

**NAGA MOVEMENT : A STUDY IN THE
SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT ✓**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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AHU SAKHRIE

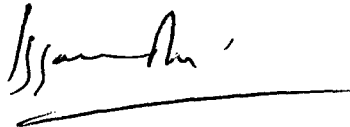
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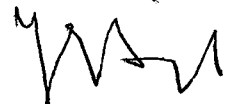
Centre for the study of
Social Systems
School of Social Sciences
New Mehrauli Road
New Delhi 110067

DECLARATION

This dissertation entitled "Naga Movement :
A Study in the Sociology of Social Movements" by
Mr Abu Gokhrie for the Degree of Master of Philosophy
has not been previously submitted for any other Degree
of this or any other University. We recommend that
this dissertation should be placed before the exami-
ners for their consideration for the award of the
Degree of Master of Philosophy.



(J.S. Gandhi)
Supervisor



(Yoonira Singh)
Chairman

TO MY PARENTS

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Whatever short-comings may be there in this work are entirely my doing.

New Delhi
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Anu Sakhris

ABBREVIATIONS

AFPL	-	Anti Fascist Peoples' Freedom League
ERIC	-	Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council
IDL	-	Indonesian Peoples League
NFG	-	Naga Federal Government
NHDC	-	Naga Hills District Tribal Council
NK	-	Naga National Council
NNO	-	Naga National Organization
NNDP	-	Naga National Democratic Party
NPC	-	Naga Peoples' Convention
NPCN	-	National Socialist Council of Nagaland
NWS	-	Naga Women Society
NYM	-	Naga Youth Movement
PLA	-	Peoples Liberation Army
SCUP	-	Supreme Council of United People
SILA	-	Seven United Liberation Army
UFP	-	United Democratic Front
UFN	-	United Front of Nagaland
UN	-	United Nations
NPMHR	-	Naga People's Movement for Human Rights

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Problem of State

The global spread of nationalism and the struggle for independence in the areas which were colonial territories gave birth to many nation-states around the world in the middle of the 20th century. The societies once isolated, or slumbering under colonial rule till as late as the 1940s have, in quick succession, gained political independence and fallen heir to scores of social, economic, and political problems. Many of these countries inherited populations of mosaic composition with widely contrasting, socio-economic systems and historical experiences. They had few ties of interaction, unity and identity amongst their populations apart from those provided by their common experience under a single fairly unified colonial administration which centred around river valleys where plantation, industries and market flourished.

The process of formation of nation-states on such a foundation left many ethnic groups which were relatively less developed societies, within the bounds of those in the plains. Because of the uneven economic development, contrasting social systems and the different historical experiences the groups developed a strong primordial sentiment on ethnic boundaries. As colonial powers departed, these ethnic groups were overcome by the desire to be noticed. They searched for an identity and aimed at making that identity

publicly acknowledged as having import - "a social assertion of the self as being somebody in the world".¹ Consequently political attention in the new States shifted from the anti-colonial struggle to integration of a heterogeneous population. Domestic tensions and centrifugal forces became so intensified that the very existence of the nascent States were threatened. This, in some cases, led to the breaking up of nation states into more nations. India is one of this kind.

On the eve of independence the Indian sub-continent was faced with the problem of retaining the colonial territorial and political structures. In spite of her aim for 'unity in diversity', under the leadership of Jinnah a great number of Muslims opted out of the new India and formed Pakistan. Many other groups raised the same claim to be free of a government in Delhi, such as Kashmir and Khalistan in the north, Dravidian state in the south, United Bengal in the east, Nagaland in the extreme north-east, etc. However, all these except the Nagas were subsumed in the process of India's nation-building which was characterized by conflict and accommodation. The Nagas persist for an independent Nagaland. Their contention is that they were never an integral part of India except for some common experience under a colonial power.

1 Berlin, I., (1958). Two Concepts of Liberty, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 42.

In the post World War II period, the Naga tribes forged themselves together for a political identity under the Naga National Council. They had not only claimed the right to independence on the departure of the British but had also made their own unilateral declaration of independence on 14th August 1947 and launched an organized attempt to sustain it against the will of the Government at Delhi. In the protracted conflict, a section of the nationalists negotiated with the Government of India and a state was created in the Indian Union in 1963 called Nagaland. But some sections have, even today, not reconciled to inclusion in India and, therefore, their movement remains an unsettled political problem and an ongoing movement.

Nature of Study

Since the rise of various nations in post-World War II sociologists have recognized a need for the study of nationalism that permeated various ethnic groups and its expression as political and social movements on the basis of nationalist ideology. This study is an attempt to analyze one such movement in the sociological tradition, which emerged from a segmented tribal society, claims to be worthy of the status of nationhood and launched an organized movement.

The nature of inquiry is based on the proposition that the Naga Movement is historical, structural, and ideological: Historical in that it is a process of history in which a 'primitive people' (less evolved society) living in isolated close systems within the parameter of commune villages, forged themselves together to form a nationality through a considerable period of time. Structural in that the various changes in the course of events were direct responses to the structural circumstances in and around their society. And ideological in that, there is the persistence of ideology which has kept the movement alive through the changes. The study, therefore, is in time-perspective so as to understand the concomitant stages of the movement and subsequent development.

Sociology of Social Movements

In all civilizations men have got together to strive for meeting collective needs which directly or indirectly affect the social order. The study of such endeavour is claimed by scholars like Rudolf² to be the origin of sociology. However, it had not been given much importance as a subject of study until the unprecedented socio-political upheavals through mass movements in the twentieth century:

2 Herberle Rudolf, (1949), "Observation on the Sociology of Social Movements", in American Sociological Review, vol. 14, p. 347

World wars, revolutions, ideological conflicts, peasant and farmers movements, student unrest, nationalist and liberation movements, etc. These experiences aroused social scientists to study those factors and forces which contributed to such collective actions. Since then, collective social and political actions as processes through which society is shaped have become a major area in social research. And in recent times the study of such collective phenomena has evolved into a loosely defined field of sociology termed as Sociology of Social Movements.

The words social movements had been variedly used and understood. When it first came into use in the nineteenth century, it meant "the movement of the new industrial working class, with its socialistic, communistic, and anarchistic tendencies".³ It had also been regarded as "epiphenomena, as the by products of social and political development or topics discussed in passing as sub-species of collective behaviour".⁴ Thus as Bank aptly stated, "so loose and slipshod has the employment of these words become that they seem capable of application to any kind of group activity whatsoever".⁵

3 Herberle Rudolf, (1968), International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, New York, Macmillan, p.439

4 McLaughlin (Barry), (1969), Studies in Social Movements, New York, The Free Press, p. 1.

5 Bank, J.A. (1972), The Sociology of Social Movements, London, Macmillan, p.7

Nevertheless, the aim to develop a comparative systematic theory of social movement is justified. For, movements inspite of their vast differences in aims and doctrines have many common traits.⁶ Therefore, social movements deserve to be studied in their own right as phenomena.⁷ Smelser also adds to this justification in his study of collective behaviour and states that under conditions of stable interaction, many social elements are either 'controlled' or 'taken for granted' and hence are not readily observable, but "during collective behaviour these come into the open ... Thus it affords a peculiar kind of laboratory in which we are able to study directly components of behaviour which usually lie dormant".⁸ He further stated that "although wild rumours, crazes, panic riots, and revolutions are surprising, they occur with regularity, they cluster in time, they cluster in certain cultural areas. They occur with greater frequency among certain social groupings, etc".⁹

Thus in recent times the study of social movements attracted increasing attention throughout the world and eventually various opinions have emerged attempting to identify

6 Herberle Rudolf, (1949), Op Cit, p.347

7 McLaughlin (Barry), Ed 1969, Op Cit, p. 1

8 Smelser, N.J., (1962), The Theory of Collective Behaviour, New York, Free Press, p. 3

9 Ibid, p. 1

the subject matter comprehensively. However, the study of social movements still lacks precision or unanimity on conceptual and theoretical aspects because of the diversity of social movements. "They range from religious to secular from revolutionary to reactionary, from cooperative to schismatic".¹⁰ And also because the subject itself is still in a formative stage. Hence it is imperative to distinguish a movement from a non-movement and get a clear idea of its meaning, usages and salient features. A review is made in the following paragraphs on some representative concepts put forward by scholars on the subject - definitions and characteristics, classifications and emergence of social movements in general and nationalist movements in particular.

Social Movements: Definitions and Characteristics

Blumer briefly defines social movement as a "collective enterprise to establish a new order of life".¹¹ So do Szymanski and Coertze as a "collective effort to change societies".¹² Joseph R. Gusfield narrows a little further and defines it as "socially shared activities and beliefs directed towards the

10 McLaughlin Barry (ed) (1969), Op Cit, p.4

11 Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements", in McLaughlin (1969), Op Cit, p.8

12 Albert, J. Szymanski and Ted George Coertze, (1979) Sociology Class, Consciousness and Contradiction, New York, Nostrand Company, p. 310

demands for exchange in some aspects of social order.¹³

More explicit than 'aspects', Zald and Ash defined social movements as "a purposive and collective attempt of a number of people to change individuals or societal institutions and structure".¹⁴

Herberle Rudolf¹⁵ distinguishes between two types of collective action: (a) those which because of limited goals, never attract more than small groups of people or mere like sentiments and like actions which occur independently among a large number of people or imitative mass-action; and (b) those which aiming at comprehensive and fundamental changes in the social order with a sense of group identity and solidarity and an awareness of being united with each other in action for a common goal amongst the individuals. The latter he refers to as social movements. To him, it is the criterion of 'group consciousness' that social movements are distinguished from other movements.

P.N. Mukherjee¹⁶ stresses on structural changes that the movement seeks. He examines ten cases of collective mo-

13 Gusfield, J.R. (1970), Protest, Reform and Revolt, New York, John Wiley, p.1

14 Zald, May N. and Roberta Ash (1966), "Social Movements Organizations, Growth, Decay and Change", Social Forces vol.44, p. 328

15 See, Herberle Rudolf, (1949) and (1968), Op Cit

16 Mukherjee, P.N., (1977), "Social Movement and Social Change: Towards a Conceptual Clarification and Theoretical Framework", in Sociological Bulletin, vol.26 No.1, March 1977

bilization and classifies them into three broad categories. They are: (i) Corporate routinized, formal and institutional articulation of collective behaviour; (ii) Collective mobilization forming pressure groups and interest groups, organized around specific interests with limited goals within the system; and (iii) Collective mobilization which centres around a demand for change of the system. Of these, only the third kind forms a social movement. Although, the three may coexist in a given society, to him "only collective mobilization for action directed explicitly towards alteration or transformation of the structure of a system, or against an explicit threat to an alteration or transformation of a system can be properly understood as a social movement. Collective movements within the system are quasi-movements.

T.K. Oommen makes distinction between collective behaviours, such as: (i) Panic response; (ii) Hostile outbursts; and (iii) Organized action. To him only the third kind make up a social movement for the other two "are relatively short term unorganized outbursts and are not necessarily tied to an ideology or issue".¹⁷ He concurs with Blumer in that only when a movement "acquires organization and form, a body of customs and traditions, established leaderships, and enduring division of labour, social rules and social values, in

17 Oommen, T.K., (1972), Charisma Stability and Change: An Analysis of Bhodan-Gremhan Movement in India, Delhi, Thomson Press, p. 11-12

short - a culture, a social organization and a new scheme of life, it becomes a social movement".¹⁸ Here we see the need for a consistent and significant span of time and ideology for qualifying collective action as a social movement. Likewise Gurr¹⁹ considers mob activity, demonstrations, and riots as being outside the scope of social movements. They are sporadic act^on not necessarily linked to demands for change in the social order. M.S.A. Rao,²⁰ made explicit the need of an ideology when he defined social movement as "an organized attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about either partial or total change in society through collective mobilization based on an ideology".

Paul Wilkinson²¹ is concerned with the formulation or working concept of social movement rather than with giving a precise definition. This 'moving concept' he bases on the following formulations: (1) a social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by means not excluding violence, illegality, revolution, or withdrawal into a Utopian community; (2) a Social Movement must evince a minimal degree of organization, though this may

18 Herbert Blumer, (1969), Op Cit., p. 12

19 Gurr, T.R., (1970), Why Men Rebel?, Princeton, Princeton University Press, p. 4

20 Rao, M.S.A., (1979), Social Movements in India, vol. I, New Delhi, Manohar, p. 5

21 Wilkinson, (1971), Social Movement, London, Pall Mall, p. 26

range from a large, informal or partial level of organization to a highly institutionalized or bureaucratized form; (3) A social movement's commitment to change and the raison d'être of its organization are founded upon the conscious volition, normative commitment to the movement's aim or beliefs and active participation on the part of followers or members. Thus, to him the major characteristics of social movements are: conscious commitment to change; minimal organization and normative commitment and participation.

Wallace²² provides an example of Anthropological approach to social movement. He employs the term "Revitalization movements", meaning, a deliberate effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. He applies an analogy of human society as a definite kind of organism and its culture conceived of those 'patterns of learned behaviour which certain 'parts' of the social organism or system characteristically display. To him it is functionally necessary for every person in society to maintain a mental image of the society and its culture, as well as of his own body and its behavioural regularities, in order to act in ways which reduce stresses at all levels of the system. When the members experience severe stress leading to a cultural distortion, the process of 'revitalization' take place and this forestalls or atleast postpones dire consequences for the society.

22 Wallace, A.F.C. (1956), "Revitalization Movements", American Anthropologist, New Series, vol.53, (April) pp. 25-8.

A study of social movements necessarily involves itself with social change. This has been acknowledged by all scholars and social scientists. Killian puts the study of social movements as 'primarily a study of social change as well as cultural change, of a changing social order as well as changing values and norms'.²³ However, it must be noted that many of the early works centered around movements directing towards change and hence undermined change resisting aspects conceptually. As a response to this tendency Zanden²⁴ has in his study of the Southern White resistance movement in America stated that social movements do not initiate social change merely because they arise. They often stimulate the rise of movement opposed to the change; that social movement "traditionally has been defined in a manner which would automatically exclude movements resisting social change". He, therefore, explicitly mentions in his definition, "... a more or less persistent and organized effort on the part of a considerable number of members of a given society either to change a situation which they define as unsatisfactory or to prevent change in a situation which they define as satisfactory".

23 Killian, Lewis M., "Social Movements", in Faris, Robert E.L. (Ed.), (1964), Handbook of Modern Sociology, Rand McNally and Company, Chicago, p. 427

24 Vander, Zanden, James, W. (1959), "Resistance and Social Movements", Social Forces, vol. 37, pp. 312-5

This view of social movement as inclusive of change resistance has been expounded by other writers also. Lukherjee made this explicit in his above cited definitions. Gommen²⁵ in his work on charismatic movement concluded that such a movement can be 'as much a system conserving force as it is a system - changing force'. He observes that the defining criteria of social movements employed by various writers are highly influenced by the nature of the society in which they undertake the investigation and the specific types of movements which they observe. He notes that "all sociologists who had studied complex societies consider the goal of movements to be 'change' and all Anthropologists speak of the goal as system stability". Bottomore²⁶ also made specific mention of this when he defined social movement as a "collective endeavour to promote or resist change in society of which it forms a part". In contra-distinction to this change or stability position, Eisenstadt²⁷ notes the possibility of nationalistic movements in underdeveloped countries simultaneously oriented to modern and traditional values.

From the above cited definitions and opinions we gather that salient characteristics of a social movement would generally be as follows:

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- 25 Gommen, T.K. (1972), Op Cit, p. 14
- 26 Bottomore Tom, (1979), Political Sociology, New Delhi, B.I. Publications, p. 41
- 27 Eisenstadt, S.N. (1957), "Sociological Aspects of Political Developments in Underdeveloped Countries", Economic Development and Cultural Change, vol.V(4), pp. 289-307

- (i) A social movement is a group phenomena and therefore the beliefs and actions are held and carried by members of the group structured in an organization or organizations with established leadership and division of labour.
- (ii) A social movement is always integrated by a set of constitutive ideas - an ideology. Such ideologies 'have to project a cause to struggle for, and present a version of a more valued alternate system'.²⁸
- (iii) From ideology, policies are formulated for long term strategies and short run tactics vis-a-vis the ultimate goals. These are guided by social rules and social values as upheld by the movement.
- (iv) A social movement has among its members a consciousness of group identity, solidarity and commitment along with an awareness of common sentiment and goals.
- (v) Social movements are products of the social structure and therefore are essentially related to social change. It can be both change promoting, or change resisting.
- (vi) A social movement has an observable duration in course of which it can go through various phases of change.

28 Mukherjee, P.N., (1979), Op Cit. p. 47

Thus, we may define a social movement as a deliberate and organized endeavour of a sufficiently large number of people, bound together by common beliefs, with a sense of solidarity and a oneness of objective towards change or against change of the structure or structures of a system through a significant span of time and in accordance with a set of values and norms of action.

Classification of Social Movements

Social movements encompass a variety of social phenomena. Therefore, a system of classification becomes inevitable. Because of this very fact the literature on sociological theory contains a plethora of typologies of movements.

From more or less locus of the movements Wilkinson²⁹ gave a pragmatic typification when he categorized social movements into (i) religious movements; (ii) movement of rural and urban discontent; (iii) nativist, nationalist and race movements; (iv) imperialism and pan movements; (v) class and occupational interest movements; (vi) moral protest and reform movements; (vii) revolutionary, resistance and counter revolutionary movements; (viii) intellectual movements; (ix) youth

29 Wilkinson, P. (1971). Op Cit. pp. 51-52

movements; and (x) women's movements. He was less concerned with a typology based on any conceptual principality. In the same fashion Wallace³⁰ categorized six sub-types of Revitalization Movements which were, he considered, evidently not unusual phenomena but recurring factors in human history. They are: (i) nativistic movements; (ii) revitalistic movements; (iii) cargo movements; (iv) vitalistic movements; (v) millenarian movements; and (vi) messianic movements. Edward Jay³¹ summarizes revitalization movements in India into two broad categories, Resistance movements and Emulative movements.

Blumer³² views social movements as a series of steps when he categorized them into: (i) general social movements which are relatively undirected and essentially unorganized change of people's values in a common direction; (ii) specific movements which rise out of general movements. This kind is subdivided into two: revolutionary movements and reform movements. While both seek to influence the social order, a revolutionary attempts to substitute existing norms and values with new ones whereas a reform movement accept existing norms and values and uses them to criticize the social defects it opposes; (iii) expressive movements which do not seek to change the institution of the social order or its objective character, but they are released in some type of expressive behaviour.

30 Wallace, A.F.C. (1956), Op Cit, pp. 26-27

31 Jay Edward, (1961), "Revitalization Movements in Tribal India", in Vidyarthi, (Ed), Aspects of Religion in Indian Society, Meerut

32 Herbert Blumer, (1969), Op Cit.

He also mentions the possibility of merging characters of specific social movements and impressive movements which particularly appears in Revitalist movements and Nationalist movements.

Smelser³³ distinguishes between norm-oriented movements and value-oriented movements and Oommen³⁴ also classifies social movements from orientation into three: Organizational, Ideological and Charismatic. His typology arises from three distinct possibilities to meet a situation of Strain in society. They are: (1) appearance of charismatic leader, who comes with a promise of mitigating the evils at hand and leading the people to future utopia - Charismatic movements; (2) Emergence of a new ideology which champions the cause of the disgruntled or dissatisfied section of the population - Ideological movement; and (3) Establishment of a new organization to deal with the problem at hand - Organizational movements.

Herberle Rudolf³⁵ broadly identifies two kinds of social movements; Class movements and Ethnic movements. The former between various classes of people in society and the latter he uses to designate a variety of phenomena. (1) The movement for political independence of national minorities

33 Smelser, Neil, (1962), Op Cit

34 Oommen, T.K., (1972), Op Cit

35 Herberle Rudolf, (1968), "Social Movements", in David L. Shils (Ed), International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences Macmillan Company, vol.14, p. 443

with the old empire state of Europe; (2) The independence movements of natives in colonial countries of Asia and Africa; (3) The movement for national unity; (4) The movements of nationalities for civic and cultural equality within heterogeneous states; Szymanski and Goertzel³⁶ agrees with this category but also suggest another kind of classification in terms of method used - revolutionary and reformist.

P.N. Mukherjee³⁷ considers social movements as an agent of social change therefore bases his typology on classification of changes: (1) changes occurring within given structure(s) - accumulative; (2) changes occurring from an emergence of additional structure and changes occurring due to the elimination of loss of structure(s) - alternative; (3) changes occurring as a result of replacement of existing structure(s) by alternative structure(s) - transformative.

Ralph Turner³⁸ classifies social movements on the way the public defines it rather than on qualities supposed to be intrinsic to the movement. From this scheme he concludes four types of movements: (1) Revolutionary - defined as immediately threatening to the society, its core members defined as disloyal

36 Szymanski and Goertzel (1979), Op Cit, p. 316

37 Mukherjee, P.N. (1977), Op Cit, p. 43

38 Turner, Ralph, "Collective Behaviour and Conflict", in McLaughlin (Ed), (1969), Op Cit, p. 67

or deluded; (2) Peculiar - defined as deviant but not threatening, its members defined as "odd balls", but amusing; (3) Respectable-factional - defined as being within the acceptable range of conventionality, its members being regarded as respectable but sometimes misguided; (4) Respectable-non-factional - Similar to the preceding except that the movement meets no organized opposition and its objective are defined as consensual.

Thus we have various ways of classifying social movements based on consequences of the movement, locus, orientation, phases, etc. While all authors have their own view of the subject, each type of classification appears to be specific movements in unique circumstances and it is not possible to defend any classification as social movements varies in their context in most cases.

Genesis of Social Movements

The question of how a social movement come into being occupies a dominant place in the analysis of social movements. Various theories and approaches have come about in perspective of the respective author's discipline and ideology.

A general and abstract explanation for genesis of social movements is that of Killian who says that "the genesis

The bitter experience under the military policy further alienated the people and widen the gap of understanding. It strengthen the support of NFE from the people on the one hand and added more bitterness in the minds of the Nagas towards Indians on the other. These gave lasting consequences in the inability to bring friendly atmosphere amongst the two groups.

By the time Nagas began to take up arms Nehru had become a statesman for the developing nations and India a champion of suppressed nationalities in the world. Therefore, initially Nehru "fearful that his liberal image be tarnished here and abroad, drew the proverbial iron curtain around the subject".³¹ This kept the Indian people away from knowing the happenings in Naga Hills and thus an unknown war continued. India Today laments that "truth had been a casualty in this war too".³² To maintain the 'curtain' and isolate the Naga issue, foreigners in Naga areas - mostly missionaries - were sent away in 1950s and standing rules made for restricting any visit by them. Kuldip Nayar³³ reported that in 1979, Kohima wanted New Delhi to relax restrictions of foreigners visiting Nagaland for religious functions or educational seminars but the Central Government refused to make any exception.

31 Rangasami Amritha, 'Mizoram: Tragedy of Our Own Making', Economic & Political Weekly, April 15, 1978 p. 655

32 India Today, 1982, Op Cit

33 Indian Express, May 25, 1979

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A popular basis of the theories of the genesis of social movements is deprivation. Glock and Stark⁴² find that a necessary pre-condition for the rise of any organized social movement whether it be religious or secular is a situation of felt-deprivation. According to McLaughlin dissatisfaction in a person's life prompts him to seek the solution of joining a social movement but "only when dissatisfaction contains the element of deprivation is collective action likely to occur".⁴³ Akin to this is the relative deprivation theories which developed from two broad lines of approach, one using the notion of relative from point of social mobility. In this approach, relative deprivation is made the basis of a study of social mobility as occurring through emulation and positive reference group behaviour,⁴⁴ and the other from conflict such as the Marxian tradition which recognized that dissatisfaction with the status quo was not determined by absolute conditions but by relative expectation.

Max Weber in his classical works portrayed the structure and collective action of the group as a whole as the outcome of commitment to certain systems of belief. In tune with this tradition, Smelser⁴⁵ propounded structural conduciveness, structural strain and crystallisation of generalized belief in

42 Glock, C.Y & Stark, R., (1965), Religion and Society: A Rational Theory of Religious Professions, Chicago, Rand McNally

43 McLaughlin Barry, (1969), Op Cit, p. 70

44 Rao, M.S.A., (1978), Op Cit, p. 4

45 Smelser, Neil, (1962), Op Cit, p. 16



a social order as the underlying factors leading to collective behaviour. When a situation develops with these conditions, specific events may trigger off a social movement. Smelser is concerned with the parts played by cultural value and norms in the relation between an emerging movement and its social milieu. T.K. Commen too,⁴⁶ in his classification of social movements included ideological movements which emerge as response to 'strain' created due to the inadequacy of the existing ideological streams in a society.

Gurr explains relative deprivation as "actors perception of discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightly entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping".⁴⁷ The discrepancy may be caused where expectations remain stable but capabilities decline (decremental deprivation) expectations rise but capabilities decline (progressive deprivation) and expectation rise while capabilities remain the same (aspirational deprivation).

Social psychologists look for genesis of social movements in what transpires within the psyche. Many have drawn broadly upon Freudian tradition. They look to discrepancies

46 Commen, T.K., (1972), Op Cit. p. 19

47 Gurr, T.R. (1970), Op Cit. p. 24

between the 'ego-levels' and the 'achievement levels' of individuals. Thinkers from psychological school also consider pathological traits in an individual's as efficient cause of a social movement.

While reviewing the various approaches to the genesis of social movement it is pertinent to point out the two broad categories and outstanding views. (i) The materialist-Marxian approach on the basis of relative deprivation emphasizing the shift toward increasing poverty as the source of potential revolt. The Marxian approach which "generally traces collective action back to solidarity within groups and conflicts of interest between groups considers the solidarity and the conflict of interest to reinforce each other, and bases both of them on the organization of production".⁴⁸ (ii) The nonmaterialist views which regard nonmaterial values as the ultimate sources of movements. For instance, Szymansk and Goertzog who said that movements arise when societies fail to meet basic human needs but "sustained movements come about because of frustration of people's nonmaterial emotional drives, specially the drive for dignity".⁴⁹

Tocqueville also had written of the French Revolution

48 Charles, Tilly, (1978), Op Cit. p. 14

49 Szymansk and Goertzog, (1979), Op Cit. p. 321

and said that the peasants were wealthier on the eve of the revolution than in any earlier period of their history, he thus gave his view that revolution begin when condition of life begin to improve. "Nations that have endured patiently and almost unconsciously the most overwhelming oppression often burst into rebellion against the yoke the moment it begins to grow lighter".⁵⁰ James C. Davies also conform to this view when he stated: "the actual state of socio-economic development is less significant than the expectation that progress now blocked can and must continue in the future".⁵¹

Growth of Nations

The emergence of people into nations is a modern phenomenon which began in western Europe in the eighteenth century. Since then writers from various discipline have put forward criteria for a people becoming a nation - territory, size of population, cultural homogeneity, similarity of language, common historical experience, common interest, shared belief and loyalty to the groups shared hope, etc. But the emergence

50 Tocqueville, A. De., (1856), The Old Regime and the French and the French Revolution, N.Y. Harper & Bros, p. 214

51 Davies James, C., "Toward a Theory of Revolution", in American Sociological Review, vol. XXVII, pp.6. (1962)

and existence of nations and nation-states in the world today on widely differing grounds make one difficult to give a common measuring yardstick. Therefore, while a sizeable number of people and a definite territory which the people believe belong to or should belong to them are certainly essential, in the final analysis as Ruper Emerson⁵² pointed out a nation is simply a body of people who feel that they are a nation. And when human feelings are in balance, he implies, they are more than the sum of historical tradition, language or statecraft. It is this state of mind, "the consciousness of belonging to a nation coupled with an active urge to perpetuate and strengthen national power which has developed into a powerful ideology, vaguely described as national mindedness or nationalism".⁵³ Hans Kohn⁵⁴ defines nationalism as "a political creed that underlies the cohesion of modern societies and legitimizes their claim to authority. Nationalism centres the supreme loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the people upon the nation-state, either existing or desired". According to him, the rise of nationalism as a phenomenon of modern European history is closely linked with origins of popular sovereignty, the theory of government by 'active consent of the governed; the growth of secularism, the lessening of older reli-

52 Emerson Ruper, (1973), "The Nature of Nation", in Mc Alister, Jr. (Ed) (1974), South East Asia: The Politics of National Integration, Random House, New York

53 Azgun Benjamin, (1964), State and Nation, Hutchinson & Co., London, p. 46

54 Kohn, Hans (1968), "Nationalism" in International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Mcmillan Co., vol.14, pp. 63-69

gion, tribal, clanist, or feudal loyalties, and the spread of urbanization, industrialization and improved communication. And from this European experience the spread of nationalism on a global scale is 'the result of the Europeanization and modernization of non-western and pre-modern societies.

Classification of Nationalism

The facets of nationalism has been approached by writers of various disciplines. Politically,⁵⁵ nationalisms are judged by a single criterion; whether the group attained sovereignty or not. This test lumps together all successful movements regardless of their sociological content. Hans Kohn⁵⁶ following a historians tradition classified on geographical typology as "western" and "non-western". Such a classification involve moral judgement and does not regard any manifestation of 'non-western' nationalism in 'western' or vice versa. Carlton Hayes⁵⁷ another writer from historical tradition suggested distinction between original and derived

55 Smith, A.D. (Ed.), (1976), Nationalist Movement, London, p. 6

56 Kohn, Hans, (1944), The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origin and Background, New York

57 See, Eisenstadt (Ed), (1971), Political Sociology: A Reader, Basic Books Inc., Publishers, New York, p. 56

nationalism. He has focussed exclusively on ideology. Yet ^{he} seem to base on sound empirical observation when he said that nationalism does not exist in any 'pure' form, but represent always a blend in which certain nationalist ingredients are fused with various other ideological elements. This gives a useful classification for understanding development of nationalism in Europe and the peculiar blends which have appeared in the post-colonial scene. But such exclusively ideological approach has its limitations for the study of social movements is essentially involved with the participants as an action group.

From a sociological background Louis Wirth⁵⁸ distinguished four basic types: an expansionist variety or hegemony nationalism, a separatist variety or particularistic nationalism a virulent borderland variety or marginal nationalism and the nationalism of minorities. He further divided the last type into three: Pluralistic - seeking cultural autonomy and civil equality; Secessionist, seeking separation from the dominant majority, and militant, seeking domination over this majority. With support from aggressive co-nationals from across the border. This classification is predominantly based on the aims of particular nationalist movements but the aims of various movements are difficult to assess specially those of on-

58 Eisenstadt, (Ed), (1971), Op Cit, p. 467

going movements. Thus, as he himself admit Wirth's classification is not so much as distinct varieties but rather as various stages of the same nationalist movement.

A.D. Smith⁵⁹ categorises the use of the term nationalism into three main references: (i) the whole process by which nations and nation-states have come into being; (ii) the formation of national consciousness and solidarity - a national sentiment; (iii) the phenomenon of an ideological movement aiming at autonomy and identity among certain units of the population, defined by atleast a minority of its members as worthy of the status of nationhood.

The classification made by Konstantin⁶⁰ as regards nationalist movement seem the most accurate. According to him nationalism can be understood into two wide categories. (i) Nationalism of majorities which hold political power in their respective realms; (ii) nationalism of the subject peoples which strive for political and cultural emancipation (inclusive of genuine minorities as well as political minorities). To him the first case of nationalism is usually a consequence of the country's international relations such as conflicts over boundaries, political and economic rivalry, military defeat, etc., or a reaction against the nationalist

59 Smith, A.D. "The Diffusion of Nationalism: Some Historical and Sociological Perspective", in British Journal of Sociology, vol. 29(2), 1978, p.235

60 Konstantin Symons - Symmolewicz, "Nationalist Movements: An Attempt at a Comparative Typology," in S.N Eisenstadt (Ed)., (1971), Op Cit

stirring among the country's minority people. In the second case it is usually a reaction to the status of inferiority, to the denial of political and cultural self-expression and the imposition of alien rule and custom. He describes the second category as nationalist movements: "a social movement aiming at a national liberation".

Konstantin further states: "although nationalism among the majority people may at times take the form of a social movement, it is for the most part represented by regular political parties or by the state itself. In the case of "minority peoples" on the other hand, nationalism must of necessity follow the pattern of a typical social movement. And the Naga Movement represents a typical case of such a movement.

Characterization

Chapter I: A review of literature on social movements in an attempt to assess opinions on definitions, classifications, and origin of social movements in general and nationalist movements in particular.

Chapter II: Social movements are products of social structure. Therefore, the Chapter deals with the Naga people: the social environment, the composition, and the social system in the traditional Naga society.

Chapter III: The Chapter dwells on the pre-movement history - the environmental conditions that evolved a primordial sentiment amongst the Nagas and their neighbours in the plains and the emergence of nationalist ethos in the Nagas political view.

Chapter IV: In this Chapter we look into the political situation in the post-independent India. The events that led to escalation and further alienation of people in a chronological account.

Chapter V: From the facts presented in the preceding Chapters, we make an evaluation of the impasse and conceptualize the social dynamics that caused the persistence of the ideology of Naga nationalism inspite of the changes.

Chapter VI: A retrospect of the study and the trend that the movement seem to show.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NAGA PEOPLE : TRADITION AND SOCIETY

The people known as the Nagas are of the Mongoloid race numbering about a million and a half. They inhabit the Indo-Burmese frontier between the northern part of Brahmaputra and Chinwin rivers covering an approximate area of 20,000 sq. miles. They are a conglomeration of a number of tribes and sub-tribes bound together on putative blood-tie. The various tribes speak different languages and dialects of the Tibeto-Burman group but share many similar cultural traits which points towards an obscure common origin.

Etymology of the word 'Naga': Some Theories

Hitherto the meaning of the word 'Naga', or the reason for which the Naga people came to be known by this nomenclature remain obscure. Although various theories on this has come about, evidence to substantiate any of the theories still lack convincing foundations and, therefore, attempts to trace the etymon of this word so far rest solely on semantic exercises. However, it is rewarding to see into the reasons as to why various scholars have postulated their theories.

When the British were in explorative expeditions

in the middle of the nineteenth century, Dalton¹ recorded that the name applied by the Hindus to the inhabitants of the Naga hills was from the Sanskrit root, meaning 'naked' or the Sanskrit 'nag', snake, and he remarked: "which ever derivation we take, it must be admitted that the word is aptly applied as the Nagas love to decorate rather than to clothe their person, and are decidedly snake-line in their habit". It is also believed that the word is derived from the Bengali word Nagata² meaning, 'naked', 'crude', 'barbarious', etc. The theory of nakedness as the origin of the word does not have much logical reasons, for, though the Nagas were then hardly clad, so also were the neighbouring tribesmen such as the Khasis, Garos, Mikirs, etc. And as W. Robinson³ observed even in the 19th century, "the term naga - naked - has never been known to be applied to other scantily clad hill tribes". The second word meaning 'snake' is also associated with those authors who believed Nagas to be snake worshipers or 'snake-race'. But to accept this theory we would only depend on rhymes without any base on the people, as the Nagas were nowhere close to snakeworship. On the contrary, some Nagas eat snakes and is considered a delicacy.

1 Dalton, E.T., "The Nagas of Upper Assam", in Elwin Verrier (Ed), (1969), The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford University Press, London, p.400

2 Yonuo, Aoso, (1974), The Rising Nagas, Vivek Publishing House, Delhi, p. 41

3 Robinson, W., 'The Naga Tribes', in Elwin Verrier, (Ed), Op Cit, p. 83-84

Some writers suggest that the word Naga means, 'hill man' deriving it from the Hindustani nag equivalent to a mountain. Hutton⁴ also for one time subscribed to the meaning 'mountaineer', 'mountaneous' or 'inaccessible place'. He, however, recanted his opinion to the 'naked' theory. Later, 'in view of the fact that Ptolemy in the third or fourth century A.D. and Shihabuddin Talish in the sixteenth, both speak of Nagas as 'nanga' meaning naked. While accepting the probability of 'inaccessible mountain' one is left to ask why it should exclusively name the Nagas when all the periphery of the Brahmaputra valley were hill people.

Mr Pearl⁵ suggested a theory of derivation from 'nok' a word used by some eastern Naga tribes for people. E.G. Gait⁶ also wrote "the collective designation by which they (Nagas) are known to the Assamese seems to be derived from nok which means 'folk' in some of the tribal dialects. When strange parties meet in the plains, they are said to ask each other 'ten nok e' or 'O noko' meaning 'what folk are you?'. One notable point in this is that even today Nagas have the habit of calling one another or enquiry where one is from or where one belong as a part of greeting.

4 See, Mills, J.P. (1926), The Ao Nagas, Macmillan, London, p.1., N.1

5 In: Hutton, J.H. (1921), The Assam Nagas, Oxford University Press, London, p.5

6 Gait, E.G., (1933), A History of Assam, Thacker Pinck & Co., Calcutta, p. 366

Another thought is the probability of derivation from the word nok⁷ meaning 'dao' in the language of the Ao Naga tribe and 'Ka' meaning 'to have'. Hence the word 'Naga' derived from 'Nok-Ka' to mean a man with a dao for every able Naga carried with him a dao in the olden days.

Some take the word to be from the Kacharis a neighbouring tribe from the plains who called the hill people, 'Nahnga',⁸ meaning 'warrior' or 'fighter'. Assamese pronounced as Nuoha or Nonga. Hence it was anglicized as Naga to denote the characteristic of the warrior.

Elwin accept the theory of 'nok' or 'people' to 'Naga' as the most likely derivation for it has the same meaning in a few Tibeto-Burman languages. He wrote, 'it is common throughout India for tribesmen to call themselves by words meaning 'man' an attractive habit which suggests that they look on themselves simply as people, free of communal or caste associations'.⁹ Horam¹⁰ also finds this theory most probable.

Although it lack concrete evidence of the theories stated above, we are inclined to accept the 'man' or 'people'

7 Philip, P.T. (1974), The Growth of Baptist Churches in Nagaland, Gauhati, p. 5

8 Ibid

9 Elwin Verrier, (1961), Nagaland, Shillong, p. 4

10 Horam, M. (1975), Naga Polity, B.S. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, p. 24

proposition. It is also found in various African tribesmen that they entitle themselves by Mordo meaning 'the men' or 'people'. Mula tribes, the Bura and Pabir tribes, and the Mumye tribes of Nigeria are exemplary for all these names mean 'men' or 'people'. The Nagas also identify themselves as 'people'. This is specially prevalent among the Naga tribes with whom outsiders from western plains would first and most frequently encounter. For instance, Rongmei, Zeme, Liangmei, (the three constitute Zeliangnong) which are closest to the plain in the southern part, Rengma, Tanyimia, (Angami) Chizima (Lotha) Semi (Sema), etc., in the central region, and Topronguni (Konyak) in the north. The words, mei, mi, ma or mia, mean 'people' or 'men' in various Naga dialects. The name of a tribe when suffixed by one of these would mean 'men belonging to that tribe'. For example Sopomi means men belonging to the sopo people or tribe.

Thus the origin of the word 'Naga' remains yet to be established. However, it is obvious that it was a name given by non-Nagas for the Nagas themselves did not have any collective nomenclature until the later half of the 19th century. Even by 1891 R.G. Woodthorpe noted "the word (Naga) is foreign and unrecognized by the Nagas themselves. They have no generic term for the whole race, nor even for each of the various tribes constituting this race".¹¹ Their coming together or

11 Woodthorpe, R.G., 'Meeting of the Anthropological Institute', in: Elwin Verrier, (Ed), (1969), Op Cit p. 47

seeing in each other similarities which now pronounce them as one people perhaps was prevented by the practice of head-hunting and internecine warfare. It is probable that even the tribal names as they are used today - Ao, Angami, Lotha, etc., - are also coined by outsiders.

Faced with lack of authentic conclusion on why are these tribes called Nagas, we are persuaded to further look into the constituents; their origin, their similarities and the reasons by which they differentiate themselves from other people.

Tribes and sub-tribes of the Nagas cannot be exactly numbered as their boundaries are on vague demarcation often on the basis of dialect. And typical of a tribal life each village dialect differs with the other. Presently recognised tribes are Anal, Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Cheng, Hemi, Htangan, Jeru, Jothe, Khiermungan, Kharam, Kolyo-Kenyu, Kom, Konyak, Lankang, Lotha, Makoero, Mao, Mazam, Maring, Mayao - Mansang, Namsik, Nockto, Phom, Rangpa, Rengma, Sangtam, Sema, Tangkhul, Tsangsa, Tsaplau, Wancho, Yimchunger, and Zeliangrong, divided in the north east Indian states and north western bank of Chinwin river in Burma.

Some of the tribes are formed out of combination of various subtribes such as Chakhensang, consisting of Chakru, Khozha and Sangtam. Each of these tribes has a definite

territorial boundary, practises more or less a homogenous culture and is marked by a consciousness of belonging to a common entity. This had great bearing in the latter political development manifesting into tribal alliances.

History of Naga People

For lack of a written record and proper research the history of the Nagas thus far, remains as obscure as their nomenclature. There are legends, stories, and folklores among the various tribes indicating their origin and route of migration but these differ widely and are incoherent in their details. More often than not these folklore are mixed with illogical and mythical tales and thus evade rational conclusions. In spite of these problem one common feature noteworthy is that all these theories point towards the eastern part of the world as their origin. This is quite probable for ethnically they exhibit affinity to various mainland Asian and Southeast Asian cultures.

Some cultural traits of the Nagas which had been practiced since time immemorial points to life in a sea environment: Firstly, all Naga tribes use sea shells in their ornaments and clothes highly esteemed as jewellery and among some tribes the shells served as currency. Secondly, every tribe in some form or the other, have boat-shape artifacts. Some

in forms of huge containers and others of log-drums or xylophones. Thirdly in the vocabulary of the tribes, words connoting sea environment are distinctly available. For instance, in Angami language, the word dzii Kezha (literally - big water) meaning sea, Kizhii ruchutsokemo (premature land) meaning island ru meaning boat. Considering the hilly terrain of their present habitation and these cultural traits we may safely say that the Nagas once lived on a sea shore or near to one.

Dr W.C. Smith¹² a Christian missionary and a sociologist gave a comparative study of Nagas and their affinity with Dyaks and Kayans of Borneo, the Battaks of Sumatra in Indonesia, the Iroquets and Hugasos of Phillipines and some tribal groups of Formosa in cultural similarities with one another like head-hunting, dormitory dwelling houses, disposal of the dead on raised platforms, a great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage, betel chewing, aversion to milk as an article of diet, tattooing by pricking, absence of any powerful political organization and double cylinder vertical loom, the simple loom for weaving cloth, a large quadrangular or hexagonal shield, and residence in hilly regions with crude form of agriculture. He, however, noted that these characteristics do not appear uniformly in the various Naga tribes.

12 See, Smith, W.C., The Ao Naga Tribes of Assam, (1975) Macmillan Co. Ltd., London, pp. 153-160

Alemchiba¹³ finds that the study of legends and tradition among the Naga tribes reveal successive waves of migration from different route and at different points of time but generally from south to north.

Thus by criteria of their folklores linguistic group, cultural affinity, direction of migration and of course, the phenotypical feature, the Nagas have their root towards the east and Southeast Asia. But the questions of time and routes of migration are as yet shrouded in probabilities.

Ethnicity and Diversity

Considering the above criteria, we must bear in mind that these theories could be easily applied to the other hill tribes of Northeast India. And, therefore, we are faced with the question why this group of people came to form a people separate from their fellow immigrants? and how they distinguish themselves from the rest?

In this respect some outstanding cultural features are noticeable (i) the sea oriented cultures of the Nagas which are found absent in other tribes of the Northeast India; (ii) all the Naga tribes decorate their war implements - Dao, spear, shield, etc., - which are also used in dances, and festivities

13 Alemchiba, A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland.
Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, 1970, p. 19

with hair, usually of goats and sheep, which others do not; (iii) Naga tribes paint or dress their calves though it varies in designs, as a sign of valour and such practice is not found in the culture of the other tribes; (iv) A common feature is the people eating in wooden plates.

According to W. Robinson¹⁴ Nagas appear in general to distinguish themselves from their neighbours by physical conformation, "for though there is much difference amongst them, yet they are in common remarkable for extremely coarse, savage countenances, and dull, timid, heavy dispositions".

Drawing common traits of resemblance amongst the tribes we find the Semas and Tangkhuls have affinity of language, clothes, folk-songs, and marriage customs. The Semas, Maos, Chakhesangs and Angamis have affinity on questions of inheritance, adoption, taking of oaths and such other things. The Tangkhuls, Chakhesangs and Aos and Angamis have similar methods of cultivation and house building. The Chingjaroi Tangkhuls speak almost the same dialect as the Angamis and Chakhesangs. The tattooing system and its accompanying belief are the same among Aos, Tangkhuls, Semas, Rengmas, and Sangtams. Again the Sangtams and Aos are akin in various ways to the Konyaks. Likewise, we find many similarities among the tribes.¹⁵ As a matter of fact no boundaries between Chakhesang, Angami and Mao

14 Robinson, W., (1941), Op Cit, p. 84

15 For detailed list of similarities see, Hoxam, M., (1975), Op Cit, pp. 37-41

tribes can really be drawn.

Thus as Horam pointed out "the similarities between the Naga tribes far outstrip the differences between them. Such factors as the multiplicity of languages can easily be understood when one realizes the great isolation in which small groups lived".¹⁶

It is evident that even in the earliest days of their known history the Naga tribes distinguished themselves from other hill tribes around them, though constantly at war amongst themselves and using dialects so different.

It can only be the lack of a written script that proper record of their earlier life and interactions got bleak and thus posing the question to present researchers as to whether the Nagas as they claim today, were really a distinct group of people.

Whatever the problems - appellation of the word Naga or their origin - for our study in the sociological perspective, the fact that a group of people came together as a people and launched a collective action striving to be a nation-state gives us the premise of analysis. We, therefore,

16 Horam, H., (1975). Op Cit. p. 37

will look into the Naga society in their authentic pre-colonial period to understand the social structure and sociological dynamics within their social system.

Naga Society: Some Prominent Institutional Structures

Known history of the Nagas does not provide any basis to believe that a centralised authority or a particular form of political system ever existed before the British advent although Dr Barch¹⁷ suggest that Nagas might originally have autocratic form of government which was invented when the rule of one strong man was essential in the pre-settled stage. Naga tribes were scattered and isolated from one another because of their headhunting practice, internecine warfare, communication problem and close economic system. Each tribe had its own system of social organisation at the village level. Although loosely knit alliances amongst the villages gave the tribes certain amount of unity for purpose of defence and war, each village was a sovereign state, an independent political entity of an integrated whole. Therefore, a study of the Naga society dwell around the village as a social, political, economic and religious unit.

17 Barch, H., "Nagaland's Pre-History", in Highlander, Kohima, vol.1, No.1, March 1973, p.18

Naga villages were perched on hilltops with narrow approach paths. The primary consideration for such a site obviously was the basic need for defence. They were well-fortified with limited gates which were very often guarded. A view of the fields, and proximity to water sources were other considerations of a village site. Houses are built very close to each other and therefore, a very close social interaction among the members of the village.

Polity

Traditional Naga internal political system predominantly involved decision making, law enforcement and disputes, settlements within the boundaries of the village. It would be a futile attempt to enumerate the various practices within the scope of this research. However, the general power structure of the various villages and tribes can be clearly understood through the various segmentation of the village community. Every village consists of three or more clans known as 'Khels'. These clans were often lineages; even otherwise members are believed to be from common ancestry. Every clan had interrelated pressure groups such as the Morung, age groups, the Council of elders and the families. Political power in the village is structured and operated in ascending or descending orders according to the type of system each tribe practice.

Known political systems varies among the tribes from a near dictatorship to an extreme form of democracy. The Semas, Konyaks, Changs, and Maos had hereditary chiefs. Of these the Konyak chief enjoys highest status. He is considered sacrosanct. The Semas have a protofeudal system. The land is controlled by the chiefs and distributed for cultivation to the people. In such tribes the chief may consult the clan elders who in turn takes the view of the different pressure groups in the clan. However, the ultimate authority rested solely on the chiefs and their rule was accepted as law. Most of the other tribes practice chieftenship but selected by the clans.

The Aos have a republican form of government in which a sizeable council of elected members from various clans known as 'tartars' rule with powers vested by the villagers. These councillors were instated for a fixed term according to the age-group succession and removed when their tenure expires. The Angamis are known for their 'pure' democracy. They have free-for-all debates in decision makings - the clan if the issue is within or inter-clan and the whole village if the case is inter-village or on village level. They have nominal chiefs who function only as convener of the general meetings. Writing about this system Captain Butler said "every man follow the dictate of his own will, a form of purest democracy which is very difficult to conceive of as existing even for a single day; and yet that it does exist

here is an undeniable fact¹⁸. However, for final deliberation they depute people with experience and in such selection age seniority is highly respected.

The village chiefs or headmen in Naga villages are prominent figures. Besides their political power, in all social and religious festivals. They enjoy various privileges. They are entitled to certain clothing and a portion of meat of animals killed in the village during festivals or in some cases even at other times. They are always offered the best rice beer. They have no salaries, but are well paid in perquisites and gratuitous labour.

The chiefs are also assigned heavy responsibilities. They have control over the entire civil matters. They look after the defence of the village and acts as the host or allocates hosts to visitors. All visitors to a village must notify the purpose and duration of their visit to the village chief and pay him their respect, who in turn guarantees their safety during their stay. He is the convenor and chairman of village council meeting and represents the village or deputes his representatives in inter-village conferences. Above all, he is the commander-in-chief of the village's mase militia and leads them in time of war.

18 In: Hutton, J.H. (1921), Op Cit, p. 193

The Nagas have a patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal kinship system. Therefore, the head of the family is the father or in case of his early death the eldest son. Inheritance goes to sons, though daughters do not inherit properties immovable properties can be given to them on her marriage as gifts. Because of the patrilineal system descent is reckoned through the male line and descent through women is largely ignored. Therefore, heads of the clan or village are always male members. This does not however, indicate a low status for women. The womenfolk has heavy responsibilities and privileges. Writing of the Ao women, Mills said "An Ao woman is very far from being a slave and a drudge. Her position is nowhere inferior to that of man, she always has her clan behind her and were a bad-tempered husband to bully his wife he would soon have a swarm of angry in-laws buzzing round his ears, and his wife would promptly leave him".¹⁹

The clans form the exogenous groups and in some cases where population is big, the exogamy is arranged on lineage groups of a clan. Widows and aged people become responsibilities of their immediate consanguines. In case of a divorce which is quite common the woman goes back to her own kindred and remains till a reunion, remarriage or death. A divorced woman is entitled to only immovable properties.

¹⁹ Mills, J.P. (1926), Op Cit, pp.211-12.

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Morung

One of the most important social institution in Naga society is the morung - a dormitory for unmarried young men. Every Naga village had one or more morungs and among some tribes it is organized in terms of clans which may have more than one. Though the word is possibly Assamese origin every village has a name for it in their respective dialects. Konyak call it 'ban' or 'pen'; Aos call it 'Asichu'; in Angami 'Kichu Ki', 'Longshim' in Taughlui; 'Dek Chang' in Sema; 'Champo' in Lotha and so on. The nature of use varies from tribe to tribe but a morung has various functions indispensable to a Naga.

Given the war-prone atmosphere the morung served as 'guard house where young men stay together ready for any eventuality. This is most evident in the Ao areas where the morung is generally situated at the gates and strategic sites of the village. More than being a defence technique the morung was the centre of the Nagas cultural life. It was in the morung that the youth gets trained for the future independent life and were imparted lessons on community living. It provided physical training in games, sports and warfare and lessons in arts and handicrafts from the weaving of baskets to construction of houses and sundry. Here the youth gets invaluable lessons in oration, diplomacy, and

leadership. They were also acquainted with the history, culture, folklore, moral codes, customs and traditions, songs and dances of their village, in short their entire heritage. These were imparted both orally and practically to the learner. The curriculum of the morung also included festivities and lively discourses where news in and around them are communicated.

The morung turns out self-reliant disciplined citizens and responsible leaders. They inculcate values of honesty, truthfulness, industriousness and are ready to bear the responsibilities of a matured man. Ursula Bowers give a comprehensive view of a morung graduate when she wrote "they are the tougher fibre and the rough corners have been rubbed off. They are more self-reliant, with common sense and better discipline and above all their loyalty and sense of service to a corporate body is well-developed. They have not lost the individualism, but they have a view of the world in relation to themselves, a group of mutual duties as well as rights, a way of giving a fair deal for a fair deal".²¹ Mills²² also find the morung as a replacement of a father as a disciplinarian and noted that violent quarrels between father and sons are more frequent in tribes which have no morungs.

21 Bowers, Ursula, G., (1952), Naga Path, Readers Union, London, p. 75

22 Mills, J.P., (1937), The Rongas Nagas, Macmillan & Co, London, p. 95

Morungs are exclusively for men. Though in some tribes there were small houses for unmarried girls too, in many cases such practice did not exist. Women are prohibited from entering a morung or its premises. Such a taboo was strictly adhered to by most of the tribes. It is believed that a breach of such a taboo entails illluck for the whole community - in time of hunting and war. Such practice of houses strictly served for the use of males or females to which access is denied to members of the opposite sex was also prevalent in many parts of the world,²³ and the strict adherence contribute to the maintenance of a balanced social order.

There are variations in the degree of value attached to and the organization of morungs among the different tribes. An Ao set great store by their morungs and he would not speak of himself as belonging to a particular *ihol* of his village but to a particular Morung while to the Semas and Angais the morung does not play as important a role except for special festivals, relating to religious belief and activities and other important political discussions. For them ordinarily attendance at the morung is not compulsory. Writing of the morung among the Aos, Haimendorf says: "one may agree or disagree with the principle of giving boys a training in

23 See, Horen, H., 1975, *Op Cit*, p. 66

community spirit outside the individual family; but there can be no question that the morung is one of the main pillars of the Aos social order. The bachelors hall was the social centre of the village, the age-groups of the morung where the natural labour teams for every public work and the rights and obligations of every member of the community was regulated by his place in the age-group system.²⁴

The Semas have no separate house set apart or built to be used as morung but they use the chief's house which usually was spacious enough to serve the purpose. The Angamis have a different term for the 'Michuki' and the 'thehu' though both are usually situated under the same roof or very close by. Thehu is an institution generally associated with a bonfire, obviously for warmth, and organized along the line of localized clans. It nevertheless serves the purpose of what a morung does in other tribes.

Membership of a morung in most tribes is an elaborate affair. Some even have age prescriptions and specified course in specified durations. All tribes have rights and duties for the various age-groups of the morung - the age group is strictly observed among the Aos. New entrants are severely ragged and disciplined. They are expected to gather fuel, fetch water, cook food and all sorts of domestic chores. They are expected to run errands for the senior members or for the community and

24 Furer Hainendorf, Christopher Von, (1962) (2nd Edn.), The Naked Nagas, Thacker Spink, Calcutta

At the same time attend to their comforts. Obedience is strictly demanded of them at this stage. All these are obeyed without objection as each one hoped that in due time his turn would come. The senior members assume other heavier responsibilities in connection with the administration and running of the morung. For all these the morung has its own set of rules and regulations and though the one outside interferes in its administration. The members understandably come within the pale of the village authority and are liable to punishment as any other ordinary villagers for breach of any traditional or customary law.

While morungs curriculum are mainly for the youth, it also is an institution that involved the whole society. The expenditures incurred when morungs are built are met by the whole clan or village but its maintenance was the responsibility of its members. J.P. Mills describes this significance thus: "It is an undoubted fact that among the Naga tribes that build morungs, the state of those buildings in a village gives a sure indication of the state of the village itself. Decaying morungs mean a decaying village and a well-used well kept morungs a vigorous community."²⁵

25 Mills, J.P., 1937, Op Cit, p. 49

A morung also functioned as a sanctuary. No criminal, whether of that village or a fugitive from another, could be touched while in a morung even did a man commit murder. The avengers, in the fury of the moments cannot pursue him into a morung. The men of the Khel to which the morung belongs must protect him till the case against him has been discussed and calm action decided on.²⁶ Crimes were also not committed in a morung. Property can be left lying about in one with safety, for it is a taboo to steal in a morung. Any stranger entering a morung as a rule was treated with hospitality and could in no account be refused a nights shelter.

Age-Group System

Inter-related with the morung is another important social institution - the age-group system. For most of the Nagas this system acts as the determinant factor for recruitment or membership into the village citizenry through the socialization process of the morung. Among the Aos every male child born within the same age group of 3 years duration of 7 years of age is eligible to enter the morung and replace and free the seniors of the tradition-bound responsibilities. And on the expiry of three years, they are again replaced by a new set of recruits. A boy remains in his original age-groups, till he dies, each group taking its

26 Mills, J.P. (1937), Op Cit., p. 52

come from some prominent members. Girls also have their age-groups but the system does not play a very prominent part in female life.

In tribes such as the Angamis age-groups are more of work and socializing orientation. Therefore, in this system boys and girls together form groups not strictly on any criterion. However, generally membership comes within 4 to 5 years. As soon as a child is able to do serious work in the field the age group is marked and he is free to join his group. Members of a group worked together in the fields from one to another throughout work season. This system besides other functions serves important roles (i) Boys and girls of the same age-group come to socialize and thus matches for matrimony are easily arranged for marriage; (ii) The solidarity and integrity of the society is perpetuated in the close interaction of the groups; (iii) this system create a progressive sense of competition amongst the various age-groups in their contribution to the multidimensional responsibilities of their community. To belong to a reputed age-group is a great pride which every member strives to maintain whether in terms of service or of social control; (iv) Members of an age group displays solidarity and meet the tradition bound obligation in times of a member's marriage, death or misfortune; (v) the system of working together leave no member to lethargy or irresponsibility.

Economy

Agriculture, animal husbandary and the forest were the main source of meeting the economic wants - food, clothe, and shelter -- of the Nagas. Therefore, they are strongly attached to their land. The organization of these resources gave them a self-sufficient village economies on subsistence level and in the most natural state. Constraint on the scale of production due to low technology and difficult terrain restricted the economy to respective village boundaries.

Agricultural pursuits of the Nagas are in two methods:

(a) permanent wet cultivation on terraces. This is a practiced by the central and southern tribesmen in a very scientific pattern. Terraces are curved out in the hill slopes and are kept well manured by cowdung, husk, leaves, etc. They are irrigated "by means of artificial channel along which the water is often brought from very long distance by means of adequate aqueducts ingeniously constructed of hollowed out trees or bamboos and sometimes bridging deep ravines";²⁷

(b) Dry shifting cultivation known as jhuming or swiddening. In this method the forest is cleared and burned in dry season and seeds are sown as wet season approaches. After use of a particular area for two or three years together the site of

27 Butler. J. 'Angami Farming' in Verrier Elwin (Ed), (1969), Op Cit, p. 587

cultivation is shifted to other place leaving the former to fallow. Land for cultivation are both in form of private and communal ownership. Depending entirely on the ecological providence Nagas cultivate rice, millet, maize, job's tears, yam and varieties of vegetables. Implements for cultivation were primitive - axe, hoe, sickle, daos, etc., and were operated only by manual labour.

A substantial part of Naga's daily use and food supply is directly obtained from the forest; both flora and fauna. Nagas eat almost any moving creature in the jungle and a great many variety of plants and leaves. Hunting and fishing are favourite pastime and there are various methods, for making traps both in forest and rivers. For want of any other means, materials for housing, handicrafts and implements were mostly from the forest and exploitation of these usually entail many social implications.

Nagas economic organization is very simple and horizontal, in the sense that labour is exchanged among persons of the same ~~age~~ group, working relation are guided and sustained by each one's common understanding of customs and traditions and not by any stipulated agreement. Social division of labour is almost nil, apart from those in terms of sex and age. And specialization is practically non-existent as the needs for blacksmithy, pottery, and making of other implements were on the basis of an individual's genius and confined only to family circles.

With regard to domestic animals, the Nagas rear mithun, buffalos, cows, pigs, goats, dogs, cats and varieties of fowls, both for the purpose of food as well as for sale and barter. Mithun, buffalos and cows are let loose in communal pastures kept away and fenced from the cultivated areas. Until the recent past, Nagas did not use these animals for cultivation, neither did they take milk as an article of food.

Within their limited resources Nagas had a fairly developed standard of art and handicrafts. Spinning, weaving of clothes from cotton were usually done in artistic designs. Implements for war and cultivation were made from imported iron. Mats, baskets, tubs, pails, etc., are woven of bamboo or reed and are made water-tight by smearing with the juice of the rubber tree. Drums, beds, slates, mugs, etc., are curved from timbers. All these handicrafts for domestic ornamental uses are done with fine aesthetic perception.

In spite of the generally close system of economy, the Nagas had trades with the plainmen for their indispensable items. The goods they give out were chiefly, cotton, domestic animals and fowls, and forest goods such as bee wax, rubber fluid, medical herbs and dyes of various colours. In central and southern Nagas who had wet cultivation usually goods were exchanged for salt, iron and ornamental materials.

while those in the north and western parts for clothes, rice, salt and other foodstuff. Exchange before the British's advent had been generally in barter system although in some tribes there were currencies in various forms.

One of the important feature of the Naga economic life is the maximum parity of wealth. Given the limited resource, communal ownership, close kinship system, practice of feasts of merits, the competitive nature of interaction and other virtues of industriousness, etc. The Nagas had none too rich or too poor in their society and, therefore, have a strong sense of equality.

Feasts of Merit

Feasts of merit are important criteria in a man's social status. These feasts are given by men who are economically in a position to feed the village. The menu of the feast depend on the stage of his achievement but is usually of rice, meat, rice beer, pickle, etc. They are given with an elaborate process of rites, festivity and sports in which the splendour, colour and extravagance of Naga life is concentrated. There are series of stages of the feasts in ascending order varying from tribe to tribe. These series are strictly proscribed and every man tries to proceed as far in its as his means permit. Mills noted "It would be an unheard of thing for a man to go no further

with the series if he could afford to do so.²⁸

Every feast entitles the host to social distinction and increases progressively his standing and position in community. One who has these distinctions wears special clothes and ornaments and decorates his house in a distinctive manner marking his achievement. Huge monoliths are dragged and erected in the name of the host in the outskirts of the village on the road sides. The process of erecting such monuments involves an important place for the wife.²⁹ Later the particular spot or area of this monolith usually come to be known by the name and in memory of the successful man. Among the Angami and Chakhesang tribes the most prominent marks of such a man is shown by the horns of his house.

Socially, and economically the feasts are of great significance. The worth of the aspirant for fame is revealed by the success of such festivity. Here his kit and kins and friends play important role and the feast much depends upon them. They bring presents of rice, and animals and contribution of rice beer besides their labour in arrangements. Considering the magnitude of the feast the host of such a feast is considered influential for the confidence he has in the first place.

28 Mills, J.P. (1937), Op Cit., p. 181

29 For a pen-picture of a feast of merit as it is taking place, see, Furer, Haimmerorf, E.V. (1939), Op Cit., pp. 18-27

The ceremonies strengthen ties of kinship and friendship as reciprocal reactions follow and thus extend the continuity of interaction. In such feasts sharing and distribution is done equally down to the poorest. Exchange of presents and distribution of meat and rice also take place amongst members of different villages. This reflects one's spread of acquaintance and is regarded as signifying the strongest possible bond of alliance. Such practice portrays the economic view of the Naga life in which property essentially goes to the community beyond one's need for subsistence.

Religious Belief and Practice

The religious belief system of the Nagas is generally known as Animism which regards the supernatural in general from a point of view that is sublimely vague. The tribes have slight variations but generally all come under the belief of a supreme God, creator of the whole earth, the presence of numerous demons, ghosts and evil spirits, and the life after death. Natural forces, such as earthquake, sun, moon, eclipse, etc. Mysterious valleys and mountains and even animals which for a long time successfully evade its pursuers are credited with supernatural qualities but these are not worshiped.

The dwelling place of the creator is located in the sky and to the Angami tribes "Ukopenupfu" is the supreme

benevolent God. People who lived in good conduct live with him after death. Likewise in Aos 'mazing' is a judging God who watches the behaviour of every man and punishes or rewards different people according to their behaviour and Lichaba or Lunatisonaba is the God of heaven and creator of the earth. The Konyaks name the supreme God 'Gawang' which mean 'earthshy' to them the name signified not the spiritual essence of the universe but a diety of highly personal character associated with the sky more than with the earth. The Semas have three ascending categories of the spirit first is 'Alhou' who is the remote supreme God; second, the spirit of the sky who have occasional contacts with the children of man; and the third the spirit of the earth who are harmful if not propitiated. Lothas do not believe in a supreme God, but they believe in spirits and deities. Some deities, they believe are good, some neutral and some malicious. However, no Naga tribes had a fixed place of worship or images of their Gods. To this Huetton, remarked thus: "polytheist, pantheist, he (a Naga) may be but he is no idolator".³⁰

The belief in a narrow path to paradise is universal among the Nagas and, therefore, a warrior is usually buried with his weapons. The place of paradise among the tribes differ but generally all point towards mountains or valleys east of their location. The souls of the dead, however, are

³⁰ Hutton, J.H. (1921), The Assam Nagas, Macmillan, London, p. 177

believed as not entirely cut off from the former existence. Dead man's drinking-horn³¹ is frequently hung up in case he may return for refreshment. However, the spirits of the dead are held to be always desirous of adding more spirits to the spirit world and so they come to trouble the living to take them away. Therefore, the act of ancestral 'worship' is either to appease or denounce them.

Nagas attribute all misfortunes - sickness, unnatural death, natural calamities, crop failures, etc., to the evil spirits and observe various sacrifices to appease them. Fowls and domestic animals are offered. The Lothas, Semas, Sangtams, Angamis and Changs release the "scape-goat chicken" which would carry away the curse of the sick man. Those who meet with unnatural death are believed to be physically, socially and spiritually dead. And for fear of such fate and misfortunes, Nagas greatly rely on dreams interpretations and omens of all sorts.

Naga religion "is not a moral code, it is a system of ceremonies".³² The Naga in his fear for the innumerable malignant spirits who were believed to be harmful to men take shelter under religious observances - the taboos commonly

31 The horn of mithun or buffalo is used as ceremonial mugs for drinking rice beer.

32 Mills, J.P., (1926), Op Cit, p. 215

termed as 'genna'. This term is a derivation from Angami 'Kenyi' and 'penna' signifying 'forbidden' or 'prohibition'. Kenyi is implied to forbidden acts in normal life both for individual and groups and penna is restriction of particular occasions, usually declared for the whole community.

Abstention from forbidden acts on prohibited days called 'gennas' are very important as the breaking of this, they believed would bring a curse. Therefore, to them strict observance of genna is absolutely necessary for health, wealth and progress of the individual and the community. "The code of morals the sanction on which it rests is social, and not religious".³³ Theft for instance, while a very serious offence when perpetrated by an individual against his fellow villager is proper if not praise-worthy action when perpetrated against a member of another community.

There is no regular priesthood in the Naga animism, but some persons are supposed to be better endowed with the power of divination than others. Such people are always found in every village. One with such power acts as a high priest and performs the functions of declaring gennas. In Angami tribe he is known as Zhivv. He declares work seasons and recites blessings in times of birth, marriage, construction of houses, feasts, etc. When calamity occurs, one or

more of these soothsayers, is called on to ascertain the particular demon who is offended, and who requires to be pacified. E.A. Gait³⁴ described such a ritual thus, "this is done either by devil dancing, when the diviner works himself into a paroxysm of drunkenness and excitement, and then holds converse with the unseen spirits around him or by the examination of omens". In connection with the sacrifices he recorded "on all necessary occasions, goats, fowls and other animals are offered to the gods, but it is always assumed that the latter will be contended with the blood and entrails - the flesh is divided amongst the sacrifices and his friends, the presiding soothsayer usually getting the lion's share".³⁵

From this background of beliefs Nagas has a swearing practice - oath taking - which was the final means of settling disputes and other criminal offences. Though the details of methods vary from place to place, the claim of one pleading not guilty is vouched by taking oath in the name of spirits who could punish the accused with dire consequences in case of false statement. The oath taken by a party usually ends a dispute as the other party, however, reasonable their evidence of accusation or defence may be, leaves the judgement

34 Gait, E.A. "Animism", In: Elwin Verrier, (1969),
Op Cit, pp 510-13

35 Ibid

to the fate the other party swears upon. A common oath as translated by Hutton³⁶ runs as follows: "If I lie in what I now say, then betwixt heaven and earth, let me not grow like other men, but let me become as ruin, as a burst-out fire, as rotted twine". Attachment of value and seriousness of oath, however, varies from tribe to tribe.

Head Hunting

Like many other pre-literate societies Negas are known for their practice of head hunting which was also associated with the taking of hands, feet, ears, etc., of people one could shy as trophies of war. Warriors for their social recognition often venture out individually and hunt for heads and on such an expedition an ambush was rightly considered a fair ruse. Such act bring serious socio-economic consequences in personal and inter-village relations. Nevertheless, it is also found that the enemy was not invariably killed. By western Rengas custom³⁷ if a man called out 'father' to a man aiming a spear at him the spear was not thrown and the man's life spared. Such variant alternative are found among other tribes too.

Men intending to go on a raid keep themselves chaste lest he should weaken himself, and might not catch up pigs

36 Hutton, J.H. (1921), Op Cit, p. 82

37 Mills, J.P., (1937), Op Cit, p. 157

and fowls, lest he become confused and rushed wildly about as they do. While husbands were away their wives could not spin or their men would trip over creepers, and had to remain chaste or they would be killed or wounded.

Head hunting had its social implications. Men who had heads to their credit enjoyed certain social status. These warriors wore certain clothes and decorations in their regalia. The special clothes were considered a manly mark adding dignity to one's personality and honour and elevate a man's status which bear influence in decision makings of their community. Such influence was graded by the number of heads he collected. Being able to take heads also was an important qualification for a man in marriage. Young warriors, who had taken a head held a great advantage over his fellows in attracting the most beautiful girls of his village for marriage.³⁸ Indeed, it is said that a youth who had no decoration as mark of successful warrior found considerable difficulty in obtaining a wife.

Collection of heads served not only as the glory of war or of personal achievement but also it gain a 'soul-force' which is believed to be inherent in the skull of man. By taking a head from another village it was believed that a new injection of vital and creative energy would come to the aggressor's village when he brought the head home. This was believed valuable for human and animal fertility, good

³⁸ Understandably this is because of security besides other social values.

harvest and for the health of the village's populace. The customs to dispose heads taken also had rigorous rituals varying from tribe to tribe. All these oracles stimulate arts such as dances, clothes, and ornaments which added to the Naga culture.

The Naga Personality : A General Profile

From the above discourse on the salient features of the traditional Naga society, we find that there was a sort of Durkheimian mechanical solidarity, a solidarity of resemblance within the parameter of the village where the individuals were differentiated at the minimum and lived as equals economically, politically and socially. Loyalty and attachment to the corporate whole - the village community - was almost absolute. Identification of 'self' was in terms of the whole and dissent was contained within the community. Therefore, the traditional Naga when in interaction with others had always done so in kinship pattern; clan to clan, village to village, tribe to tribe, etc. All these are monolithic structures in relations. From this background some characteristic of the Naga personality becomes prominent.

The strong feeling of equality manifest in a proud nature: Sense of 'man to man' form the basis of their interaction with others which is noticeable in their works, games

and fights. They consider themselves inferior to none. This is evident in their effort to prove it by fighting the more advance culture - Ahoms, Manipuris and later the British. They also have a strong desire to outdo their fellow men in society. Mary Mead remarked, "A casual observer could never imagine the ambition for fame and glory that lurks even to this day in the Naga breast. He is ready to sacrifice to the utmost that his praises may be sung and his name perpetuated".³⁹

Nagas are a very suspicious people. This can be easily understood as the then prevailing social ethic provided opposite attitude to members within the community and to those outside. Thus any visitor from outside the community without proper credential was a potential enemy. This nature had been prominently noticed by most Britishers. Sword wrote that the Nagas were "suspicious of the white man and did not look with favour upon his intrusion".⁴⁰ Mary Mead also recorded of the Nagas suspicion on the first missionary. "Send him off ... you will sooner or later know that this great raja preacher is a disguised agent of the Company (British East India Company)... Has he not the same white face?".⁴¹ The Nagas however, when converted to Christianity later, became strong advocates of the faith.

39 Clark, Mary Mead, (1907), A Corner in India, American Baptists Publishing Society, Philadelphia, p. 46

40 Sword, V.H., Baptists in Assam, Conference Press, Chicago, (1935), p. 61

41 Clark, Mary Mead, (1907), Op. Cit., p. 107

Nagas also are a conservating and obstinate people in their attitude towards change though in practice they are susceptible. These characteristics even today acts as impediment to social progress marked by their strong emphasis in traditions. Writing about Angami's strong resistance to social and political change Dowson stated that they "clung to old ways with a tenacity remarkable even for Nagas".⁴² Mills said of a common characteristic which all the Naga tribes have: "an absolute inability to foresee the future".⁴³

Nagas are known for their warlike character. Throughout their known history there had been perpetual war and violence. Hutton⁴⁴ attributed three reasons for war in Naga society: (i) shortage of land necessitated forcible encroachment on that neighbouring villages; (ii) the protection of trading interests as an attempt on the part of one village to trade directly with another at some distance has often caused war with an intervening village through which the trade use to pass; (iii) the third cause is head hunting. Legends has it that the Nagas originally did not know how to make war but learnt by watching ants raid each other's nests.⁴⁵ Whatever the reasons, be it inspiration from creatures, men, or from belief system or from the very need of survival with and against nature, the Nagas had been, and perhaps still are, a fighting people.

42 Dowson, F.S., The Mighty Work of God, Gauhati, (1971), p.114

43 Mills, J.P., (1937), Op Cit, p. 42

44 Hutton, J.H., (1921), The Sema Nagas, Macmillan, London

45 Mills, J.P., (1937), Op Cit, p. 154

Writing about average Angami Naga Butler said "he is a fine, athletic fellow, brave and warlike and, among themselves, as a rule truthful and honest. On the other hand, he is bloodthirsty, treacherous and revengeful to an almost incredible degree. This, however, can scarcely be wondered at when, ... revenge (is) being considered a most holy act, which they have been taught at childhood even to revere as one of their most sacred duties". He further added, "the 'blood feud' of the Nagas is what the vendetta of the Corsican was, a thing everlasting and most baneful hier-noon, involving in its relentless course the brutal murders of helpless old men and women, innocent young girls and children".⁴⁶

Given the odd circumstances to struggle for survival the Nagas are industrious and highly endowed with physical power. These were the main resources to meet the subsistence. Hutton noted these when he wrote "carrying heavy load they can march for long distance, 25 miles being considered as a reasonable march for a day".⁴⁷

These characteristics of the Naga personality had great bearing in the later times when they came into contact with outside civilizations and greatly determined the course of their social, political development.

46 Butler, J., in: Verrier Elwin (Ed), (1969), Op Cit, p.301

47 Hutton, J.H., (1921), Op Cit, p. 26

Summary

From the above study we find that the Negas traditionally lived in segmented and isolated village republics. These republics spread out to form the tribes and the tribes constituted the Naga society. We also have looked into their social structures and social dynamics which have through the years evolved a general personality and governed the day-to-day social life of its members.

CHAPTER THREE

EMERGENCE AND FORMATION OF THE NATIONALIST

ETHOS AMONG THE NAGAS

As we have seen the social structure of the Naga traditional society in the preceding chapter we shall now deal with the historical background - the social circumstances that led to the emergence of the ideology. The area of history which Nelson¹ describe as the interaction between the 'client-to-be' of the movement and the 'agent-to-be', and how the two contradicting opinions emerged so as to cause a protracted confrontation between the Naga nationalists and the Government of India.

Pre-Colonial Period and the Primordial Sentiment

In the study of the pre-colonial situation of the Nagas and their surrounding areas one cannot help but use the tool of dichotomising the people into Hill people and valley people.² The valley people constituted of the Bengalis and the Ahoms in the southern and northern basins of the river Brahmaputra, respectively, and the Burmans in the Irrawady plains; and the hill people were known by various names - Nagas, Kachins, Chins, Arakaneses, Karens, Garos, etc.

1 See, Nelson, Harold, A., "Social Transformation and Premovement Effect : A Preliminary Enquiry", In: Sociological Quarterly, 1974, vol. 15, pp. 127-142

2 Such dichotomization had been earlier done by E.R Leach in his work: "The Frontiers of Burma", In: Mc Alister, John, T. Jr., (Ed), South-East Asia: The Politics of National Integration, Random House, New York, 1973, pp. 315-334.

Because of the geographical and ecological situation the history of socio-economic development of the two groups of people differed immensely. The valley people developed a relatively stable civilization and concentration of population in the rich alluvial soil of the river beds while the hill people enjoyed a meagre standard of living sustained by crude methods of cultivation on unfavourable terrain and thus a spread of isolated population along the hills.

The most distinctive cultural difference the valley people had, apart from economic stability, was their adherence to certain far-evolved religions - Buddhism in Burma and Hinduism in India. To them their religion and civilization were synonymous and therefore, look upon the hill people by the way they adopt to these religions. And hence the tribal standard was looked down upon.

In the economic interaction the little that the hillman produced for trade - chillies, cotton, domestic animals, and fowls, forest goods: bee wax, rubber fluid, medical herbs, and dyes of various colours - were bartered at throw-away price with factory and mill products when brought to the plains. Thus the valley peoples were a 'bully' and an exploitative group to the hill people and the latter an apprehensive group always out to defend themselves from what seem to threaten their existence. This enmity was

demonstrated by the hill people in the fashion of tribal vengeance by raiding and looting their unfriendly neighbours which inevitably provoked punitive reactions from the valley people.

Though there were also times of conciliation and cordial relations between the hill people and the plainsmen such as the Nagas and Ahoms,³ the history of the two groups were generally of enmity. An experience of "a diametrically opposed mode of subsistence associated with two types of terrain a continuing pattern of interaction between two kinds of ecology, two distinct pattern of kinship organization, and two sets of economic interests".⁴ Consequently, there never was lasting cordial or harmonious interaction. This had great bearing especially on the Nagas in the development of a primordial sentiment of being a different people and a xenophobic awareness.

British Advent

In the early nineteenth century the expansion of the

3 See, Misra Udayon, "The Naga National Question", In: Economic and Political Weekly, April 8, 1978, p.618

4 Leach, E.R., (1973), Op Cit

British empire reached the Naga hills. They came to the area on punitive expeditions for the Nagas' constant raids to Assam plains where the colonial tea gardens flourished. The first encounter was in 1832, when Captain Jenkin and his men crossed the Angami territory while returning from Manipur valley to Assam.

At first the British tried to intimidate the Angami tribesman and, therefore, other expedition forces were sent but the tribesmen's raids could not be stopped. Therefore, in 1847 to 1850, the colonial government established three outposts in the hills - Samauiting, Mozemah and Khonoma.

The advent of the British furthered the development of the ingroup feeling of the Naga people. When British force defeated the Naga resistance the xenophobic awareness intensified. A folk song composed at this time goes:

"You from far unknown valley
Looking more ghost-like than man
With peculiar wooden toys
Crushing neighbours without much efforts
Have settled in our land ...

May we with good fortune
Conquer and defeat ...
And have our cāhm once again".⁵

5 Translated by the Researcher from an Angami folk-song

In this we find a clear demarcation of an in-group 'we', 'us', 'ourland' and an outgroup: 'you', 'neighbours'. Such expression were the expressions of a political development taking place within the isolated society in the event of encountering people from outside their group.

The coming of the British to Naga hills was purely of economic interest and since the expensive expeditions and creation of outposts were of no profit excepting the control of raids they followed a non-interference policy.⁶ This profit-oriented policy is evident in Lord Dalhousie's minutes, "I dissent entirely from the policy which is recommended of what is called obtaining a control, that is to say, of taking possession of these hills and of establishing our sovereignty over their savage inhabitants. Our possession could bring no profit to us and would be as costly to us as it would be unproductive".⁷

The non-interference policy prevailed for sometime but even so the Nagas did not refrain from raiding the plains. Therefore, the British administrators took to more aggressive policy. In 1862, the Commissioner of Assam reported, "it is not creditable to our government that such atrocities

6 This policy was recommended by Captain Butler. For Detail reasons of the policy see, Alemchiba, M., A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland, Kohima, 1970, Art & Culture, pp. 56-59

7 Elwin, V., (Ed.), (1969), Op Cit. p. 162

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".⁸ Given this situation the British occupied Kohima on November 4, 1878.⁹ This was strongly opposed by the Nagas and a good number of battles followed. Barpujari commented, "exclusive in spirit, independent in bearing the valiant Naga could not tolerate interference in their internal affairs and encroachment on their primordial rights".¹⁰ The Nagas even laid siege of Kohima for eleven days in 1879.¹¹ But the superior power prevailed and hence the colonial rule.

With the creation of British administration at Kohima the Nagas for the first time had to accept an alien power as their ruler right in the midst of their territory.¹² But the British wished least cost of administration and, therefore, took care not to disturb the tribal pattern of village democracy "by acknowledging the right of the tribal council as the sole authority to deal with Naga affairs";¹³ promulgated the

8 Quoted in Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit., p.87

9 For details of the creation of Naga Hills District, see, Barpujari, S.K. "Formation of the Naga Hills District: A Landmark in the History of British-Naga Relation", in: Highlander, vol.II, No.2, September 1974, Kohima, p.5

10 Ibid

11 James Johnstone, Sir., Manipur and Naga Hills, Vivek Publishing House, Delhi, (1971), p. 150

12 Misra Ydayon, (1978), Op Cit., p.6

13 Ibid

Inner Line Regulation Act in 1873, which prohibited the non-Nagas from entering Naga Hills beyond certain line laid down without prior permission from the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills; divided the Naga areas into various units and placed them in the control of different administrative headquarters - Areas contiguous to Assam were ceded to Assam administration; southern Nagas were placed under Manipur King, the central tribes administered with a headquarter at Kohima, and other tribes who were of no threat to colonial interest were left as "unadministered". As understandable, the British took up no programmes for the development of the Nagas. Thus, the British rule kept itself least occupied except for suppression of the few instances of revolt and internecine warfare.

The Christian Missions

Along with the colonial power came the American Baptist Missionaries who converted the Nagas into Christianity and established the institution of the Church. In the process of proselytization they transcribed Naga dialects into Roman script and thereby brought about the institution of the school and its formal education system. These institutions transcended the closed village boundaries, lessened inter-village conflict and introduced the Nagas to new ways of life. However, "the usefulness of this (missionary) education was limited

to its very content and purpose ... the vocational scientific and technological elements were under-emphasized.¹⁴ It was confined to the need of the Christian faith.

Nevertheless, the introduction of literacy and conversion of Nagas to Christianity had far reaching influence on the Naga tribesmen. Whatever the contents, the education imparted tremendously widened the Nagas' world view and gave them wider avenues of modernization. Barpujari wrote "If the Christian missionaries would not have come forward to shoulder the responsibility of educating the Nagas during the last century, the progress of Naga education which was already slow would have been slower still".¹⁵

World War I and the Nagas

By the turn of the 20th century, the British had controlled the Naga revolts. Their art of administering justice through a centralised and structured organisation impressed the people and evoked high appreciation for lessening, if not stopping the once devastating practice of headhunting and violent inter-village feuds. Thus the British authority was

14 Luithui Ela Dutt, "A Short Discussion on Education", In: Naga Youth: A Reflection, New Delhi, 1981

15 Barpujari, S.K., "Naga Education in the Nineteenth Century", in: Highlander, vol.I, No.1, March 1973, Kohima, p. 30

to a great extent legitimized in their perception. Secondly, the lifestyle of the Christian missionaries and the British administrators who showed no abhorrence to Naga way of domestic life and their efforts to educate them impressed the Nagas so much as to help the "Nagas to forgive and forget the past and accept the whiteman as his kin".¹⁶

The rapport that the white men had made enabled them to recruit not less than 5,000 Nagas for labour corps to France during the World War I. This corp included Nagas who were able to comprehend international situations. The groupings of Nagas from different tribes into the corp brought the members closer to each other, while in foreign land. It "fostered mutual love, service and sense of political unity which manifested itself in their resolution that on return to their land they would work for friendship and unity among themselves".¹⁷ Their experience and commitment for unity brought about the Naga Club on their return at Kohima and Wakokchung in 1918. These clubs provided political platforms and discussion forums for elders of various tribes, government employees and the educated elite. Perhaps it is this spirit of being a Naga and the desire to propagate it that made up the thrusting force of events to come. The return of the labour corp also added to the growing market economy because of the considerable amount of money brought home as their earning.

16 Anand, V.K. Conflict in Nagaland, Vikas Publishers, (1981), New Delhi, p. 35

17 Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit., pp. 125-6

The Naga Clubs for the first time tried to organise all Naga opinion, and thus by 1929, when the Simon Commission came to Kohima the club submitted a memorandum stating their demand to be excluded from the purview of any constitutional changes in British-India and that when they (British) go from the Indian sub-continent, the Nagas should be left as they were.¹⁸ The memorandum demanded adequate safeguards from any possible rule by the plainmen by stating the Nagas' difference with them (plainmen) historically, ethnically, culturally and politically, and, therefore, their desire for right to self-determination.¹⁹ This was the first written expression of the Naga consciousness as a national entity. Gundenia wrote: "This was no doubt motivated in part by an inherent and fierce pride amongst the Nagas to protect their land, their forests and their way of life from interference by more sophisticated people of the plains and overall exploitation by an expanding economy which was still alien to them".²⁰ The Commission on their return to London made recommendation on the Nagas opinion, but nothing substantial came about except when the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed the Naga Hills were placed as "excluded areas" and not "backward tract"²¹ as it was known earlier.

18 By this the Nagas meant that they were independent prior to British coming and should, therefore, be left independent when they leave the subcontinent.

19 For details of the memorandum, see, Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit, p.130-33. Also in Alemchiba, M (1970), Op Cit, p.163

20 Gundenia, (1975), War and Peace in Nagaland, Pleit & Pleit Publishers, New Delhi, p.56

21 Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit, p. 134

World War II and the Nagas

In the World War II, southern part of Naga territories were battle fields between the Japanese and the Allied forces. The war took months together with the fierce thirteen day battle (April 4 to 17, 1944), fought at Kohima township marking the end of the World War in the eastern sector. C.E. Lucas, Phillips described the strategic importance of the battle as "Kohima was to Burma what Stalingrad was to Russia and Almein to the dessert".²²

The Nagas participated in the war as soldiers, intelligence officers, informers, porters, etc., for the Allied forces with the hope of freedom after the war. And this contribution has been credited as an important factor in defeating Japanese forces. Field Marshall Sir William Slim stated that "The gallant Nagas whose loyalty, even in the most depressing times of the invasion had never faltered Many a British and Indian soldiers owes his life to the naked, headhunting Naga".²³ On the other side of the battle, A.Z. Phizo and his brother Keniyalle were fighting along with Subhash Chandra Bose for the Japanese advance. According to Phizo, the Japanese had promised to recognize Nagaland as an independent sovereign state if they won the war.²⁴

22 Quoted in Alemchiba, M., (1975), Op Cit, p.152

23 Slim, F.M. From Defeat to Victory, (1956), Cassel & Co London, pp.291-92

24 Nibedon Nirmal, The Night of the Guerillas, Lancers Publishers, (1978), New Delhi, p. 29

The World War II had devastating as well as far reaching effect on the Nagas. Many villages were burnt down and many homeless, added with the heavy influx of refugees from the Burmese side. On the other hand the Nagas witnessed men from different nationalities and nation-states fighting each other for their national interests. This furthered their aspiration for self-determination and the desire to have a political identity. Though this war the Nagas also experienced the use of sophisticated weapons and system of organised warfare. Asoso, described the post-World War situation of the Nagas as "they (Nagas) began to conceive themselves as part of a larger world which until then been regarded as something alien and separate and with the affair of which they had little concern".²⁵ These experiences of the war later sparked off the idea to give an organised struggle for a nation-state.

Besides the experiences of the war in their own homeland the Nagas also had come to know of the nationalist movements against colonial powers in Afro-Asian countries and, therefore, political ideas permeated to all sections of the society with greater momentum. Describing the general atmosphere, T. Sakhrrie wrote "people became suddenly restive with the existing state of affairs. There was social unrest, political unrest, economic unrest. Everywhere, there were

25 Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit, p. 149

cries of better, bigger and nobler things ... The clans which use to emphasize their differences hastened to patch them up and forged unity. The clash of imperialistic interests had given birth to the new era - full of opportunities and hopes for a glorious future".²⁷

Formation of Naga National Council (NNC)

In the early part of the 20th Century, along with the formation of the Naga Clubs, in 1918, major tribes began to form sub-tribal councils for the welfare of their respective communities and by 1945, most of the Naga tribes had their councils. In order to unite the Nagas in the task of reconstruction after the war and to foster the welfare and social aspiration of the Nagas. Sir Charles Pawsey, then Deputy Commissioner of Kohima brought together the various sub-tribal councils to form the Naga Hills District Council (NHDC) in 1945.²⁸ It received official patronage as a unifying and moderating influence.²⁹ But the conference of this NHDC held at Nokha on February 2, 1946, changed the Council into Naga National Council. It had 29 members representing various tribes on the principle of proportional representation in its inception.³⁰ Thus Nagas came under a single political organization for the first time.

27 Quoted in: Elwin, V., (1961), Op Cit. p.72

28 The original objectives were local autonomy for the Naga Hills and the training of the people in the art of self-government. See, Stracey, P.D., Nagaland Nightmare (1967) Bombay, p. 66

29 Elwin, V., (1961), Op Cit. p.51

30 Alenchiba, M., Op Cit. p.165

The formation of NNC marked the emergence of legal and formal organisation in modern and universal terms and at the same time the blend of traditional polity and modern technique. 'Naga nationalism did not grow at the expense of tribal structure of village administration but virtually on it'.³¹ While the representatives of the affiliated tribe is sent on the basis of the particular tribes political system, the members that form the council worked on the basis of constituted system and decision on a majority by voting.

The constitution of the NNC contained four Articles. Firstly, it deals with jurisdiction which include all Naga tribes represented in the Council. Secondly, on membership. All Naga tribes are eligible for membership to be processed through a formal petition for affiliation. Thirdly, on the council. It enumerates the conditions for representatives who shall serve for a term of three years and be eligible for reelection. A representative is elected from the tribal council and can be removed from office on being convicted in any court of law or for serious neglect of duty, by a vote of not less than two-third of the council after the member concerned has been given full opportunity hear the charges against him and to defend himself before the council. And fourthly, the Constitution details the powers and duties of

31 Misra, Udayon., (1970), Op Cit, p. 1954

the different functionaries in the Council,³² This marked the modernization of political system and the division of labour with the organisation.

The NNC functioned on the free service volunteered by its workers and its resources came from the contribution of every Naga family, made both in cash and in kind. It made everybody have a sense of participation. And for communication a monthly journal called Naga Nation was published as the organ of the NNC. Besides these, the Nagas strongly unchallenged loyalty to their community helped the solidarity. When traditional representation was made in the council every Naga was taken for granted to be a loyal member of the council and thus its authority legitimate over them.

Crown Colony

As the independence of India and Burma became imminent in the post-World War situation and the Naga nationalism grew Robert Reid then Governor of Assam gave sympathetic consideration to the Nagas political quest and suggested a Crown Colony or a Trust Territory comprising of the Naga Hills, the area bound by the North East Frontier Agency, the Chittagong tract of East Bengal and the Naga areas in the North West of Burma.

32 For details of the Constitution see, Yonus Asoso, 1974, Op Cit, p. 163-64

In his confidential report he wrote "We have no right to allow this great body of non-Indian animists and Christians to be drawn into the struggle between Hindus and Muslims."³³ This proposal was supported by others like Dr J.H Hutton, Commissioner for the Naga Hills, N.S. Parry, Superintendent of the Lushai Hills and J.P Mills, Advisor to the Assam Governor of Tribal Affairs. Sir Reginald Coupland, British Constitutional expert, also proposed in 1946 a similar plan. But when the NNC came to know about the scheme it vehemently opposed. To the NNC when the British quit India it must also quit Naga Hills for good. Indian National Congress also opposed the idea and the "Nagas proved as strong as any Congressmen in insisting that the British must go".³⁴

As the colonial rule was coming to an end in the post-World War II, events were moving fast. The hill people in between the two valleys of Brahmaputra and Irrawady rivers became restive. At Calcutta, student leaders formed a Indo-Burma movement. Its aim was "to unite into one unit all the parts of land lying along the border of India and Burma and other adjacent areas, which are inhabited by similar kind of people and that the future status of Indo-Burma thus formed will be decided by a representative body of the people".³⁵

33 Quoted in Yonuo Asoso, 1974, Op Cit. p. 139

34 Elwin, V., 1961, Op Cit. p. 52

35 Yonuo Asoso, 1974, Op Cit. p. 165

On the Burmese frontier the Chin and Kachins were also administered by the British through an indirect policy, though they fall within the boundaries of Sagoing and Mandalay divisions. In these areas "the tribal chiefs or duwas were left in control as long as their administration was fairly competent and just".³⁶ The less populated portions between the two were called backward areas. This included the Nagas and the Kas. Under the act of 1935, the province of Burma and India were separated. And as Burma was preparing for independence under the banner of Anti-Facist People's Freedom League, there was fairly strong expectation in British circles that "the Shans Kachins, Chins, the Karens and the Nagas would want to remain outside the AFPFL embrace".³⁷ However, the Burmese through the AFPFL's secretary Thakin U Nu began meeting the hill people and ultimately under his influence, the supreme council of United Hill Peoples (SCOUNP) was formed in 1946. The SCOUNP finally came to an agreement in 1947 February, 12, with AFPFL. The agreement was a Union of the Hills and the valleys which were administered by the colonial power from Rangoon.

Thus political evolution amongst the hill people became different between those whom the colonial power administered from Rangoon and those administered from Delhi. "This

36 Trager, Frank, N., Burma From Kingdom To Republic, Pall Mall Press, London (1966), p. 80

37 Gundevis, (1975), Op Cit, p. 55

put an end to any dream of the hill peoples on either side of the Patkai-Burra range of ever constituting a Crown Colony outside the domain of India and Burma.³⁸ On the Burmese side such a Union of the hill people was easy because the hill people constitute a sizeable amount of the population and more than 60 per cent of the territory whereas in the Indian side the hill people in the northeast constitute an insignificant minority. Added to ^{this} the wave of national awareness did not touch the other hill groups as much as it permeated amongst the Nagas.

Development of Political Aspiration

The NNC became the mouthpiece of the Nagas quest for self-determination and unity. In April, 1946, it sent a delegation to New Delhi and informed the Cabinet Mission³⁹ that the Naga's futures would not be bound by any arbitrary decision of British Government. The Secretary of NNC stated that "NNC stands for the unification of all the Naga tribes and their freedom ... Our country is connected with India ... connected in many ways. We should continue that connection ... But as a distinctive community we must also develop according to our genius and taste. We shall enjoy home-rule in our

38 Gundevis, (1975), Op Cit., p. 55

39 The Cabinet Mission was sent by the British Government to India to study the political situation in the Indian sub-continent.

country. But on broader issues be connected with India.⁴⁰ Thus, NNC began deliberating and expressing its aims and objectives.

At first the NNC pursued modest political aims; integration of all Naga Territories with some sort of regional autonomy with Assam province and to learn the art of self-government. However, it made clear in its resolution one condition that in case, Pakistan was to be created out of the Muslim populated areas the Nagas also would take a different decision regarding their own future.⁴¹

The Indian National Congress had by this time come to notice the Nagas' stand on August 1, 1946. Pandit Jawahar-Lal Nehru as President of the Indian National Congress wrote to T. Sakhris, Secretary of the NNC: "It is obvious that the Naga territory in eastern Assam is much too small to stand by itself politically or economically. It lies between the two countries, India and China and part of it consist of rather backward people who require considerable help. When India is independent, as it is bound to be soon, it will not be possible for the British Government to hold on

40 Yomo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit. p. 164

41 Ibid. p. 162

the Naga territory or any part of it. They would be isolated between India and China. Inevitably, therefore, this Naga territory must be part of India and of Assam with which it has developed such close association...".⁴² This was the first communication of the Indian National Congress with the Naga people or with the NNC. As Udayan Misra commented "India was yet to make its claim over the Nagas and Nehru was clearly stating that the 'Naga territory' was too small to exist as an independent nation and for strategic reasons it must join the Indian Union."⁴³ With the Indian leaders preoccupied with the problems of the nascent nation-state and the British with their post-war reconstruction and other global problems, Naga issue was neglected and thus the NNC took to its own course.

The beginning of 1947 brought about eventful development⁴⁴ and apprehensive of these the NNC began to entertain views for independence. On February 20, 1947, it framed a scheme of ten-year interim government and submitted to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India as a memorandum. It stated that, the Naga people were independent before the British advent and are different with Indian people in their ethnic composition - social system, culture, religion, and that, they cannot be simply thrown among the forty crores

42 For full text of his letter, see, Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit, p. 193-94, Alemchiba, (1970), Op Cit, pp.166-69

43 Misra, Udayan., Op Cit., p. 620

44 The partition of India and Pakistan, the recession of colonialism in Afro-Asia, the inclusion of Nagas under independent India, etc.

of Indians. The memorandum demanded the setting up of an interim government of the Naga people for ten years, at the end of which the Naga people will be left to opt for any form of government under which they choose to live. The same scheme was presented to the sub-committee of the advisory committee on aboriginal tribes of the constituent Assembly which visited Kohima in May 20, 1947. But the sub-committee refused to make any suggestion of 10 year guardianship scheme and for NEC it made it clear that the Nagas would not accept any other kind of constitutional arrangement.⁴⁵

Hydari Agreement

Immediately after the failure of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly to arrive at any agreement with the Nagas on the future constitutional set up, Sir Akbar Hydari then Governor of Assam came to Kohima and started negotiations with NEC. The meeting took three days (June 27-29, 1947), and resulted in an agreement called the Hydari Agreement,⁴⁶ with a preamble recognising "the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their free expressed wishes".

45 Alenchiba, M., Op Cit. pp. 169-70

46 For details, of the Agreement, see, Yenuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit. pp. 173-76; also Alenchiba, (1970) Op Cit. pp. 171-73

The Agreement contained nine points in which the NEC would have full executive and legislative power of control over all sphere of Naga life ranging from prevalent tribal laws to the ownership of land and taxation. And that the Naga areas transferred to Sibsagar and Nowgong District of Assam by British Administration be brought back to Naga Hills District. The ninth point was in regard to the period of the Agreement. It runs: "That the Governor of Assam as the agent of the Government of Indian Union will have special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure due observance of this Agreement; and at the end of this period, the Naga National Council would 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 arrive at".

Just as the Agreement was being agreed upon controversy arose in the interpretation of the clause 9 and created confusion. To the NEC it understood as ensuring the Nagas right to complete independence after the expiry of ten years, and for Sir Hydari he later on implied that the Nagas would come within the Union of India after the period of the agreement. As P.D. Stracey commented, "it is difficult to tell whether there was any genuine misreading of what was admittedly, an ambiguously worded clause or whether there were inspired thoughts on one or both sides".⁴⁷ Whatever, the reasons,

47 Stracey, P.D. (1968), Op Cit, p. 69

the agreement was not enforced. Even in NNC camp there was a division of opinion on the controversial clause. A group led by A.Z. Phizo rejected the agreement as it did not explicitly state the right to independence after the expiry of ten years and to another group led by T. Sakrine it was a democratic and evolutionary step towards the 'self-rule'. The letter also maintained that "so long as this provision remain effective the Nagas can maintain their independent national life".⁴⁸

NNC's Meeting with Gandhi

Dissatisfied with the ambiguity of the Hydari Agreement the NNC sent a delegation of 9 members to meet Mahatma Gandhi at New Delhi. The meeting took place on the 19th July 1947 in which the NNC informed the Indian leader of the Nagas desire for self-determination. The Father of the ^{Indian} Nation gave sympathetic hearing and assured the delegation that in no circumstances force would be used against the Nagas. He told them that "the Nagas have every right to ^{be} independent. We do 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 the Naga Hills are mine just as they are yours. But if you say they are not mine, the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I do not believe in

48 Quoted in: Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit, p.175

force or forced unions. If you do not wish to join the Union of India nobody will force you to do that".⁴⁹ The Naga leaders left contended but apart from the verbal assurance nothing tangible emerged on the issue of the Nagas' future.

The Impasse

On the eve of Indian independence the NNC having found no concrete solution to their aspiration declared independence along with Pakistan on 14th August 1947. The NNC sent to the Government of India and the Secretary General of the UN in Lake Success a telegram:

Southern Nagas including Manipur Hill Nagas and
Cachar Nagas with Konyak Nagas Declare Independence
Today the Fourteenth August, 1947.

On the same day, NNC also informed the Government of India that it could pursue the Hydari Agreement if the Clause 9 is modified as "at the end of this period (ten years) the Nagas will be free to decide their own future," but the Government of India remained indifferent. Meanwhile the administration of the Naga Hills was handed over to Government of India along with the rest of India by the British on the 15th August 1947 and Government of India inherited the Colonial legacy without making any departure from the earlier colonial policy towards the Nagas and hence the impasse.

49 The meeting took place at Bangi Colony, New Delhi and for details of discussion see, Alemchiba, 1970, Op Cit, Yonuo Asoso, 1974, Op Cit, p.180-82. Also Maxwell Neville India, The Nagas and the North East, Minority Rights Group Report No.17, New Delhi, 1981, p.4

Resuma

Sociologically speaking the emergence of nationalist ethos among the Nagas can be explained as an interaction between its initial cultural orientation and the subsequent political developments: the pre-colonial phase of cultural difference between people from plains and hills, the colonial period of segregation, the post-colonial developments in providing new exposures and consolidation of their ethnic distinctiveness seeking a specific and independent politico-geographical expression. These development led to the emergence of a persistent ideology of the Naga movement.

CHAPTER FOUR

NAGA MOVEMENT : THE CONTEMPORARY FORMATIONS

We have discussed in the preceding chapters what can be called historico-sociological background of the Naga Society and various developments generating variety of socio-political conditions which led to the crystallization and consolidation of primordial sentiments. We have identified the groups which formed the 'client-to-be' and the 'agent-to-be' of the movement. Now we shall look into the movement as it developed into a whole-scale war, turned into a guerilla movement and split into bits and pieces. The focus in this section is one of the formation of contemporary phase of the movement.

Issues That Faced The Nagas

The Naga consciousness emerged in an unfavourable time. The background of colonial administration, the rise of imperialism in the post-World War II and the state of undeveloped socio-economic life of the people, all combined and thus NNC was faced with three important issues.

(1) **Territorial Integration:** The rule of British power with its profit-making policy had divided Naga inhabited areas under various administrative head quarters. On the eve of Indian independence the Nagas found themselves in: (a) Naga Hills District; (b) Areas

contiguous to other Districts of Assam; (c) Tirap frontier of North East Frontier Agency with Tuensang area; (d) Northern, Eastern and Western parts of Manipur; and (e) Some unadministered Naga areas were ceded to Burma. In this situation, NNC pledged to integrate Naga areas under a common administrative set up.

(2). **Political Status:** The recession of colonialism in Afro-Asia left many people politically independent. Many tribal people specially in Africa became independent nations. The Nagas with their feeling of separateness from Indians began to deliberate for an independent Nagaland.

(3) **Technical Knowledge:** The Nagas emerged as a nationality from segmented and isolated social groups with different systems of administration. Therefore to forge a system in tune with the tradition and compatible with the Universal civilization became an important task of N N C.

(4) **Cultural Image:** In the course of political consciousness the Nagas realised that they cannot appear before the world simply as a geographical entity or a bare political frame. The desire to be clothed in a cultural garb symbolic of their aim and ideal being became a common aspiration. Values of honesty, industriousness, sincerity, tribal socialism, etc., which the traditional rustic Naga society is known for became dominant issue for sociocultural reforms. Though faced with a strong force of westernization

nativistic trend of revision or perpetuation of selected aspects of their culture became a great challenge to the nationalists.

The Stand of NNC

The failure of Hydari Agreement and the uncertainty of Nagas' future status brought great disappointment in the NNC camp. The NNC had maintained that the Nagas were never apart and parcel of India, but given the backward state of society it sought the guardianship of the Government of India. However, the failure for a clear-cut agreement for an interim guardianship, lost a good deal of mutual trust between NNC and Government of India.

With this situation the NNC took to a more radical stand. This stand can be best understood in the note addressed to Mahatma Gandhi for discussion during their meeting in 1947. The NNC stated: (1) the Nagas are determined not to join the Union. They will all die before losing their independence. Will the Government of India use force to bring the Nagas under the (Indian) Union? (2) Has anyone under the sun the right to take away their independence? Not without justification. But is might right?¹ Following this stand the NNC declared independence on the 14th of August 1947 but it was in no position to defend its declaration.

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Quoted in NISDON NEWSAL, (1978), Op Cit, p.32

Response of Government of India

The Government of India took no notice to the moves of NNC and on the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly when the Constitution of India was adopted on 26th November, 1949, the Nagas were placed under the 6th Schedule along with the other tribal groups of Assam. The Indian leaders maintained that the Nagas became an integral part of India with the colonial era. This impasse between the Government of India and the NNC could not be resolved inspite of many meetings and thus the Naga Movement began.

NE Leadership and Policy

As discussed in Chapter Three, the NNC was organised as a blend of tradition and modernity; the former to legitimize the organization and the latter to give way to the educated Nagas to shoulder the responsibility of the new political organisation. Having understood the new dimension of the NNC and its aspired international reference, the traditional leadership concoded and the educated group enjoyed enormous influence. Founding leaders of the NNC were an elite group with men such as T. Sakhrin, Jasokie, T.N. Angami, Aliba Inti, etc., who were products of missionary education with degrees in higher education. This group was endowed with profound statesmanship and enjoyed much charismatic popularity.

In the early part of 1947 A.Z. Phizo who had already been drawn to the nationalist wave, joined the NNC and began to form a faction of his own in the organization. With the doubts of a proper settlement of the problem with the Government of India, the Naga people became disappointed and began to question the future policy of the NNC. At this stage a schism developed between a non-violent group under the leadership of T. Sakhris and a group under A.Z. Phizo for a violent struggle. The former group took a moderate stand of evolution which sought its means through a moral front and achievement of goal in stages. T. Sakhris declared that "non-violence is a tactical policy in which you place your opponents in a position where he feels morally wrong to oppose you".² The latter group stuck to an extreme revolutionary stand for an armed struggle. Phizo maintained that "violence has to be the life-blood of Naga Nationalism".³ From this point there began conflict of opinion and antagonism within the NNC.

The frustration over the stalemate and the subsequent unilateral decision of the Government of India over the future of the Nagas, precipitated the atmosphere around NNC. This resulted in the upsurge of violent views and eventually,

2 From interview with Jasokie, a founding leader of NNC.

3 Ibid.

A.Z. Phizo withdrew from the NNC to pursue a more militant policy and formed the People's Independent League (PIL) for a sovereign Nagaland State comprising of the Naga Hills District, the Tuensang Frontier Division and contiguous Naga areas in Assam, Manipur and Burma. According to Asoso Phizo made the PIL "more extreme, more virulent, more dynamic, and more purposive than the NNC".⁴ However, for this act, Phizo was imprisoned in no time on charge of sedition by the Government of India. Meanwhile, NNC made several attempts to resolve negotiation with Indian leaders but nothing materialised.

In 1949, A.Z. Phizo was released from detention on compassionate grounds.⁵ Soon after that on reaching Naga Hills he began his political campaign again and was unanimously elected the President of the Naga National Council. This came about because the NNC already had a good number of members disillusioned with the peaceful policy and appreciated the stand of Phizo. In the view of the moderates the Nagas were not in a position to have rival camps at such a crucial time, therefore, Phizo was inducted as President in NNC with the condition that he would abide by the declared policy of NNC for peaceful means. He then immediately rejected the Constitution of India and went on campaign for an indepen-

4 Yonuo Asoso, (1974), Op Cit, p. 200

5 This was because his wife and children were critically injured and a son died in an accident while travelling from Khonoma to Kohima.

dent Nagaland.

NCC Meeting of 1951

The NCC having faced embarrassment in the inability to bring about an amicable solution called for a conference of the representative of all tribes of the Naga Hills District in 1951. The conference was fixed for the 14th and 15th May. The General Conference assembled on 13th May at Kohima and there was discussion of the Nagas future both in general meetings and amongst the tribal representatives.

The conference passed a resolution stating that the future of the Nagas - whether to be independent of India or join the Union - would be decided by a plebiscite. With the sanction of this resolution Phizo began moving from village to village and conducted the Plebiscite. It was inaugurated at Kohima on May 16th. By this time the NCC had organised the Naga Youth Movement and the Naga Women Society. These two organisations aided the NCC and the Plebiscite claimed 99 per cent in favour of independence. Signatures and thumb impressions were taken and oaths were administered in tribal fashion to fight for Naga independence.⁶

6 See, Aleshiba, M., (1970), Op Cit., p. 175

Mobilization

To uphold this issue of independence against the will of the Government of India, NNC had to mobilize the cultivators in the villages who would be indispensable for providing resources - both manpower and material. For this purpose, a communication machinery was conducted through a publicity department. This department was directed by T. Sakhris until the end of 1955.

Many documents on the Nagas were released to intensify the deep-rooted Nagas' love for a free and uncontrolled life. Nativistic and idyllic expressions were calculatedly written for the people's consumption and it would be rewarding to analyse one of such writings by T. Sakhris:

"Truely we are a peculiar people. We are all equals. Men and women have equal social status. We have no caste distinctions; no high or low class of people. There is no communal feeling, neither are there differences to disturb our harmony with our conditions. There is no minority problem. We believe in that form of democratic government which permits the rule, not of the majority, but of the people, as a whole. We govern ourselves by a government which does not govern at all....."⁷

The writing was aimed at inculcating in the minds of the people the contrast between the Naga people and the plainmen - the Hindu-Muslim population. Such writing covered the family system, economy and socio-political set up of the village and of a Naga character which was idealised in

7 Nibedon Nirmal, (1980), The Ethnic Explosion, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, p. 19

honesty, fraternity, and freedom.

After reflecting an ideal life, the NNC laid great stress on the apprehensions on merging with independent India. One of the most effective propaganda was on taxation which till then was only a nominal tribute to the British Crown. Villagers were told how "in the plains, land belongs to the state and the people have to pay taxes for land, for house-sites and building too, for fisheries and even for forest product. They (plainmen) have water tax, latrine tax, entertainment tax, road tax, etc. Everything has to be paid for if they want to live in this world".⁸

✓ The people were warned that under Indian Government they would soon be paying tax for their land, livestock, income, etc.

Another popular point of publicity was the danger of getting assimilated and thus lose the Naga identity. To the Nagas mostly of animist and Christians with hardly a population of 5 lakhs to mix with 4,00 million Hindus and Muslims of India became uncompromisable. This attitude was hardened by fear of incompatibility with Muslims and Hindus. Such feelings were aggravated by Cow protection movement and prohibition policy. Even in later years 'Nagaland for Christ' became an appealing slogan to the Nagas.

⁸ Report of Naga Goodwill Mission to Assam, NNC, Kohima, 15.12.1953.

The achievement of the mobilization was succinctly described by V.K. Anand thus: "the population within Nagaland divided mainly between the Christians and animists demonstrated no particular animosity for each other ... the few doctors, lawyers, educationists, and intellectuals could not have hoped for a more privileged place. There were no poverty stricken sharecroppers and the big landlords whose land could be distributed were not to be found. There being neither any capitalist nor labour class, the trade union, that could be energised to agitate, did not exist. There was no white colored bureaucracy to be worked up. The affluent were envied and not hated and the few poor were helped and not oppressed. In the absence of major contradictions within the community no internal consideration. A cause that could attract all the Nagas and bestow advantages on the entire community had to be against another party and that had to be India".⁹

Civil Disobedience

With the backing of the mobilization NNC launched a civil disobedience. The Nagas refused to institute District Council and the subsequent general elections of 1952 were also boycotted. The Nagas were entitled to elect three MLAs to the Assam Assembly but not a single Naga stood for election, though all formalities were taken up by the administration.¹⁰

9 Anand, V.K. (1980), Op Cit., p. 78

10 Elwin Verrier (1961), Op Cit., p.54

There were mass resignation of school teachers and government servants, and boycott of all Government of India celebrations. Students boycotted government institutions and in place of these the NNC opened Naga National High Schools at Kohima and Mokokchung. The people refused to pay taxes. Labour and supplies were refused to the officials and police forces of the administration.

After demonstration of these a Naga delegation met Nehru at Delhi in March 11, 1952 in which the infuriated Prime Minister told the Nagas that "even if heaven fell or India go to pieces the Nagas would not be given independence".¹¹ This resulted in the hardening of attitude on both sides. Through the success of the mass movement NNC proved itself as the spokesman of all Naga tribes and thus the fervour of independence increased and plans for escalation of action began to take place.

Nehru's Visit to Naga Hills

In March 1953, Indian Prime Minister Nehru with his Burmese counterpart Thanin U Nu visited Naga territories together.¹² They reached Naga Hills on 30th March and visited an Industrial Training School, but excepting a few instructors there was nobody to welcome them. The Naga students kept away from the function.

11 Stracey, P.D., (1968), p. 71

12 For details of the tour see, Mullick B.N. (1972) Op Cit, p. 303-5

At Kohima they were given a rousing welcome and Naga leaders from all parts of Naga Hills came to acquaint them of their desire and aspiration for freedom. A huge crowd gathered in the local stadium as the heads of two nations arrived and were seated. When the Naga leaders wanted to address the Prime Ministers they were refused any hearing whether in speech or in writing. The Nagas felt insulted and decided that if the Prime Ministers would not hear the Nagas they would not hear them either. The Naga pride was hurt and they walked out of the meeting enmasse before any address was made by the dignitaries. Only a few government servants and their families remained to hear the Prime Ministers' speeches. Nehru was reasonably surprised as the people whom he had taken for granted to be able to obey him had demonstrated their unanimous decision to defy him.

This incident is important for it turn out to be the deciding line between the political and military phase. This act was taken very seriously and the administration immediately issued warrants of arrest for the NNC workers. Police raided the house of Sakhrie, the Secretary of NNC on April 4, and began to search important villages for NNC workers. The NNC leaders absconded and from thence began the underground movement.

Change of Policy

The Government of Assam then took serious measures to crack down the NNC. Its monthly journal the Naga Nation was banned as anti-India propoganda organ, armed police forces were reinforced and avenues of negotiations were closed.¹³ As a reaction to these events thousands of Naga youth joined the underground and formed the Naga Safeguards. Consequently, instances of violence began to occur. On September 18, 1954, some of the undergrounds formed Honking Government¹⁴ in Tuensang area and started organised attacks on police stations. However, all these instances of violence were disowned by NNC which assured that peaceful means would be used to achieve its ends.

Causes of Escalation

Even as the NNC claimed a non-violent policy it became a known fact that the instances of violence were from quarters in the NNC and that, emotion in the organisation was tending to sympathise or support the violent actions. Many factors both external and internal of Naga society combined together to transform the non-violent political movement into the military phase.

13 NNC delegations were refused hearing by Debar, the Indian National Congress President at Imphal and President of India, Rajendra Prasad at New Delhi in December 1953. For details, see Stracey, P.D., (1968), Op Cit, p. 72

14 Honking literally means 'quit' or 'get out' in Chang dialect

One of the main reasons perhaps would be the Nagas Pride as equals vis-a-vis the response of the Indian people. The attitude of the Indian government in particular and the Indian public in general towards the Nagas' national consciousness was that of extreme underestimation. The report of NNC's goodwill mission to Assam in 1953 stated that "the Indian people are under the impression that Nagas are not only a savage people void of political consciousness but also lacked human wisdom".¹⁵ This attitude was strongly ingrained in the minds of even the Indian elite. So much so that when NNC sent memorandum to the Prime Minister Nehru, he remarked that "the memorandum must have had someone's hand in the drafting".¹⁶ The Prime Minister did not expect the Nagas to be able to articulate or conceived such political arguments.

Secondly, with the prejudice the government officials exhibited stern posture and high handedness. As civil disobedience was going on, the Government of Assam promulgated a regulation in the Naga Hills to requisition the services of porters in any emergency in September 1953. Such laws were enforced with much harshness and infuriated many people. The officials attitude towards the NNC workers was with contempt branded as 'hostiles', 'secessionists', 'rebels', etc. Added with the arrogant and challenging actions of

15 Report of the Goodwill Mission to Assam, Op Cit

16 Stracey, P.D., 1968, Op Cit, p. 72

the armed forces, the Naga felt being subdued. And eventually the killing of Zasibito¹⁷ in 1934 by an armed police sparked off immediate violent response from the NNC Camp.

Added to these points was the total loss of faith in petitions and peaceful demonstrations. The frustration over the peaceful means raised hue and cry against the Government of India and the emotional group looked upon the violent group in the NNC to fight and restore their honour.

Eventually on 20 July 1955, the Assam Government declared the Naga Hills as "disturbed area" and the Naga Hills Disturbed Area Ordinance and Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act of 1954 came into force. The Indian Army was then called in, in October 1955 under Defence of India Act and the situation was handed over to the Army. The Army's counter-insurgency policy fell heavily on the civilians and thus strengthened the undergrounds support.

Split in NNC

With the mounting of frustration and tension the violent group in the NNC became more and more militant and by 1955, Nagaland was going through an undeclared war with the undergrounds' attack on the armed forces and the later retaliating heavily on the villages. Many villages were

17 For details, Stracey, P.D., Op.Cit., p.74

burnt down with graneries and the inhabitants facing dire consequences. As the situation intensified with both sides escalating, some of the NNC leaders objected to the persistence of violent methods and resigned from the organisation. These included T. Sakhrie and Jasokie, two founding leaders of the NNC. From then on the extremist group and the moderate or liberal group parted and while the moderates were trying to reorganise the NNC, T. Sakhrie was kidnapped and murdered by the extremists to strike terror to the propagators of the non-violent means. Thus the NNC became solely controlled by the extremist group.

This split cut across clans and villoges and a group of Nagas who opposed the NNC led by extremist group emerged. Some of this group later joined the local militia and assisted the Army in fighting the undergrounds.

Organization

With the split of NNC the violent group remained in the organization and plans for a direct arm confrontation with the Government of India was made. The NNC declared the formation of the Naga Federal Government (NFG) and proclaimed it as a defacto government at Phensinyu village on the 22nd March 1956. A structure of governmental machinery was set up with an executive headed by the Kedaghe (President) and a Council of Kiloners (Ministers) with different portfolios, a Iater hohe (Parliament) and an armed wing with a Commander-

On this day the Federal Yehzaba (Constitution) was adopted, which in brief runs as:

Nagaland will maintain permanent Military neutrality. There will be no standing army for the maintenance of law and order. There will be a Department of Homeguards headed by a Chief. To function in dual capacity of Police and Soldier.

In Nagaland, land belongs to the people and it will remain so. There will be no land tax, and other forms of taxation (which the Nagas have not paid before) will be formulated by different administrative units.

All forms of trade, business, industry, transport and other public utility will be free and will be in the hands of private enterprises. Education will be free and will be in the hands of the people. Religion will be free.

Each Naga village is a republic in its own right. Each Naga family or tribe occupies its own distinct religion, and shall continue as before to exercise full authority over its own affairs including land, community organisations, social and religious practices and customs.

Men and women, above 22 years of age, will have equal right of voting. There will be equal wages for equal work irrespective of sex.

Simultaneously, an armed wing was set up as Home Guards under a Commander-in-Chief. A major-general for each tribe commanding a division of not less than 500 men and lower ranks

of military hierarchy down to an ordinary soldier. The armed wing was given enormous power as the situation demanded. The NFG also had its intelligence network. These were raised from all sections of the society - from high government servants down to the minor boys in the villages. The informations wanted were the Governments plans, the Indian security forces movements, location, units, personalities, etc.

The major tasks of the intelligence was to deliver messages. A messenger usually runs long distances but where the distance involved overnight journey, relay system was adopted. Other means of communication were; glass reflection on sunny days, lamp signals on dark nights, smokes, xylophones, gongs, etc. V.K. Anand describe the methods as "very much similar to the system witnessed in the phantom's jungle of Dantali ... with such natural ingenious and invaluable aids, the Naga army was able to effectively obtain correct and timely information. It was not, therefore, odd that despite curfews, cordons, searches, surveillance, segregation and traffic control the NFG was still able to maintain an efficient system of intelligence communication and security and even keep the logistic channels open".¹⁸ For communication with the outside, the Naga intelligence system had its network in Rangoon.

¹⁸ Anand, V.K., (1980), Op Cit, pp. 106-7

As the NFG was organised, the Naga Youth Movement filed in the Army whereas the Naga Women Society were called upon to work as cooks, nurses and helpers of the undergrounds. A number of trained compounders and nurses also joined the undergrounds, to contribute their part. Thus both camps were pitched for the showdown and consequently open war fare began. The formation of the NFG marked the NNC's steps to defy the Government of India, challenge its legitimacy over the Naga Hills and its decision to run a parallel government. This symbolic declaration as V.K. Anand says, cannot be "dismissed as sham demonstration by the wretch to wrest authority. Over a quarter million verile Nagas had made an unusual attempt to 'regain freedom'.¹⁹

The Nature of Conflict

The war situation was between a guerilla group and an organized modern army. The Naga army had very little arms and ammunitions which comprised of remnants of the Second World War and locally made muzzle loaders. But they had the advantage of the support of the population. Whereas the Indian army on the other hand though fully equipped with modern weapons were facing many disadvantages. The main drawbacks were: (i) unfamiliarity of the tribal land, customs, and manners; (ii) multiplicity of regional language

19 Anand, V.K., Op Cit. p. 109

and the armed forces' inability to understand the regional/local dialects; (iii) the little knowledge of jungle survival, and unfamiliar terrain; (iv) vulnerability to sub-tropical disease; (v) cumbersome equipment and clothing; (vi) the absence of a front to win the people, thus faced with a hostile people.

The Naga army took the tactic of a guerilla warfare by ambushing military convoys, raiding the army camps and police stations, etc., for arms and ammunitions. Thus the Indian security forces were faced with an enemy whom they cannot fight in a face-to-face combat. For such warfare they were not trained. This situation gave a stronghold for the undergrounds and even a seize of Kohima the capital town was attempted in 1956.

Throughout the war situation the Indian Security forces exerted maximum pressure but this was not enough to force the Naga undergrounds into a surrender. As Mullick recorded: "... though there was nearly one security troop for every adult male in the Naga Hill-Tuensang area. There never was a time when it could be claimed that the Naga guerillas had been broken into submission..."²⁰

The nature of confrontation enraged the security forces so much that their policy was aimed at the people who support the undergrounds. With their inability to dis-

cern or understand the population and added with an aura of an "occupation force" the Indian army fell heavily on the civilian population indiscriminately. This had extreme reverses and Gavin Young observed the NFG and its men as "latter-day Robin Hoods, loved and revered by the people".²¹

Naga People's Convention

By tradition as described in Chapter II a Naga gives his loyalty to the decision of the society whether he agrees or disagrees. This persisted and by the conference of May, 1951, the Nagas had committed themselves to the idea of plebiscite which eventually decided independence from India. To undo this another conference equally representative character had to meet. The bitter experiences of the armed confrontation made the moderates who had been keeping a low profile to come together once again to help end the war. Therefore, in 1957, an All Tribes Naga People's Convention was convened at Kohima, to act as a via-media between the underground Nagas and the Government of India from August 22nd to 26th. This was strongly recommended and supported by the Indian Intelligence Bureau at Kohima and thus approved by the Government of India.

21 Gavin Young, (1961), The Nagas - An Unknown War, London

On the stipulated date about 1,760 delegates and over 2,000 visitors from every Naga tribe attended the meeting. Dr Inkongliba was President and Jasokie was Secretary. The main resolution of the convention advocated settlement of the Naga issue through negotiation, and pending a final political solution "the present Naga District of Assam and Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA along with the reserved forests, transferred out of the Naga Hills District after their reforms of 1921, should be constituted into a single administrative unit, under the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India through the Governor of Assam acting in his discretion as the Agent of the President of India."²² This was readily accepted by the Government of India and the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA) was inaugurated on 1 December 1957. But the reserved forests were not included as agreed upon in the new arrangement. Meanwhile, fierce fighting continued and Phizo left Nagaland for the western countries to mobilise world support on the question of Naga independence and surfaced in London via Zurich on 12th June 1960.

Nagaland State

The Second Naga People's Convention was held at Ungma village from 21-23 May 1958 and third at Mokokchung

22 Quoted in Yonuo Asoso, Op Cit, p. 222; also in Alenchiba, M., Op Cit, p. 186

town from 22 - 26 October 1959. From these two meetings a memorandum²³ containing 16 points was drafted and later submitted to the Government of India. Following this the 16 Points Agreement was reached between NPC and Government of India, on the 30th July 1960, with some modification of NPC's memorandum. Nehru had felt the pinch and with his image at international forum at stake he readily agreed to the memorandum against strong objections from the opposition in Indian parliament. Even the word 'Nagaland' was considered as not Indian by some people, but Nehru replied "Damn it! They want it; don't they? If the Thais can have Thailand, why should the Nagas not have Nagaland?".²⁴ The essence of the Agreement was the formation of a State within Indian Union to be called Nagaland State under the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of India with a limited autonomy in regards to customary law of the Nagas, administration of civil and criminal justice, and ownership and transfer of land and its resources. On the basis of this agreement, the Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment Bill and the Nagaland State Bill were adopted in 1962. Thus the Nagaland State came into being. An interim arrangement was also made by which an Interim Body consisting of 12 members chosen from the NPC was instituted to advise the Governor in administration for the transitional period.

23 For the text of the memorandum and detail of the negotiations, see Alemchibe, Op Cit., pp.197-99 & Yonuo Asoso, Op Cit., pp.234-36

24 Gundvia, (1975), Op Cit., p. 72

There was difference of opinion the the 16 points Agreement even among the moderates. A Kovichusa and some of the leading NPC members were opposed to NPC initiating a political settlement without the participation of the NFG. Therefore, when NPC delegation went to meet the Governor of Assam with their memorandum in April, 1960 Kovichusa sent a written statement to the Governor saying: "A settlement presupposes the existence of two contending parties. In the present trouble, one party is the Government of India and the other is NOT the Naga Government servants or retired government servants. Any settlement to be permanent must settle, the differences between the two parties and the two parties must be brought together... no forced settlement will bring permanent peace".²⁵ True to this statement most of the Interim Body members were government servants resigned for the purpose.²⁶

Obvious of the NFG, it considered the Agreement as betrayal and in defiance stepped up its guerilla activities in the Naga inhabited areas. In London Phizo stated that the leaders of Naga people's Convention who signed for the Naga State in India was a puppet assembly; and that no agreement could be recognized regarding the future of Nagaland except with those people who were fighting and were the true representatives of the Naga Nation".²⁷ The Nagas desire for

25 Nibedan Nirmal (1979), Op Cit., p. 119

26 Stracey, P.D. (1969), Op Cit., p. 93

27 New Statesman, London, September 3, 1960; quoted in: Yonge Asoso, Op Cit., p. 236

Independence still formed an atmosphere sizedly great for the NPC to suppress in the long run and consequently Dr Imkongliha was assassinated at Loko'chung town on August, 22, 1961.

After the Interim Body's rule for 3 years, Nagaland the 16th State in the Indian Union was inaugurated by Dr Radhakrishnan, the President of India on the 1st of December 1963. A new Ministry headed by P Shilu was sworn in the same day by the Governor of Assam Dr Vishnu Sahey who concurrently sworn in as the Governor of Nagaland. Following the inauguration the first general elections for Nagaland State Legislative Assembly were held and the ruling political party, the Naga Nationalist Organization came to power with a majority of 33 members in a house of 46. P. Shilu was reelected as leader of the ruling party and his Ministry was sworn in on January 21, 1964. A Political Party known as the Democratic Party under the leadership of A Kovichisa became the opposition party with a strength of 12 members in the State Legislative Assembly.

Peace Mission

While the NPC was going ahead with the idea of statehood within the Union of India, the NNC continued its guerrilla activities. By 1962, they were already in touch with Pakistan for arms and military training. In April 8, 1963, the Prime

Minister of India told the Lok Sabha about the Naga Army using weapons from foreign countries. On April 21, Shilu, the Chief Minister of Nagaland confirmed that the weapons of the Naga Army had Pakistani markings.²⁸ Thus in spite of the progress of negotiation between NPG and Government of India the Naga people continued to suffer the pains of war.

Given this uncertainty the Nagaland Baptist Church council in its conference at Kohha on February 24, 1964, resolved to constitute a peace mission. Following this resolution a three-member peace mission was formed in April 1964, consisting of Jaya Prakash Narayan, then Director of the Sarvodaya Movement of Vinobha Bhave, B.P. Chaliha, the then Chief Minister of Assam and Rev. Michael Scott, a worker for Human Rights. Through the efforts of the Peace Mission the NPG and Government of India came to a ceasefire agreement which came into effect on September 6, 1964, amid great jubilation. The 12 member opposition party on this event resigned enblock from the legislative assembly and demanded the dissolution of the Assembly, the existence of which they stated was obstructing the final political settlement of the Naga Issue.

28 This was strongly denied by Z.A. Bhutto the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on April 15, see, Yonuo Asoso, 1974, Op Cit. p. 247

The peace mission presented a list of proposals to the contending parties in which it urged the Nagas to voluntarily join the Indian Union, and the Government of India to consider ways of meeting the political aspirations and interests of the Nagas to the maximum possible. It arranged talks between the two contending parties and later on Prime Ministerial level between Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India and Kughato Sukhai, Ato Kiloncar (Prime Minister) of the NFG.²⁹

The peace talks, however, could not reconcile the two groups from the start. The NFG demanded recognition of their sovereignty and their right to self determination, while the Indian Government maintained that it could not entertain any demands whose basic premise did not accept Nagaland status within the Indian Union. Not less than six rounds of talk were held with the Prime Minister of India but both sides could not compromise their stand. Nevertheless, the Prime Minister of India in the 4th round of talk made a significant concession indicating that a settlement within Indian Union need not necessarily be within the constitutional framework.³⁰ But the NFG remained persistent in their stand. On 24 July 1968, Mrs Indira Gandhi told the Lok Sabha that the Indian Government had no inten-

29 For details of the peace mission proposal and minutes of the rounds of talks, see Aram, Jr. (1974), Peace in Nagaland, Arnold-Heinemann Publishers, New Delhi

30 Yonue Asose, (1974), Op Cit, pp. 290

tion of resuming the peace negotiations at the moment. The impasse led to further occurrence of confrontation between the Indian security forces and the Naga army.

Split of the NFG

Fateful events began to occur in the NFG camp when deadlock of the 'negotiation' became evident. The NFG clandestinely began sending men for arms and guerilla training to China.³¹ While this step was being planned General Koiso the Koya Kilenser (Defence Minister), started differing with the ISK leadership. He was indignant for not being consulted on the signing of Ceasefire Agreement and over the selection of men for the mission to China. Added with his dissatisfaction with Phizo's achievement abroad General Koiso began challenging Phizo's participation in the talks with the Government of India. He demanded that if the negotiation cannot bring any immediate solution the NFG should hand over all power to an army government headed by himself. Soon after he staged an abortive military coup and then set-up an Army Government in January 1969, pitted against the NFG with the support of the Indian authority.³² But he was assassinated on August 3, 1969.

31 By later part of 1966, NFG had sent Mr. T.H. Muivah 'Plenipotentiary' and Brigadier Thinsolic with 300 men to China. Yonuo Asoso, Op Cit., p.307; also Nibedon Niznal, 1978, Op Cit., p. 147

32 Nibedon Niznal, (1978), Op Cit., p. 172

While this split was taking place in the Armed Wing there was also dissention in the NFG. Scott Swu the Kedemho had already resigned in 1966 and was succeeded by G. Khieslu. After the sixth round of talk with the Government of India, Kughato Sukhol the Azo Kilensor who headed the Naga delegation resigned from office at the face of heated criticism for his inability in achieving any political gain, from the prolonged negotiation. These two leaders along with Koite's followers formed a new political party called Council of Naga people in November 1, 1968, and declared a Revolutionary Government of Nagaland.³³ Besides this development Thungti Chang the Angh (Governor) of Tuensang also announced the 'secession' of his group from the NFG in April 4, 1969 and formed 'Monghing group'.³⁴ Meanwhile in early 1969, it was confirmed that Isak Swu and General Mowu with a thousand men had reached China.³⁵

The break-away groups declared themselves ready for full and final settlement within Indian Union provided the Nagas received a certain weightage and in collusion with the Indian security forces attempted to flush out the NFG.³⁶ The greatest feat in this attempt was the interception of General Mowu and his China-trained Guerillas while on their

33 Singh, Prakesh, Nagaland, (1971), New Delhi, p.162

34 Gundovic, War & Peace in Nagaland, (1975), p.193

35 Ibid. p.3

36 Ramesubban, Kochi, On Git, p. 433

return to Nagaland. This was declared by the Defence Minister of India on 1 April 1969 in Lok Sabha as the 'breaking of the backbone of the misguided movement'.³⁷ These break-away groups later formally surrendered to the Government of India.

Developments in the State Politics

In accordance with the Constitution of India and its provisions the second General Election was held in 1969, for the State Assembly. The defuncted Democratic Party resurged as United Front of Nagaland (UFN) and contested against the sitting NND. The latter retained its majority and the ex-Chief Minister Hokishe Sema who took over from T.N. Angami in the previous term was reelected Chief Minister. The NND took the defeat of UFN which was sympathetic to the NFG as a turn of events against NFG of the various elements who were suspected of sympathies for the NFG cause.³⁸ After this came the 1971 mid-term Lok Sabha poll where the sitting member, of NND, S.C. Janir lost Nagaland's only Lok Sabha seat to the leader of UFN A. Kevichusa who had stood for resumption of negotiation with the underground Nagas.

On 1 June 1972, the Government of India transferred the affairs of Nagaland from the External Affairs Ministry to the Ministry of Home Affairs.³⁹ Meanwhile, sporadic instances

37 Dr. Aram, (1974), Op Cit., p. 203

38 Ramsubban, Madhika, Op Cit., p.403

39 Yonus Adoso, (1974), Op Cit., p. 376

of violence continued and on the 8 August 1972, the underground attempted the life of Mokishe Sema, the Chief Minister, of Nagaland State. This led to the promulgation of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967, banned the NKK, the NFG and the Naga Army. Termination of the Ceasefire Agreement and dissolution of the peace observers team.⁴⁰ This was followed by another assassination attempt on the life of J.D. Jasekie, then Education Minister, on 28th October, 1973.

In February 1974, the third General Elections to the State Assembly were held in which the United Democratic Front (UDF) - a combination of the UFN and a break-away group of NKO-came to power. Vizek who was an active member of the NKK till the 1956 split was elected as the Chief Minister. The UDF pursued a policy of reconciliation with the NFG. It declared that the Naga problem was a political one rather than a question of Law and Order and worked for the release of political prisoners and for direct talks between the Government of India and the NFG. But the Ministry could not last when defection of its members began and finally the Government of India suspended the Assembly and proclaimed President's Rule on March 22, 1975, and this situation remained in force through the Emergency, till November, 1977.

⁴⁰ Yonuo Asoso, On CIL, p. 374

Shillong Accord and Aftermath

The coming of UDF to power in 1974 ushered in new attempts for negotiation and even after their fall in early 1975, the initiative made, continued. Through the Nagaland Peace Councils efforts in 1975 on 11 November an agreement known as the Shillong Accord was reached between the NFG workers in the mainland and the Governor of Nagaland on behalf of the Government of India. This accord consisted of three clauses; the underground representatives of their own volition accepted the Constitution of India, undergrounds would deposit their arms at appointed places, and that the undergrounds should have reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussion for final settlement. Following this accord Naga political prisoners were released and the NFG had series of meetings to discuss the nature of a political settlement with India.

In the effort to solve the conflict the Negas have demanded the participation of A.Z. Phizo in the negotiation and in June 1977, Phizo met Morarji Desai then Prime Minister of India at L. n. an. But the deadlock on the issue of Naga Independence prevailed. However, the Negas reaffirmed their confidence in the leadership of Phizo in IIC Kohu (Conference) in 1978.⁴¹ And in pursuance of this there have been efforts

⁴¹ The Conference was held at Mhonama village and the reaffirmation of Phizo leadership was the first resolution passed in the Conference.

to bring Phizo into the picture of political negotiation with the Government of India without precondition laid before talks.

The signing of Shillong Accord brought about wide differences amongst the Nagas. There were factions who considered the Accord as betrayal and to demonstrate their disagreement a group of educated young men and women exfiltrated to Tibet and Bangladesh in 1976 for military and political training.⁴² In the Burma-based camp of the NNC the General Secretary of NNC, Th. Muiva staged a coup d'état and along with the Eastern Naga National Council formed a Maoist oriented National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), and a Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland was declared on 2nd February 1980.⁴³ This group condemned the Shillong Accord as 'treason' and resolved to continue to fight for an Independent Nagaland. It accused the NNC of centralising authority on a family or two and their relations, and denounced the leadership of Phizo for not condemning the 'treason'. It ruled out the 'illusion' of saving Nagaland through peaceful means.⁴⁴ Thus the Naga National issue still remains an ongoing and unpredictable movement.

42 Niboden, Nirmal (1978), Op Cit, p. 344-6

43 Manifesto of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland, Oking, (1980), p. (1)

44 Ibid, p. 39

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, NAGA MOVEMENT, CONTRIBUTIONS AND CHALLENGES

Rudolf Herberle stated that in evaluating a social movement "we are moving on to treacherous ground, where passion and prejudice threaten to dim the objectivity of our judgment".¹ This is more so in the study of a protracted and on-going movement such as that of the Nagas. However, in objective inquiry we attempt to understand the values that formed the ideology, the motivation, the chief characteristics, nature of action and the objective merits of the movement.

Causes of Naga Separation

We find the Nagas were overcome by nationalist ethos on the eve of Indian independence and had developed a deep sense of separateness from the Indian people, historically, culturally, and politically.

This consciousness is often assumed by many writers to be a deliberate product of British rule and the Christian mission. But such a conclusion would be too far-fetched for the British's profit oriented administration imposed the Innerline Regulation Act of 1893, only to lessen compli-cation in the Naga Hills. It might have had adverse conse-

1 Rudolf, Herberle., (1949), "Observation on the Sociology of Social Movements", in: American Sociological Review, vol. 14., p. 335

quences on the coming together of the hill people and the valley people but it was not a deliberate attempt. As for the missionaries perhaps they can be blamed for educating the Nagas and thus giving them the means to see wider horizon but no other allegation has any substance.

However, the contribution of these foreign agencies to the Naga separatism cannot be altogether ruled out. Thus we may agree with Gundevio when he says "certain historical accidents combined consciously or unconsciously ... prominent among these was the system of rigidly exclusive administration adopted during the British period and certain influences; perhaps imbibed from foreign missionaries also, although it would be injurious to level a general accusation of any conscious fostering of such tendencies either against the British officers or the missionaries".²

The Naga separatism can be best explained through the historical perspective of social progress among the two groups and the gap of primordial sentiment which existed prior to the coming of the British widened during the colonial era. Gundevio noted: "the only Indian that went with the British Officer was the 'sepoy' in uniform or the camp follower of the British ruler, both of whom were looked upon by the Nagas as the legitimate target of attack, on

2 Gundevio, (1975), Op Cit, p. 56

whom vengeance must be wreaked".³ To this we may add the Nagas' later encounters with the arrogant clerk, the unscrupulous businessman and the caste Hindu who considered the Nagas as untouchables. These characters appeared to the Naga mind as intrinsic to an Indian personality. Therefore, the Nagas' contempt for the plainman persisted and the British administrator "did not think his business to take serious notice of this continuing animosity. He was only there to see that the Naga did not commit murder".⁴

The complete lack of interaction during the British rule kept the Nagas away from the Indian national struggle. As Joyo Prakash Narayan⁵ opined the Nagas failed to vision a status within Independent India. Added to this according to him was "the unimaginative manner and lack of understanding of the Assam and Union Governments in dealing with them (Nagas) and their aspiration."⁶

Thus given the widely differing historical experience the Nagas were caught up in the wave of nationalism in Afro-Asia in the post-World War II and this diverted them from entertaining any idea of sharing an Independent India.

3 Gundevis, (1975), Op Cit., p. 57

4 Ibid., p. 59

5 Narayan, J.P., Nation Building in India, Navachetna Prakashan, Varanasi, New Delhi, (1975), p. 315

6 Ibid., p. 314

Features of Naga Nationalism

While definitions and attributes of nation, nation-ality, and nationalism could belong to a wider domain of study, in this work the Naga ideology is defined as a nationalist ideology. This is because of the simple reason that a group of people inhabiting a defined territory collectively shared the belief of being a distinct people worthy of the status of a sovereign nation-state, and struggled to achieve the same. The issue had emerged much before the independence of India, and, therefore, the question of calling it a secessionist movement does not arise. The expression of this nationalism had been the demand for self-determination. This perhaps is what Hans Kohn meant when he wrote "Every people awakened to nationalism sees political self-determination as its goal. To be separate, distinct, and independent from other nations, and equal to them is the fundamental claim of nationalists for their people".⁷

Smith⁸ had observed that at the core of the study of nationalist movements lies the vexed question of ethnicity. This has significant implication in the Nagas concept of their nationality. As stated in Chapter two the word Naga

7 Kohn, Hans, "Nationalism", In: International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 14, p. 65

8 Smith, A.D., (ed), (1976), Nationalist Movements, Macmillan Press, London, p. 15

encompasses a conglomeration of tribes and sub-tribes and the consciousness of nationality was confined and limited to these tribes alone. These tribes believe that they come from a common origin and have similarity of cultural practice. Racial purity formed the basis of their nationality in the fashion of Jewish concept of the 'chosen people'. It is because of this ethnocentrism that other tribes or people who had for considerable time resided in Naga areas - Khasis, Kacharis, Nepaleso or any other community considered non-Naga - were excluded in the movement.

Such nationalist ideology "stresses the political unity of a people arising from their cultural and linguistic kinship. It asserts that this 'primordial' unity is politically more important than any divisions amongst the people and that the sole legitimate guide in dealing with other peoples is the interests of the undivided nation".⁹ This characteristic of the Naga ideology is very conspicuous in that the Nagas show unity and a common expression as a people in spite of the fact that they have been divided into many administrative units and even countries - India and Burma.

9. See, "Populism and Nationalism: A Comment on D.A. Low's, 'The Advent of Populism in Burma'", Comparative Studies, in Society & History, Vol. 6, 1963-64, p. 445-448

Ethnocentrism is also entailed by one's attachment to one's tribe, clan and lineage. And concept of Naga nation rests on the Unity of tribes. A tribe on the commonness of origin and divided into clans, and a clan divided to lineages and families. It is because of this concept that the mandate of the NNC claim rest upon the representative view of the clan, village and tribe as sanctioned by their respective polity. It never faced a popular voting of the people except the plebiscite. This characteristic of the ideology also led to an block operation on clan or tribe basis in the events of schism.

Basing on the ethnic principle there were traits of revivalism and nativism in the Naga ideology. Idyllic view of the past Naga society and its characteristics were described and a move to revive or restore such a state of life was indicated. At the same time the aim of purging the society of unwanted aliens, of cultural elements of foreign origin or of both was a striking point in mobilising the people.

The ideology of Naga movement is revolutionary in that every Naga family has been effected by it in some way or the other and it seeks for radical socio-economic

and political changes. The constitution of NFE states "Each Naga village is a republic in its own right. Each Naga family or tribe occupies its own distinct religion, and shall continue as before to exercise full authority over its own affairs including Law, Practice and Customs".¹⁰ This was the political order they seek to institute. Jaya Prakash Narayan stated in the Tata Hohe of the federal Government that "the struggle led by NFE cannot be regarded as a mere problem of law and order. It is most certainly a struggle for national freedom. It does not aim at overthrowing a government, but it certainly aims at throwing out a government, viz. the Government of India which it regard as established by force ... The Naga people are unquestionably a nation".¹¹

Socialist Ideology

The Emergence of NECN gave a new ideological dimension to the Naga movement. Its manifesto declared a struggle for a sovereign Nagaland through NECN with socialism as the socio-economic goal basing on the faith in the salvation of Jesus Christ and the means through arms. It

10 Alanchiba, M., (1970), Op Cit, p. 184

11 Ngareophung, (1976), Legacy of Suiso, Tarun Printing Works, Imphal, p. 26

stated: "It is arms and arms again that will save our nation and ensure freedom to the people".¹²

The NSCN made a departure from NNC's system of organisation and policy in that it by-passed the traditional concept of union through tribal affiliations and representation. It also defined the class distinction in Naga society. The exploiting class consisting mainly of "the reactionary traitors, the bureaucrats, a handful of rich men and the Indian vamin" and the exploited class the 'masses'. "The contradiction that exist between the two classes are such that there could be no meeting point whatsoever".¹³ Manifesto of NSCN explicitly stated, "the dictatorship of the people through an organisation is, indispensable ... and the active practice of democracy with the organisation is unquestionable for the salvation of Nagaland".¹⁴ The inclination towards Marxist concept of revolution in the NSCN is implicit except for their treatise on religion which obviously is tactical on their part for the Naga people's independent belief in God in the person of Jesus Christ.

This has given the nationalists of NNC's camp and NSCN a sharp division in the ideological perspective.

12 NSCN Declaration, The Publicity Department of the People's Republic of Nagaland, 1980, p. 8-9

13 NSCN Manifesto, Op Cit, p. 35

14 Ibid., p. 25

Participants and Motivations

Socio-psychological school of thought on theories of revolution assert that revolts and movements are out of rebellious personality. Brian Gozzer said, "It takes a rebel to rebel".¹⁵ This view has been entertained by many scholars in the case of Naga movement. Therefore, it will be rewarding to see into the characteristics of the Naga leadership - their background in terms of wealth, education, family status, occupation, etc. For this purpose, we table samples of the leadership as follows:

Name	Birth Place: Village/ Town/City	Family: High/Mid- dle Class	Educa- tion	Occupation
1 Phizo	Village	Middle Class	Matricu- late	Busi- ness
2 T Sakhris	do	do	do	do
3 Aliba Insi	do	do	Graduate	Unemp- loyed
4 Sato Swu	do	do	do	Teacher
5 Muiva	do	do	University Degree	Unemp- loyed
6 Zesol Huro	do	do	Matricu- late	do

15 Quoted in Singh, Baljit & Mei (Ko-Wang). In: Cuernillo Warfare, India Quarterly, 1965, p. 293

To find a similarity in all the leaders as the table reveals. The leaders came from rural background but middle class by Naga standards. The concurrence in unemployment, in most cases was because of their joining the movement just after their studies or even before completion of their degree. And the rank and file of the NFG were recruited from the villagers and cultivators. Thus, we are faced with the question as to why this people were motivated to the struggle.

The answer to motivation can only be seen through the dynamics of an ideology. For this we agree with Max Weber¹⁶ in his thesis that ideology can be an independent variable in social development. Through this analysis of leaders the aforesaid view of Brian remain rebutted as we find leaders came and went but the movement continued. It is also important to note the sacrifice of the Youth fresh from colleges and Universities. This certainly points to the independence of ideology from other variables such as frustration, rebellious personality, socio-psychological disposition, etc.

The religious factor in Naga Movement has important role in its motivation and commitment. The NFG used verses from the Bible, such as: "But ye are a chosen generation, a

16 Weber, Max, (1969), The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (translated by Talcott Parson) Unwin Univ. Books, London

Royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people".¹⁷ Amplification and politicization of such scriptural passages evoked many to the cause of fighting the non-Christian nation. Such, "independence movement that can cloak itself in the garb of both nationalism and religious righteousness has an initial advantage. And there can be no doubt that the rebel Nagas are sincerely a pious lot".¹⁸

Nevertheless, there are also instances in Naga movement where motivation to join the movement can be traced to share opportunism. We may thus agree to Herberole when he says: "the motivation of individuals in joining a social movement may range from rational belief in the movement to share opportunism. (Quite often the decision to join is more emotional than rational)".¹⁹ In a protracted movement such as ^{the Naga's} motivation also turns parochial and "it may in certain families or occupational groups or local communities become traditional to belong".²⁰ Such motivation also have arisen from share feeling of vendetta.

17 The Bible, I. Peter, 2:9

18 Means Gordon, (1966), "Nagaland-The Agency of Ending a Guerrilla War", in Pacific Affairs, vol. 39, No. 3, p. 297

19 Herberole Rudolf, (1969), Op Cit, p. 440

20 Ibid

Strategy

Regarding strategy of a revolutionary movement Manoranjan Mahanty has postulated a proposition that "ideology tend to push strategy in the dogmatic direction while environment pulls the strategy in the direction of pragmatism and opportunism".²¹ This proposition has relevance for an insight into the Naga movement. For a comprehensive assessment of the strategy we shall see the political environment in and around India, and the Nagas response to the situations.

In the international scene the end of World War II brought about the emergence of two Super Powers - the United States of America and the Soviet Union. These two powers possessed capabilities completely different from any other countries both in quality and quantity. Technologically strategies of warfare entered an entirely new phase with development of nuclear weapons. Thus the stability of international relationship came to depend on an entirely novel mechanism - the cold war - which depended on a technological equilibrium between the nuclear capabilities of the two super powers. Added with this was the ideological hostility between liberal capitalist countries of the West and the

21

Partha Chatterjee, Arms, Alliance and Strategy, The Macmillan Company of India, Calcutta, 1975, p. 59

Socialist countries of the East. This pitched camps eventually produced two rival blocs of inflexible alliance system, with uncommitted third group of newly independent nations open to varying degrees and kinds of pressure from both blocs²².

India on her independence fell in the category of the uncommitted group and spearheaded the nonaligned foreign policy. In one of his most quoted statement Pandit Nehru²³ as Prime Minister of India explained India's foreign policy as an attempt to combine idealism with national interest. Therefore, though itself a noncommunist country India inclined towards the Soviet bloc. According to Doctor "India's pro-Soviet policy and its deliberate refusal in the nineteen fifties to join the anti-Soviet camp ... can be said to be the result of her geographical proximity to two Communist neighbours - the USSR on the North-West and China on the North-East²³. This can be easily understood as the two frontiers proved danger to integrity of the territory on which India declared her independence.

In this given international situation the case of the Nagas became problematic. The Nagas were converted into Christianity through the American missionaries and added with

22 Doctor, Ash H. Essays in Indian Foreign Policy, National Publishers House, New Delhi, 1977, p.3

23 Ibid, p. 14

the fear of communism the Naga Christian developed a deep attachment for the Americans. This obviously disturbed India's foreign policy. An independent Nagaland would be vulnerable to powers specially of the west and India had seen the example of Taiwan vis-a-vis China's sovereignty.

Faced with these problems Nehru had to recant his stand on inviting the Nagas to join India. An invitation presupposes an option to refuse or accept and India could not afford the Nagas to opt out of the Indian Union. Therefore, Nehru adopted a firm attitude against the Naga insurrection and attempted to ~~con-~~down the movement^{at} all costs. He stated in 1951, "the independence Nagas are after is something quite different from individual and group freedom. In the present context of affairs both in India and the world, it is impossible to consider, even for a moment, such an absurd demand for independence of the Nagas".²⁴ The Naga problem was thus considered an internal problem, which the super-powers refrained from touching in their effort to win India in the new alliance system.

Guerilla Warfare

Guerilla Warfare²⁵ predates to 3600 B.C. Concept on

24 Yonus Asoso, (1979), Op Cit, p. 103

25 For a history on guerilla movement, see Daljit Singh & Mehl, (1965), Op Cit

such warfare was further systematised by Mao-Tse-Tung in late 1927. Deducing from the diverse experiences of guerrilla warfare in China, Yugoslavia, Albania, Indo-China, Philippines, Malaya, Cuba, Algeria, etc., Baljit Singh and Mei had defined a modern guerrilla warfare as "a war of totality, based upon mass movement and aims at a new political order".²⁶

The Nagas' violent upsurge at first organised the armed wing in the form of a standing army but because of the superior force of Indian army both in quality and quantity it was spontaneously changed into a guerrilla movement. In the Naga context the strategy of such a situation depend on way-laying military convoys and snatching arms and ammunitions and other military essentials. This strategy kept more than 1,00,000 Indian military personnel occupied in the area but understandably the combat brought the situation nowhere near to a solution.

In the later years through their contact with China the Nagas method of guerrilla warfare became more sophisticated and thereby the never ending war situation prevailed in Naga inhabited areas. V.K. Anand called the situation an "unusual character" of the Naga insurgency and said: "Though during the two decades that followed, the potential

of guerilla band went on retreating yet it never seem to reach that abyssal level as could completely free the government of India of the nightmare that still haunts it.²⁷

The Nagas enjoyed the privilege of its undeveloped frontiers with Burma. Even at worst times the Naga guerilla on the Indian side could take refuge in the Burmese area. Nagas in Burma formed East^{ern} Naga Revolutionary Council (ENRC) and coordinated with IFA. The ENRC control the western bank of the Chindwin river which the weak Government of Rangoon could not counter and thus the area serve as a sanctuary for the guerillas of both sides to take shelter and to train the new recruits from the other Naga areas. ✓

Counter Movement

The immediate reaction of the Government of India to the violent upsurge of the Nagas was for a military solution and, therefore, the Army was called upon to handle the situation. Laws such as Assam Maintenance of Public Order of 1953 and Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Power Act were passed in the Parliament against heavy opposition from many members of both the Houses of Parliament.

27 Anand, V.K., (1933), Op Cit., p. 229

This policy resulted in immense human tragedy.²⁸ The Acts empower the Army and administration with unbridled laws and have in the course of its operation unleashed untold suffering on men, women and children. Kalbag laments the tragedy thus, "nowhere has the experience of insurgency been longer and greater than in Nagaland and nowhere else in the North-East has human suffering been more painful and protracted. Nagaland was the laboratory in which the Indian Army, new to counter-insurgency committed its biggest errors".²⁹ Along with the off and on negotiations the tragedy continues. In 1979, thirteen various organizations in India submitted a memorandum to the President of India. They stated: 'For years now these areas (Naga areas) have been virtually under army rule under the guise of maintaining law and order. Worst forms of crimes are committed including genocide and rape. Under the pretext of maintenance of peace and harmony, the worst possible degradation of human life take place. As late as 1982, the Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR)³⁰ has brought to light cases of army atrocities - sexual assault, mass torture, violation of educational institutions, desecration of churches, abduction of people, etc.

28 For atrocities committed on Naga people, see, Neville Maxwell, India and the Nagas, London, 1963; Micheal Scott, The Nagas: India's problem or World's? London; Young Gavin, The Nagas-An Unknown War, London 1961, and NPMHR Publications.

29 Kalbag Chaitanya, "The Human Tragedy", in India Today Delhi, October 31, 1982, vol.vii, No.20

30 The Supreme Court of India has accepted a writ petition of the NPMHR against Army Atrocities and hearing is in the process.

The bitter experience under the military policy further alienated the people and widened the gap of understanding. It strengthened the support of NPS from the people on the one hand and added more bitterness in the minds of the Nagas towards Indians on the other. These gave lasting consequences in the inability to bring a friendly atmosphere amongst the two groups.

By the time Nagas began to take up arms Nehru had become a statesman for the developing nations and India a champion of suppressed nationalities in the world. Therefore, initially Nehru "fearful that his liberal image be tarnished here and abroad, drew the proverbial iron curtain around the subject".³¹ This kept the Indian people away from knowing the happenings in Naga Hills and thus an unknown war continued. India Today laments that "truth had been a casualty in this war too".³² To maintain the 'curtain' and isolate the Naga issue, foreigners in Naga areas - mostly missionaries - were sent away in 1950s and standing rules made for restricting any visit by them. Kuldip Nayar³³ reported that in 1979, Kohima wanted New Delhi to relax restrictions of foreigners visiting Nagaland for religious functions or educational seminars but the Central Government refused to make any exception.

31 Rangasami Amritha, 'Mizoram: Tragedy of Our Own Making', Economic & Political Weekly, April 15, 1978 p. 655

32 India Today, 1982, Op Cit

33 Indian Express, May 25, 1979

Merle King contends that "when guerilla warfare is waged with success military tactics are coordinated with political, social, economic and psychological variables".³⁴ The Government of India could not initially understand this aspect of the situation but later the Indian Intelligence Bureau (IB) felt the futility of military action alone to counter the movement even in the nineteen fifties. Therefore, on the IB's recommendation other methods came to be used.

One of the methods adopted was grouping the village - a tactic adopted by British in Malaya. In this method villages were brought together to a central place and guarded by strong security arrangement. Villagers were permitted to go out during day time and cultivate their fields under escort but before night fall they were brought back to the camp and no permit was given before day break.

In this connection Udayon Mishra³⁵ presents an important point of analysis. According to him the main pro of the Naga movement was the tribal council. This gave the NFG a firm foundation and that the only effective way of reducing their authority would be to reduce their influence and that, for this, a breakup of the economic pattern

34 Baljit Singh and Meo, 1965, Op Cit, p. 289

35 Misra, Udayon, 1978, Op Cit, p. 621

of the Naga people, specially of land-relationships would be necessary. The Government of India realised this and, therefore, the method of regrouping villages was adopted. Misra contends that the disruption of the entire economic pattern of the Naga people in this method is bound to have far-reaching consequences which will in the long run shake the basis of the Naga society - the 'village republics'.

Another step was the raising of Naga militia. Manipulating tribal, clan and family rivalries, from the local population an armed force was recruited to fight the under-grounds. This step was effective as the personnel of the Militia were acquainted with the terrain and people as much as the NFG men. According to Mullick, "these two steps, grouping of villages and raising of the Naga Militia really forced the rebels into the defensive".³⁶

However, the two steps also had reverses and ultimately the situation was back to square one as the under-grounds continued to command the support of the people. Mullick, concluded from the desperate situation that "guerillas fight a partisan guerilla warfare had never been ultimately defeated in the field. Though temporary crushing reverses might have been inflicted at various people and on various occasions the ultimate solution of partisan

36 Mullick, B.N., 1972, Op Cit. p. 313

guerilla warfare invariably lies in a political settlement. History has proved that the partisan guerilla warfare is almost impossible to subdue whether it was waged in Vietnam or Algeria or Nagaland.³⁷ The Government of India, therefore, readily accepted the terms of the NPC when it came for negotiation.

Failure to a Settlement

In spite of attempts from the two contending parties and from many quarters for a settlement of the conflict, the Naga problem has thus far defied any amicable solution. This inability is mainly because of the nature of the conflict which is deeply embedded in the difference of their primordial beliefs.

The Nagas maintain that India and Nagaland form two separate nations and that any negotiation for a union should have this two-nation approach as a pre-condition. On the other hand, the Government of India consider Naga areas as an integral part of India since the transfer of power to India by the British in 1947. Whatever the merits and demerits of their arguments, the Government of India after the establishment of administration in Naga areas could not recant to the two-nation approach.

This primordial conflict impeded all attempts to find a solution of the issue. In the Hydari Agreement because of the preamble that 'the right of the Nagas to self-determination is recognised' the talk could proceed but the question of the Nagas right to secede became controversial. In the 16 points Agreement under point 2, Nagaland was to be under External Affairs Ministry of India but the undergrounds were not included in the agreement and therefore, a consensual settlement could not take place. The peace talks in mid-nineteen sixties was preceded by a ceasefire. This NFG took as an acceptance on the part of the Government of India the 'sovereign' existence of Nagaland but ultimately it was not so.

From these experiences to break the Jinx the peace mission's proposal in para 13 recognised the right of the Nagas to self-determination and admitted that the Nagas never formed a part of Indian mainstream but at the same time urged the NFG to exercise that right in favour of India.

This effort of the peace mission created favourable atmosphere and the Government of India magnanimously responded. However, a final settlement was aborted because of the following reasons:

(1) Though a cease fire was agreed upon and negotiation was in process the Government of India was not in a position to officially accept the NFG's two-nation approach on the negotiation table which provoked the NFG.

(2) The event of instituting a peace mission, declaration of ceasefire and appearance of negotiation in the presence of renowned personalities, the NFG became over-optimistic, and, therefore, the 'give and take' principle could not be done in the process of negotiation. The concession of India was to the NFG an admittance of fact and was bent on the demand of sovereignty.

(3) The optimism was coupled with the hope of internationalising the Naga problem and, therefore, NFG proceeded with the Chinese connection and also created violent instances in Assam while talks were on. This created doubts on the NFG's intention in the minds of the Indian policy makers.

(4) At the crucial juncture of the negotiation Phizo was at London away from Nagaland, but, understandably wanted to keep the situation under his control. Therefore, a 'purge' was made in the NNC leadership and subsequently Sema brothers Kaito, Kughato, and Seato broke away and the leadership went to the Angamis and even that was confined to a clan (Phizo, Mhiesiu and Mowu are close kins). Whether, done consciously or not, the Sema brothers took the leader-

ship formation otherwise and the dynamism of clanism and tribalism played its role. In this situation the Government of India recanted its policy and declined to go ahead with the negotiation.

The Shillong Accord reached in 1975 did not make any endorsement to accommodate the Nagas primordial belief and the two-nation approach, and, therefore, it was not accepted by many of the people. It further caused the formation of NSCN and the existence of a faction in NPC who refused to abide by the Accord. Therefore, no headway have been made since the date of agreement on the third clause which endorse the settlement of "other issues".

Thus we find the efforts of settlement made from time to time aborted due to the conflict of primordial beliefs and internal social dynamics.

The State System

Nagaland State was created as an alternative to the NFG's demand. The failure to put down the 'rebellion' had badly embarrassed Nehru and the developing events - Phizo's appearance in London, NFG's connection with Pakistan, the reinvigoration of the NFG's ranks, etc. - had made him a man in a hurry as regards to the Naga problem. Therefore, when the NPC delegation presented the 16 points memorandum

the Government of India agreed upon all the points substantially excepting some points which it did not directly reject but kept them on record for future consideration.

On the basis of the 16 points Agreement the Nagaland state came into being in 1962. The Amendment (Art. 371 A of the Constitution of India) made certain provisions for the protection of the customary laws and religious beliefs of the Nagas. It laid down that no Act of Parliament in respect of: (i) Religious or social practice of the Nagas; (ii) Nagas customary law and procedures; (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decision according to Naga customary law; (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resource; shall apply to the State of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, by a resolution so decides. Sub-clause (b) of the Clause (1) empowered the Governor of Nagaland with respect to law and order in the state for so long as in his opinion internal disturbance continue.

Through the State system political structures and social institutions were created in the pattern of other states of India. Thereby, patterns of social behaviour got channellized into the new framework of relationship. Added with the situation of administrative division of the Nagas, it became easier for the Government of India to penetrate the Naga social fabric both within the State and in Naga inhabited areas outside it.

In a situation of already existing political differences and lack of acceptance of the State's legitimacy by the majority, the large inflow of money from the Government of India to support the new structures and to boost a certain section as opposed to another created immense confusion.

A Consensual politics of tribal life was transformed to a factional party system giving birth to new interest pockets and unscrupulous means to get a part of the cake. Negative aspects like individualism, parochialism and tribalism and corruption in public life came about. The influx of outside goods and people created urban pockets which helped to sustain these and became bastions of a corrupted life-style.

In education field the system effectively introduced a new content which diverted the people from learning their own history and ways of life. The state created an employment market catering only to this kind of education. This situation added with easy access to money brought about a privileged section in the Naga society with a high living standard - a superficial westernization evident in the colonial bureaucratic ethos cultivated by the educated section.

In spite of these draw backs the State has brought about great changes. Socio-economic modernization is being accelerated through the introduction of planned development. With generous grants from the Union Government of India various aspects of life has made much headway - Education, improvement of methods of Agriculture, industrialization, transport and communication network, medical and public health, etc. The pace of progress in Nagaland as compared to other states testify to this fact. The changes have to a great extent diverted the people from the movement to the process of modernization.

The political situation in Nagaland as it is today is difficult to assess. The creation and functioning of the State gives a confusing state of affairs. The introduction of election system overlap with the traditional polity. As an unavoidable process of modernization the election system was accepted and the turnout of voters in the four general and two parliamentary elections have been very good (above 70 per cent). This response of the electorate proves the State's legitimacy.

At the same time the NNC's claim of control over the people through the tribal councils is often demonstrated in their Hohgs (conferences). One such was the Khonoma NNC Hohg in 1978 when tribal representatives from all Naga tribes came together and resolved to uphold the leadership of Phizo and Muiva. The Hohg brought all factions together -

Men like; Kughato, Sukhai, ex-Atokilonser and Thongti Chang attended.

The nature of political process in Nagaland indicate the people's verdict that Statehood is not being accepted as a final settlement of the Naga people. All parties within the state system that face the electorate necessarily include the settlement of Naga political problem and the integration of all Naga territories as their manifesto. And in 1974, the UDF which had been identified as pro-underground came into power with its pronouncement that the Naga problem was a political one rather than a question of law and order and must be resolved at that level. This party won again in 1977 with a great majority and ruled the State, reorganised as INDP in 1980, till the end of November 1982.

As the specific religious ethos consistently exploited by the contending political forces in Punjab³⁸ the Nagaland State politics also play around the solution of the Naga problem - the nationalist ethos. This recognition by people from the State system proves to us the persistence of the ideology.

38 Gandhi, J.S., "System, Process and Popular Ethos: A Study in Contemporary Politics in Punjab", in Punjab Journal of Politics, vol.v., No.1, Jan-Jun, 1981, p.64

Change and Persistence

Strategy of a social movement largely depend on the integrity and consistency of its cadre and supporters. This aspect of its strategy become more important in protracted movements as ideas and attitudes change in course of time either by the force of pragmatism or by the influence of the counter-movement.

The initial success of NNC and NFG was getting the support of the vast majority of the people but in course of time its support began to weaken ^{and} the attitude of many of the people, if not most, turn out to be one of ambivalence. Some of the reasons of this decline are as follows:

- (1) The persistent policy of violence of NFG made the common people suffer for years together. This began creating doubts in the minds of the people on the strategy of the NFG.
- (2) The outrage at the NFG killing of leaders such as T. Sakhrie, Dr Inkongliba, etc., and the intimidation of any dissent to the NFG's policy indignant many supporters of Naga nationalism.
- (3) Many of the converts to the path of violence could foresee the indefinite confrontation with the superior

Indian army and, therefore, incline to negotiate with the Government of India even for lesser status than Sovereignty.

(4) Some of the educated and established groups feel that the landlocked Nagaland is circumstantially related with India and for geopolitical reasons would be hopelessly dependent on India for protection and for economic development.

(5) The Nagas were mostly Christians and many took a second thought in participating in a violent movement. This feeling became stronger when NRs turn to China for help. Many devout Christians preferred connection with secular India to communist China.

(6) The counter-insurgency policy of the Government of India also later took to emphasise on socio-economic front. The policy included in the supply of easy money in Nagaland. This policy disturbed the whole economic system and a middle class emerged with enormous influence and easy supply of money. This class became an important asset to the Government of India, firstly, by their abstinence in the movement and secondly, by their influence in dissuading others to join.

(7) The NNC and NFG in their programme only concentrated on the military front and had no provision or programme for socio-economic integrity. And in the protracted struggle

people became attracted to the economic programme of the Government of India and stayed away from the movement.

The changes in the attitude of many Nagas and the new political policy of the Government of India combinedly helped an atmosphere of negotiation. But the primordial belief impeded any settlement and the movement contingend. The persistence of the movement can best be understood from an insight view of the Naga character as stated in Chapter II., the socio-psychological dynamics as against the development of events.

In the first place we find the persistent attitude of the Nagas on the two-nation theory. Many view the Indian administration in Nagaland as a defeat and, therefore, consider the administration as a domination. Within the forces of the primordial conflict many accepted pragmatism as the solution and many acquiesce to the situations that developed. Yet many still clinged to the two-nation theory. Deep in their heart many still believe in the cause and struggle of the NFG. Two important NFG leaders, in 1978 announced in a joint statement athat "recognition of the historical right (of the Nagas) is the only available and ultimate sanction for genuine peace and honour for all concerned. Until that is done peace is an illusion and we shall not take comfort in that illusion".³⁹ Sebi a Naga

39 Times of India, November 29, 1978

whom his villagers 'invariably defer' states: "our suffering came about not because of wrong doing but because we believe in our cause".⁴⁰ Tobu Kenichusa an advocate who recently joined the rank of the guerillas wrote: "The Naga people have waited more than any other nation in the Asian sub-continent for wisdom and honour in those in whose hands our fate had been placed by an accidental twist of history".⁴¹

Traits of obstinacy in traditional Naga character played its role to make up the dogmatic actors in the game. Hence the often quoted Naga dictum 'we shall defend our honour and dignity'.

Another character of the Naga that add to the perpetuation is the crave for vengeance. As stated earlier vengeance becomes an 'heirloom' which goes on for generations. Nagas have a saying "the child will always walk in the trail of his parents blood".⁴² The long armed conflict has caused the loss of many lives and younger generation who throughout their childhood experienced the war situation bear the trauma. And with the slightest provocation many joining the guerilla movement.

40 Kalbag Chatnainya, (1982), Op Cit, p 91

41 Ibid, p. 92

42 Ibid

The State system has no doubt brought about immense development and changes thus weakened the strength of the movement but it also has its reverses. The unrestrained corruption, the disparity of development and the large influx of non-Naga population through the state system - bureaucrats, technocrats, businessmen, etc., all these combinedly brings back the question of the identity crisis to the Naga mind and the need of a new economic system. These seek to find the solution through the movement.

The creation of Nagaland State gave hope of meeting their political aspirations in the minds of many Nagas. But some of the most important points of the 16 Points Agreement were not taken up. The new Nagaland was merely the reconstruction of the former Naga Hills-Tuensang Area administrative unit with neither the reserved forests nor the other contiguous Naga areas becoming part of the new State. Neither did the State have its own Governor or High Court. The internal law and order continued to remain in the hands of the Governor of Assam. And in 1972, imposing the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, the Government of India by manipulating the ruling party brought Nagaland State under Home Ministry from External Affairs Ministry. These create misgivings in the mind of many Nagas to the hopes in the State system.

One of the new dimension added to the movement is the pan-mongoloid struggle against New Delhi. This is taking a big turn after the Assam 'foreign nationals' agitation. Though attempts have been made in the past also, the new trend visualises the unification of all revolutionary forces in the North East India with the alliance of NSCN and the People's Liberation Army of Manipur. This trend threaten to unite the militant groups of Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. Organizations such as NANNAMT, SULA, (Seven United Liberation Army), etc., have emerged, if not effectively atleast on papers. Such attempts has drawn the attention of the nationalist movements in the South-East Asia.

An evaluation of the Naga movement thus reveals the persistence of an ethnocentric nationalist ideology in a society that is fast changing; a conflict of pragmatism and dogmatism amongst the members; and generating a continuous structural strain in and around its society.

CHAPTER SIX

RETROSPECT

".... today all people are involved in the growth of national awareness and that soon there will be no people left to play the role of submerged nationalities or underlying population, or passive bystanders of history, or drawers of water and hewer of wood for their better organized neighbours."¹

"While we (Nagas) were willing to have an equal relationship with other societies and cultures, we could not accept a position of subordination".²

We find the Naga Movement arising as a spontaneous response to the political development in and around them - an inevitable historical phenomenon amongst Afro-Asian tribesmen in the post-colonial situation. While Nagas were trying to settle their problems the British departed from Indian subcontinent and the Naga case, therefore, was handed over to the nascent government of independent India. And due to the environmental factors and its national interest the Government of India decline to accept the right of the Nagas to self-determination. Hence, the impasse. And eventually, the Nagas organized and fought for what they consider as their birth right.

1 Deutch, Karl, W., "The Growth of Nations: Some Recurrent Patterns of Political and Social Integration", In: John Mcalister (Ed.), (1973), Op Cit p. 18

2 Key Note Paper, NPMHR Workshop, Dimapur, 1980

The emergence of national awareness and the outbreak of violent struggle brought untold miseries and bitter experiences to the Nagas which had adverse reverses in coming to an agreement with the Government of India. At the same time/^{it} also gave new visions to the people. Their world view which was confined to the physical horizon around them suddenly spread to the sphere of the globe. The experiences in the armed struggle gave them self-confidence in their potentialities and this gave them the impetus to grasp the technological and social changes around them.

The Naga movement also gave India a new perspective in their administrative arrangements. If not for the Nagas uprising the Tribes and Castes in India would not have Constitutional safeguards as much as they enjoy today. Professor B.K. Roy Burman remarked, "But for the challenge posed by Nagaland and Kashmir, secularism might not have been accepted as the guiding ethos of the national polity without stiffer resistance".³ These influences has helped India to mitigate minority problems and maintain its integrity. At the same time Nagas had installed the idea of separation and deprivation in the people of the North-East as it have manifested of late in various forms.

3 Burman, B.K. Roy, Lecture on North-East India, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi, 11 February, 1980

Through the stresses and strains of their struggle the Nagas have drawn the attention of the Government of India and the world at large. This culminated in the creation of a Nagaland State as a concession to their demand. Through this state machinery and the grants that entail it, Nagas have made a great headway to modernization.

In the midst of this progress Nagas also find themselves facing the problem of adapting to the new situation. The wave of nationalism gave a momentary effort to minimize the forces of westernization and Hinduization but because the movement largely took up the military role it was unable to consolidate on all fronts. The catapulted progress did not give the society a processual and concomitant growth. Thus the Nagas today find themselves with a floating culture supported by the generous grants of the central government and are caught in between the forces of westernization and indigenization.

In spite of all these developments the Nagas are still confronted with the issues that they tackled over forty years ago - Territorial integration, political status, technical knowledge, and cultural image. These problems are still deeply ingrained in their vision and has been explicitly expressed by all groups and parties regardless of their ideology, programme and sphere of activity. Even

staunchest advocates of joining the Indian national mainstream such as the Congress I in various Naga inhabited areas pronounce their programme of a peaceful settlement of the Naga problem and integration of Naga inhabited areas into one administrative canopy in no uncertain terms. The issues, therefore, are still alive in their political perception.

The state of Nagaland comprise of only 16 tribes of the more than 35 tribes and subtribes of the Nagas. This make Nagas placed within the jurisdiction of other States and Union Territory indignant. More so for those who have been ceded to Burma. Such feeling of alienation often manifest in the form of demands for Union territories, separate state, or breaking away of a tribe to form smaller tribes. Accusations are levelled by one group to another of having sold out the struggle or have profitted on it and often signs of fissiporous tendencies surface.

Describing this paradoxical situation Professor Roy Burman contended: "If there had been no major outbreak of violence in Nagaland for some time it was not because everybody has eschewed violence but because the Nagas failed to sort out the question of their internal relations".⁴ The silence for the past few years does not sufficiently prove

4 Burman, B.K. Roy, Op Cit

an acquiescence to the situation or the status quo. Through the years while many Naga guerillas get killed, captured or surrendered many venture forth to the jungle trials for their commitment and determination to struggle for their respective ideology on the Naga nation.

Thus we find the Naga movement - a metamorphosis of a xenophobic awareness of tribal life into the modern ideology of nationalism and a struggle to sustain it - in a structural maladjustment. Nagas are late comers to nationalism and their consciousness emerged in; an unfavourable time and an inhospitable environment. History is yet to see whether their aspiration could be accommodated in the political structure of India or has to go its own way. Only pragmatism and ^{and} magnanimity would yield human understanding. Whatever the outcome one fact remain clear, that, the Nagas in their self-assertion against heavy odds, have retained their nationality.

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