of Churches were established in the Ao villages and there were many new converts. Impur became a Christian station not only for Aos but for the Churches of Semas, Lothas, Changs, Phoms and Sangtams. Another Missionary was active in the Southern part of the Naga Hills. Rev. C.D. King came as a first Missionary from Samaguting in 1885 to Kohima to work among the Angami Nagas, but accomplished very little owing to the disturbances which raged the country. It was Rev. Dr. Rivenburg, his worthy successor, who had made versatile accomplishment in medical, literary and education, came to Kohima in 1885, and took charge of the Mission work in the Angami area.

On the other hand, in 1894, Rev. William Pettigrew was also sent for Baptist Missionary work in Manipur. First of all he chose a place in Mao Naga area to set up his mission headquarter, but was chased away by the animist Nagas who were against Christianity. Then he arrived at Imphal Valley. Here also he experienced utterly stiff opposition from the Hindunised Mongolian Meiteis. Finally in 1896, he left Imphal for Ukhrul, the Centre of Tangkhul Nagas.

His presence in the Tangkhul country was not a welcome sight for the Tangkhuls that is why the villagers of Ukhrul was about to kill him but for Raihao the Chief of Ukhrul (then known as Hungphun). On request by the missionary for a place to set up a makeshift camp, Raihao allotted him a place called Lungtung at the Awungtang locality of Ukhrul, which the local believed to be haunted, because his life was not worth a salt to them. But in course of time, William Pettigrew slowly lured the Tangkhuls off their standing and embarked them toward the road to Christianisation and westernization.⁷⁴ He was responsible for establishing schools and to convert the Nagas there. He built a Church for them when he had about 100 converts. By 1907, Hungphun (Ukhrul) become the

⁷⁴ Shimray, Sothing W.A., The Tangkhuls, printed at Enjoy Computer's MBC Centenary Shopping Complex, Imphal, published by Author, 2000, p. 180.

seedbed of Christianity, not only for the Tangkhuls, but the whole of Manipur. The arrival of Missionaries in Nagalim revolutionized Naga History. The progress of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century was very slow as the attitudes of the Nagas towards them was hostile at first. Their activities were not merely confine to conversion but they also carried out other social activities such as medical care and education, hygiene etc. The Bible translation of the New Testament, in several tribal languages in Roman script, indirectly contributed to the spread of English language. The spread of education in the Naga Hills from 1870s onwards, although rudimentary and aiming at producing more preachers, was almost entirely due to the work of the Baptist Missionary Society. The number of students recorded in 1890-1 was 297, which rose to 647 in 19034 and reached the literacy rate of around 68% in all Naga inhabited areas in 2001.

The Hills and plains were connected through modern transportation system. Roads were constructed by 1903-04. The process of Christianity ends an old era. It forbade the Nagas killing in perpetual feud, head hunting, forced to abstain from drinking their favourite ricebeer or *ZAMKHOR* (Zamkhor is a Tangkhul Language for ricebeer) not based on Scripture but from the point of social benefits and for performing some of their religious rites and rituals, ceremonies like taboos and gennas, and curtailed the propitiation of the evil gods and other licentious activities and from sleeping in Morung or maidens' dormitories, the traditional village dormitory for unmarried men and women and from taking part in the feasts of merit held by the rich people for social, religious and prestigious reasons. Christianity also widened the barrier; tension and conflict between the people in the hills and plains as the former were animists and Christians whereas the latter were Hindus and Muslims by religion. However, the positive side of the Christianity is that, it has pushed the Nagas out of the thought of seclusion and isolation from which they were suffering for centuries into open ideas, liberal thinking and

civilization of the people of the world. Those Missionaries were the torchbearers in teaching the Nagas peace, Love and tolerance. They have also brought modernization, western ways of life, the renaissance of Nagaism and unity among Nagas. Social reforms also brought by them. For example, some backward Naga tribes particularly Ao and Kolyu Kengyu with their faces and bodies tattoed to make dark complexion, athletic tough frames, hideously wild and ugly visages, by pricking the juice of the belu nut into the skin, the cropping of the hair of the unmarried girls and ugly hair-cut of men and the kilt of ring over the Penis by the Tangkhuls were abandoned.⁷⁵ They also brought number of western musical instruments and songs and introduced new musical modes and forms.

Thus, in short, Christianity imprinted the civilization in a considerable degree of resonance not only to the Naga life but also a far-reaching moral crusade to change the Naga personality in the direction of self-sacrifice and service to humanity which also enables the Nagas to think in a global context. Today almost every Naga is a Christian by religion.

Simon Commission and the Naga

The Naga Club, which was formed in 1918, was the first Naga political organization to have submitted a Memorandum to the Statutory Commission headed by Sir John Simon, when the members of the Statutory Commission, namely John Simon, Clement Attlee and E. Cadogan visited Kohima on the 10 January 1929. The Naga Club was formed by the enlightened Nagas who got themselves the memory of their freedom and felt the need to have an organization for voicing their aspirations to the government. The member of the Club were important

⁷⁵ Yonuo, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas*, *ibid*, p. 121.

village headmen, government officials and educated persons. For Sajal Nag, these people were the emerging middle class in the Naga society.⁷⁶

This Club is both social and political in nature. The Memorandum, submitted by this Club was actually drafted by Ruzhukhrie, a Naga school teacher, said that “our Hills may be withdrawn from the Reformed Scheme and placed outside the Reforms”. Before the British conquered our country in 1879-80, we were never conquered by the Assamese and Manipuris nor were we ever subjected to their rule... they had no social affinities with Hindus or Musalmans.... The Hindus “Looked down” upon them for eating beef and the Musalmans for eating pork... Nagas should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never subjugate them... “Leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times”, the Memorandum concluded.⁷⁷ The Deputy Commissioner J.H. Hutton submitted a separate note which says that the hill districts “will suffer very serious detriment by being tied up to the politically more advanced plains districts” and “with people of an irreconcilable culture in an unnatural union which can ultimately only entail discomfort for both parties.” The note further said: ‘none of these tribes are Indian at all and “feel for the people of the plains a rooted antipathy which seems generally to be heartily reciprocated.”⁷⁸

Crown Colony Plan

The then Deputy Commissioner J.H. Hutton had in a note to the Simon Commission, recommended the gradual creation of self-governing communities, semi-independent in nature. In the following years, Hutton developed the idea of a Northeastern province “embracing all the Hill Fringes from Lushai land on the South right round to the Balipara Frontier tract on the North, embracing on the way the Chittagong Hill tracts of Bengal and the Nagas and Chins of Burma and perhaps the Shan

⁷⁶ Nag, Sajal, Contesting Marginality: Ethnicity, Insurgency and Nationality question in North East India, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2002, p.60.

⁷⁷ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid*, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁸ *ibid*, p. 14.

States too.” In 1941, the idea was taken up once again by Robert Reid, Governor of Assam and also responsible for the Naga Hills. Reid endorsed Hutton’s idea of a Northeastern province with Chittagong serving as a port and proposed to place it as a “Crown Colony” under a Chief Commissioner independent of the Government of India and Burma and directly accountable to Whitehall. The proposal was placed before Reginald Coupland, a constitutional expert from Nuffield College at Oxford and Bief Professor of history of the British Empire.

Coupland examined the plan and suggested that it would require treaty arrangements with the governments of India and Burma for an effective administration as a “Trust Territory”, directly under Whitehall.⁷⁹ When such a British scheme was known to the Nagas, they (Nagas) opposed it vehemently because they had no affection for any kind of British imperialism and colonialism in their land. On the Nagas stand, Robert Reid lamented in the following words, “If the Nagas had lent the slightest support or encouragement to this scheme, the colony might have been a reality.”⁸⁰ Although the political obstacles are still daunting, the ideas and visions of the future held by Naga nationalists are still relevant. Any effort to impose hegemonic political manipulation on the Nagas would come up with stronger demand.⁸¹

Nagas in the World Wars

During the British rule, the Nagas saw two world wars. In the First World War, the Nagas helped the Allied Forces by sending 2000 Nagas as Labour corps to France. And in the Second World War too, the Nagas suffered severe losses for the key battle of Burma being fought at Kohima in April, 1944. And as the event turned, “Kohima was to Burma what Stalingrad was to Russia and Alamein to the Desert”.⁸² The Nagas helped the Allied Forces and the Japanese were defeated by the Allied Forces.

⁷⁹ Kumar, Ram Narayan & Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement Between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p. 29.

⁸⁰ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid*, p. 21.

⁸¹ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p. 29.

⁸² Alemchiba, M., A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland, *ibid*, p. 152.

Whatever may be the reason, the defeat of the Japanese armies, who knew no defeat in this tough historic battle cannot alone possibly be attributed to the valour, heroism of the British and Indian troops who fought far beyond the limit of endurance but also for the loyalty, help and valuable services rendered by the Nagas to the benefit of the Allied cause running most deadly risk and torture in bringing information of enemy movements. They acted as guides to the British and Indian Columns, carried supplies, dug out trenches and refused to aid the enemy. It was through the Nagas an excellent intelligence system was also build up without which operation might have been much handicapped. The inscription like "When you go home tell them of us, and say for your tomorrow we gave our today" in the heart of Kohima war cemetry, echoes the sentiments of the Nagas of sacrifices their life for the sake of humanity and nation, rising above the narrow bounds of selfish ends.⁸³

British Legacy

British's legacy to the Nagas was a mix blessing. Certainly the British brought with them the modern political ideas and institution, education, nationalism, sciences and philosophy on the positive side while divide and rule policy and enigma are on the negative side. Firstly, the evils of head hunting had completely died down in the Naga society. Again the barbarous practices and trade of slaves as prisoners to be sold in Sibsagar was also put down. But they do not interfere in the then existing customs, traditions and culture of the Nagas. Another legacy was the British Bureaucracy. Under the British rule, the Deputy Commissioner, usually a trained ICS officer assisted by SDO were highly respected people because not only were the collection of revenue, the maintenances of peace and order and administration of justice, but he use to tour the Naga villages with love. The oppression of the weak villager was checked. The officers always sought the advice of the village councillors on any customary matters before pronouncing final decision. Village headmen

⁸³ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, p. 150.

were given power to conduct their own affairs according to their own customary laws. The crude system of village government which in many ways was identical to the English government in form and character was, to a certain extent modernized. Agriculture was encouraged, the productive terraced type of cultivation was introduced to the other part of the Naga Hills, their land was protected under the operation of the Chin Hills Regulation 1896; the economic and political exploitation by outsiders was stopped to a great extent under the Inner line Regulation Pass System; the primitive barter system was replaced by currency system; shopkeeper mainly peripatetic Marwaris and Punjabis who were the big financiers as well as the small village bankers were put into Licence; big moneylenders were disallowed; outsiders like Nepalese etc. were also not allowed to settle in the Naga Hills without a pass. And no land of Nagas was allowed to be sold to any outsider without the express consent and authority of the DC under ILR Pass System. In all, the British rule was, after 1881, peaceful and stable due to the fact that administrators, particularly anthropologists, with personal liking and acclimatization for living among the world Naga tribes, were posted there and they dealt the Nagas with intimate knowledge of their language, interest, customs, traditions, viewpoints and psychology.⁸⁴

Another gift of the British to the Nagas was inculcation of the spirit of nationalism. Intimately connected with the Naga Nationalism was the development of western civilization in terms of political and economic ideas, ethics, social customs, literatures, rule of law, the theory of democratic principles and institution and self-determination. Another legacy is the introduction of education through the medium of English language, after Macaulay's crusade for the cause in Nagaland. The American Baptist Missionaries and administrators, were responsible for bringing 'Good News' and school system in Nagalim. Roman script was introduced since the Nagas did not have a script of their own. Thus,

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 153

English become a common communication Channel in place of their numerous dialects and languages. The study of the Bible, singing of Christian hymns and songs and western English literature immensely brightened Nagas' love for freedom, equality, liberty, democracy and rights. The British also infused western sciences and technology into the Naga consciousness. Before the British appeared in Nagaland, the communications were non-existent. The Nagas virtually used animal trails, rivers and mountains as the footpaths. The British started railways, telegraphs, telephones, postal services, roads, bridle paths, bridges and the like linking the Nagas with other people of the world. The British also brought western medicine, sanitation and health services to Nagaland, though in the initial stages the facilities were far from satisfactory.

Earlier the Nagas depended on religious rites and ceremonies and medicinal plants or herbs to cure the sick. Cholera, small pox, malaria, dysentery, scab, leprosy, goiter, yawas and TB took heavy toll of life and the public health services fought hard to decimate and bring down mortality figures low. The British also discouraged the Nagas to have a social intercourse with the rest of the neighbouring people in the plains. This in reality, constituted a sort of museum policy pursued by the alien ruler.⁸⁵ Apart from the lack of intercourse between the Nagas and the neighbours, the worst of all the British and later the Indian State was that of the division of the Nagas into Naga Hills proper and adjacent parts of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Burma and ultimate demarcation of boundaries without any consultation or consent of the Naga people.⁸⁶ Now I shall briefly deal with the division of the Nagas between two countries, i.e. between India and Myanmar and as to how the Nagas were/are distributed in different States within the Union of India and Myanmar respectively. First of all the boundary demarcation done by the British was

⁸⁵ Das, S.T.- Tribal Life of North- Eastern India, Habitat, Economy, Customs, Tradition, Gian publishing House, Delhi, 1986, p. 15.

⁸⁶ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, p. 157.

solely on administration convenience not on historical or cultural roots or evidences. The split up status of the Naga-inhabited areas can be easily described below.

The first Naga's sub-divisional headquarter at Asaloo was set up in 1852. When the first Naga Hills district was formed in 1866 with Samaguting as its headquarter, both North Cachar Hills and Meekir Hills were within the Naga Hills District. With the transfer of District headquarter from Samaguting to Kohima it became difficult for administration to extent effective governance to the people in Meekir Rengma Hills areas. Further, with the construction of Railway Lines and Tea Gardens in 1890s, it become obligatory to deal with labour and Industrial laws. Thus the greater part of Rengma Hills areas including Nambor Reserved forests, along with a part of Dhunsiri Valley were transferred to Golaghat in Assam. Once again, under notification issued on 9 December 1898, a large tracts of the Naga Hills were placed in Nowgong and Sibsagar of Assam. The question of redrawing the boundaries and defining them more clearly was taken up in 1902 and a fresh notification slightly altering the earlier notification of 1898, was issued in 1903. Dimapur with the small areas adjoining it was retransferred to the Naga Hills by a notification dated 18.11.1930. Digar Mouza was transferred from Naga Hills to the North Cochar Hills Sub division on 26.9.1923.⁸⁷

The Nagas in Arunachal Pradesh are also there due to the boundary demarcation by the Government of India. In the year 1957, Tuensang frontier Division was separated from NEFA and form Union Territory known as Naga Hill Tuensang Area, but Nagas in Tirap Frontier Davison was left out. NHTA became a part in the creation of the State of Nagaland in 1963 by the 13th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1962. With the 27th Constitutional Amendment Act, (North-East Areas Reorganization) Act,

⁸⁷ Alemchiba, M., A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland, *ibid*, pp. 129-130.

1971, NEFA became Union Territory along with Mizoram and Meghalaya in 1986, NEFA attained full-fledged Statehood with the inauguration of the Statehood, on February 20, 1987, new District was created. The Nagas have been grouped in Tirap and Changlang districts⁸⁸

The Nagas in Manipur also became a victims of the British territorial demarcation of the Nagas. When Bigge and Gordon drew the boundary between Manipur and the Naga Hills, the company Government incorporated the Senapati, Ukhrul, Tamenglong and Chandel districts into Manipur in 1842 whereas the Angami Nagas were placed in Assam, after which the Naga Hills was created as a district of Assam in 1866. Also in 1918 Manipur occupied a considerable tracts of the eastern Naga Hills down to the western limit of the Somra tract in Burma in order to put down the Kuki rebellion, and ultimately this area was included in Manipur in 1923.

A decade before the British left India, they have separated the Burma from the Indian sub-continent in 1937 giving away almost half the areas of the Naga territory to the Burmese. The Indo-Burmese boundary which runs through the Naga Hills became an outstanding problem to both the countries. The boundary dispute was not solved until 1967 when Indo-Burma Boundary Agreement was signed on 10th March by colonel Kyi Maung on behalf of the Government of Burma and K.M. Kannampilly on behalf of the Government of India. This Agreement resolved to delineate, delimit and demarcate the boundary of 909 Sq. miles between the two countries. However, this was done without the consent of the Nagas. By this Agreement, the Naga Hills was demarcated officially and the people were divided to live in two countries. In longwa and 16 other villages in Mon district, Longkhao village in Tirap district and Tusom village in Ukhrul district half village lands are in Burma and the other half in India. In fact, in Longwa village the so-called International Boundary

⁸⁸ Naga Hoho, White Paper on Naga Integration, ibid, p. 13.

between India and Myanmar actually splits the Angh's (village chief) house into two.⁸⁹ This is how the British in the past and the government of India after independence have demarcated the Naga Ancestral Domain.

Thus, out of 120,000 sq. km. 56,507 sq. km Naga-inhabited areas is in Myanmar and the rest i.e. 63,493 sq. km. Is in India.

Area of the present State of Nagaland is 16,579 sq. km. Naga-inhabited areas in Manipur is 15,519 sq. km. out of the total area of 22,327 sq. km. In Assam, 24,343 sq. km is inhabited by the Nagas out of the total area of 78,438 sq. km. In Arunachal Pradesh, the Naga areas are 2730 sq. miles which if we change into sq. km., it turns out to be 7052 sq. km.⁹⁰ The Nagas both in India and Myanmar have been raising in one voice until recently for the unification of the Nagalim led by the Naga leaders since Nagas were divided. In the recently held Indo-Naga dialogue, the NSCN raised the issues relating to the distinct identity of the Nagas and their stand on the unification of the Naga areas. In this regard the Government of India representative clarified that there has been no change in its stand on the scope of negotiations.⁹¹ The next chapter will focus on the phases of the Naga Movement.

⁸⁹ Aosenba, *The Naga Resistance Movement*, *ibid*, pp. 87-88.

⁹⁰ Bhavma Vij-Arora, 'Taking Peace, Looking over their Shoulders', *Indian Express*, January 10, 2003, New Delhi, p.9; Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency- The Last Thirty years*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1988, p.11.

⁹¹ "Joint Communique", signed by Th. Muivah, General Secretary, NSCN and K. Padmanabhaiah Representative of the GOI, New Delhi, 23.01.2003.

CHAPTER – III

PHASES OF THE NAGA MOVEMENT

The Naga Movement for freedom has survived for 85 odd years inspite of many ups and downs since its inception. Its journey continue along with the 21st century where the global order is characterized by the processes of globalization, information revolution, hegemonic role of the USA in the world affairs, coalition against international terrorism, environmental awareness and sustainable development, debate on human rights violation, gender equality debate, combat against poverty, disease and hunger, importance of global civil societies, movements of many smaller nationalities and the indigenous peoples for selfdetermination, so on and so forth.

The offshoot of the Naga nationalism was seen for the first time in an incipient form when the Naga tribes resisted the entry of the well equipped Britishers in the lands of the Nagas in 1832. Nevertheless in the real sense of the term the consciousness of the Naga for nationhood, their identity and rights could be traced during and after the World War I. As such the Naga Movement for freedom is a modern concept though it has its bearing with the past.

The phases of the Naga Movement can be roughly divided into three considering the nature of the movement. They are (1) Formation of the Naga Club in 1918 till the non-violence period (1952), (2) After Nehru and U Nu visits in 1953 till the signing of the Shillong Accord, and (3) Post Shillong Accord: emergence and split of the NSCN till the rising of the NSCN-IM as the strongest organization.

Naga Nationalism

Before we look at the phases of the Naga Movement, let us briefly discuss what is nationalism in general and the Naga Nationalism in particular.

The feeling of nationalism was not concern in ancient times. A man might owe allegiance to a political unit like the Greek City-State or to one like the Roman Empire. During the Middle Ages, man's chief loyalty was to his Church or social class rather than to his nation. Nationalism began to replace old loyalties as trade and better means of communication brought them closer together, and as the influence of the Church decline. The French Revolution of 1789 strengthened nationalism by uniting the masses of the people in the common cause of winning freedom at home and defending their nation against foreign enemies. As a result of growing nationalism, strong leaders in Germany, Italy, and other nations were able to mould their people into independent, united Countries. During the 1900's, extreme nationalism in Countries like Germany and Japan result in racial persecution and aggression against other nations. After World War II, nationalism played a crucial role in independent movements in Africa and Asia. Most of the former colonies became independent nations while there were still many aspiring people who were willing to be independent.

Definitions of nationalism

“Nationalism is the belief that one's own Country or that one's own national group is the best nationality in the world. At its best, nationalism may be a healthy pride in one's Country or national group. But if it is carried too far, it may cause a nation to try to dominate other nation”¹. Another definition of nationalism – any one or more of the following – a common language, a common Country, religious agreement, belonging to the same genetic pool are the “national” sign of nationhood.² If we apply this definition to the Naga Movement for freedom, it can be said that, the Nagas share a common homeland and belong to Mongoloid race group, share a common faith-majority (95%) being Christians today and all

¹ Shishak, Tuisem A., 'Nationalism in Christ Perspective', quoted from 'the World Book of Encyclopedia', Patkai Christian College, Nagaland, 1996, p. 1.

² Horam, M., Naga Insurgency – The Last 30 years, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1988, p. 33.

practising a common religion in the past and their dialects and language all spring from the Tibeto-Burman group. The nationalist doctrine of the Nagas is based on the fact that the Nagas are racially closer to one another than to the rest of India. Race differences may be biologically insignificant but culturally they are very important. Culturally it must be admitted that they are different and the Hindu and the Muslim influence completely passed them by. Politically though some portions of the Naga Hills were administered alongwith India, Burma and Ceylon by the British they claim never to have been an integral part of India and Burma. By the token that Myanmar and Sri Lanka are Sovereign States today they have been struggling to establish a separate political identity. Naga Nationalist sentiments is based on the fact that Nagas are different from Indians and Burmese. Naga leaders of all camps have always underscored these differences.³

The resistance on not being Indians and Burmese began when India and Burma were on the verge of throwing off the British imperialist yoke. Even in the old days these "Older Mongoloids in the Hills", wanting only to live; had "never attacked the settled population of the adjacent plains unless attacked in their own territory, and at the worst they launched a razzia once in a while"⁴. Now suddenly they found themselves being claimed by India and Burma. As long as the British lingered in India the Nagas resentment simmered but when it became clear that they would be part and parcel of the two countries they were truly alarmed. Nagas hold dear of their independent existence. They have always been suspicious of all outsiders. The coming of the white men was stoutly opposed. When the whites came first to Naga Hills they were called "half-cooked" men because of their pale colour. Much later when the "half-cooked" men left Naga Hills, Nagas were scared of being ruled by the 'Black-race" who would

³ Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency*, *ibid*, p. 34.

⁴ Quoted by Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency from Chaudhuri, Nirad C., The Continent of Circe*, Jaico Publication House, 1996, p. 36.

forbid them to eat 'pork' and 'beef'. The Nagas, according to Horam, never went 'crazy' and no Naga will run around doing things for white man simply because of their white skin.⁵

Yet strangely enough Nagas have been accused of preferring the whites to Indians especially in the initial stages of the independence movement. To be fair to the Nagas it must be admitted that the Nagas strained at the British-Yoke refusing the offer to remain a British colony after the independence of India – just as they chafed at the thought of Indian dominance. Views vary regarding Naga politics and guerrilla activities deserving the name nationalism. New Delhi refers to it as “secessionist”, “hostile activities”, “separatist”, “anti-India” movement etc. Some would concede it to be ‘semi-nationalism’. Sociologists have sought to explain nationalism as a modern secular religion, or as an expression of the need for a new sense of political identity to replace traditional allegiance. “Plainly” writes Anthony D. Smith, “Nationalism is important both as a social and political phenomenon, as an object of sociological enquiry”⁶. However, there has been no serious official and sociological study on Naga nationalism. Some few books have been written on the Nagas by journalists who pay a flying visit to key towns. The classic monographs on the Nagas written by the British administrators are now mainly anthropological value. Books written by Government officials, for obvious reasons, oversimplify the whole business. Maurice Cranston writes: “Nationalism now can refer to any political movement from Plaid Cymru in Wales to the Pan-Africa aspirations of such Government as that of Dr. Nkrumah in Ghana, explanation must be sought rather in the local circumstances rather than in any general theory”⁷. The definition of Naga nationalism given by Th. Muivah is as under: “While it is admitted that, nationalism is a force against alien domination, it is also equally true that

⁵ Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency*, *ibid*, p. 35.

⁶ Smith, Anthony D., *Theories of Nationalism*, London, 1971, in Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency*, *ibid*, p. 35.

⁷ Maurice Cranston (ed), *A Glossary of Political terms*, in Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency*, *ibid*, p. 36.

nationalism is not the end in itself. If a nation is not meant for people's salvation, it is inexonerably more of a xenophobia and fanaticism. It is the justice due to the people, it is the correct principle that a nation must uphold whatever the form of the Government it may have. In other words, nationalism without a love for justice and truth is an evil force. Therefore, if one has to love his nation, he must do that for the truth he knows"⁸. Barclay writes: "Nationalism, new or old, is thus essentially a Partmenteau word. It stands for all cases where a group of people affirm their rights as a separate group against those claimed by other separate group"⁹. In the light of this definition the Naga search for political recognition may be termed nationalism.¹⁰ Add to these facts of the Nagas possessing common physical and racial characteristics, geography, religion and above all a sense of belonging. This last named is a definite prerequisite of national feeling. This rise of nationalism among the Nagas has often been explained away but would help greatly in the solving of the "Indo-Naga Problem" that this nationalism has engendered, if instead of offering suggestions which evade the issue, an honest attempt is made to study the facts of its emergence.

Phase I: Formation of the Naga Club in 1918 till the Non-Violence Period (1952)

During the World War I, in 1917 over 2000 Nagas from all tribes were deployed in the War theatres in Europe as part of the Labour Corps. In their voyage to France, the enemy damaged the ship and their ship was about to sink. Hundreds of other volunteers (Britishers, Chinese, Ceylonese, etc.) were badly shattered, but the customary fortitude and the equanimity of the Naga spirit stood united in their stride and they

⁸ Ato Kilonser, Th. Muivah's response to the Ministry of Information Publicity's (MIP) question, 'How would you define Naga Nationalism?' in Timothy, K., and Sumi, V., Cry For Justice, Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland or GPRN: OKING, (1997/98), pp. 84-85.

⁹ Barclay, Glen St. J., 20th Century Nationalism, 1971, Quoted by Horam, M., in Naga Insurgency, *ibid*, p. 37.

¹⁰ Horam, M., Naga Insurgency, *ibid*, p. 37.

extended their helping hands to other shattered companions. This has left a deep impressions upon the Nagas and they developed an insight of nationalism that they were of one race and a sense of inner compulsion for unity for greater altruistic service was developed. Accordingly after their return in June 1928, drawing officials, ex-army men and village headmen formed an association known as "Naga Club". According to Hokishe Sema, the Naga Club was political in nature, social in welfare and recreational in games and sports.¹¹ The chief concern was the political future of their homeland after the exit of the British. The Naga Club was still in its infancy then, but the pattern of the future had already been installed in their minds. In 1923, the Lotha Nagas formed a Tribal Council followed by Ao Tribal Council in 1918 which was later recognized in 1939. On January 10, 1929, the Naga Club submitted a political memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding for an exclusion of the Nagas from the "Reformed Scheme of India". Despite the pleas, the Naga Hills District were merely clubbed as an "Excluded Areas" in 1937 under the Government of India Act, 1935.

"Naga Raj" Movement

From 1926 to the early 1940s, Pou Jadonang started a religious and political movement called Naga Raj against the British rule. He was arrested and hanged on Sunday, August 29, 1931 at the age of 26 years. After his death the movement continued under the leadership of Gaidinliu (later renamed Rani Gaidinliu), his 16 year old cousin sister, as political and spiritual leader. She was arrested and imprisoned by the British in 1932 till the British left India. On her release, the political wisdom of the Nagas accepted Gaidinliu until her death. After India became independent Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, recognized the political sacrifice made by her and she was given the title "Rani". Until today, Pou

¹¹ Sema, Hokishe, Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-economic and Political Transformation and the future, Vikash Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1986, p. 88.

Jadonang's patriotic philosophy for Naga unification continues to influence the present Naga Movement. The "Crown Colony" plan of Robert Reid in 1941 and later Couplan Plan mooted by Reginald Couplan, was strongly supported by Viceroy of India. Unfortunately, due to the World War II exigency, the Queen left aside the proposal. Nagas have also rejected it as an imperial hegemony. After two years, in 1943 Robert Reid retired and the matter was left unattended.

From 1939 to 1944, the Nagas wholeheartedly stood behind the British Government at Kohima battlefield. C.R. Pawsey, Deputy Commissioner of Kohima, rewarded these committed gestures of the Nagas with the formation of Naga Hills Districts Tribal Council (NHDTTC) on 1 April, 1945. Sir Pawsey sometimes like Lawrence of Arabia identified himself as leader of the Naga nationalism and stood for them to the limit of his powers. His official bungalow became a rendezvous where the Nagas regularly converged and unfolded their aspirations and objectives. The main objective of setting up of the NHDTTC was uniting together all the Nagas and organizing the tribal councils as to reconstruct Naga Hills after the War ravages, according to modern democratic lines.¹² After the formation of the NHDTTC, Naga tribes had a full discussion on the future of the Nagas for creating greater cohesion and as per the decision reached at its Wokha conference on 2nd February 1946, the Council was rechristened "Naga National Council" (hereinafter NNC). At its inception the Council consisted of 29 members, and for its maintenance every Naga family contributed six rupees annually. Mayang Nokcha was the first president of the NNC. The ostensible purpose of this Council was to foster and nurture the welfare of the Naga people. Under the auspices of the NNC, the leadership brought out a regular monthly newspaper called the "Naga Nation" for creating political consciousness and identity and to educate

¹² Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas: A Historical and Political Study, Vivek Publishing House, Delhi, 1974, pp. 160-161.

the Nagas about the socio-economic problems, culture and rich tradition. However, there was a strong political under-current in this Council, which subsequently turned it into a political organization. The NNC did not indulge in any political activity until the later half of 1946 when T. Aliba Imti and T. Sakhrie became the president and the General Secretary respectively. At first, NNC did not speak of independence from British India as we shall find in the following discussion; but later, things were not the same anymore, say from early 1947.

The Cabinet Mission received its first 4 points memorandum from the NNC on 19 June 1946. They are:

- (1) This NNC stands for solidarity of Naga tribes including those in the unadministered areas;
- (2) This Council strongly protests against the grouping of Assam with Bengal;
- (3) The Naga Hills should be constitutionally included in autonomous Assam, in a free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interest of the Nagas; and
- (4) The Nagas should have a separate electorate.

We do not know if the Cabinet Mission responded or even acknowledged the Nagas' memorandum of 19 June. But Jawaharlal Nehru's 1st August 1946 letter to T. Sakhrie was very condescending in tone and could only accentuate the Nagas' anxieties by belittling all the points and concerns raised in their memorandum. The letter said that the Naga territory was "much too small to stand by itself politically or economically". It consisted of "rather backward people who require considerable help". "Some special provision would have to be made to develop" a number of headhunters inhabiting the unadministered territory. Caught between two huge countries, India and China the Naga territory had no choice but to "form a part of India and of Assam". Nehru

was glad that the NNC stood for the solidarity of all the Naga tribes including those who live in the so called unadministered territory.” But the common language, “it would be desirable to encourage Hindustani as this will bring them in touch with the various changes and developments taking place in India”.¹³

Nehru’s letter resuscitated all the fears of being brought under the rule of unsympathetic majority from the plains, which the Nagas memorandum to the Simon Commission had expressed eighteen (18) years earlier. The letter made it clear that the Congress was not going to abide by the Cabinet Mission’s plan for a federation to the understanding on which it had joined the Constituent Assembly. But the principles of self-determination and fundamental rights were non-negotiable for the leaders of the NNC. At a meeting held at Kohima on 6 December 1946, three days before the first sitting of the Constituent Assembly, the NNC restated its position: “the NNC stands for the unification of all the Naga tribes and their freedom... Our country is connected with India, connected in many ways.... But as a distinctive community, we must also develop according to our genius and taste. We should enjoy homerule in our country, but on broader issues be connected with India. We must fight for it; we must get it”.¹⁴ The British Government had to give practical form to the principle enunciated by the NNC. T. Sakhrie reminded Clement Attlee of his visit to Kohima on 10 January 1929 and sent him a copy of the old memorandum to reinforce the position taken by the NNC in the current imbroglio: “If the demand we the Nagas made before the Statutory Commission of which you were a member, sounded reasonable then, you will surely concede the memorandum on the case of the Naga people submitted to His Majesty’s Government which must be in your hands

¹³ Vashum, R., Nagas’ Right to Self-Determination: Anthropological-Historical Perspective, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 69-71.

¹⁴ Yonuo, Asoso, The Rising Nagas, *ibid*, quoted in Misra, Udayon, The Periphery Strikes Back: Challenges to the Nation-State in Assam and Nagaland, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 2000, p. 31.

now....". In his letter to Winston Churchill, Sakhrie said: "If the Nagas and the land they live on, ... you must just have heard when the Japanese forces made the daring assault on the Naga Hills in their bid to invade India... It is not our intention to boast as to what we did... We did what we did during the war believing that a better world of progress and growth, of justice and freedom was in store for us, and that our demand to exercise the right to self-determination in God's good time would not be ignored... by leaving us in place we rightly belong to... The peace of India which the British are anxious to ensure will in no way be imperilled from this end. To the British we the Nagas never said 'Quit'. But when time has decreed that the British should quit, we must say-Quit honourably"¹⁵.

We do not know if there was any written response from Whitehall. But apparently, the British had left the Nagas to the mercy of the successor Government of India under Nehru. On 20 February 1947, Attlee told the House of Commons that the British Government would wash its hands off the Indian affairs by June 1948. Louis Mountbatten, replaced Wavell to ceremoniously wind up the Empire. Mountbatten's formula cut up the sub-continent into two sovereign Nation-States. India and Pakistan while Bengal and Punjab a Muslim majority provinces were given option to either join Pakistan or to divide themselves between the two Countries. But Nagas remained in a fixed since there was nothing for them to choose from. Clearly, they were too few in number to receive attention. In 19th century, India was the main prize of conquest and the main object of imperial exploitation. The Nagas were merely accidental victims. By the time the British were poised to quit, from historical exhaustion, native India had already become, in mentality, a bloated replica of the alien power, impregnated by its spirit of conquest and national glory. It had spawned its own batch of leaders, who deemed themselves every bit as

¹⁵ T. Sakhrie to Clement Attlee, 29 March 1947 and T. Sakhrie to Winston Churchill, 28 March 1947, The Naga Chronicle, Compiled by Rev. Dr. V.K. Nuh & edited by Vetshokhrolo Lasuh, Research Department, Council of Naga Baptist Churches, Kohima, 1999, pp. 24-25.

strong and majestic as Clive, Cornwallis and Curzon, and who, like these were imbued with a zeal for “spreading civilization”. In their eagerness to take over the “white’s men burden”, they felt called upon, among other things, to assist, reform and if need be chastise the assorted “backwards” peopling India’s periphery or, for that matter, its interior.¹⁶ In January 1947, Governor Andrew Clow met the NNC leaders at Mokokchung and explained to them the impending constitutional change. The British Raj is being withdrawn, shortly, and the future Government of India will be a matter for the people of the land to decide. The Constituent Assembly had began its work in Delhi. The Naga leaders, although they had no representation in the Constitution making body, would be allowed to talk with the Advisory Sub-Committee on the North-East Frontier Tribal Areas and Assam Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas, which was planning to visit to their region in the near future. Therefore, they should formulate proposals and demands. It was not practicable for them to think of a separate state or even separate province. Their Country was poor and could hardly become self-sustaining. It should be better for them to claim authority in matters of local concern, customs, culture and their land.¹⁷

The NNC leaders listened to the Governor, but were not impressed by this exhortations. The Governor borrowed Hutton’s language, but his intentions appeared dubious. If the future Government were a matter for the people of the land to decide, they would take decisions for themselves.¹⁸ On 20 February 1947, the NNC addressed another memorandum to Mountbatten, reiterating that Nagaland belonged inalienably to its people. The memorandum said: “A Constitution drawn

¹⁶ Kumar, Ram Narayan & Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of India and the National Socialist Council of Nagalim: Promises and Pitfalls for Civil Society initiative on the Naga peace process, published by Civil Society initiative on the Naga Peace Process and Other Media Communications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 34.

¹⁷ Gundevia, Y.D., War and Peace in Nagaland, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 53-54; Sema, Hokishe, Emergence of Nagaland, *ibid*, pp. 83-84.

¹⁸ Kumar, Ram Narayan and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p.35.

up by people who have no knowledge of the Naga Hills and the Naga people, will be quite unsuitable and unacceptable to the people". Further, it said: "Thrown among 40 crores of Indian, the Nagas with their unique system of life will be wiped out of existence.¹⁹ Mountbatten did not acknowledge the memorandum. But the Advisory Sub-Committee under Gopi Nath Bardoloi's leadership, was to visit Kohima on 20 May 1947. Lying the ground for discussion with the Committee, the NNC sent another memorandum on 19 May 1947. It asked for an "interim government" for a period of 10 years with full power in respect of legislation, executive and judiciary, at the end of which the Naga People would decide their future through referendum. Meanwhile, India as the guardian power would remain responsible for defence and would aid civil power in case of emergency.²⁰ The NNC discussion with the Sub-Committee, supervised by Deputy Commissioner Pawsey and other Assam officials, got bogged down over the issues of autonomy, interim government, the scope of its relationship with guardian power and the right to self-determination at the end of the ten-years period. Gopi Nath Bardoloi remained inflexible on most of the issues. The SubCommittee had coopted three Naga representative in its work. Mr. Kezehol of the NNC from Kohima, Mr. Khelhoshe and Aliba Imti. Kezehol later resigned from the Committee in disagreement with its approach, and khelhoshe and Aliba Imti dissented with the majority report. For some times, however, the three associates of the Committee must have been very useful to the leaders of the NNC by keeping them abreast of the Committee's work.

Nine-Point Agreement or Hydari Agreement — When the talks between the Committee and the NNC broke down, Akbar Hydari, the new Governor of Assam, assisted by his Secretary F. Adams and the D.C. Charles Pawsey, arrived in Kohima and, in days of intensive parleys with

¹⁹ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 1993 edition, p. 21.

²⁰ Ao, Tanjenvuba, British Occupation of Naga Country, Naga Literature Society, Mokokchung, 1993, p. 278.

the leaders of the NNC on June 27, 28 and 29 1947, threshed out the famous Nine-Point Agreement. A memorandum that Aliba Imti and T. Sakhrie submitted to the Governor, before the beginning of the discussion, strongly stressed the Nagas' "right to self-determination" and insisted on the setting up of an interim Government for a period of ten-years "so as to enable the Naga people to be so schooled as to make a responsible choice at the end of ten years". An appendix to the memorandum gave a list of tea gardens and reserve forests previously transferred to Sibsagar and Nowgong districts. The memorandum not only asked for their restitution, but also demanded the setting up of a Boundary Commission and asked to "bring all the Naga regions together."²¹ The Nine-Point Agreement had been made with the consent of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Preamble of the Agreement recommended that "the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their free expressed wished is recognized."²²

But clause 9 of the Agreement turned controversial between the Government of India and the NNC. The clause 9 of the Agreement runs:

"The Government of Assam as the agent of the Government of Indian Union will have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure the due observance of this Agreement; and at the end of this period the NNC will be asked whether they require the above Agreement to be extended for a further period, or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people would be arrived at".

The Naga interpreted this Agreement to concede that, if they so wished, they were free to opt out of the Indian Union or have their Sovereign State after ten years, whereas the Government of India took the stand that, whatever might be the revised arrangements agreed upon ten years, they would have to fall within the four corners of the Indian

²¹ T. Aliba Imti and T. Sakhrie to Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, Camp Kohima, The 26th June 1947, *The Naga Chronicle*, *ibid*, pp. 58-60.

²² Horam, M., *Naga Polity*, Reprinted, Low Price Republications, Delhi, 1992, p. 13.

Constitution.²³ The point 9 of the Agreement implanted seeds of discord within the NNC resulting in their division into the hardliners and the moderates. In order to resolve their differences, Sir Pawsey persuaded them to put the issue to vote. The moderates (who were mostly Government servants) won by a slight majority to accept the Agreement. But the hardliners led by A.Z. Phizo strongly protested against the Agreement. Akbar Hydari sent a copy of the Agreement to Jawaharlal Nehru on 7th July 1947 with detailed comment on the circumstances and the manner in which it has been achieved. On 12 July 1947, Nehru wrote back: "I congratulate you on the success you have achieved. The note on the discussion will be sent to the Constituent Assembly"²⁴

While India was to become an independent on 15 August 1947, the NNC leaders were eagerly waiting for the Constituent Assembly's endorsement of the Hydari Agreement or at least from its Sub-Committee on Assam's Tribal and Excluded Areas which had unsuccessfully tried to negotiate with them an accord in the last days of May 1947. On 28 July 1947, the Sub-Committee submitted its report to Vallabhbhai Patel, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal Areas. The report mentioned the Sub-Committee's meeting with the NNC in disparaging terms and blamed "certain officials" for influencing the extreme elements". The report did not even mention the Nine-point Agreement. However, it claimed that "events connected with the visit of H.E. the Governor to the Naga Hills on the 26th of June 1946 show that the Nagas have dropped their extreme demands. The report delivered a devastating blow to the NNC's sense of political purpose, their self-esteem and their confidence in the trustworthiness of India's new leadership.

Although the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly accepted the recommendations of the report of the Sub-Committee and

²³ Rustomji, Nari K., Imperilled Frontiers: India's North-Eastern Borderlands, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1983, p. 30.

²⁴ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

incorporated them in Article 255 of the Draft Constitution of February 1948, eventually becoming Article 244 and in the Sixth Schedule, the report was making its disrespect for the terms of the Hydari Agreement.²⁵ The Nagas rejected the VIth Schedule of the Constitution.

The NNC delegation of nine, headed by A.Z. Phizo and Kughato Sukhai went to Delhi and met Mahatma Gandhi at Bhangi colony on 19th July, 1947 to plead for the demand of the Nagas. The delegation told Gandhi that Nagas were never Indians and Nagaland had never been a part of India; and that independence was an inalienable right of the Nagas. Gandhi told the delegates, "Nagas have every right to be independent. We did not want to live under the domination of the British and they are now leaving us. I want you to feel that India is yours. I feel that Naga Hills are mine just as much as they are yours, but if you say 'it is mine', then the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I don't believe in forced Union. If you don't wish to join the union of India, nobody forces you to do that.' The delegates pointed out that Sir Akbar Hydari was threatening them with the use of force in the event of their refusal to join the Indian Union. Gandhi exclaimed "Sir Akbar is wrong : He cannot do that ... I will come to the Naga Hills, I will ask them to shoot me first before one Naga is shot"²⁶. The father of the Indian nation had great sympathy and understanding towards the Nagas. He also inspired the Nagas to follow the way of non-violence to decide their future. The delegation came back to their home with higher degree of political aspiration and they declared Nagalim an independent Country on 14th August, 1947. In place of the Union jack, a tri-colour NNC Flag was unfurled by singing their national Song.

²⁵ Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement between the Gol and the NSCN, *ibid*, pp. 38-42.

²⁶ Phizo, A.Z., The Fate of the Naga People: An appeal to the World, NNC, 1960, p. 3 quoted by Aosenba in, The Naga Resistance Movement: Prospect of Peace and Armed Conflict, Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2001, p. 41.

*“God bless my Nagaland,
Land that I love,
Stand beside her and guide her,
Through the night
With a light from above
From the mountains
Through the Valley,
To the meadows where I roam,
God bless my Nagaland my home
Sweet home’.*²⁷

Telegrams regarding the declaration of independence were sent to the Government of India, foreign Diplomatic Mission in Delhi and a cable message was sent to the United Nations Secretary General. But the Government of India did not recognize the Naga independence. The UN Secretary General was kind enough to acknowledge the receipt of the cable sent by the Nagas on 15th August, 1947, India’s midnight celebration of its “Tryst with Testiny” was also celebrated in Nagalim. But it was boycotted by the Nagas. The Nagas never gave up their claim for independence. They also honoured the Nine-Point Agreement. But in 1948, as there was no sign of implementation of the Agreement, a Naga delegation met the Governor of Assam for clarification as to whether the Government of India would implement the Nine-Point Agreement, N.K. Rustomji (Advisor to the Governor of Assam) is said to have assured the Nagas for implementation of the Agreement. In his letter to the NNC (vide memo no. 490/c, dated 11 June, 1948), he writes: “With reference to your letter dated 25th May, 1948, to His Excellency, the Governor of Assam, I

²⁷ Ao, A. Lanunungsang, *From Phizo to Muivah – The Naga National Question in North-East India*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 40.

am desired by his excellency to state that the machinery necessary to that end is already in motion. There was never, nor shall be any question or non-implementation of the terms of agreement".²⁸

But this assurance was to be contradicted by the policies and action of the Government of India that was soon to come. It was soon evident that the said Agreement was not to be implemented. Accordingly, in 1948, the Draft Constitution was published in which the Naga Hills District was also included as an Autonomous District of Assam. The NNC rejected the Draft Constitution as they felt that the Draft Constitution would deprive the rights of the Nagas. It was during this period that A.Z. Phizo resigned from the NNC as he strongly felt that Government of India had betrayed the Nagas. Phizo was arrested on 9th July 1948 on the pretext of his pro Pakistan and the anti-India to liberate the Naga Hills from India's occupation. Under the Regulation Act of 1848 he was sent to Presidency jail in Calcutta but was released unconditionally on 18th December, 1948 after his family met a tragic accident. On 28 November, 1949, NNC delegation met the first Governor-General of independent India C.R. Rajagopalachari in Shillong the then Capital of Assam, so that they would not be forced into the Indian Union.

The Governor-General expressed such view as: "India wants to be friendly with you. India does not want to deprive the Nagas of their land. Nagas are at full liberty to do as they like, either to become part of India or be separated if that would be best for their interest".²⁹ In December 1949, Phizo advocated for a Sovereign Naga State outside the Indian Union. But most members of the NNC were still of the opinion to wait for the Government for reply. They decided to send a delegation as a last resort to discuss with the Government, the implementation of the Nine-Point Agreement. But to their disappointment they found that it was impossible

²⁸ Vashum, R., Indo-Naga Conflict: Problem and Resolution, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 34-35.

²⁹ Horam, M., Naga Insurgency, *ibid*, p. 44.

on the part of the Government to agree for implementation of the Agreement. Then, the moderates realized that they were let down by the Government and convinced that a point of no return between the Nagas and the Government was reached. The 1950, announced the NNC's resolve to stay out of the framework of the Indian Constitution. In a meeting at Kohima on December 11, 1950, the NNC resolved to hold a plebiscite to determine the Naga political opinion on the issue of whether to remain in the Indian Union or to get out and form a Sovereign Independent Country. A letter addressed to the Government of India requested it to send its representatives to observe the plebiscite, which was to be held on May 16, 1951. Over 6000 people-men, women, children from all of Naga tribes came to Kohima to give their verdict on 16 May 1951. The booth for the supporters of the Indian Union remained emptied while 99.9% opted for Sovereign Independent Nagalim.

Eastern Nagas could not participate due to the opposition of the Rangoon Government but morally they supported the stand of the NNC which convinced that Naga people as a whole opted for independence as it is an unalterable mandate. Filled up forms with thump impression were dispatched to the President of India, the President of All India Congress Party and the Secretary General of the United Nations. The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad termed the Nagas demand of independence as absurd and refused to see it as a mandate that Nagas love for freedom, which still has its ferments even today.³⁰ According to Murkot Ramunny, the "Nagas independence plebiscite was an article of major faith with Phizo. Phizo wanted to convince the Government of India about the genuineness of their demand but the indifferent reaction it created frustrated him". Commenting on the Government of India's decision to shelve the Hydari Agreement, Ramunny also said: "The Nagas had been let down-an eminent former Governor was let down and the credibility of the

³⁰ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p. 46.

Government went down almost beyond redemption for many years³¹. When Nehru visited Assam in December 1951, a five men delegation of the NNC led by A.Z. Phizo met him at Sylhet (Tezpur). They put forward their desire for liberation and presented the result of the plebiscite. But Nehru rejected their demand for independence. Therefore, the GOI, without consulting the Nagas, formulated a policy, effecting the transfer of power (of the "Excluded Areas" under the 1935 GOI, Act), to the Government of Assam. This subjugative policy adopted by the GOI complicated the matter for the Nagas. In retaliation, the Nagas boycotted the General Election of India in 1952. The boycott of the General Election was total. Not a single vote was cast. The Nagas also stayed away from the District Councils. Hundreds of school teachers and other Government functionaries resigned their jobs and set up private schools through local effort, people refused to pay taxes.³²

The above activities show that the NNC's campaigns remained wedded to Gandhi's ways of non-violent non-cooperation and there was no evidence of even Phizo deviated from this commitment. The non-cooperation was completely successful. On 11th March, 1952, three delegates led by the NNC President Phizo met Nehru in New Delhi. It turned out to be a stormy meeting. "According to the Naga delegation, Nehru, 'While hammering his table with clenched fist', said 'whether heaven falls or India goes into pieces and blood runs red in the country, whether I am here or anyone else comes, Nagas will not be allowed to be independent". At Mokokchung in April the NNC resolved to appeal to the UN to take the Nagas under trusteeship for an interim period prior to their assuming full independence. In July, Nehru, speaking in the Lok Sabha, dismissed the Nagas' demand as "completely unwise, impracticable and

³¹ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid*, pp. 30, 36.

³² Misra, Udayon, The Periphery Strikes Back, *ibid*, p. 35; Verghese, B.G., India's North-East Resurgent, Konark Publishers, New Delhi, 1997 edition, p. 88.

unacceptable”³³. In December 1952, Phizo left for Burma to internationalise the Naga issue but his mission was not successful as he was intercepted by the Burmese Police, being with several documents and sent back to Nagaland. On October 18, 1952, there had been a public demonstration at Kohima to protest against the reported torture of a Naga boy by the Assam police in Dimapur. When the procession was on, a police officer ran over a Naga pedestrian by his motor cycle and caused the move to be violent. In the mess, violent elements among the demonstrators started assaulting him, while some other even protecting him. Consequently there was a firing and one Zasibito, a judge of Angami Tribal Court, while coming to attend the Court was shot and died later on that day. On October 24, 1952, Prime Minister Nehru referred to this incident while addressing a Naga gathering at Mao in Manipur State and expressed his sorrow and sympathy. He promised a high powered judicial enquiry and accordingly the enquiry committee headed by Jarman enquired into the incident and exonerated the police action.

Nehru and U Nu Visit

When the feelings against the Government was running high, Jawaharlal Nehru and the Burmese Premier Thakin U Nu jointly visited Kohima for the first time, accompanied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and B.N. Mullick on 30th March, 1953. On their arrival the Nagas gave them a rousing public welcome. A most unfortunate incident took place during the public meeting; as soon as Nehru was about to begin his speech, the entire Naga crowd walked off the stage and from the meeting some smacking their buttocks, a gesture unmistakably conveying insult and total rejection. Eye witnesses said that his daughter, Mrs. Gandhi, in a agitated voice unwittingly over the live microphone in Hindi: “father, father, they are going away”, and her father with controlled and soft voice

³³ Maxwell, Neville, India, the Naga and the North-East, London, The Minority Rights Group, 1982, p. 5.

replied: "Yes, I am seeing them, daughter"³⁴. The "deliberate discourtesy" shown by the Nagas "stiffened Nehru attitude"³⁵. However, Nehru's charge of "deliberate discourtesy" seems unfounded when we considered other authoritative accounts of the episode. According to Ramunny, Indian Frontier Administrative Service associated with the Naga affairs for a long time, the NNC met twice to discuss Nehru's visit and decided to submit a memorandum to the Prime Minister. A welcome address was to be read out by a member of the NNC from the stage. The draft of the welcome address was presented to the Deputy Commissioner Barkokati who decided that "no welcome address either in speech or in writing will be allowed at the public meeting. The order was conveyed to the NNC leaders just 10 minutes before the meeting was to commence. According to Ramunny: "The official did not have the least idea of the psychology of the Naga. The Naga will hear anyone, but also wants to be heard. His democracy, equality and classless society makes him feel equal to anyone. Based on that equality it is his right to be heard, and he was patience to hear anything spoken to him. An opportunity was lost".

On 31 March 1953, the Statesman reported the angry speech, which Nehru made in front of the handful of Government officials and interpreters after the Naga crowd walked out on him howling and thumping their bottoms. Nehru lashed out on "Outsiders", meaning foreign Christian Missionaries, for misleading the Nagas in India, warning them that if this continued, the Government would have to put an end to their mischief.³⁶ B.N. Mullick, former Intelligence Bureau Chief and the Personal Secretary to Nehru, corroborates Ramunny's account. According to him, the D.C. disallowed the proposed welcome address by the NNC on instructions from Assam Chief Minister Bishnuram Medhi and with

³⁴ Horam, M., Naga Insurgency, *ibid*, p. 51.

³⁵ Gopal, Sarvepalli, Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography Vol. II, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 207-08.

³⁶ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid*, pp. 36-39.

Nehru's knowledge.³⁷ This demonstration by the Nagas shocked two visiting Prime Ministers. It also shows that the Nagas are united in demanding the independence. Eventually the GOI ordered the foreign missionaries to leave the Naga areas. They also banned the monthly newspapers of the NNC, "Naga Nation" in the same year as anti-India propaganda paper. Nehru blamed the Assam Government for this fiasco and they in turn, were furious with certain Nagas who they suspected to be in the mischief-makers and the wrath of Assam Government fell on the NNC and ordered the arrest of the Naga leaders.

As soon as the foreigners left, the situation became very tense. An order was issued for the arrest of 8 Naga leaders suspected to have engineered the unpleasant episode during the Prime Minister's visit. Shortly on the night of 4th April, 1953, Assam Police raided the house of T. Sakhrie the then General Secretary of the NNC. Therefore Viswema, Jakhama, Kighema, Phesama and Khonoma villages were raided, guns were seized and a number of people were arrested as a follow up. Unable to live peacefully, the apprehensive policy adopted by the Government led the Naga leaders evade arrest and compelled them to go underground, which intensified the idea of right of nation to self-determination. The NNC become more forceful in the decades that followed. The Naga search for a distinct political and social identity had formally began.

Phase II: After Nehru and U Nu Visits till the Signing of the Shillong Accord

We have seen above that the NNC adopted and followed non-violent means to achieve the Naga independence in the beginning. Ideologically, armed confrontation was not the NNC policy for the attainment of their aspiration. Till 1952, the Naga Movement was peaceful and intended for an amicable settlement. But after Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Kohima in

³⁷ Mullick, B.N., My Years with Nehru: 1948-1964, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1972, pp. 303-305.

1953, the situation deteriorated, where the Assam Government resorted to cracking down on the Nagas. The proclamation of the Assam Maintenance of Public Order (Autonomous District Act), 1953, sanctioned the imposition of collective fines on inhabitants of any area who harboured, or failed to dissolve and apprehend people who engaged in activities prejudicial to public safety, maintenance of public order, etc. The Act also prohibits and restricts public meetings, processions. Moreover, the Act gave powers to the police to arrest anyone without warrant. In September 1953, Bimala Chaliha, President of the Assam Pradesh Congress visited Naga Hills to observe the situation. He did not agree with his Chief Minister Medhi's policy of tough action. Bimala suggested that since the Constitution is changeable, any defect in it could be removed. But Medhi's attitude shattered the chances of restoring normally.

The Goodwill Mission of Praja Socialist Party (PSP) led by Hareswar Goswami, Bipinlal Das and B.K. Bhattacharjee was sent to Nagaland in November 1953. After touring Nagaland, they wrote in their report, whether we like it or not, it is a fact that the idea of independence has become popular with the people of Nagas. They expressed that the Naga issue could be solved through peaceful means. The Speaker of Lok Sabha Mr. G.V. Mavalankar also visited Naga Hills in 1954. He appreciated the aspiration of the Nagas and wished for talks between the Nagas and the GOI. In an exchange of Goodwill Mission, the Naga people visited Assam to eliminate suspicions and misunderstanding in order to build bridges for Assamese-Naga relationship. But the situation was tense in the Naga areas and the Naga nationalists firmly stood for nothing short of independent Nagalim. The more the Nagas were suppressed and oppressed the more they joined underground. Within a short period of time, the Naga nationalist activities extended to the Tuensang Frontier Areas which was an unadministered territory during British rule in India.

The First Hongkin³⁸ or People Sovereign Republic of Nagaland was formed by A.Z. Phizo in September 1954 with the support of Thungti Chang. Then the Naga Nationalist organized the Youth Wing, Women Wing and Armed Wing to confront any eventuality. Herewith a major step was initiated by the Government of India. To bring those frontier areas under the direct Indian administrative control, a political officer with a unit of Assam Rifles was posted at Tuensang. They replaced administrators by non-locals strengthened the police force, set up nine police posts, and declared the problem to be just law and order. Owing to such policy the NNC revolted against the GOI for intruding into the Naga territory. Thereafter, Assam Rifles launched a large-scale armed operation in Tuensang Frontier Areas or Free Nagaland. They burnt down villages, churches, granaries and standing crop to bring the Naga to submission.³⁹ In that situation, an incident took place where a Government dak runner, who happened to be the son of a Pangsha Warriors was killed by Yimpong villagers. The Pangsha villagers took revenge with the help of Assam Rifles. They wiped out the whole village, killed 60 men, women and children, three NNC activists on 15th November, 1954. The Government denied any involvement but an impartial enquiry reported that an Indian Intelligence Bureau agent instigated the Pangsha Warriors where he was training the President of Naga Youth movement who happened to be there. After that episode, on 27th November, 1954, a Battalion of Armed Forces destroyed the Chingmei village by bombardment, causing an unknown death toll.

By the beginning of 1955, lawlessness and violence were flared up in Tuensang Frontier Areas. The joint forces of Assam Rifles and Armed Forces went on rampant operations to subdue the Nagas. In reprisal to that, the Naga Home Guard under the Hongkin Government took up arms to defend their country. They started confronting and attacking police

³⁸ Hongkin means 'get out' or 'quit' in Chang tribal language. It implied to force the GOI out from Naga areas.

³⁹ NSCN Publication, A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland (manuscript), 1993, pp. 18-20.

outpost, looting arms and kidnapping the Assam Rifles. This led to full-scale Indo-Naga Conflicts.⁴⁰ The fierce-fighting started from Tuensang Frontier Areas (Free Nagaland) on 25 March 1955. In a short period, it spread to the neighbouring areas. The Government of India was unable to contain the force of Naga resistance. Subsequently, the GOI declared Tuensang and Mokokchung to be disturbed area under the Assam Disturbed Area Act, 1955, in the name of law and order problem. But this could not bring any desired changes. Instead the situation went from bad to worse, day by day, violence only begetting violence, committed by Assam Rifles and the Naga Army. Innocent civilians caught at crossfire were unable to live peacefully. Even in such a critical situation, most of the NNC leaders were overground. Meanwhile, there developed a rift between the hardliners and moderates within the NNC. The moderates NNC-T. Sakhrie, Jasokie and others – came out openly protesting violence in the Nagalim. They held a series of meetings to remove Phizo from Presidentship but failed to materialize. This division within the party enabled an Indian intelligence officer S.M. Dutt to come into intimate contact with the moderates. According to B.N. Mullick “their association with S.M. Dutt was extremely valuable from India’s point of view”⁴¹.

The rivalries within the NNC caused the life of T. Sakhrie, a brilliant spokesman for the NNC. He was kidnapped by some NNC members on 18 January 1956, and murdered brutally in the jungle. It was reported that he was murdered for siding with the Indian Government. By then, Phizo had irrevocably moved in the direction of organizing an armed struggle. He went underground and organized a strong military Armed Wing to revolt against the Indian hegemony. The undeclared war went on extensively throughout the Naga areas. Mass arrests, torture, rapes, atrocities, forced labour and burning of villages by security forces increased and became

⁴⁰ Aosenba, *The Naga Resistance Movement*, *ibid*, p. 51.

⁴¹ Mullick, B.N., *My Years with Nehru*, *ibid*, p. 307.

very frequent. In the midst of the Armed confrontation, the NNC set up a Government called Federal Government of Nagaland and its Flag was hoisted at Phesinyu, a Rengma village, on 22nd March 1956. The NNC promulgated a Constitution (Yehyabo). The Preamble of which began 'Nagaland is a People's Sovereign Republic', this has been so from time immemorial. Simultaneously, Phizo formed two armed groups in the Tuensang area; Naga Home Guards (NHG) under Thungti Chang, and the Naga Safe Guards under Kaito Sema. The formation of these two parallel bodies led to a tussle between Thungti Chang and Kaito Sema for leadership of the Armed Wing. Phizo upheld the appointment of Thungti Chang and tried to placate Kaito, but the latter was to play second fiddle to Thungti. During the raid of Kohima on 11 June 1956 Kaito pressed his claim and, the Semas left enmasse on 13 June 1956. The second raid on Kohima on 22 July 1956 also could not materialize because the Semas did not cooperate. Exasperated over his hapless position, Thungti tendered his resignation in October 1956 but this was not accepted. Kaito threatened to surrender with all his NSGs if he was not elevated to the rank of Chief. The pressure tactics worked. On 8 November 1956 Kaito was appointed the Chief and NSG and NHG were merged into what was called Naga Country Guards.

As we shall see in the following discussion, Kaito completely parted company with the Phizo group in later years, though he had to pay with his life for his dissidence.⁴² In 1957, there was a second General Election of India, three Nagas viz., Mr. Khelhoshe Sema, Mr. Chubatemsu Ao and Subedar Satsuo Angami filed nomination papers for the three Assembly seats for Naga Hills District. They returned uncontested to the Assembly. Mr. Khelhoshe Sema was appointed as Deputy Minister, but after six months all of them quit the seats when Naga Hills District was separated

⁴² Singh, Prakash, Nagaland: India-The Land and the People, National Book Trust, 1995 IVth edition, pp. 86-87.

from Assam on 1st December, 1957. By "March 1957, the old nomenclature 'Naga Home Guards' was again adopted but finally changed to Naga Army after reorganization on 3rd January, 1964"⁴³.

Kaito Sema was appointed Keya Kilonser (Defence Minister) and Mowu Angami Chief of Naga Army. The 'Naga Central Government' was placed on a surer footing at a meeting held at Sanis in the Lotha area on 13 July 1956. Khriesanisa Angami was elected President of the Naga Central Government, 15 Kilonsers (Ministers), 100 Tatars (MPs), Ahngs (Governor), of various areas, Magistrates, Deputy Commissioners and other officials. On 6 October 1959 the NCG was refashioned as the 'Naga Federal Government' (FGN) with Scato Swu taking the charge as Kedahge (President). After the debacle of Kohima, the Indian Government more seriously took up to tackle the Naga guerrillas. The Government deployed more troops and many more Assam Rifles and Armed Battalions in the Naga Hills and Tuensang Areas. But the Naga Army did not surrender. It was General Thimayya who was the first Indian leader to acknowledge the Naga problem as a political one after meeting with Kughato Sukhai, the Prime Minister of FGN in October 1956.

He pointed out that it needs a political solution. Henceforth, the Nagas' independence issue was not favoured by the GOI. So the NNC resolved to send Phizo to London to seek foreign help. In December 1956, he slipped out via East Pakistan (Bangladesh) to London to internationalize the Naga issue. By now the GOI deliberately adopted a plan to regroup villages to cut off Naga fighters from the civilians. The purpose of the regrouping of villages was to break the supplies and intelligent system of Naga underground. By March 1957, villages were herded into groups under dreadful condition. After burning down the villages and granaries they were regrouped into a particular village called 'concentration camp' fenced round and kept under army protection. They

⁴³ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid*, p. 52.

were allowed to go and cultivate their fields within limited hours, and had to back before night fall. In that 'concentration camp' because of lack of food, water supplies, sanitation medical care many citizens died of starvation. This continued for a year. Then another major step was initiated by raising force of local militia or village guard to fight against the Naga underground. But this policy forced the Nagas to become more defensive. According to B.N. Mullick "There was nearly one security troop to every adult male in the Naga Hills Tuensang Area"⁴⁴. As a consequence, the Naga guerrillas suffered heavily, but did not give up their struggle for freedom. The GOI's approach to the Naga problem in this period was a combination of carrot and stick, guided by deep antipathy for Phizo and the conviction that the tribal differences within Naga society could be exploited to split the nationalist movement. Nehru displayed an uncharacteristic propensity for tough military measures to put down the Naga's struggle for freedom. In addition to the Assam Disturbed Areas Act, 1955, the promulgation of the Armed Forces (Special Power) Regulation, 1958 No. 2 of 1958, which in September 1958, became The Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act, 1958 and is still in force, with its April 1972 amendments, allowed a person of any rank in the armed forces to shoot to kill "for maintenance of public order" consequent to such action. Moreover, the Regulation 5 of 1962, also called, the Nagaland Security Regulation, 1962, curtailed the liberty, free movement, free resident, private right to poverty etc. Subir Bhaumik, the BBC's correspondent in India's Northeastern region writes, "... Village after village was uprooted by Indian troops and relocated, the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation were enacted and a massive counter insurgency move was on by the end of 1958".⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Mullick, B.N., *My Years with Nehru*, *ibid*, pp. 313-314.

⁴⁵ Bhaumik, Subir, *Insurgent Crossfire*, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, 1996, p. 42.

All atrocities happened in the course of implementing this deliberate policy of suppression. These atrocities were meted out to the Naga indiscriminately. According to Sarvepalli Gopal, Nehru became increasingly fretful over the Naga unrest. It worried him even more than “the growing Chinese strength in Tibet”. “The forces were instructed to hit hard and swiftly at Phizo and his armed bands”. But to his dismay the army was “getting nowhere and was gaining a bad reputation”. He confessed that it was “a black and senseless period’ with mutual brutality sowing seeds of bitterness. In a letter to Governor Fazl Ali, Nehru asked: “Why should we not be able to win them over? This longdrawn out business had a bad effect, both internationally and nationally....”⁴⁶.

Creation of the State of Nagaland

The creation of the State of Nagaland on December 1963 was the culmination of the process initiated at the three Naga People’s Conventions held from 1957 to 1959. Naga People’s Convention was formed in the midst of turbulent atmosphere due to the arm shooting between the Indian Armed Forces and the Naga Army. S.M. Dutt, Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau, encouraged some of the educated moderate Nagas to settle the Indo-Naga issue. By the end of 1956, the moderate Nagas (break away group from Phizo) formed the Naga Peace Organising Committee. These breakaway groups were Don Bosco Jasokie, Phizo’s lieutenant Imkongmeren Ao, the Vice-President of the NNC, the quiet T.N. Angami and the outspoken Scato Swu Sema actively joined in the formation of Nagaland State. In the meanwhile, the Church leaders also openly came forward and condemned the armed conflict and appealed to the Christian Nagas to work for peace. As a result of the efforts Naga People’s convention (NPC) was formed in August 1957, to bring peace in the Naga-inhabited areas.

⁴⁶ Gopal, Sarvepalli, Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography, Vol. III, ibid, pp. 28-31.

The first Naga People's Convention was held at Kohima from 22-26 August 1957, under the guidance of S.M. Dutt. Dr. Imkongmeren Ao was chosen President of the NPC on 25 September 1957. In their meeting Prime Minister agreed to set up one administrative unit of the Naga Hills District and Tuensang Frontier Division under a special selected officer. On first of December 1957, Tuensang Frontier Division was separated from North-East Frontier Agency and joined with the Naga Hills to form a new administrative unit named as Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) and ceased to be a district of Assam. The other development around this time is the merger of Manipur Naga Council which formed in 1956, with the NNC in 1957. Manipur Naga Council or MNC President, Angal Anal, and Z. Ramyo, the Secretary joined the NNC. Mr. Besii Chakho was the first person from the Naga Hills of Manipur to join Phizo's cadres sometimes in 1956. After the promotion of Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA the second NPC convention was held in Ungma village in Mokokchung district from 21 to 23 of May 1958 amidst protests and threat from the NNC. This convention appointed a Liaison Committee to explore possibilities for an agreed solution to the vexed problem, and also appointed a drafting committee. Among the Liaison Committee's prominent members were Kevichusa Angami, a senior IAS officer, Dr. Imkongmeren Ao, and Vizol, who later become Chief Minister in Nagaland. Later a 16-Point memorandum for the Constitution of a separate State to be called 'Nagaland' with the Indian Union was drafted which was passed with a few modification in the third NPC held at Mokokchung from 22 to 26 October 1959. Prime Minister Nehru arrived in Guwahati on 10 April 1960, accompanied by Verrier Elwin and his other Advisors on the Indo-Naga problem. Nehru agreed to the basic demand as the condition that it would not be forced immediately.

Thus, the principle of a "State of Nagaland was reluctantly conceded by Nehru at his meeting with the NPC delegation led by Imkongmeren Ao

on 20 July 1960, within the terms of the "16-Point Agreement", and finalized in detailed discussion with Foreign Secretary on 27 and the 28, 1960. Nehru announced the establishment of Nagaland on 1 August 1960. On February 18, 1961, under the provision of the Nagaland Regulation, the Naga Hills Tuensang Area was designated as Nagaland. As a first step towards the Statehood, the Governor of Assam inaugurated the Interim Body Under the Chairmanship of Imkongmeren Ao. Although Imkongmeren Ao, who was the architect of the NPC and formation of Nagaland State was assassinated on August 22, 1961 by the underground Naga nationalist, President S. Radhakrishnan inaugurated the State of Nagaland as the sixteenth State of Indian Union with P. Shilu Ao as Chief Minister on 1 December 1963.⁴⁷ The new State functioned under the Ministry of External Affairs which continued till 1972. The creation of the State was in the words of his superior B.N. Mullick Dutt's "moment of triumph"⁴⁸. But Kevichusa, a member of the Liaison Committee appointed by the second NPC who had stayed away from the final negotiations, said that the Statehood had been imposed". A onetime follower of Nehru, Triloknath Purwar (the Allahabadi who had befriended Sakhrie before his murder) said it was a 'graft'. The non-recognition of the Nagaland State by the NNC can be gauged from the statements of its supremo A.Z. Phizo in London, the 16-Point Agreement signed between the GOI and NPC was nothing more than a "bribe" given by the Government to the member of the NPC. According to him, "the NPC was no more than a 'puppet assembly'. The Naga people will accept neither the Indian 'bribe' of Statehood nor India's offer of "internal autonomy" as something to be eulogized. It is only a means to conceal her (India's) heinous crime against humanity⁴⁹. The members of the NPC were personally "handpicked" and instigated by Mr.

⁴⁷ Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy, Laxmi, Four fours of the Ceasefire Agreement between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, pp. 52-53; Vashum, R., Indo-Naga Conflict, *ibid*, pp. 39-41.

⁴⁸ Kumar, Ram Narayan and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p. 52.

⁴⁹ Daili-Mao, Dr. Ashikho, Nagas: Problems and Politics, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, 1992, p. 75.

Dutt to mediate and facilitate between the NNC and the GOI... The NPC that brought the present State of Nagaland is through a self-styled phrase called "16-Point Agreement"; which is not even an "agreement" because there is not even a single signatory from the Indian side or Government. This group of NPC individuals also denounced the NNC by conniving with the Indians, thereby rejecting and sabotaging the Naga struggle towards her rightful place.⁵⁰

In fact, the creation of Nagaland State constituted only a part of Naga Hills. As we have seen in my earlier chapter, a major portion of the population and the areas are outside the Nagaland State. It can be said that the policy of divide and rule was applied by the Government of India which was succeeded to the Nagas and it has succeeded in splitting the contiguous Naga territory into five administrative units. It was a victory over some Naga elites but it has invited more complication both for India and Burma geographically and politically as well.⁵¹

The Peace Process

The creation of the State of Nagaland could not bring any solution to the vexed Indo-Naga imbroglio. Instead, the Nagas were scattered to live into different States in India and in Myanmar as well. There was a continuation of hostilities between the Indian Securities Forces and the Burmese Military and the Naga Federal Army which created more doubt and suffering of the innocent people. This period also witnessed the passing of the underground leadership from the hands of Angami tribe to

⁵⁰ Mullick, B.N., My years with Nehru, *ibid*, pp. 295-336, quoted in the Naga Students' Federation's Statement "The Naga Foundation" Toward fulfillment of a Peoples' Unwavering aspiration, NSF: Oking, September 20, 2002, p. 12. The NSF's Statement "The Naga Foundation" was published in total rejection of the "Bedrock of Naga Society" Published by Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee or NPCC(I) headed by S.C. Jamir wherein the NPCC (I) says that the state of Nagaland is an end in itself. NPCC(I) booklet "Bedrock of Naga society", has been unequivocally condemned and outrightly rejected by the NSF stating that; "it attempted to distort the facts of a race which suffered immensely in the course of its history and tried to nullify all the struggles, pains and sacrifices the people undertook". The NSF and People condemned it as tantamount to "blasphemy", "demeaning" and "dehumanizing" thereby assassinating the sentiments of the Naga People.

⁵¹ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p. 65.

the Sema tribe. By 1960, Kughato Sukhai Sema became the Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Nagaland and by 1961, he made his brother-in-law, Scato Swu, the President of the FGN replacing Khriesanisa Angami. Kaito Sema, who was the brother of Sukhai, had been promoted to the post of Defence Minister from the post of Commander-in-Chief of Federal Army. Isak Chishi Swu and Kehovi Sema were appointed Foreign Minister and Information Minister respectively.⁵²

This period also witnessed a great personalities who loves peace. Reverend Michael Scott, on request from Phizo who lived in London came to India on 21st February and 4th April 1963. He met Nehru on both the occasions and discussed the Naga problem to work out any possibilities or 'ceasefire' to bring peace to the Naga people, as proposed by Phizo through Michael Scott from London.

On 12th February, 1963, Nehru had received a letter from Bertrand Russel which informed him about Phizo's readiness to meet him in Delhi and to discuss reconciliation. Nehru dispatched S.C. Jamir, then a Deputy Minister in his Cabinet, to London for safe conduct for Phizo if he accepts the Indian Constitutional framework and agreed to work with the Nagaland Government. According to Michael Scott, both S.C. Jamir and Shilu Ao led a vigorous campaign to persuade Nehru that any talk with Phizo and NNC, except on the condition that NNC lay down their arms and accept the Indian Constitution, would nullify the creation of Nagaland State. In a letter to Shilu Ao, dated 22 March 1963, S.C. Jamir had warned that if the GOI wish to deal with Phizo, they would withdraw their signatures from the 16-Point Agreement and create more troubles than hostiles could do... And thereby opening a new chapter for another political negotiation. B.P. Chaliha who replaced Medhi was of the view that Government should talk to the true representative of the NNC if the Government wanted to solve the problem. But Jamir and Shilu Ao

⁵² Horam, M., Naga Insurgency, *ibid*, p. 93.

prevailed, and Phizo refused to take up their invitation of surrender. But the impression remained that the GOI and Phizo had agreed to talk peace.

Meanwhile, concerned with the turbulent situation in Nagaland State, the Nagaland Baptist Church Council held a convention at Wokha from January 31st to February 2nd 1964; This convention unanimously resolved to request the GOI and NFG to form 'Peace Mission'. Ultimately, the Convention nominated Shri B.P. Chaliha, the then Chief Minister of Assam, Jaya Prakash Narayan, the noted Sarvodaya leader, Shankar Rao Deo and Reverend Michael Scott, a British national. Shankarrao Deo could not join in the Peace Mission on health ground. Thus, the three members of Peace Mission was formed. They constituted a peace centre at Chedema near Kohima. The inclusion of Rev. Michael Scott in the Peace Mission was a tremendous morale booster for the Nagas. His inclusion as the 'International observer' reflect internationalization of the Naga case. The first task of the Peace Mission was cessation of hostilities and then to the negotiation for the political settlement. After two months of formidable negotiation by the Peace Mission 'ceasefire' agreement was signed on 24th May 1964 at Sakrabama village by the three members and six members on behalf of the FGN. The Nagas insisted on extending the ceasefire areas but it was extended only at three areas of Manipur, Mao, Tamenglong and Ukhrul unlike the 14th June, 2001, in the present ceasefire, where the ceasefire extended to all the Naga-inhabited areas 'without territorial limits'. Nehru died on 27th of May 1964, but military operations by both the parties ceased from midnight on 5th September. This agreement came into effect on 6th September 1964. To co-ordinate and ensure successful implementation of the ceasefire agreement a four member peace observer team was appointed. They were Shri Nabakrishna Choudhary, Dr. M. Aram, Santi Analprabha Das and Miss Marjorie Sykes.

The first ever Indo-Naga Peace Talks was started on 23rd September 1964 at Chedema Peace Camp. The talks were held in two phases. At the

Government level, Y. Gundevia the Foreign Secretary led the official delegation and Zashie Huire, the NNC leader led the Naga Federal Government. Gundevia talk about the political settlement within the framework of the Constitution while Zashie Huire pointed out that Nagaland was an independent Country. After 5 rounds of talks there was no concrete understanding to work out the vexed Indo-Naga problem. There was a stalemate. To overcome the obstacle, the Peace Mission came out with new proposal, called Nagaland Peace Mission Proposal on 20 December 1964, that the FGN could on their own volition decide to be a participant in the Union of India and mutually settle the terms and conditions for that matter. The GOI welcomed their proposal to join the Nagaland in the Union of India on their own volition. It was rejected by the FGN. The demand for plebiscite by FGN was turned down by the Peace Mission and GOI. Since there was no meeting place between the two sides, the Naga leaders referred the Peace Mission to discuss their proposal with Tatar Hoho. But Tatar Hoho did not respond, instead they demanded the negotiation to be upgraded to the higher level. Thus, the Peace Mission urged both the GOI and the FGN to meet at the Prime Ministerial level to discuss the crux of the problem.

The Ministerial Talks

There were six rounds of talks at Ministerial level. The first round of Ministerial talks between the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and FGN leader led by Kughato Sukhai, Ato Kilonser (Prime Minister) was held in New Delhi on 18 February, 1966. They exchanged views and discussed the grave situation on the gross violation of the ceasefire agreement by both the parties in Assam and Ukhrul District in Manipur. Again they agreed to continue the talk at the same level. But at this critical juncture, the Peace Mission was dissolved. J.P. Narayan had resigned on 25th February, 1966, on the ground that the Federal leaders had no confidence in him. The Naga leaders objected his talks with the pressman at Dabri, a village in

Rajasthan where he was supposed to have said that India could 'liquidate' the Nagas. He explained to the Naga leaders that what he has said has been translated wrong into English. What he had in fact said was that "there was realization in Nagaland after the Indo-Pak war that India could fight; if she had decided to put down the rebellion (vidroha) in Nagaland she could do so. He went on to explain that there was a great deal of difference between "liquidating" a people and "putting down a rebellion"⁵³

On May 3, 1966, the External Affairs Minister announced in the Rajya Sabha that Rev. Scott has been served with orders to leave the country immediately, blaming that he was 'soft and partisan' with the Nagas. Some Public and Press went on to the extent of calling Scott the "friend, philosopher and guide" of the Nagas. The expulsion of Rev. Scott weakened the morale of the Nagas considerably and the Naga Politics seemed to be at its lowest ebb.⁵⁴ Then, B.P. Chaliha, lone member of the Peace Mission, was forced to quit from the Mission on 4 May, 1966 after sabotage of train in Lumding, a railway station in Assam, suspected to be the handiwork of Naga Army.⁵⁵ The above discussion clearly shows that the peace talks were leading towards a total collapse. The peace talks from 18 February 1966 to the sixth and final round of talks on October 5, 1967 resulted in a deadlock. The reason behind the unsuccessful dialogues between the two entities were because the Government of India remained inflexible and continued to stress the point that the problem could be solved only within the framework of the Indian Constitution while the Naga leaders continued their insistence on sovereign and independent Nagalim. On the eve of their departure, Z. Ramyo, a member of the delegates, said to the press at Delhi Airport: "It is for India to treat us as friends or throw us to the other side". After two days of their return to

⁵³ Aram, M., Peace in Nagaland: Eight Year Story: 1964-72, Arnold-Heinemann Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1974, p. 94.

⁵⁴ Horam, M., Naga Insurgency, *ibid*, p. 128.

⁵⁵ Ramunny, Murkot, The World of Nagas, *ibid*, p. 150.

Nagaland, the Vice-President of the NNC, Imkongmeren Ao, issued a statement: "So far the talks are concerned, they are finished, India was responsible for the failure. Now we have to act according to circumstances". The Naga issue was destined to drag on.⁵⁶

As a consequence of the failure of the peace talks the FGN apex body, the Tatar Hoho (Naga Federal Parliament) and the members of the Parliament wrongly blame Kughato Sukhai for the failure of the talk. No-confidence was moved by Tatar Hoho against his leadership. Consequently, he resigned from the Ato Kilonser on 24 October, 1967. Since then there was a sudden change in political leadership in the FGN. General Kaito Sema was ousted. Mowu Angami was appointed the Naga Federal Army General in place of Kaito. Scato Swu resigned from the President. He was replaced by Mahiashieu Angami who assumed the overall executive powers. Thus, the Sema hegemony in Naga politics was destroyed and power passed on to the Angami tribe. At a time when tribal considerations were threatening to sweep aside the larger goal of nationalism yet another appointment caused further jealousy in the underground ranks. The new President Mahiashieu Angami, appointed Z. Ramyo as Home Minister of the Federal Government, who drafted the Yehzabo of the FGN and it was Ramyo Zimik who tutored the Federal leaders and who had 'ghosted' their drafts during peace talks. Besides, most of the paper work-memorandum and statement were frame with his pen. Yet another extremely coveted post of General Secretary of the NNC was taken by a Tangkhul, Thuingaleng Muivah (commonly called Th. Muivah). Though not outstandingly brilliant in his academic career, Master in Arts in Political Science, a fiery man, full of life and enthusiasm and undoubtedly possesses leadership qualities.⁵⁷ R. Suisa and others became the executive members of the NNC.

⁵⁶ Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency*, *ibid*, p. 136.

⁵⁷ *ibid*, 141.

The Tangkhul influx close on the heels of Angami ascendancy set the ousted Semas busy with their "new" Government enterprise as they work feverishly to retrieve the political initiative. While all these tribal bunglings were going on and these are no novelty to the Nagas – a most unfortunate and unexpected event took place. General Kaito was assassinated by an unknown person on August 3, 1968, in the heart of Nagaland Capital, Kohima, while he was shopping with his brother Kughato Sukhai. His murder was followed by another lightning development in the Federal Government. The President Mahiashieu Angami, Ramyo Zimik and Kehovi were kidnapped by the Sema group who kept them in unknown place for several months. Their arrest was motivated by tribal rivalry. After their arrest, the Sema group announced the formation of a new political party called the Council of the Naga People. On November 2, 1968 CNP met and a new Government was formed called "the Revolutionary Government of Nagaland" Mr. Scato Swu was elected as the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Govt. They released the three federal leaders after bargaining to bring more FGN leaders but with not much success. The NNC and FGN denounced the formation of Revolutionary Government and labeled them as 'renegades and traitors' and refused to grant them recognition.

In the meanwhile, the first batch of the Naga Army which had gone to China in 1966, led by Thinoselie and Muivah returned to Nagaland in 1968 with huge amount of Chinese arms and ammunitions. On their way back, Muivah managed to established an agreement with the leaders of the Kachin Independence Army, Under Zawtu's leadership, to extend mutual aid against the Burmese troops and to exchange Liaison Officers. The Indian Security Forces attacked them at a village called Jotsoma and captured 25 Naga soldiers while major Biswas of the Indian Army was one of the who lost their lives. The second batch of Naga Army led by General Mowu and Isak Chishi Swu who went to China in 1968 returned to

Nagaland in 1969, with heavy sophisticated arms. Without having knowledge of the crises within the FGN, General Mowu reached Phesani Camp (FGN camp) with 165 soldiers, but were captured by the Indian Security Forces with the help of the Revolutionary Group. None of the soldiers were able to escape. Then again Isak Swu and his group of 124 Naga Soldiers which had entered through Tuensang district were also captured by the Indian Security Forces with the help of the Naga Village Guard. But Isak Swu managed to escape. It was a great loss for the FGN, surrendering all the arms with the able fighting forces trained from China.

After these episodes, the Naga Army made an abortive attempt to kill Hokishe Sema, the Chief Minister of Nagaland on 8 August 1972 who had played an important role in wooing the Revolutionary Government for a separate settlement with the GOI and the transfer of Naga affairs to the Home Ministry in June 1972 which was otherwise under the Ministry of External Affairs since 1957. For the first time in history of the Naga National Movement, the GOI enforced the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 and ban (also called September ban) the activities of the Federal Government on September 1, 1972. The GOI also withdrew the ceasefire on September 1, 1972, that had been regularly extending since September 1964.⁵⁸ On 11 August 1973, Scato Swu and others of the Revolutionary Government met Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to discuss the arrangement for surrender. Five days later, they ceremoniously laid down their arms before Governor B.K. Nehru along with 1500 of their soldiers. After this event, the Indian Armed Forces launched extensive combing operations against the Naga Federal Army for which the Naga Army also took counter measures against the security forces in retaliation. This was a period when many cadres of Naga Federal Army who went to China for military training returned with sophisticated arms. Perhaps, the Nagas' connection

⁵⁸ Aosenba, *The Naga Resistance Movement*, *ibid*, pp. 74-75; Vashum, R., *Indo-Naga Conflict*, *ibid*, pp. 47-48; Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy Laxmi, *Four years of the Ceasefire between the GOI and the NSCN*, *ibid*, p. 62.

with China was a big threat to the GOI. But in the process of eliminating the Naga Armies, a lot of atrocities, rapes, tortures, electric shocks were committed against the civilians.

To bring both the parties to negotiation, Nagaland Peace Council of the Baptist Church appointed a Liaison Committee, to persuade the Naga leaders as well as the GOI. The Liaison Committee was formed on 5th February, 1975 by the Council with Longri Ao, Kenneth Kerhuo, Lungshim Shaiza, Dr. Aram and L. Lungalang as members. After a work by the Liaison Committee, finally an understanding for peaceful negotiation was reached between the Naga underground leaders and the GOI. To negotiate with the GOI, Zashie Huire appointed six members of the Federal and NNC representatives led by Kevi Yallay. The other delegates includes Z. Ramyo, Veeniyi Rhakhu, M. Assa, S. Dahru, and I. Temjenba. They met the Governor of Nagaland L.P. Singh who represented the GOI on 10 and 11 November 1975 at Raj Bhavan Shillong. The greatly weakened NNC/FGN eventually signed the Shillong Accord on 11 November 1975 under duress.⁵⁹ The Accord has three clauses. While signing the Accord, Veeniyi Rhakhu, one of the Representatives refused to be a party to the Accord. The Accord essentially meant that, the Naga underground on 'their own volition' accept the Constitution of India without condition, while the Naga representatives have 'reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussion for final settlement'. Of these, "clause 3 remains unimplemented because, the Naga people in general and the NNC leaders overseas did not endorse the Shillong Accord"⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Iralu, Niketu, 'The Naga Story – Then and Now', in Combat Law: The Human Right Magazine, printed and Published for Colin Gonsalves by Interlinks, Vol. 1, Issue 1, April-May, 2002, p. 25.

⁶⁰ NSF, The Naga Problem: An Account, New Delhi, 1995, p. 14, NSF Organising Committee "Naga Week", 1993, Declaration of 'Naga Week' Commemorating the International year of the World's Indigenous Peoples, Kohima, December 1-5.

Phase III: Post-Shillong Accord till the Emergence and the Subsequent Split of the NSCN, and Rising of the NSCN-IM as the Strongest Organization

On 14 June 1977, Phizo met the Indian Prime Minister, Morarji Desai, in London, but the talk came to nothing. Desai told Phizo that there could be no reopening of the old issues and those who created trouble would be mercilessly put down.⁶¹ Further, the Shillong Accord created more complication within the Naga nationalists. In the course of negotiations leading to the Shillong Accord, Kevi Yallay had been exceptionally worried about the reaction of the Naga Goodwill Mission that had left for China in 1974. The Goodwill Mission was led by Thuingaleng Muivah, a Young Tangkhul Post-Graduate with Marxist leaning from the Ukhrul District of Manipur who had joined the NNC in 1964. Kevi Yallay was right in telling Murkot Ramunny that “the China group would be shocked if they came to know about the agreement”. Although Kevi Yallay has asked the Governor for secrecy about the agreement, the Goodwill Mission soon found out.⁶² Muivah, as the General Secretary of the NNC, and six members of his delegation including Isak Swu, issued Statement on the 21st of November, categorically repudiating it. The statement made it clear that “the people of Nagaland have nothing to choose in place of their right to sovereign existence”. The statement condemned the agreement outright as complete ‘sellout’ and denounced as ‘treason’ and signatories were declared as ‘traitors’ and also disclaimed their “authority to settle the Indo-Naga issue within the Indian Union”⁶³. The question is, was Phizo privy to the plan? Was he planning to clinch a deal by negotiating “other issues” for a “final settlement” within the framework of

⁶¹ Nibedon, Nirmal, Nagaland: The Night of Guirillas, Lancer Publishers, New Delhi, Reprint 2000, pp. 339-340.

⁶² Kumar, Ram Narayan and Murthy, Laxmi, Four Years of the Ceasefire Agreement between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid.*, p. 68.

⁶³ “Statement of the Naga Goodwill Mission Abroad”, The Naga Chronicle, *ibid.*, pp. 310-312; NSCN Publication, A brief Political Account of Nagaland, *ibid.*, p. 31.

the agreement? According to a later statement issued by Th. Muivah, Isak Swu, S.S. Khaplang, the members of the Goodwill Mission to China contacted Phizo and wrote to him several letters, requesting him to clarify his position, to condemn the agreement and to provide guidance and direction. But Phizo ignored their entreaties and remained silent. The national Assembly which condemn the Accord was held on the 15th-17th August 1976.

The Assembly elected Mr. Isak Chishi Swu to the Vice-Presidency. The condemnation paper was signed by Messrs Isak and Muivah in their respective capacities as the Vice-President and the General Secretary NNC. Since then Nagaland had been saved and its political wing NNC and Federal Government started functioning on full swing. But Phizo's men, still in the organization, in collusion with the confirmed traitors staged a coup on the 30th September, 1978, that is two years and 10 months after the Accord, on the grounds that the National Assembly condemned the Accord with which Phizo the NNC President did not. Muivah and Isak rebuffed the coup in a fitting way and managed to win over S.S. Khaplang to their side. These incidents led to the final rupture within the NNC organizational set up. A long-awaited historic merger of the East and the West was also formally made at Nokpa on the 30^h January 1980. Subsequently they came to be known as the National Socialist Council of Nagaland or NSCN with the Manifesto solemnly declared on 31st January 1980. Isak Chishi Swu became the chairman and S.S. Khaplang, Vice Chairman. Th. Muivah remained the General Secretary. It is said that they had chosen to "fight to a finish for one's nation freedom"⁶⁴ to form NSCN. It is argued that Shillong Accord of 1975 was responsible for the formation of the new group, which had created another chapter in the Naga National Movement.

⁶⁴ Ao, Tenjenyuba, British Occupation of Naga Country, *ibid*, p. 301.

Emergence and Split of the NSCN and the Present Position

The NSCN which was formed in 1980 is totally a different organization. The Manifesto of the NSCN is essentially based on the Principle of "Christian Socialism". This concept is a combination of the age-old traditional socio-cultural and economic system of the Nagas with a tinge of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism and giving main emphasis on the teachings of Jesus Christ which is regarded as the salvation of Nagaland even as they phrase 'Nagaland for Christ'⁶⁵.

This Government is called Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland replacing FGN and the main objective of the NSCN was to build up 'Sovereign Christian Socialist State of Nagaland' by declaring that they are "Revolutionary Patriots"⁶⁶. In the 1980s there was an awakening of the civil societies in the North-East, especially, among the Nagas. For instance, Naga People's Movement for Human Rights or NPMHR was launched sometimes in September 1978 as to the awareness of human rights movements. This group and others were formed to take up the human rights violations after the Oinam incident. Among the human rights groups, Amnesty International is perhaps the first to bring a succinct case study of the Oinam case or better known as 'Operation Bluebird'. It is a breakthrough of the Nagas' movement for human rights so also for the whole of the North-Eastern region. On 9th July, 1987, a group probably of NSCN members attacked a post of the Assam Rifles near the Naga village Oinam, in Senapati District in Manipur, killed nine soldiers and disappeared with a large number of weapons and ammunitions. In this month, the Assam Rifles executed an operation under the code name "Operation Bluebird" in order to return the goods. The Assam Rifles resorted to a large-scale violation of human rights. Many Naga civilians men, women and children became victims of human rights.

⁶⁵ Vashum, R., Indo-Naga Conflict, *ibid*, p. 49.

⁶⁶ Aosenba, The Naga Resistance Movement, *ibid*, p. 79.

Many Naga civilians-men, women and children became victims of torture, rape, killing and shooting. "Operation Bluebird" is considered to be one of the most sadistic activities of the Indian Army.⁶⁷

In 1988 when the NSCN had well established itself with popular support from the Nagas, there developed a rift within the NSCN leaders. In April 1988, the NSCN split into two factions after bloody purge engineered by S.S. Khaplang who wrongly accused Muivah and Isak of hobnobbing with the Indian Government and of moving towards a settlement within the Indian Union. It is believed by many that Khaplang and his confidants spread the canard at the instigation of Indian Intelligence Agency, especially, Research and Analysis Wing (RAW). It also appeared that in the name of unity move, Chingang Konyak a Pastor and Hokishe Sema the then Chief Minister of Nagaland complicated by laying a trap for talks to confuse the NSCN leaders. The offer was said to be rejected but rumours widely spread that Isak and Muivah had sold out the plan to oust Khaplang, seize arms from Konyak and Pangmi national workers to lay them soon at the feet of Indians. But this is rejected by Isak and Muivah as baseless and unfounded allegation. In fact, Muivah and Isak loves them from the bottom of their hearts and they have had no slightest grudge towards them. Shortly information reached the NSCN Headquarters. Soon knowing the situation, the National Assembly session was called to resolve the controversial report, but the situation could not be solved because Khaplang was known to be a man of autocratic temper and wayward lifestyle incapable of political discipline and subordination. The purge happened on early 30th April, at 5.30 am, 1988 when Burmese military joined Khaplang and brigadier Kholi Konyok group's faithful in surrounding and encircling the NSCN Headquarter, at Hangsen, killing 140 men mostly Tangkhuls in the attack, while 230 other including women, children were killed by bullets, hunger and sickness, some died at

⁶⁷ Timothy, K., and Sumi, V., *Cry for Justice*, *ibid*, p. 147.

the hands of the Burmese Armies. But Th. Muivah with 33 other nationalists managed to escape and join up with Isak Swu across the Chindwin river. Isak stayed back due to illness while Muivah and 39 others started to make for home in the later part of October 1988. On the way, they were chased and assaulted four times and lost eleven including their highly honoured veteran Masasui Vashumno Shimray, Shebna Muivah and P. Khamrang.

After three months of perilous marching, seven of them reached somewhere in the lower part of Konyak area. Thus, more than 200 Professional Christian Revolutionaries have so far been murdered on the accusation of what they are absolutely not guilty.⁶⁸ Differences in ideology between the two camps and other forces from without seem to have been the main cause of the episode.⁶⁹ But the main cause of the episode was Khaplang's attempts to seize NSCN power through bloody elimination of the top leader and all the honest workers.⁷⁰ The aftermath result was the split of the NSCN into two groups. One group, the parental group led by Isak Chishi Swu (Chairman) and Th. Muivah (General Secretary) generally known as the NSCN-IM, and the other break away group led by S.S. Khaplang (now chairman, and erstwhile vice-chairman of the NSCN) and Dalley Mongro (General Secretary) generally called the NSCN-K (formed in June 1988). Since the split, both the groups geared up to consolidate their own position in terms of military and to win mass support, each trying to outdo the other, while keeping sovereignty of the Nagas as their goal. Since the reaffirmation of leadership of Isak Swu and Th. Muivah by the National Assembly of the NSCN (hereafter NSCN-IM to avoid confusion with NSCN-K) in Jordan Camp in November 1989, the organization wrested a good control of the confused situation and emerged to be champion of spearheading and projecting the cause of the Nagas to the

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 45.

⁶⁹ Vashum, R., *Indo-Naga Conflict*, *ibid*, p. 51.

⁷⁰ Timothy, K., and Sumi, V., *Cry for Justice*, *ibid*, p. 58.

outside world.⁷¹ NSCN-IM has their own Yehzabo (Constitution) which was adopted by the National Hoho held on the 22nd March to 9th April, 1996 at Gilgal Camp. Their Preamble read as below:

We, the people of Nagaland, solemnly acknowledge that Sovereignty over the earth and the whole universe belongs to the Almighty God alone, and the authority of the people to be exercised in the territory is the sacred trust from God, who sustained our forefathers, the national workers and our people through the years of trials, and having committed to the truth of popular sovereignty as declared in the Manifesto of the NSCN on 31st January, 1980 to constitute Nagaland into an Independent Sovereign Christian Socialist Democratic Republic, we hereby adopt and enact this amended Yehzabo of 21st March, 1980 on this day the sixth day of the month of April, in the year nineteen Hundred and Ninty Six Anno Domini, in the National Hoho held at Gilgal camp. Part II Article 1 of their Constitution says there shall be one-party-one Government system in Nagaland for such period of time as deemed necessary and expedient. The National Socialist Council of Nagaland is the only authentic National Council and the Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland its legitimate Government.⁷² In the 1990s, the NSCN-IM had captured the centrestage in resurgent activities in the North-East part of the Indian Sub-Continent. The NSCN-IM had link with different groups such as, Assamese, Meiteis, Garos, Khasis, Hmars, Karen, Mon, Arakan, Chin etc. It is also reported to have connection with even LTTE. The NSCN-IM also acquire sophisticated weapons from friendly countries by crossing the Indian Ocean, some of which were, as they code named 'Operation Red Sea', 'Operation Jordon' etc. As a counter move to the progress of the NSCN-IM, the GOI branded the Naga movement as 'law and order'

⁷¹ Vashum, R., *Indo-Naga Conflict*, *ibid*, p. 52.

⁷² Yehzabo "Constitution" of the People's Republic of Nagaland, Adopted by the National Hoho, Held on the 22nd March to 9th April, 1996 at Gilgal Camp, Published by, The GPRN, dated Oking: 22nd August, 1996, pp. 1-2.

problem in different forums including international forums until recent past. It was reported in the newspaper that the State of Manipur and Union Government extends moral support to the Kuki militants to fight against the Nagas. One of the greatest achievements of the NSCN-IM was the admission of Nagaland as member nation of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation on January 23, 1993 at the Hague in its third General Assembly. The NSCN have offices in many foreign countries including Sweden, Bangladesh, Singapore, Pakistan, USA, Nepal, Thailand, among others.⁷³ Cases of many human rights abuses were also presented to various international organization including the United Nations Organisation and Countries as well.

In the 1990s, the Nagas, Particularly, the NSCN-IM led by Isak Swu, Khodao Yanthan, and Muivah and NPMHR have regularly addressed many United Nations sessions, such as the UN Commission on Human Rights, the UN Working Group as Indiginous Population etc. The NSCN-IM along with like-minded revolutionary groups launched a front in November 30, 1994 called "Self-Defence United Front of the South-East Himalayan Region" for solidarity and better coordination among the front members and to resist Indian expansionism. The members of the Front are Kanglei Yawal Kanna Lup (KYKL) from Manipur; Hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (HALC) from Meghalaya; National Liberation Front of Twipra (NLFT) from Tripura; Hmar People Convention (HPC) from Mizoram, Manipur and Assam; NSCN from Nagaland/Nagalim (covering Nagaland State, Manipur, Assam, Arunanchal Pradesh, North-Western Myanmar; and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) from Assam. The breakaway fraction of the NSCN-K floated a front called the "Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front" (IBRF) for liberation of the peoples situated in the Indo-Burma frontiers. The Front-members are United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) of Manipur

⁷³ Vashum, R., Indo-Naga Conflict, *ibid*, p. 52.

etc.⁷⁴ The Story of NNC is a story of decline and divisions. The fate of NNC became bleaker with the death of A.Z. Phizo on April 30, 1990 in London. The NNC was further split in 1990 on the issue of who would succeed Phizo as the President of the organization. The result was the formation of NNC-A led by Adino, daughter of Phizo, and the other fraction called NNC-K was led by Khodao Yanthan, who was the Vice-President of the NNC till it split accured. Khodao led NNC, however merged with the NSCN-IM in 1995. The reason for the split was that Miss Adino was elected as the President of NNC on 12th May, 1990 by the NNC Central Committee in Kohima. But it was held that under the direction of Zashie Huire the President of FGN; she was elected. Therefore, Khodao Yanthan, senior executive member of the NNC London based strongly disapproved the decision taken by the NNC Central Committee. He particularly mentioned that it is "not a family or tribal affairs"⁷⁵, stating the Uniqueness of the Naga National Movement.

Meanwhile, the President of the FGN, Zashie Huire, for the first time condemned the Shillong Accord as null and void in 1996. But it was late to regain popular support of the Naga people. If the present trend is any indication, one will not be wrong to say that NNC-A is already a spent force. NSCN-K cannot be underestimated because it has support from certain sections such as Konyak, Pangmei, hemi tribes in Burma and Ao, Phom, Yimchunger tribes in the Indian side. The NSCN-K also operates with the patronage of the Indian Security Agencies and politicians associated with the Nagaland Government. The Former Governor of Manipur and Nagaland, Lt. General V.K. Nayar is believe to have submitted a confidential report to the Union Government on 5 October 1993 that accuses Chief Minister S.C. Jamir of holding regular meetings with Khaplang faction. No action was taken on the report; instead V.K.

⁷⁴ *ibid*, pp. 53-54.

⁷⁵ Aosenba, *The Naga Resistance movement*, *ibid*, pp. 80-81.

Nayar was removed from office. Four years later, the Union Home Ministry claimed to have instituted an enquiry.⁷⁶ Khaplang faction which function primarily from Burma lays no claim to the Nagas areas in other North-Eastern States unlike the NSCN-IM.⁷⁷

Since the Shillong Accord there has not been any formal talks between the GOI and the NSCN to resolved the 50 years old problem. However, since the early 1990s, with the initiation of P.V. Narasimha Rao, the former PM of India, the Indo-Naga peace process began again with some hope for conflict resolution. The succeeding Prime Ministers also continued with the peace process in Nagalim.

Thus, the Indo-Naga ceasefire was declared on 25 July 1997 which was effective from 1st August, 1997 to enable for an unconditional talk at the highest level, i.e. at the Prime Ministerial level, and the venue to be held outside the territory of India. Since then, there has been several talks between the two entities with the latest formal talks being held on 21-23 January, 2003 after the Naga collective leadership visited New Delhi from January 8 till they left on 24th January, 2003. After several round of talks, the GOI recognized “the unique history and situation of Nagas” after their talks in Amsterdam on 11th July, 2002, through the Join Commique signed by both the parties.⁷⁸ In the recently held talks in New Delhi, the Naga Collective Leadership, Isak Chishi Swu, Chairman, and Th. Muivah, General Secretary, of the NSCN-IM met the Prime Minister, A.B. Vajpayee, Deputy PM, L.K. Advani, Defence Minister, George Fernandes, Foreign Minister, Jaswant Singh, Congress President Sonia Gandhi and several Parliamentarians including Swaraj Kaushal former India’s Prime Minister emissary to the ongoing Indo-Naga peace process. After the formal talks for 3 days from 21st to 23rd January, 2003 a Joint Communique was

⁷⁶ Kumar, Ram Narayan, and Murthy, Laxmi, Four years of the Ceasefire Agreement between the GOI and the NSCN, *ibid*, p. 74.

⁷⁷ Singh, Prakash, Nagaland, *ibid*, pp. 180-181.

⁷⁸ Naga Hoho, White Paper on Naga Integration, Adopted at the 7th Naga Hoho General Assembly, Senapati, May 20-22, 2002, p.43.

issued on 23rd January, 2003, which says, “the Representatives of the Government of India and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland are please with the progress that has been made in the course of the visit of the NSCN leaders to New Delhi... There was agreement to continue the formal talks until a lasting settlement is reached. Meanwhile both sides reaffirmed the need for a peaceful, violent-free environment”⁷⁹. The latest formal talks in New Delhi have been possible after the ban on the NSCN since 1991 had been lifted on 26th November, 2002, by the Government of India.

⁷⁹ “Joint Communiqué”, Signed by Th. Muivah, General Secretary of the NSCN and K. Padmanabhaiah, Representatives of the Government of India, New Delhi, 23.01.2003.

CHAPTER – IV

IDEOLOGY AND LEADERSHIP OF THE NAGA MOVEMENT

In the preceding chapters, we have so far discussed how the Nagas strongly resisted the colonial power when they crossed and occupied some parts of the Naga-inhabited areas and the various phases of the Naga Movement since the formation of the Naga Club in 1918 till the recently held formal talks between the Government of India and the National Socialist Council of Nagalim on 21-23 January, 2003, New Delhi. The present chapter deals with the ideology of the Movement and three prominent leaders, viz, Angami Zapu Phizo- a short biography and short profiles of Thuingaleng Muivah and Isak Chishi Swu.

The Naga Movement had been surviving for the past 85 odd years, since the formation of the Naga Club in 1918. There are many factors for its long survival including a disciplined and highly motivated and the sacrificial contribution made by the leaders since its inception. Even though there are factions in the Movement, the goal each group pursued is none other than having a separate Sovereign Naga State. This assertion of a separate Sovereign Naga State by leaders of the Movement make the study of its ideology interesting.

There are obviously many requirements for any movement to be successful like effective leadership, strong organization, up-to-date training, resources etc. But for a movement to truly sustain itself, rally support from the masses, give a sense of direction and purpose, to generate a sense of identity, unity and commitment, to wield effective control over the movement, to give content and meaning, to generate awareness and consciousness, to inform the various policies and programmes, to counter the colonial State attempt at hegemony and monopoly over ideas, to face the might of the State and to effectively challenge the counter-movement unleashed by the State etc. it is

absolutely essential for any movement like the Naga Movement to have a clear cut well articulated ideology which percolates down to every group and section in the movement.¹ The ideology propagated by the movement should be easily understandable, highly motivating and should have universal appeal which can be internalised by the masses. Also it is essential to know how ideology is related to action and to a seriously taken programme. Thus the importance of ideology for a movement, in this case Naga National Movement can never be underestimated. However, although the success or failure of a movement depends to a great extent on it, it is certainly no mean task to develop a strong and effective ideology.

But what is ideology? Even though, the concept of ideology is highly complex and no single conception or agreement is found both within and without the Marxist school, let us present here how the concept has evolved or rather how it originated and we may dwell in some length the positive concept of ideology i.e., the organic view of ideology as given by A. Gramsci. It shall be followed by ideology and leadership of the Naga Movement. Ideology is the most elusive concept in the whole of social sciences. For it asks about the bases and validity of our most fundamental ideas. As such it is an essentially contested concept, that is, a concept about the very definition (and therefore application) of which there is acute controversy.² Unlike many other similarly controversial terms (Democracy, say, or Liberty), ideology is less than 200 years old. It is the product of the social, political and intellectual upheavals that accompanied the Industrial Revolution: the spread of democratic ideals, the politics of mass movements, the idea that, since we have made the world, we can also remake it. Like so many other enticing things, the word ideology is of French origin. But although directly a product of the French Enlightenment, the notion

¹ Borgohain, R., and Deb, B.J., 'State, Ideology and Insurgency in Nagaland' in B. Pakem (eds.), Insurgency in Northeastern India, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1997, P. 328.

² McLellan, David, Concepts in the Social Sciences: Ideology, Second Edition, World View Publications, First Indian Reprint, 1998, p. 1

obviously has its roots in the general philosophical questions about meaning and direction with which the breakdown of the medieval world view confronted Western European intellectuals. These questions were encouraged by the impact of Protestantism with its insistence on individual, on liberty of conscience and on the transformative power of the word rather than the reassuring presence of ritual. More direct precursors, however, of the original discussants of ideology, were thinkers such as Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes. The Enlightenment thinkers were the intellectual precursors of the French Revolution of 1789; and it was in the immediate aftermath of the French Revolution that the term ideology was first coined. Its originator, in 1797, was Antoine Destutt de Tracy, one of a group of philosophers, whom the revolutionary Convention had put in charge of the newly founded institut de France specially to spread the ideas of the Enlightenment.

In his *Elements d'ideologie*, written between 1801 and 1815, de Tracy proposed a new science of ideas, an idea-logy, which would be the ground of all other sciences. For the investigation of individual ideas would show their common origin in universal human needs and desires. Those needs would form the framework of laws regulating society on a natural basis and promoting the harmonious fulfillment of the relevant desires. For the natural and the social coincided. And this coincidence would be laid bare by the rational assessment of the origin of ideas, by ideology.³ Rejecting the concept of innate ideas, de Tracy explained how all our ideas are based on physical sensation. A rational investigation of the origin of ideas, free from religious or metaphysical prejudice, would be the foundation of a just and happy society. In its origin, the notion of ideology was positive and progressive. In the eyes of Napoleon, however, it quickly became pejorative. As his Government evolved towards an empire supported by established religion, criticism from the liberal and republican ideologies became inevitable. And it was

³ *ibid.*, p.5

partly them that Napoleon blamed after his retreat from Moscow. This oscillation between a positive and a negative connotation will be characteristic of the whole history of the concept of ideology. Ideology has a German, as well as a French, origin-though here, too, the French Revolution was a crucial event. For the Enlightenment Philosophers, the principles on which they criticised the ancient regime and in the name of which the French Revolution was made, were self-evident. The doctrine of Popular Sovereign proclaimed by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen in the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789, was politically legitimized and accepted not only in the West, but throughout to whole world. According to this doctrine, power is legitimate only if it is conferred 'from below', by the people. In the words of the Declaration, 'the Principle of Sovereignty resides essentially in Nation: no body of men, no individual, can exercise authority that does not emanate expressly from it'. This doctrine is supposed to liberate the masses and inaugurate an era of world harmony. This doctrine can be invoked by one who claim to be a truer representative of the Popular Will than the established authorities are.⁴

The Romantic Movement, particularly strong in Germany, laid emphasis on the way in which we invest the world with our own meanings. Unlike de Tracy for whom the natural and social worlds were pellucid to the rational mind, the German Romantics considered that human beings collectively and individually created their own reality in response to changing circumstances. For Hegel, who tried to give these ideas a systematic intellectual basis, the ideas of a particular age could not claim absolute validity in themselves for they were evidently relative to changing historical situations. If there were a rationality, a meaning to history, it would have to be found in the whole process rather than in the partial aims of particular individuals and epochs. These Hegelian ideas strongly influenced Marx, and it was Marxism, uniting both the

⁴ O' Sullivan, Noel, 'Terrorism, ideology, and Revolution', in O'Sullivan, Noel (ed.) Terrorism, Ideology and Revolution, wheat Sheaf Books, Distributed by Harvester Press, Brighton, Sussex, Great Britian, 1986. pp. 8-9.

French and the German trends, that put the concept of ideology in the forefront of political discourse.

The young Marx, as a disciple of Hegel, sought to explain the changes in social and political ideas in terms of the social divisions occasioned by the different ways in which historically human beings had organised their productive labour. Later on particularly with Engels, the positivistic tradition of de Tracy, the attempt at an objective science of society, was more prominent. At any rate, the study of ideology, however conceived, was largely the preserve of those who related themselves in some way to the Marxist tradition. However, the would-be objective scientific study of ideology in the manner of de Tracy has enjoyed a strong revival in the West after the IIWW, particularly in the US. The catastrophe visited upon the world by the Nazi movement, the excesses of Stalinism and the perception of Soviet Communism as a monolithic threat to Western-style democracy prompted a concern to explain the origin and power of these ideas. And this concern was reinforced by the startling impact of Mao-tse Tung's 'thought' on Chinese society, particularly in the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, as also by the evident power of ideals of national liberation in so many Third World Countries. With these writers, the term 'ideology' took on a distinct pejorative sense associated intellectually with irrationality and politically with the concept of totalitarianism. This antipathy was reinforced by the dominance of behaviourism in American Political Science and of analytical, linguistic philosophy in Britain, both of which had a strongly pragmatic empirical approach aims at debunking large-scale speculation by asking mundane questions about what were regarded as matters of linguistic usage: on this view, the 'Age of Ideology' was past. It belonged to the specific period of industrialisation which, following the breakdown of traditional societies, had given rise to much intellectual ferment among rival groups. Nazism, and more particularly communism, with no relevance to advanced post industrial societies, where technical

solutions were to the fore. Ironically the term which Marx and his followers had done much to popularise was now used as weapon against Marxism. The 'end of ideology'⁵ approach has obviously been severely challenged by the more troubled nature of the last three decades. The claim to objectivity has come increasingly under attack. The suspicion that a claim to an objective science of ideology may itself be ideological has gained ground. Feminists has cogently pointed out that our traditional ways of thinking about society are dominated by concepts that are very male-oriented; the green movement has questioned the whole notion of technological progress; the idea of universal individual or Enlightenment as a source of valid moral judgements has been put in doubt by those who see particular communities as the only plausible ground for moral agreement; and, finally, the more radical forms of post modernism reflect a society where ideas of truth, value and reality have been dissolved by a mixture of advertising, consumer choice and information technology.

Organic View of Ideology

The organic view of ideology sees it as a specific system of ideas⁶ or a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in all manifestations of individual and collective life.⁷ But ideology is more than a system of ideas, it also has to do with a capacity to inspire concrete attitudes and give certain orientations for action. Hence ideology is conceived as the unity between a world-view and its corresponding rules of conduct.⁸ This view therefore believes that ideology is socially pervasive, the source of determined action. Men and women cannot act without being conscious, without having certain formulated social orientations.

⁵ *ibid*, P.7, Raymond Aron was one of the first post-war writers to give the idea of the end of ideology his book entitled *Opium of the Intellectuals*, Norton, New York, 1962, with a conclusion headed 'End of Ideology.'

⁶ Gramsci, A., *Selection from the Prison Note Book*, Lawrence and Wishar, London, 1971, P. 376

⁷ *ibid.*, p.328

⁸ Borgohain, R., and Deb, B.J., 'State, Ideology, and Insurgency in Nagaland', *ibid*, p. 329

Ideology is "the terrain on which men move acquire consciousness of their position, struggle etc.⁹ More importantly it is in ideology that social classes become aware of their position and historical role and it is in and by ideology that a class can exercise hegemony over other classes.¹⁰ Of course in a conception of hegemony there is also the idea of being able to generate unity of a social block, a role which ideology is supposed to play. Ideology therefore becomes important for class domination and though Gramsci did not believe that every fluctuation of politics and ideology can be presented and expounded as an immediate expression of the structure, still ideology cannot be adequately separated from its material contents.¹¹ Gramsci also gives special attention to the institutional framework, which serves as the place of production and channel of diffusion of ideologies i.e., the ideological apparatuses, which include the separate apparatus. The role of the intellectuals has also been highlighted. When we come to the Indian situation, we find that because of the historically specific development of the Indian State and its economy, well defined and powerful classes, with the exception of caste system, could not emerge and the Indian State is 'weak' compared to its counterparts in other parts of the world; some Scholars even call it a minimal state.¹² However, in a class divided society where there is hierarchy of class, a dominant class with dominant interests however weak is found, and this is true to the Indian situation and the State in ultimate analysis remains the protector of this economically and socially dominant class.¹³ In this situation the ideas of the dominant interests are sought to be legitimised, rationalised through various laws, institutions and policies. Ideology therefore, becomes a mechanism for social control and impose conformity. Thus, the Indian State seems to be minimal,

⁹ Gramsci, A., Selection From the Prison Note Book, *ibid.*, P. 377.

¹⁰ Borgahaim, R., and Deb, B.j., 'State, Ideology and Insurgency in Nagaland, *ibid.*, P. 329.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 329

¹² Das, S., ULFA, 1994, P. 9.

¹³ Miliband, R., Marx and the State, The Socialist Register, New Delhi, 1965

but tries to be hegemonic, uses ideology to perpetuate State's interests and is more often than not a repressive State.

Thus, any ideology which hopes to provide a viable alternative to the ideology of the Indian State will have to evolve an ideology equipped to do so and the ideology of the Indian state has not been accepted by the Nagas. It is the endeavour of this chapter to study the ideology of the Naga Movement, to examine the extent to which it is a viable alternative and to examine its strength and weakness in putting an effective challenge to the ideology of the Indian State. This can be done by examining the ideological statements, documents, etc., of the Movement.

The Ideology of the Naga Movement

The formation of Naga National Council in 1946 was a watershed in the history of the Naga Movement for freedom. This was the only political organization of the Naga Movement before the formation of the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) in 1980. Its main objective was to work for the achievement of "independence" and "Naga unification."¹⁴ The NNC leaders took the lead in giving birth to Naga nationalism. As they were committed for self-determination, they worked hard meticulously with conviction, for unification of the Naga areas. As a result, the primary success of the first Naga unification bring all scattered Naga families together under a common political identity was mainly because of the significant roles played by the NNC during the last century.¹⁵

When the Indian Constitution Assembly finally passed the Constitution of India, the NNC declared that the Nagas had nothing to do with the Indian Constitution and as the Nagas were not Indians they thereby rejected the Sixth Schedule prepared and incorporated in the

¹⁴ Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency: The Last Thirty Years*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1988, P. 59.

¹⁵ Ao, A. Lanunungsang, *From Phizo To Muivah: The Naga National Question in North-East India*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2002, P. 215.

Constitution for the tribals of North-Eastern India. The Tribal Councils, Tribal Range and Village Councils were for the advancement of the NNC goals. According to R. Borgohain and B.J. Deb, the NNC demand for plebiscite was more a strategy than ideological and the overwhelming support, i.e., 99.9% for complete independence from India only strengthened the organization but reflected no ideological position. According to their view, the NNC had a weak ideology as compared to the NSCN.¹⁶ Before the Shillong Accord of 1975 between the Government of India and the Federal Government of Nagaland, the shaky position of the latter was evident from the fact that the negotiating leadership wanted to make it appear before the world that “settlement had been arrived at only after prolonged negotiation” and that “they had negotiated with the Government of India on equal footing.”¹⁷

Today in the NSCN terminology the NNC leaders who signed the Accord are branded as ‘traitors’ and a spent force which had turned ‘treacherous and reactionary’.¹⁸ The NSCN which now spearheads the Naga Movement is rather candid in its self-appraisal that “the defeat of a people is not always brought about by the superiority of the adversary in strength but through incorrect leadership and pursuit of unfounded policy.”¹⁹ In their view, independence is a must for creating indispensable conditions for the people to develop themselves to their best that they may live up to the ideals of salvation which the ultimate aim of all genuine struggle. National Socialist Council are clear and to this end we pledge heart and soul to stand to the last moment.²⁰ They seem determined “to put an end to the reactionary mentality of interpreting the correctness of policy in terms of personality.”²¹

¹⁶ Borgohain, R. and Deb, B.J., ‘State, Ideology and Insurgency in Nagaland’, *ibid.*, pp. 333-344

¹⁷ Mullick, B.N. *My Years with Nehru; 1948-64*, New Delhi, 1972, P. 314.

¹⁸ Mishra, Udayon, *The Periphery Strikes Back: The Challenges to the Nation-State in Assam and Nagaland*, Indian Institute of Advance study, Shimla, 2000, p. 51.

¹⁹ Swu, Isak Chishi, and Muivah, Thuingaleng, *Free Nagaland Manifesto*, NSCN, Dated Oking: 22-11-1993, P. 5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, P. 72.

²¹ *Ibid.*, PP. 7-8.

The personality cult which replaced ideology in the NNC proved to be counter-productive to the Movement.²² It is also realised that if leadership remains aloof from the people, ideology would not penetrate into their mind. As against this, the NSCN offers collective leadership in the arena of decision making.

The National Socialist Council of Nagalim is ideologically committed to Socialism of its brand called 'National Socialism'.²³ It needs to be examined first from the viewpoint of its local characteristics so that one may be enlightened in its right perspective.

- a) Before the advent of Marxism and all the follow-ups of its brand, there existed in Naga society a socialistic economic system much akin to the modern system of mixed economy. In every village family had the right to own land and other properties within the area outlined for private ownership, beyond which the land belongs to the community as a whole. Such a system emerged most probably from the necessity of warding-off the tendency towards exploitation though class antagonism as such was not prominent yet. Eventually, thus, it became the factor that determined the viable condition for the masses at large.
- b) The very essence of relationship in Naga society prevalent in olden days was the principle of 'give and take'. Besides barter system, people's standard of dealing in everyday affairs was mutual giving and mutual taking. A Naga saying "where is the pleasure of taste if it is not in common sharing?" speaks the noble standard of the society in general. The poor and the weak were helped. Poverty and security were the concern of the society as a whole. Discrimination was almost non-existent though the higher-ups were respected. By and large citizens were interdependent and live in peace and harmony. Such high values of system were found in Naga Society.

²² Borgohain, R., and Deb, B.J., 'State, Ideology and Insurgency in Nagaland, *ibid.*, P. 333.

²³ The ideology of the Naga Movement had been extracted from the NSCN's Manifesto, Free Nagaland Manifesto, Dated: Oking: 22-11-1993.

- c) The community possessions usually included the whole of forest areas, mineral resources, rivers, ponds and lakes etc. Everyone is entitled to the use of public land and other community properties. The poorer section of the community was generally benefitted more from the system. Exploitation of the community resources by individuals for commercial purposes was prohibited in most cases. Any inroads made into the public properties were regarded as violation.
- d) Nagas in general are robust and industrious. Their self-sustenance is not the sole incentive and motivation for the vigorous economic activities. Every household would vie with social position of hosting a 'Feast of Honour' or 'Maran Kasa'²⁴ for the whole community even for once in his life time. Thus, the social status of any Naga or family was measured by the yard-stick of his contribution to the community irrespective of his claim or economic position. This enhance the socialistic value in the society.
- e) Doing manual work and earning wages in common was a traditional practice among the Naga villagers. Equal distribution of the amount commonly earned among the members regardless of strength, sex and age was an exceptional characteristic of their social practice. Socialism of this kind was practicable. It is more or less a higher system by various points of consideration, though the complicated modern system may make the practicability of the system harder in the present times.
- f) The 'Morung' or 'Longshim'²⁵ system plays a vital role in Naga society. Every boy or girl who attained the age of puberty generally becomes an active member of it. It is this male or female dormitories where sense of social responsibilities is intensely

²⁴ 'Maran Kasa' is a Tangkhul dialect for 'Feast of Honour'.

²⁵ 'Longhim' is a Tangkhul dialect for 'Morung' or 'Dormitory'.

inculcated and practiced. Social problems are discussed and tackled though it is not a law making body. They help the poor and weaker section of the society. To defend the village is always their honoured responsibility. It is particularly in this respect where heroism is vied for by everyone. They also work in group by rotation and feast themselves in the field and at home of the owner without discrimination. Apart from the above social activities, group hunting and fishing are their favorites. Those who could proved better in working style and diligence better are praised and respected. Spirit of competition is always there among the members of the Morung and also between different Morungs. Their thoughts and deeds are mostly in terms of social benefits. They are the mainstay of the society. From the few points about, it is clear a certain type of socialism is indigenous form when the rightful portion of each member was guaranteed, existed in Naga Society. This is early stage of tribal society. They get blended with modern values of National Socialism.

The reposition of confidence in this guarantee make his/her life worth its while which in turn promotes their sense of responsibilities towards the society. Thus, there was an established sense of freedom in the society-freedom from fear of repression and undue exploitation. For centuries such system enabled the Nagas to live virtually free from cruelty of ruthless exploitation and domination found in the world of other societies. The NSCN stands for a 'fair distribution of wealth' and the 'sanction of security of life' so that people don't face law and order problem which the modern Governments everywhere face. They are ready to take note of the changes taking place in global economy but prefer to be cautious before wholeheartedly accepting the concept of integrated global economy.

In their views; "Today our society and its institutions are in a serious challenge of being overwhelmed with exploitation, domination and assimilation". For them substantial community lands are

encroached upon, forest are exploited, mineral resources are appropriated, aliens are brought in thousands to serve their interests. The rich are all the more fattened with the masses being marginalised. There is a class antagonism. Where is the force to check it? This is a reality created in the main by the alien occupation. One question-is a people to be reconciled to such a state of affairs? What people is there to live forever in the mercy of the exploiters? So long as there are contradictions, there are problems and the struggle goes on. But justice is unattainable until justice is done to the people. But fairness is found only in the guarantee of economic security, equal opportunity and the basic liberty in spite of differences in status. Who can lead them to their destination?

The issue between the parallel system of total privatisation and total collectivization, in other words, between the unlimited freedom of individual and totalitarianism of State will not cease. It is this contradiction that has to determine the viable concern. The pull and push and the pros and cons assessed in the practice of both the systems are now tangible. The capitalist system which give prime importance to the capital is characterized with massive exploitation of the masses. This system work for the benefit of the owner of capital. The contradiction and the development inherent in the system eventually leads to sharp incompatibilities culminating in various sorts of revolutions. The revolutions made improvement in the system and the capitalist thinkers began advocating the theory of 'Welfare State'. However, the questions still remains - will it solve the issue of the system without eradicating the basic root of the contradiction in it?

On the other hand the persuasion of the Leftists in their materialist philosophy of Scientific Socialism became the established force which invariably acted in opposition to the existing system everywhere. Their belief in the inevitability of the commune system where governing principle shall "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" became doctrinal. They are thus

irrevocably opposed to the private-property ownership system and individual liberties. Consequently, they aim at the abolition of all forms of exploitation and the bourgeois institutions through ideological revolution mainly by means of arms and regimentation. However, notwithstanding its claim of superiority, their ideology does have defects which are irreconcilable. Total abolition of private-property ownership system destroys all the elements of incentive for growth, which is therefore, an issue of vital consequence. Besides, though the sacrifice of individualism for the benefit of State and community is an ideal concept, it often led to the building up of unhealthy State capitalism, undermining thereby substantial ground of Socialism itself. Further, the incentive stimulated by the idea of community ownership is not perennial. It is often drawn back and overtaken by inner urge for self. This propensity to relapse to instinct works non-stop. It is this very harsh fact inherent in a man's nature that needs to be reckoned with. Therefore, any social system that does not take this point into consideration as the prime factor is bound to fall. In the same way, though regimentation of society may be deemed conducive at certain stages of initial growth, making it an accepted way of life is tantamount to total negation of the generative factor of human being and the law of growth itself. Man's freedom and his fundamental rights are inalienable. Yet the nature of his freedom is by no means unlimited; he is conditioned within the bounds required by sensible society. Thus undue claim and exercise of individual liberty must be checked at all cost. In addition, disregard of the forces of national aspiration for the so called larger interest of the Communist revolutionary ends was a flagrant denial of the inalienable right of self-determination of people.

Last but not the least, the consolation they sought in the "ism" of their persuasion, dismissing the power of faith in the absolute eternal reality, apparently could not lead them anywhere. Hopes were belied and the inner contentment they preached in materialism could not be attained at any stage. Disillusionment one after the other overtook

them and at last the despised still voice of life that says; "Man does not live by bread alone" could not be questioned any longer. The profound spiritual reality that lies far beyond the purview of science was perceived obviously the whole edifice gradually crumbled. Thus the collapse of USSR was not a surprise.

We are living in a society where material necessities condition the better part of life's activities. In other words, man is by nature under compulsion to struggle himself on the sweats of his brow for survival and growth. As a matter of fact, he also needs a system that would ensure his right to work and provide opportunities for development to his best self. Therefore, to foster the stimulus and the spirit of emulation, indispensable to progress and civilisation, the practice of the system of private ownership to the point it does not endanger the economic security of the people, is a must. However, man being a social being, a higher creature, a part of the society, his responsibility towards the society is equally demanded; he cannot be indifferent to his social obligation. This can be best appreciated against the backdrop of Christian counselling on charity, the deep consideration for the poor and the helpless, the concern for the common above individual selfish interests. It is this greater and nobler attitude towards the welfare of the community that brings us nearest to the ideals of Christian Socialism. But to reach this stage it is absolutely necessary to promote community initiative for raising the social consciousness of individual member and for achieving a dynamic social growth. Bertil lintner has described the NSCN ideology "as a mixture of Evangelical Christianity and Revolutionary Socialism."²⁶

The awareness of the society in general of the causes behind the disparity-gap between the haves and the have nots, between the exploiters and the exploited, between the rulers and the ruled, cannot be dismissed or underestimated altogether despite the reverse failures

²⁶ Lintner, Bertil, A Journey Through Insurgent Burma, London, 1990, P. 86.

taking place in the red world. So long as there is contradiction, there is problem. Thus capitalism too is never free from contradiction of sorts. Where is then, the freedom of the poor and the weak? Therefore, the most workable approach can only be found at the stage where the force of antagonism could be alleviated through restructuring the two systems from being too extremely tilted in their assessment of man's nature and his economic and political institution on the society.

Inevitably, it can be no other than a type of Socialism which permits and safeguards private ownership to a practically acceptable measure with regulated market system, the community control of some major means of production like public lands and forest, mineral resources etc. as long as they are required. Thus in view of the experience, the correct line is conditioned. The choice is no more between the Capitalist and the Communist Economy. The soundness of a society necessitated a mixed system of economy, the safeguarding of the fundamental rights and the equal opportunity of the citizens to the extent the security- both economic and political- of the people permits. The function of the State must therefore be to protect and promote the welfare of the people. But of all it is management that makes all things worth their while.

According to the NSCN leaders, the line is set clear for the Naga Nation. But who is to lead the people to that haven of salvation? Cast away doubt and fear, the NSCN is already under sail for that destination:

Because they have all the confidence in themselves and in the people;

Because they are a people of decision for the meaning that exists behind creation;

Because the purpose they have to live for is no more a mystery;

Because the world with all its elements is clear to them;

Because they are prepared to bear reproach for the truth they know;
Because they are prepared to give their today for the certainty of the days yet to come;

Because they truly understand that the cause they hold is more precious than life itself.

The NSCN view of democracy is also highlighted in their Manifesto. In their assessment, "our democracy in modern world should not be erection of facade alone-parties, elections and assemblies. It must be a dynamic and a progressive force that works for the realisation of the high ideal of life at which a genuine society aims . According to Isak Swu,

"Our democracy is based on our traditional Socialism which is the oldest institution is the world.²⁷

Indeed it is because of a more well-defined and well-articulated ideology that the NSCN finds itself in a better position than the NNC did. Thus, inspite of repression let loose on them they are in a position to effectively challenged the State suppression and repression and they have not given up the ideas, vision and aspiration of an independent Nagalim.

Now, in order to know what had taken place in the past and what is actually taking place at present, the following discussion have tried to know who was Phizo and who are these Muivah and Swu in the context of Naga political history.

It is in fact, an academic exercise with positive thinking about the issue attempting to visualise the past, present and the future of the Naga political destiny.

Angami Zapu Phizo: A Short Biography

A. Z. Phizo, son of Krusieto was born on may 4, 1904. He came from a line of leaders and patriots who had distinguished themselves in

²⁷ Dewan, Deepak, Exclusive Interview with Naga Leaders-Isak and Muivah, Time for Peace, Part II, North-East Sun, September 15-30, 1997, Vol. 3, No. 4, P. 15.

the service of their village and in their resistance to the British advancement in the region. Born in a famous Naga village call Khonoma, Phizo rose to become the acknowledged leader of the Nagas. Variously referred to as “a Moses of his people”²⁸ and the “Father of Nation”²⁹ it was he who spelt out loud and clear what was in the heart of many Nagas, namely, an independent Naga Nation. His early childhood was spent in his native village. He started his early education at Kohima Mission School and Shillong Government High School, and did his further studies at Yangon, Myanmar. Reverend S.W. Rivenburg baptised him while in Middle School. His married with Jwene was administered by Niser Meru at Tseminyu. He died at the age of 85 on April 30, 1990 while his wife died at the age of 86 on May 2,2000, leaving four sons and four daughters and many grand children. Academically, Phizo was not a good student. At one stage, he had failed in Matriculate exam. He was reported to have passed his class X from Government High School, Shillong in 1972 though some say that he never passed that exam.

Once upon a time, he served as an agent of Thomson’s Chain Reference Bible of Indianapolis, USA. In 1929, later he became an agent of the Life Insurance Company Limited, Canada in its Calcutta branch. He kept restless and over anxious to do something more than the opportunities that were available around him. Phizo left for Burma in 1933 and his wife joined him in 1935. When he was working in Banking Service as General Manager for a short time in life Insurance Company, he floated a small company called Gwiz Products, manufacturing balms, face creams etc. He experimented even the mushroom cultivation. He also started a business on tyre retreating company is Kohima, but failed because there were very few vehicles at that time in Kohima. He had as many as complaints against him under a cloud of accusation of cheating. He became a debtor at one time as he failed to repay money borrowed for his business, which failed miserably.

²⁸ Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency, ibid.*, P. 45.

²⁹ Ao., A. Lanunungang, *From Phizo To Muivah, ibid.*, P. 14.

Also fate had dealt him a cruel blow, for this once handsome man was struck by facial paralysis in 1942. While a prisoners of war in Burma, according to his personal information, the British caused this due to extreme torture during IIWW as he was fighting for survival of his people and his country. It was during this period that the beginning of his philosophy of life took shape. He actively participated in the IIWW against the British in collaboration with the Azad Hind Fauj and the Japanese Army.

It is believed that once Subhash Chandra Bose promised to help in the cause of Naga independence after liberating India from the British Raj. Because of his involvement with the Japanese, Phizo was imprisoned at the close of the war in Insien and in Rangoon jail along with the other INA and pro-Japanese wars. He was released in 1946 and when he returned from Burma to his homeland with a new political thought and aspiration for the future of the Naga people, and upon entering Kohima, the sight of a beautiful rainbow stretching over the town struck him. He decided that rainbow colour should be included in the Naga National Flag as a symbol of 'peace' and so as the Nagas to be the children of God Almighty and partakers of his Covenant. Phizo was one of the founding members of the Naga Club, which was rechristened as the Naga National Council in 1946. After returning from Myanmar, he wholeheartedly immersed himself with the activities of NNC. The awakening of the Naga National identity was already spreading throughout the whole of Naga areas.

The ravages of the IIWW, the imminent withdrawal of the British power from Asia, the Gandhi's non-violence vis-à-vis Netaji's violent means of nationalism, and the dawn of a new era in the whole world; all these shaped his political philosophy. He visualised the Naga political destiny from that time with clear vision. He redefined the Naga political identity and formulated the Naga political stands with clearer objective and decided to fight for it till their ultimate goal is achieved. For this cause his foremost objective was the unification of Naga tribes.

He became the champion of the first Naga unification coming together under one single political identity.³⁰ Nari Rustomji described Phizo in the following words; 'what struck me about Phizo was his extraordinary thoroughness and pertinancy. He was around with neatly typed, systematically serialised copies of all documents relevant to the Naga problem and he gave the impression of carrying, single-handed, in his little briefcase.'³¹

Stubborn and strong willed by nature, Phizo had a charismatic personality and then he could convince people easily of the legitimacy and logic of the Naga demand.³² Wherever he went, the Naga followed him readily because he spoke to the people in their language and they understood him. In 1947, prior to India's Independence Phizo with Naga leaders met Gandhi to reiterate that the Nagas were independent people. Gandhiji assured them that Nagas had every right to be independent. He launched a non-cooperation movement and took a firm decision through the NNC to declare Naga Independence Day on August 14, 1947. On account of his non-cooperation activities, he was arrested and imprisoned in 1949 but he was released later on compassionate ground following his son's death in a motor accident. After his release, he came home with heavier political burden. He noticed that the NNC having two options, i.e., the moderates and the extremists. He found many people confused and took a firm decision to correct it drawing the attentions of the people towards the latter philosophy. He disagreed with moderate policy of siding with India.³³

On December 11, 1950, Phizo was elected as the President of NNC, and took the famous oath of office as the President, the most prestigious post to lead the Nagas. He then started the real political mission. Thereafter, under his dynamic leadership, the most famous historic event took place on May 16, 1951. On this National Plebiscite

³⁰ *Ibid.*, P. 14.

³¹ Hazarika, Sanjoy, *Strangers of the Mist: Tales of Wars and Peace from India's Northeast*, Penguin Books, 1995, P. 89.

³² Horam, M., *Naga Insurgency*, *ibid.*, P. 46.

³³ Ao, A. Lanunungsang, *From Phizo to Muivah*, *ibid.*, P. 18.

Day, 99.9% of the Nagas voted for Sovereign Republic of Nagaland. In 1952, Phizo left his homeland and went abroad via, Burma and Pakistan to survey the international support on the Naga cause. Initially Phizo propagated non-violence means for solving the issue but later he organises violent means like, his friend Netaji; whom Phizo respected most. On July 12, 1956, at Sanis meeting the NNC resolved to send Phizo abroad to put forward the Naga cause before the United Nations and with the help of Reverend Michael Scott, Phizo arrived in London on June 12, 1960. From London he tried to internationalise the Naga cause but his credential was not fully recognised by the British Crown because he did not side with the British in the IIWW. In London, he lived in exile as the President of the NNC. Some said that the British Government gave him political asylum. But practically he was kept under undeclared house arrest in London. Many people may ask; 'What Phizo had been doing in London for such a long time? As stated above, the British Crown gave no importance to an undeclared political prisoner like Phizo, the Naga leader in England except to keep him under undeclared house arrest. As a political prisoner, his free movement was restricted and no political platform was given to him when he was in London. These were the main factors as to how Phizo had failed his mission in London-Many people did not support Phizo's stay in London. Pawsey, the last British Deputy Commissioner in Kohima, did not support him because of his anti-British attitude prior to Indian Independence.

Yet as a Leader, Phizo did not lose his hope to fight for the cause of Naga till his death. Like Mahatma Gandhi, Phizo was the legendary Godfather and champion of Naga nationalism. Goure Kishore Ghose rightly commented, "Phizo is the source of Naga Political history... He gave birth to Naga unity."³⁴ One Raj Mohan Gandhi also said, he was born as a hero, lived as a hero and died as a hero'. He was a real hero and a Naga patriot who dreamed for Naga National liberation, work for it and died for it. He was perfectly a real self-made politician, a

³⁴ Ibid., P. 21.

statesman, an authoritarian, and a true native genius. Like Nixon, the former president of the USA, Phizo was a man of strong adamant character. He failed to believe anybody and did not trust even his close relatives. He was in fact, a very clever strategist in the world of politics but not a man of transparent on Naga political front because he remained silent on the Shilong Accord. He fought for the cause for which he gave his life as promised by him until his death. To the very end, he was fully conscious of his responsibility as the representative of his people and true to his commitment. He was buried near the new Secretariat Building at Kohima, the State Capital town of Nagaland State.

Thuingaleng Muivah: A Profile.

Thuingaleng Muivah (commonly called Th. Muivah), was born on March 22, 1935 in Somdal village which is one of the most educated villages of the Tangkhul Naga. He is the third son of Shangkathan Muivah, born in a Christian family. His mother was Ramangla Muivah who brought him up in strict Christian discipline. He is married with Pakahao Muivah. He did his early education till class VI in his own village Mission English School. James Lungharnao, and after him K.R. Chiri Somdal were the headmasters in those days. He passed his Matriculation from Ukhrul, the headquarter of the Tangkhul Naga. Muivah was an exceptional boy right from his boyhood career. He proved himself different from many of his contemporaries. His leadership quality could be identified right from his boyhood. One day, he gave a social punishment even to his father when his father went out in search of the lost cattle breaking village norms on a special day. Despite his poor family background he managed to go to Shillong to study there and joined St. Anthony College with the support of his eldest brother Shangreihan Muivah and his wife and also some senior Naga students.

While in High School, two of his teachers Mr. B.C. Roy, Science teacher, and Mr. P. Das, Mathematics and Geography teacher took

special interest on Muivah after seeing his talent. As a brilliant student, he maintained the status of meritorious school throughout his academic career. He passed B.A. with Honours in Second Division in 1960. He was a student leader both in Shillong as well as in Guwahati. He had a strong determination to join the Naga Movement right from his adulthood. He took a final decision sometime in 1960 when he was in B.A. final year. Muivah and his one Ao friend, General J. Saney, pierced their fingers with alpenes administering an unofficial pledge with blood that they must join the Naga struggle for freedom. It was in one Chinese Restaurant that both of them promised to each other that they would join the Naga National service as soon as they finish their studies. His Ao friend then left the college earlier than Muivah, joined the NNC, and waited for his friend Muivah to come anxiously. Muivah wanted to take up further studies to enhance his knowledge before joining the Movement. He did Post-Graduation in Political Science from Guwahati University in 1962, and joined the NNC on September 12, 1964. Soon after joining, he occupied the vacant post of Secretary NNC, that was left by T. Sakhrie Angami, a young Naga brilliant leader. The NNC was fortunate to have a brainy, handsome person and well-educated person like Th. Muivah to be its Secretary. He held that post until the formation of the NSCN in 1980. He then became the General Secretary of the NSCN, since its inception and he is still the General Secretary of the NSCN and the Prime Minister of the Government of the people's Republic of Nagalim.

Muivah is a true trail-brazer of Asian liberation Movement. A Student of St. Anthony College at Shillong and Guwahati University in Assam, he was among the few Naga intellectuals to have studied and understood Marxism and Maoism,³⁵ In both the places, he was called 'Naga Mao-tse Tung' by many of his friends jokingly.³⁶ He took keen interest in reading revolutionary literatures, world history and the life story of great men of all generations. His friends and relative were

³⁵ Hazarika, Sanjoy, *Strangers of The Mist*, *ibid.*, P. 104.

³⁶ Ao, A Lanunungsang, *From Phizo To Muivah*, *ibid.*, P. 23.

surprised to see two boxes, full of such books apart from other text books that he brought home after completion of his studies. Some writers considers him a Mao worshipper. He might be influenced by Mao's thoughts but not a Mao Worshipper as a person. Rather he has a firm and unshakable faith in God. He believes in what Jesus said, " I am the way and the truth and the life. In fact, the teachings of Jesus Christ became the guiding principle for the rest of his life. As a diplomat and political thinker, he was fully aware about philosophical thoughts and its implication in making Naga political history in future. His imaginative thoughts and revolutionary vision has greatly enhanced by studying Political Science as his subject in Master of Arts (M.A). He has a tremendous strength and knowledge on International Politics that gives firm understanding with deep philosophical commitment.

In later part of his career, Th. Muivah traveled world wide fulfilling his boyhood imagination in national service. Like Phizo, Th. Muivah was stubborn and intelligent having clear concepts of anything on what he wanted to say. Nevertheless, unlike Phizo, Muivah was talkative and outspoken as he belongs to the school of radicalism.³⁷ Right from adulthood, he was rated as an extraordinary fellow having charismatic personalities with vindictive nature of character. He is a man of strong principle and vision. While in the College, he was hardly defeated even by his senior colleagues on any given issue of debate. His approach was highly convincing and logical. This made him to be more popular amongst the galaxies of his contemporary. Th. Muivah was thus a fine political orator and a critic, perhaps with emotional flow of thoughts as a revolutionary leaders. To be precise, his career in the Naga Movement can be viewed from three major epoch makings. His first experienced began from NNC to NSCN office. The second expereince is the circumstances leading to the formation of a new organization. And the third is his larger foreign mission tour during

³⁷ Ibid., P. 23.

which he was arrested on January 29, 2000 in southern Thai Sangkhla. He was released in 2001.

1. Soon after he was appointed as General Secretary of the NNC in 1965, the man chosen as the Naga Ambassador to China was none other than Th. Muivah, described as a "Plenipotentiary" in the official missive. By nature, Muivah is an adventurous person. He gladly accepted this responsibility. Thinoselie Keyho then a Brigadier in the Naga Armed Forces and later promoted to General led the military wing of the delegation. Muivah and Keyho did it the hard way to go to China, through a great length march that took their men through the thick jungles of Arunachal, past Khonsa, into the territory of S.S. Khaplang. At each step of the way the Naga delegation was given an armed escort by the Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council set up by Khaplang in 1950s and then by the Kachin Independence Army, to protect them against Burmese Government fighters. Nirmal Nibedon said they had to 'pay through their noses' for KIA protection and guidance and part with most of their guns before stepping into China.³⁸ The footslogging, the leaches, the dangers of the tiny jungle trails, the rain rodden nights were finally worth it. Three months after starting out in October, 1966, across 1000 kilometers of Terrain uncharted by any other guerrilla band in the history of the region, Muivah, Keyho and their brave band of 300 men reached the Yunan Province and Chinese received them warmly, taking Muivah and Keyho to Peking where they met with other rebel groups, including leaders of the KIA.

The military instructors at Yunan, where the bulk of the training was carried out, passed on more than knowledge of arms and guerrilla tactics. They spoke of revolution Maoism and a classless society. Muivah was greatly inspired by Mao's thoughts. The second batch of Naga Army led by General Mou and Isak Chishi Swu arrived in China in 1968. Having successfully established the political channel, the

³⁸ Hazarika, Sanjoy, *Strangers of the Mist*, *ibid.*, P. 105.

Chinese authority informed Muivah and Isak to invite Phizo to China as the official head of the organization. As the Chinese found difficult to indoctrinate Maoism in the minds of the Nagas, the Chinese gave them two options either to take military aids or political support. Muivah and Isak had chosen to take military aids from China. Phizo was greatly impressed after he was informed of the development and he in turn congratulated them over cable. They insisted Phizo to come over to China as they wanted to recognised their Movement world wide from there with their President sitting in China. However, in course of their discussion over cable, Phizo told that, "let the Chinese Government invite me over there officially" Phizo expected that the Chinese Government would invite him there. However, neither the Chinese Government nor the Naga leaders took instant initiative on this question. On the part of the Chinese Government, it was only a proposal to be executed by the NNC. Therefore, they did not take it so seriously and left the matter to the Nagas. Muivah and Isak waited anxiously for Phizo" arrival at China. Nevertheless, no information or any political direction came from their leader from London Office. In great dismay, they decided to reject Phizo's leadership. They felt being denied and cheated on this Foreign Relation and took it very seriously with the feeling of disappointment. Muivah Calculation was that after forming a Socialist type of Government in homeland, its Chairman should stay in Beijing instead of in London. Phizo did not favour this idea.

Muivah and Isak with Chinese trained Naga Army returned from China and established their base in Burma, Naga territory in March 1975. In January 1975, Imkongmeren, the Vice-President of NNC was captured and detained by the enemies. The real political upheavals started taking place both in the Naga Movement and in State political fronts. Muivah watched all those political development carefully including surrender of arms brought from China and signing of Shillong Accord on November 11, 1975 under Indian Constitution between the representatives of NNC-Federal Government of Nagaland

and the Government of India. This gave another setback to Naga Nationalist Movement. Muivah, Isak and other from Eastern part of Nagaland outrightly rejected the Accord. They demanded Phizo to denounce it but he kept silent over it watching from London. Muivah and Isak considered this Accord as treason and the signatories were declared as traitors. They sought Phizo's guidance and direction but he remained silent. Had Phizo uttered a word, any guidance and direction, Naga unity and political movement would have taken a positive turn. Thus, this compelled Muivah to disapprove Phizo's leadership and form a new organization. The formation of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in 1980 is the brainchild of Muivah, the former General Secretary of the NNC. The people in Western Nagaland were not fully aware of the formation of the NSCN in its formative stage. This was perhaps the greatest challenge for Muivah to take a strong decision to live or die under any circumstances. With this formation Isak Chishi Swu became the Chairman, S.S Khaplang as Vice President and Muivah himself as its General Secretary. Their Manifesto were issued on January 31, 1980. After two years and ten months of signing the Shillong Accord, Phizo's men staged a coup on the 30th September 1978 and arrested Muivah and Isak and some other NNC workers. They were released in May 1979.

2. After the formation of the NSCN, Muivah again took another 200 Naga Army Contingent to China on August 2, 1986. But when the Chinese Government and especially about the new development of Naga politics in homeland, she lost her faith with the Nagas and decided not to extend further military supports in future for Indo-Naga Imbroglia. In 1988, Muivah escaped from a subsequent coup d'etat launched by Khaplang men within their organization. In spite of two consecutive coups d'etat, Muivah life was saved miraculously through God's protection. So, the NSCN was split into two one led by the NSCN (I-M) and the other led by Khaplang called NSCN(K). Muivah left Eastern Nagaland and moved to Kachin land. From

there, he landed in Western Nagaland and reorganised his Government. When one read the real story of Muivah between the lines especially the period of Seventies and Eighties, one can say that it was the most tragic one. In fact, this was the most painful and unforgettable periods in his life. These periods was the turning point in his life.

3. The third phase of Muivah's career is his foreign mission at large. During his continuous political mission abroad, he was then arrested while on his tour in Thailand. Today Muivah is regarded as one of the living survivors among many Naga leaders. Many people called him as the 'Naga Revolutionary Champion'³⁹ in contemporary Naga political struggle. He is also known as 'War Lord' of the Naga Movement as used in Indian journalist circle and in Army level. Many of the followers have never seen him yet; but the young Nagas follow him in great numbers as commented by one Deepak Dewan, Chief Editor, Bureau of Sun Magazine.⁴⁰ India believes that Muivah is the man behind, not only in facilitating arms and ammunition from abroad but in delivering the voice of Nagas in the West. He is the most widely travelled Naga leader with the message of liberation from India. Admitting Nagas as one of the members of Unrepresented Nations and People Organization (UNPO) in 1993 is one of the significant achievements in the history of Naga political struggle for freedom.

In fact, Muivah is the Key person in internationalising the Naga issue in the West. In order to bring a final political settlement to the Indo-Naga imbroglio, a Ceasefire Agreement had been entered between the Government of India and the NSCN on August 1, 1997. After 1997 Ceasefire Agreement Muivah became the key person for peace talk and political negotiation between the GOI and the Nagas. Unfortunately, he was reported to have been detained at Bangkok

³⁹ Ao, A. Lanunungsang, From Phizo To Muivah, *ibid*, P. 30.

⁴⁰ Ibid., P. 30.

Airport on January 19,2000 for travelling on a fake South Korean passport when he was on another foreign mission tour. He then jumped bail and was re-arrested on January 29,2000 while he was trying to fly to Malaysia again on a false Singaporean Passport as reported in the Nagaland Post. After first and second hearing on May 25,and July 7,2001, his case was dismissed in July 2001 after which he flew to the West for the same mission. The attempt on S.C. Jamir convoy on November 29, 1999 near phephima was heavily blamed on the NSCN (I-M). But the NSCN denied the charge as false and baseless. Muivah had clearly disclosed that there is an indirect involvement of New Delhi and Kohima on his arrest. This let the great drama to continue leaving the question of peace talks and negotiation unattended. Muivah's early release was then demanded by many NGOs including UNPO and many other International level Organisations. Even three former Prime Ministers of India, namely, Chandra Shekar, V.P. Singh and H.D. Deve Gowda demanded for his early release through a joined statement.

It appears that Muivah believes in arms struggle for achieving Naga freedom because arms are required to make a strong foundation of a nation. "Arms are essential he said. But at the same time, he said, arms are not the deciding factor if the people are not determined, arms will be of no use. What is most essential is people's determination.... Where there is no political philosophy; there is no future of a nation. We, in NSCN can stand and fight anywhere, with anyone. As a revolutionary leader, he is a man of optimism and a brave Naga soldier with clear vision unlike many others. He said, a day shall come... Nagas will never remain divided. They are bound to come closer one day". On Naga question he said, " if there can be a problem there can be a solution also"⁴¹ Out of many Naga leaders, one can certainly say that Muivah is an exceptional Naga revolutionary leader. In addition to all his pioneering works, Muivah is a superb draftman skilled in the arts of

⁴¹ Ibid., P. 31.

diplomacy and negotiation.⁴² “ He is tough but rational. Logic appeals to him. And he’s mellowed a bit,” observes a Northeast specialist.⁴³ Such is the legend of Muivah that he can probably walk around the markets and roads of Dimapur, the largest Naga town, and other town in Nagalim as he has done-without being challenged by police officials or others. Intelligence officials say that most armed personnel posted to the area do not even know what he looks like. As a living legend, the power of Muivah has been far more difficult to tackle for the Indian Government than that of Phizo, who is gone.⁴⁴

Isak Chishi Swu: A Profile

Isak Chishi Swu, a sema Naga was born on November 7, 1929, the year when the Naga Club submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission. He came from a modest village called Chishilimi in Zunheboto district of Nagaland State. His father Kushi Chishi, an evangelist, was one of the first converts from among the Sema Naga tribe. His father would take him to Bible classes conducted by the evangelists and teachers for Christian converts. In that way, young Isak was fed with ecclesiastical spoon from his boyhood. He has two elder sisters and three younger brothers. His mother had a strong faith in the goodness of God. Isak completed his sixth grade at Atukuzu School, a small new township close to Zunheboto in the Sema area. After that he went on to Kohima for his High School education in 1948. For Young Isak, the year 1948 and the following year became the turning point in his life. It became the arena, the training ground to prepare himself for the leadership of his people in the years to come. In the year 1948 to 1952, while studying in High School at Kohima, he was the Captain of his class, Captain of the Football team of the School,

⁴² Hazarika, Sanjoy, *Strangers of The Mist*, *Ibid.*, P. 105.

⁴³ Bhavna Vij – Arora, ‘Talking peace, Looking over Their Shoulders’, *Indian Express*, New Delhi, January 10, 2003, P. 9.

⁴⁴ Hazarika, Sanjoy, *Strangers of the Mist*, *ibid.*, P. 106.

Secretary of the Kohima High School Students, Secretary of the Sema Student's Union, President of the Kohima local Christian endeavour etc. At the time when Isak was the Secretary of the Sema Students' Union at Kohima, he participated in the Plebiscite of 1951. He and the student body helped the functions effectively so as to make it successful. After completing his High School at Kohima, Isak went to study in the Union Christian College at Barapani. At Barapani, studied there Intermediate Arts (I.A) course, where Mr. Niketu Iralu from Kohima happened to be his classmates throughout the period of his stay there. After completing that course at UCC, Isak moved to Shillong for the Bachelor of Arts (B.A) degree course of study and took admission in one of the renowned Colleges. St. Anthony College, Shillong. He took interest in games and sports while he was in Kohima as well as in Shillong.

As the fighting at home were so serious, no remittance could come and so, he was compelled to work in the Secretariat Office of the Public Work Department and later on he was transferred to the Assam Secretariat Office where he worked for two years. But he did not give up his studies and in this way he completed his B.A. from Guwahati University majoring in Philosophy. During his days in Shillong, the Naga people started to have Naga Sunday service. In 1958, the so called Naga People's Convention started campaign in Shillong for creation of the State of Nagaland. Isak was one of the signatories of the protest letter which was sent to Kohima and Mokokchung. Isak got married in 1976 after he joined the Naga Movement and his wife also went along with him to China. Incidentally, Isak's wife is the first woman to be admitted as a member of the NSCN. With God's grace and provision, six children were born to them. Isak is a man of prayer and faith and firmly believes that life has got meaning and they are living for the cause of the people and to glorify God's name. Isak believes God created

man to do his will, to serve the cause of the people and to glorify God's name. With this philosophy of life, Isak never change or waver from his principle and from the stand and the decision of the Nation.⁴⁵ On the whole Isak is a man of peace. He was looking ahead to preparing himself to take up service for mankind. In particular, his godly father must have instilled in the young mind, faith and reverence to God and to be courageous. Obviously, Isak therefore took every chance to take part in all religious activities during his School and College life. He at once contemplated on joining Christian Ministry. Seeing innocent people were oppressed and harrassed mercilessly by the Security Forces, he decided to enter the Naga Movement. Leadership is always made on the anvil of decision and this is true in the case of Isak. He joined the Naga Movement in 1959. He was appointed as the Foreign Secretary the following year. In 1st March 1960. He served seven years in that position. When the ceasefire was entered in being in 1964, he was made deputed to participate in the peace talks. He was nominated to be Tatar-cum-Foreign Secretary.

In 1968 he was sent abroad as Presidential Special Envoy. After returning from his Foreign trip he was made the Chaplee Kilonser (Finance Minister) in 1969 till 1976. Served as the Vice President NNC and Federal Government of Nagaland from 1977 to 1979. In 1980 elected as Chairman NSCN and President, People's Republic of Nagalim till today. Isak developed a good rapport with so many friends and associates both within and outside of the NSCN fold with magnamity. His friends wholeheartedly cooperating with him in carrying out their duty for the struggle. At the moment, among Isak's colleagues, Companion and friend are none other than Mr. Thuingaleng Muivah, the General Secretary of the NSCN. They both hold the same principle

⁴⁵ Imucha (PN), Anne Key, 'A short Profile of Isak Chishi Swu: Patriarch of the Nagalim Independence Movement', (unpublished).

and the same stand for the Nagas and so they make all kinds of decisions together and also move together everywhere and they have becomes life-long friend in politics as well as in their personal and national life. Recently, Mr. Khodao Yanthan also has come to join Isak and Muivah as the Vice-Chairman of the NSCN. For a long time, khodao was away in London and unable to keep up with the mainstream of the movement but he is now fully active and cooperates with the NSCN in the struggle for the Naga Cause. He is supposed to be the oldest among the leaders and it is hope that the talks between the Government of India and the NSCN could bring a lasting solution to the vexed problem.

In addition to many of his achievements, Isak's achievements among international communities is very plausible. The two top leaders of the NSCN Isak and Muivah as Chairman and General Secretary respectively is in their first leg to their mission to the Western countries visited Germany first. The German Rain Forest Movement invited them and made appointment to meet with important leaders and from there they went to the Netherlands and applied for the membership of Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization in 1993. And in the same year, they were able to go to United Nations in Geneva. They attended UN Working Group and Sub-Commission for Human Rights and the Commission for Human Rights.

It was there Mr. Isak was given opportunity to speak about the Human Rights violations in Nagalim and every time Mr. Swu goes there he is given a chance to address the members. So many NGOs in Europe, Canada, United States, South America, Africa and Asia came to understand about the case of the Nagas and because of this, the International Communities came to know the stance of the Nagas. One of the reasons why Naga case was given a hearing by other nations is the fact that the NSCN is a member of UNPO. UNPO unanimously

passed a resolution to recognise the rights of the Nagas and support the Nagas till they achieve their goal and not only that but ready to sent a fact finding mission to Nagalim. Many members have high regards for the Nagas' struggle and they honour Mr. Swu as a leader of commitment, courage and dedication.

Mr. Swu has been speaking in different International forums and the Flemish Support Group for the Indigenous Peoples of Belgium, the KWIA was the first group that recognised the right of the Nagas. All these internationalising activities of the Naga leaders prompted the Government of India to think seriously on the issues. The former Prime Minister of India started sending feelers to start ceasefire and starts talk with Naga leaders. After repeated approach from the Prime Minister of India the NSCN leaders, Isak and Muivah agreed to have a talk with the leaders of the GOI and a ceasefire was mooted and announced from both sides. Since then the talks have been held several times. Apart from the help coming from secular international institutions many religious institutions like Baptist world Alliance and Baptist Peace Fellowship in the USA, the Sommer Haven International Ministries led by Madam Agner Numer, the Baltimore Churches particularly the Philippino Church in Baltimore led by Mh. Charles Givens etc. are helping the Nagas. There are many other things that could be written about Mr. Swu but this is just in a nutshell to explain the stand of the man and Movement he is leading.

In concluding this chapter it can be said that, Phizo was the father of the Naga nationalism who made the first phase of Naga unification into one in his time leaving the second phase to the living ones, the great Naga leaders. Phizo's contribution is immeasurable in making Naga political foundation. It was under Phizo's leadership the real Naga political seed was sown in the Naga blood and in Naga soil. Today, this fully grown Naga political tree is being protected alive,

under the collective leadership of Isak Chishi Swu, Thuingaleng Muivah Khadao Yanthan, S.S. Khaplang, Imkongangshi, Kitovi Zhimomi, Adino and many others. However, nobody knows under whose leadership the fruits of their suffering, hardship, sweat, blood and whole life sacrifices shall be reaped by the common Nagas.⁴⁶ Now, the second phase of the Naga Unification in 21th century lay on the wisdom of the collective leadership of a host of Naga leaders. It will be quit interesting to watch what scenario takes place towards solving the Naga unresolved question.

⁴⁶ Ao, A. Lumunugsang, From Phizo to Muivah ibid, p33.

CHAPTER - V

CONCLUSION

As there is always a genesis and an end to everything on this earth, this dissertation would have well begun and at the same time reached its conclusion while the Naga Movement is still continuing with its journey of freedom without a sign of ever collapsing. While the final settlement is being worked out between the Nagas and the Governments of India and Myanmar, this dissertation has to fulfil its objectives and give a conclusion on "The Evolution and Nature of the Naga Movement". However, before attempting to make a final remark it is pertinent to summarise the preceding chapters and analyse whether the Naga Nationalists and the Indian State are only in conflict or whether they are in conflict as well as cooperation.

In the first chapter-introduction to this dissertation, we have mentioned definitions and views of some leading scholars on nationalism in general and the Naga nationalism in particular. After considering the definitions, views, Manifesto etc., we could find some traits in most of the writers which can be attributed to Naga nationalism. It had been pointed out that the Naga Movement since its inception till today have been consistent in its insistence on the Nagas' right to Sovereignty. The objectives of the study, chapterisation and the Hypothesis made a good beginning of the dissertation.

In the beginning of the second chapter, We have described the Naga people and their land. The land inhabited by the Nagas is known as Naga Ancestral Domain or Nagalim. The basic unit of administration in Nagalim in the past as well as in the present time is the village. This village is sovereign in nature. Historically speaking, Nagas were living independently in their Ancestral Domain without outside interference. The size of this land is estimated to be roughly 1,20,000 sq. km.; 56,507 sq. km Naga inhabited areas is in Myanmar and the rest i.e., 63,493 sq. km. is in India.

In the portion that deals with the Nagas' relations with the Manipuris and the Ahoms, it has been pointed out that their relation was sometimes one of peace and sometimes of war. But the advent of the British and their administrative system had created a sense of ethnic consciousness and separate identity among the Nagas. They felt themselves to be bound together by common ties of race, history and culture. This consciousness is a dynamic factor of the growth of Naga nationalism.

Anglo-Naga relation has several periods, the period of control from without by a system of exploration or military promenades; the period of control from within; the period of absolute non-interference and the second period of control from within merging into gradual absorption of some portions of the Naga Ancestral Domain. Nagas resisted strongly but the British conquered them in 1880. But there was no agreement between them that the Nagas were subjects of the British. During the period between 1935 and 1945 the British divided the Naga-inhabited areas between two Sovereign States-India and Myanmar without the consent of the Nagas. After independence, the Government of India further divided Naga territory among 4 States Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. In Myanmar, the Naga are found in Kachin State and Sagaing Division. Out of the total 40 tribes mentioned, 35 tribes are in India while the rest are in Myanmar. Konyak, Tangkhul, Phom, Yimchunger and Moyon are concentrated in both the countries. Maos, Tangkhuls and Zeliangrongs inhabit both Manipur and Nagaland. Zeliangrongs are also in Assam. Tangsha, Wancho and Nocte Nagas are in Arunachal Pradesh.

The British connection with the Nagas is a mixed blessing. On the positive side, they had brought with them modern values, ideas, science and technology, nationalism, philosophy, modern political institution and a new religion Christianity. Although the British set up administrative units in some Naga areas for political control, they had not disturbed the Nagas' independence in many areas. However, the

British did not grant the Nagas their desired independence as a Sovereign Nation. They proposed something like the Crown Colony etc. which was rejected by the Nagas. However, they knew that the Nagas are different from the other people. One of the main implications of the British legacy was that of division of Nagas between two countries. As soon as the British left the sub-continent, India and Myanmar started drawing the boundaries (since 1953), and placed the Nagas in different States. This had brought a setback to the Nagas who wanted to live under one administrative system. The Nagas continue to aspire for unification of Naga areas and live as one family. The leaders in India and Burma claimed that after the British left Asia, the Nagas automatically became a part of India and Myanmar. But the Nagas asserted and alleged that India and Myanmar forcefully occupied Nagalim without the consent of the Nagas. The argument is that, on the Indian and Myanmarese perspective, the Nagas are Indian and Myanmarese while the Nagas said they are neither Indians nor Myanmarese. The Nagas have never joined the Union of India and Myanmar. The arguments and counter-arguments have become the crux of the problem and the third chapter deals with the various phases of the Naga Movement.

The phases are (1) Formation of the Naga club in 1918 till the non-violence period (1952), (2) After Nehru and U Nu visit in 1953 till the signing of the Shillong Accord, and (3) Post-Shillong Accord: emergence and split of the NSCN till the rising of the NSCN-IM as the strongest organization.

In order to develop the discussion for various phases I have briefly outlined the definitions of nationalism and Naga nationalism. The first phase is marked by non-violent means to achieve what the Naga called independence. The second phase is characterized by violent conflict. To solve the Indo-Naga problem, Agreements, Ceasefire, and Accords were initiated. But all failed, the reasons for which we will shortly discuss below. The third phase witnessed coup and counter-

coup and splits and also the emergence of a new organization- NSCN- and the subsequent split of the NSCN and the rising of the NSCN-IM as the most organised and strongest will-disciplined organization supported by and large by majority of the Nagas. The NSCN-K is still around and it cannot be underestimated as it is also supported by some sections of the Nagas.

The Naga Movement can be said to begin in 1918 when the first formal organization the Naga Club was formed by a group of prominent Naga leaders, especially those, who had return from France after serving in the Labour Corps of the British Army during WWI. On the 10th January 1929, the Naga Club submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission in Kohima, expressing the desire of the Naga for self-determination and opposing inclusion of Naga Areas in the re-organised India. In recognition of the Naga claim to be treated separately from British India, and on the basis of the recommendation of the Simon Commission, the British Government of India Act (1935) classified the Nagas hill areas as "Excluded or "Partially Excluded" areas where no act of the Federal Legislature or the Provincial Legislature would apply and thus had little or no jurisdiction, and henceforth to be directly administered by the Governor of Assam.

In fact, by 1946, Nehru come out openly against self-determination. The Nagas formed a full-fledged political organ, the NNC in 1946, and continued to negotiate with the British in order to protect the interest of the Nagas. The NNC proposed the setting up of an interim Government for a period of ten years under the guardianship of India on 20th February 1947. Between 22-29 June 1947, the British India Government represented by Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam, entered into a Nine-Point Agreement with the NNC. But the agreement failed to meet the Naga aspirations. In clause 9 of the agreement, both the parties adopted opposing views to decide the future of the Nagas after ten years. Whatever the controversy it revolves around interpretation of that particular clause, and therefore this part

of the agreement has not been implemented by the then Nehru Government. Had the Government been implemented the agreement, it would have resulted in some concrete outcome shape toward the solution of the problem. But this opportunity was missed. Within a few days of signing the agreement, the NNC leaders came to know that India would use force against them if they refused to join the Union of India, and that the Assam Security Forces were getting ready for an invasion of Naga areas. A delegation of the NNC under A. Z. Phizo met Mahatma Gandhi in Delhi, who assured them; that the Nagas have every right to be independent. The NNC subsequently declared the independence of the Nagas on 14th August 1947. Later on the Naga Hills was included under Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, without any consultation with the Nagas. But this was considered by the NNC as betrayal of the Nagas by the Government. Expressing resentment to the above arrangement the NNC conducted Plebiscite on 16 March 1951 throughout the Naga Hills to decide as to whether to remain within India or to go for Nagas Independence. 99.9% of the Nagas opted for an Independent State. The Government refused to acknowledge the Plebiscite. The Nagas boycotted the first (1952) and the second (1957) Indian Parliamentary election as a symbolic demonstration of not being part of the Union of India. The Nagas also boycotted the visit of Nehru and U Nu. After their visit, the Indo-Naga conflict started in a violent form.

By 1954, the situation in the Naga Hills had become very tense. The Indian Paramilitary and Army were sent to suppress the Naga Movement. Many Naga were killed, tortured, molested and houses burnt. Massive human rights violations were reported in all the Naga areas. Thus, the Naga nationalists were compelled to go underground and take up arms, as they could no longer stay overground because of the military operations. The NNC under Phizo formed a Government of the Nagas called the People's Sovereign Republic of Free Nagaland in September 1954 and later on March 22, 1956 set up the Federal

Government of Nagaland (FGN) with its own Government and Constitution called Yehzabo.

During the Indo-Naga war situation some Naga moderates floated Naga People's Convention (NPC) in August 1957 to mediate for an Indo-Naga political negotiation. However, the initiative landed up with a piece meal package for a few sections of Nagas within the Constitution of India and resulted in the formation of Nagaland State in December 1963. But the Nagas rejected the creation of Nagaland State through 16-Point Agreement. Perhaps Nagaland State was the first institution through which the GOI ventured into the Naga areas to establish legitimacy under the Constitution of India.

The creation of Nagaland State invited more problems for the Nagas and for the resolution of the conflict. Even the GOI soon realised that the State was not the solution to the problem. Therefore, the first peace process was agreed upon between the GOI and the FGN under the aegis of Naga Baptist Churches with effect from September 6, 1964 (till 1972). Several rounds of talks including at the Prime Ministerial level followed it. But the negotiation was deadlocked, as they could not arrive at any meeting point. The Nagas insisted on Naga Sovereignty whereas the GOI would only talk of solution within the Constitution of India.

In the 1970s, the GOI began to coerce the Nagas to participate in the Union of India. As a matter, the GOI transferred Nagaland State from Ministry of External Affairs to Ministry of Home Affairs in 1972. The NNC was also banned as unlawful organization. The signing of the infamous Shillong Accord on 11 November 1975 also took place during the National Emergency of India. The signatories of the Accord had also confessed that it was signed under duress. The Nagas did not accept the Accord either, because the Accord was just an instrument of surrender of Nagas' rights to the GOI. On the 15th and 17th of August 1976, the National Assembly was held in Suphao in Burma, which

condemned and rejected outright the actions of the signatories as the work of traitors. However, the NNC President, Phizo and several other leaders, kept silent. This enabled the opportunist elements to join the surrendered leaders to organised, in collaboration with India, a vigilante force, in various names, like NNC, or Federal Army, or Peoples Militia of Nagaland... The ground was wide open for a bloody showdown between these forces and the National Resistance Forces.

On 30th August 1978, a military coup was staged by a section of the Naga Army that backed Shillong Accordists. In 1979, after a fierce encounters with the Accordists, those who condemned the Accord took over the offices of the NNC and FGN. Khaplang then the President of the Federal Government of Nagaland through the military coup denounced the organization and joined with the Isak and Muivah Forces leading to the merger of Eastern Nagaland (in Burma) and Western Nagaland (in India) at Nokpa Village on 30th January 1980. Thus, NSCN was formed after the failure of the leadership of the NNC to carry on the Naga peoples struggle for self-determination under the leadership of Isak, Khaplang and Muivah as Chairman, Vice Chairman and General Secretary respectively. They formed a new Government of the People's Republic of Nagalim (GPRN)

With the NSCN at the leadership the Naga Movement once again regained respect and support of the people. But NSCN Vice-President Khaplang came in for grave charges relating to his financial handling and moral behavior. As news of his staying away from NSCN Council meetings become known, Choumai, Commander of Kachin Army, encouraged Khaplang to take over NSCN. With large supply of arms from India received through Choumai, Khaplang attack the NSCN Council Headquarters on 30 April 1988 and killed several cadres. The incident led the organization to split into two-one led by Isak and Muivah, the parent body, called NSCN-IM and the other group led by Khaplang called NSCN-K. The NNC in headed by Phizo's daughter Adino. In the present context, the NSCN-IM emerged as the most

organised and strongest organization of all the groups. All the groups have different connections with other groups.

The current peace process (second Indo-Naga ceasefire) beginning August 1, 1997 is the result of onerous effort from both sides. The three main bases of negotiation are: that, the talks shall be unconditional;

That, the talks shall be at the highest level; that is, at the Prime Ministerial level; that, the venue of the talks shall be anywhere outside India.

Since then, there have been several rounds of talks. The recently held formal talk in New Delhi on 21-23 January 2003 ended on a positive note. Both the parties reaffirmed the need for a peaceful, violent-free environment.

The fourth chapter brought out the evolution of ideology in general and discusses briefly the ideology of the Naga Movement. Four prominent Naga Leaders' profiles have been mentioned to show their contributions to the Movement. It has been pointed out that, Antoine de Tracy was the originator of the term ideology in 1797. We have briefly discussed the positive concept of ideology as given by A. Gramsci. It had been pointed out that the ideology of the Naga Movement is National Socialism of its own brand. This is akin to Christian Socialism. It has nothing in common with Hitler's National socialism. This Chapter had also given a biography of A.Z. Phizo and Profiles of Th. Muivah and Isak Swu to bring out their contributions to the Naga Movement.

The Indo-Naga imbroglio shows both armed conflict and some sort of cooperation. The Agreements, Ceasefires and Accords and Negotiations etc. are certainly signs of cooperation. The question is whether the parties are sincere, transparent, accountable or politically committed or not. All these signs are for bringing confidence building

measures. However, the Indo-Naga imbroglio had been dominated by armed-conflict. This is discernible in the number of casualties on both the parties. Moreover, the fact that more than One Lakh Nagas have lost their lives indicates that people have died during war situation. Apart from war situation, people have been killed, tortured to death, molested and burnt down villages as a retaliatory target after encounters by the security forces. The sad part is that there is no single family where there is no victim of the Army torture. It was wrong on the part of the Government to have taken military measures to resolve the problem, which is a political one. However, now the Government had realised that military solution is not possible and political solution is being sought.

In the final remark, it can be said that the Naga Movement is a struggle for sovereignty. Historically speaking there was no political, economic and socio-cultural connections between the Nagas and the Governments of India and Myanmar. The cause of the Naga Movement is political in nature and underdevelopment is not the cause of it. As the Nagas were never conquered by India and Myanmar, the Naga leaders have been insisting that Nagas were independent. The Naga Movement is an armed resistance against what the Naga leaders called the occupational forces of India and Myanmar. The Nagas, under the leadership of the Naga Nationalist, claim that their struggle is a struggle for self-determination and India's and Myanmar's use of military force to suppress the Movement is illegal and a violation of internationally recognised human rights. The Naga want to rule themselves. The Naga Movement is a People's Movement. The Nagas say that terrorism is not their politics, because the Naga do not kill civilians. The Naga Movement can be said to be genuine because until this time, they have been saying that the Nagas were not Indians and Myanmarese. They have also not accepted the offer which is short of Sovereignty. The Government of India also recognised the unique history and situation of the Naga on 11th July 2002 at Amsterdam.

Muivah said, when India recognised unique history and situation it means that Nagas were not Indians in the past and are not Indians at present and will not be Indian in the future. This Movement is genuine because of its long survival. This survival speaks a lot. As this Movement is basically national in nature, Naga people supported it wholeheartedly. Apart from that, many international organisations and NGOs, including UNPO recognised the genuineness of the Nagas' struggle for independence.

The stands of the leaders of the Naga Movement since its inception have been always the establishment of separate Sovereign Independent Naga State. What comes out of the present truce is anybody's guess. The question still remains to be answered. Will the Indo-Naga imbroglio still continue in the future or will they be resolved during this talk? It is high time that the issue be resolved with courage, political commitment, goodwill and wisdom.

The work is basically an approach from a political perspective. There are immense scopes for further probing from different perspectives such as social, economic, cultural and historical. The work at hand does not claimed to be singularly exhaustive. It is but just a preliminary investigation. Further research into the issues like Naga nationalism, Naga Movement's ideology and comparative study of the Naga Movement with other movements in different Countries etc. need to be done. Besides, future research to the above issue needs encouragement from various disciplines and angles.

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