

POLITICS OF NAGA NATIONALISM :THE RECENT TRENDS

PRADEEP KUMAR

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE,
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IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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DECLARATION

This is to declare that the work in this dissertation entitled "Politics of Naga Nationalism : Recent Trends", submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the M.Phil degree in Political Science has been done under the supervision of Prof. S.K.Chaube, Department of Political Science, Delhi University. This work has not been submitted for the award of any other Diploma/Degree.



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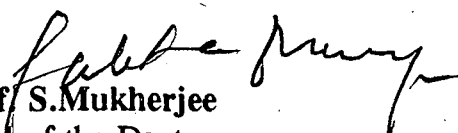
CERTIFICATE

I have the pleasure to certify that Mr. Pradeep Kumar, student of M.Phil, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi persuaded his research and prepared the present dissertation on "Politics of Naga Nationalism : Recent Trends" under my supervision and guidance. The present dissertation is the result of his own research and to the best of my knowledge no part of it has earlier comprised any other monograph, dissertation or book. This is being submitted to the university of Delhi for the degree of Master in Philosophy in Political Science in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the said degree.



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The question of Naga Nationalism has drawn the attention of Social Scientists of various disciplines for more than four decades, which was earlier dominated primarily by sociologists, social anthropologists and ethnographers. Present study, "Politics of Naga Nationalism : Recent Trends" is one where Naga Political Movement, is examined. This work includes Naga attitude towards Naga nationalism, Naga History and the view point of Govt. of India towards Nagas. The study also examines "Nationalism" its principles; subjective and objective aspects and views of scholars on Nationalism.

At the outset I must express my humble thanks to my supervisor, Sh.S.K.Chaube, Prof. in the Deptt. of Political Science, Delhi University, who supported, encouraged, guided and took keen interest in me for the present study. It is certain that without his help this work would not have become a possibility. I am beholden to him.

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Pradeep Kumar

DEDICATED TO....

My Parents

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Verrier Elwin, One of the greatest contributors to the study of Nagas, sums up a poem by Tagore, 'Bharat Tirtha' describing the diversity of Indian Culture, traditions and the people who had arrived in India, primarily as invaders for but later on made India their home:, "the many streams of men which have flowed in resistless tides from places unknown and were lost in the one sea of India: here Aryan and non-Aryan, Dravidian, Chinese, the bands of the Sakas and Hunas, and Pathan and Moghul, have become combined in one body: the door to the west has also been opened, and they bring presents from there: they will give and they will take, they will unite and be united, and will never go away- in this ocean-shore of the Great Humanity of India"¹

India is not one nation but many. India has many races and religions and castes and tribes. Notwithstanding all these, India has survived till date.

As. B.Datta says, "The underlying spirit of an Indian Nationality is not a new thing: the distinctiveness of India as a land, of the Indians as a people and of Indians as an identity have always been there throughout the long and unbroken history of

¹ Elwin, Verrier, '*Nagaland*', Published by P.Dutta for the Research Deptt. Shillong, 1961, p.79.

Indian civilization and culture. But it is also true that the content of this Indian identity has been spiritual and cultural rather than political."²

He further adds, " India has never been politically one before the advent of the British: even the vast Indian Empire had not encompassed the entire sub-continent" .³

India having achieved freedom in 1947 saw some changes. Firstly, the status of nation-state was achieved and, secondly, the political-geographical boundaries were not the same as they used to be. Thirdly, the great spiritual India was now divided on communal lines giving birth to two nation-states, India & Pakistan.

The freedom struggle of India was primarily under one leadership, that of Gandhi. But parts of India which were lying on the periphery were never drawn to the central political scene of the great freedom struggle.

Apparently there was one nation which was demanding self-independence that of Nagaland, When the struggle was going on for freedom, Naga people were not relying on Indian independence, instead they were very clear in their thoughts and pronouncements that they wanted a nation of their own.

As Verrier Elwin writes," when the Simon Commission visited Kohima in January 1929, members of the Naga Club submitted a memorandum to it demanding

² Datta, Birendranath, "Ethnicity, Nationalism and Sub-Nationalism with special reference to North-East India" in ed. by B.Pakem, *Nationality, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity*, Omsons Publications, New Delhi & Guwahati, 1990, p.37

³ Ibid. p.36

that the Nagas should be excluded from the proposed reforms and kept under direct administration to save them from being overwhelmed by the people of the plains."⁴

This attitude of Naga people towards Naga nationalism has drawn the attention of the social scientists from various corners. And this is the core of this present discussion.

Before going on to Naga history, political movements, Naga culture and traditions one needs to refer to some of the basic concepts of nationalism in general namely Nation, Nationalism and Nationality.

NATION, NATIONALISM and NATIONALITY

Man by nature is not always a lovable creature on the earth. He can be selfish and brutal, savage and belligerent, as he fights for property, land and other goods. Man not only wants all these things for himself but also for someone he is very close to. Primarily, a man wants to be secure physically, psychologically & socially, and fed but this security is not easily available from someone who is at a distance from him. So, he has to find someone near him and this affinity is to be found normally with only his family, clan or tribal group. Hayes suggests, "In a certain sense, man is by nature gregarious and has always lived and laboured and fought in groups, and nationalities are certainly human groups."⁵

Man always distinguishes between his group, the group he belongs to, and other groups. He always has the feeling of group membership and a feeling of

⁴ Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p.49.

⁵ Hayes, Carlton, J.H., *Essays on Nationalism*, New York, Russell & Russell 1966, p.7.

closeness with other individuals of the other group. This creates a feeling in the mind of the individual as being one with one or being a stranger.

Eric Frome sees man's problems just beginning with his needs for food, drink and sex. "He strives for power, or for love, or for destruction; he risks his life for religious, for political, for humanistic ideals, and these striving are what constitutes and characterizes the peculiarity of human life"⁶

Besides the above said aspect one must also keep in mind that man has an affection towards his surroundings, more prominently to his native place and the environment. The words of Hans Kohn are worth quoting here. "There is a natural tendency in man and by "natural tendency" we mean a tendency which, having been produced by social circumstances from time practically immemorial, appears to us as natural-to love his birth place or the place of this childhood sojourn, its surroundings, its climate, the contours of hills and valleys, of rivers and trees. We are all subject to the immense power of habitude and even if in a later stage of development we are attracted by the unknown and by change, we delight to come back and to be at rest in the reassuring sight of the familiar"⁷

He further on says that man has a feeling of superiority vis-a-vis/ the other people and, "The more primitive men are stronger, more will be the distress of strangers and therefore the greater the intensity of the group feeling".⁸ This strangeness with the people outside of the group sometime creates open hostility and

⁶ Snyder, Louis, L., *Meaning of Nationalism*, Rutgers Univ. Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1954, p.102.

⁷ Kohn, Hans. *Idea of Nationalism*, The Macmillian Co., New york, 1956, pp.4-5

⁸ Ibid.

becomes the reason to cause intense ill will for him. As Kohn records the musical words of Rudyard Kipling:

*The stranger within my gate,
He may be true or kind,
But he does not talk my talk-
I cannot feel his mind.
I see the face and the eyes and the mouth
But not the soul behind.*

*The men of my own stock
They may will or well,
But they tell the lies I am wonted to,
They are used to the lies I tell;
And we do not need interpreters
When we go to buy and sell.*

*The stranger within my gates
He may be evil or good
But I cannot tell what powers control
What reasons sway his mood;
Nor when the Gods of his far-off land
may repossess his blood.⁹*

The word 'Nation' has the origin in the Latin language as 'Natio' meaning 'birth or race'.¹⁰ It thus signifies a tribe or a social grouping based on real or fancied community of blood. In seventeenth century, the term was given a new turn by jurists and publicists. They referred to 'nation' as "the population of a sovereign political state, regardless of any racial or linguistic unity."¹¹ This still enjoys general sanction.

⁹ Ibid. pp.5-6

¹⁰ Hayes, Carlton, J.H., op.cit.,p.4

¹¹ Ibid.

Before defining a nation, one has to look specifically to the word "people". This is the word which also has the characteristics similar to that of the nation. Karl.W.Deutsch suggests, "a people is a group of individuals who have some objective characteristics in common. Which usually include language, territorial-residence, traditions, habits, historical memories, and the like. To these are then added by one group of writers, certain subjective elements such as mutual affection, consciousness of difference from other peoples, or the will to belong to this particular people".¹²

Ernest Barker, while defining a nation, does not leave much space to differentiate between a nation and a people. Some of the above said characteristics of the people are quite visible in the definition. "A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history; who, on the whole and in the main, though more in the past than in the present, include in that common stock a common religious belief; who generally and as a rule use a common language as the vehicle of their thoughts and feelings; and who, besides common thoughts and feelings, also cherish a common will, and accordingly form, or tend to form a separate state for the expression of that will."¹³

While forming a separate state the population arrives at the status of 'nation-state'. A nation-state is one where a governing body exists to rule and to administer

¹² Deutsch, Karl, W., *Nationalism and Social Communication*, The MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1966, MSA, p.17

¹³ Snyder, Louis, L., *op.cit.*, pp.31-32.

the people of a nation. As a unit of analysis, a state unambiguously stands as a juridical concept relating a governing body to social group within a defined territory.¹⁴

On the other hand describing a nation, Karl Deutsch suggests "a nation is often said by such writers to be a people living in a state of its own. By this is meant, it seems, that the ruling personnel of the state consists largely of individuals who share the main characteristics of this people, and that the administration of this state is carried on in this people's language and in line with what are considered to be its characteristic institutions and patterns of custom."¹⁵

This suggests that there has to be one particular people to be ruled by their own people. It also suggests that in a political legal boundary there has to be only one set of people to be called as 'nation'. "But the sociological boundaries of the nations are rarely congruent with the political-legal boundaries of the state".¹⁶

Having discussed people, nation and nation-state, the more confusing term 'nationality' surrounds the mind of the social scientist, though Hayes says, the term 'nationality', is far less ambiguous than the term 'nation'. A nationality, according to him, is "a group of people who speak either the same language or closely related dialects, who cherish common historical tradition and who constitute or think they constitute a distinct cultural society. In this sense, nationality may exist without

¹⁴ Tiryakian, Edward, A., & Neil Nevitte, "Nationalism and Modernity", in ed. Tiryakian Edward, A., & Ronold Rogowski, *New Nationalisms of the Developed West*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1985, p.58.

¹⁵ Deutsch, Karl, W., op.cit., p.17

¹⁶ Tiryakian, Edward & Neil Nevitte, op.cit., p.58

political unity or without an organised sovereign state of its own and, vice versa, a political state may embrace several nationalities, though the tendency has been pronounced in modern times for every self-conscious nationality to aspire to political unity and independence."¹⁷

A nationality by acquiring political unity, sovereignty and independence becomes a nation state. This nation-statehood is a political affiliation to the nationality which is primarily a cultural unit and only incidentally political.

Describing the term 'nationality' Karl Deutsch argues that, "a nationality -- in its wide spread usage -- is a term which may be applied to a people among who there exists a significant movement toward political, economic, or cultural autonomy, that is to say, toward a political organisation, or a market area, or an area of literary or cultural interchange, within which the personnel and the characteristics of this people will predominate".¹⁸ However, Viscount James Bryce modestly disclaimed the ability to define nationality.¹⁹

This movement for political organisation or to attain political autonomy hence forth gives birth to the feeling of nationalism, the most researched problem which still remains a mystery for most social scientists as no unanimity is yet achieved to find the definition or the apt clarification for the benefit of the social sciences.

For nationalism, Victor Gollancz remarks, "...nationalism is evil because it concentrates on comparative inessentials (where a man lives, what sort of language

¹⁷ Hayes, Carlton, J.H., op.cit.,pp.6-7

¹⁸ Deutsch, Karl, W., op.cit. pp.,17-18

¹⁹ Snyder, Louis, L., op.cit., p.5

he speaks, the type of his culture, the character of his 'blood') and ignores the essential, which is simply that he is a man. It pursues a spurious and abstract national 'glory' which is devoid of any actual existence, and has nothing whatever to do with the glory, or with the daily and hourly happiness and well being of the nationals in question. It is partly an invention of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians, and partly a drug from which the populace derives, not individual peace of mind, but a kind of bogus and vicarious satisfaction. It makes one set of people hate another set that they haven't the smallest real occasion for hating: it leads to jealousy, expansionism, oppression, strife and eventually war".²⁰

Thus, Victor Gollancz finds nationalism as purely destructive force in the human history. But one can never long for a world with one nationality perhaps it will give birth to fightings not between nations and nationalists but between individuals. In reality the nationalism as a force brings some individuals together and fosters a feelings of love & oneness. If at all the individual needs to live peacefully, he will have to join some group. And, this group is not be the one containing the whole human race as one which is a utopian Christian Philosophy.

The meaning of nationalism has changed from time to time and from place to place. As Snyder remarks, the British people will take nationalism as a force for liberation and freedom;²¹ German Nazis took it as a means for aggression and as a

²⁰ Snyder, Lousi, L., op.cit., p.112

²¹ Ibid. p.4

weapon against democracy²² while Russian Communists recognized it as a tool of capitalism.²³

Nationalism for different political parties hold different meanings and this differentiation leads to the wider acceptance of the concept. The term is wide enough, sometimes to create a new meaning for each individual, and the more the feeling of nationalism as concept comes closer to the individual, it creates a new meaning for each individual. However, social scientists have tried their best to define the term fully, but it cannot be said that they all reached to an end, aimed for the most. Some scholars consider the meaning of nationalism to be so complex a metaphysical fiction that they assume or explicitly state that definition is impossible.

According to George P. Gooch, "nationalism is an organism, a spiritual entity, and all attempts to penetrate its secrets by the light of mechanical interpretation break down before the test of experience".²⁴ Whereas, H.L. Featherstone writes "nationalism is not capable of scientific definition."²⁵

While in recent years Benedict Anderson in his celebrated work Imagined Communities, defines a nation as "it is an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign".²⁶ It is imagined because, as Gellner says,

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. p.4

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London, 1991, pp.5-6

Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."²⁷

Kedourie refers to nationalism as "a doctrine involving a complex of inter related ideas about the individual, society and politics, and he highlights the role of western intellectuals in creating it."²⁸ But Guibernau reveals that in this doctrine, Kedourie tries to prove that, "nations are obvious and natural divisions of the human race, by appealing to history, anthropology, and linguistics".²⁹ Further, Guibernau questions Kedourie, "the attempt breaks down since, whatever ethnologica or philological doctrine may be fashionable for the moment, there is no convincing reason why the fact that people speak the same language or belong to the same race should, by itself, entitle them to enjoy a government exclusively their own."³⁰

Referring to nation Edmund Burke finds it as "an idea of Continuity in time as well as in numbers and in space."³¹ He says that it is a constitution made by the people in specific circumstances, while Disraeli finds the nation as a civilized community thus proving the point of Edmund Burke that it is a constitution of the people made up as a Mental state.³²

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Guibernau, Montserrat *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth century*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1996, p.2

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.p.5

³¹ Deutsch, Karl, W., op.cit., p.21

³² Ibid.

In a lesser analytical way, various scholars have termed the nation in different ways. Spengler calls it a **spiritual unity**, a Karl Lamprecht as a **social soul**, Friedrich Meinecke as a **mental community** and Don Luigi Sturzo as a **collective personality**.³³ All these defining words give a specific meaning in totality that nations or nationalism or even nationality are co-extensive terms meaning a will or a structure: geographical war, social or political, or language give birth to the feeling of nationality. However a definition of nationalism is yet to find its final composition but in the near future, it does not seem to be very close. As Guibernau remarks "it is my contention that, although these accounts have made significant contributions to a fuller understanding of nationalism, each theory is deficient in certain crucial respects to explain the saliency of such a powerful contemporary phenomenon."³⁴

Hence Kohn finds nationalism as a state of mind, an act of consciousness. The life of a man is dominated by two types of consciousness, one his own ego-consciousness and the other is the group-consciousness; the feeling of oneness, of similarity of thoughts in a group depending upon historical traditions, environment and group behaviour.³⁵ Kohn says, that "both are complex states of mind at which we arrive through experiences of differentiation and opposition, of the ego and the surrounding world, of the We-Group and those outside the group."³⁶

³³ Ibid. p.23

³⁴ Guibernau, Montserrat, op.cit., p.3

³⁵ Kohn, Hans, op.cit.,p.11

³⁶ Ibid.

The collective consciousness centres around family, clan and caste groups; notably, the membership to such units is of an ascriptive kind. A group-consciousness or a collective consciousness strives to create a homogeneity within the group, a conformity and the like mindedness which will lead to and facilitate concerted common action.

In the modern industrialized world, we are surrounded by different groups. An individual has different loyalties to different groups as, occupational group, income group, urban group or rural group. Within this plurality of groups, an individual tries to affix his supreme loyalty to a particular group.³⁷

And this supreme loyalty is directed towards the nation, which brings an individual into a relationship which is revered and adored the most. Kohn describes this affinity a "feeling of solidarity between the individual and the group, may go at certain times, as far as complete submergence of the individual in the group".³⁸ The whole education of the members of the group is directed to a common mental preparedness for common attitudes and common actions.

Prior to this modern industrialized world the societies were by themselves divided in smaller groups. But in this age, specifically after the French and American Revolution, the apparent supreme loyalty appears to be directed to the nation only. This common loyalty is not adhered to by some individuals of the nation (geographical set-up) but by all men. This adoration to nation gave rise to the concept of nationalism.

³⁷ Ibid. pp.11-12

³⁸ Ibid.

Another factor which enhanced the feeling of nationalism is the growth of industrialization, trade, international relation and communication. In the beginning of this age they reached a momentum which had never been attained earlier. Local languages were given the status of literary and cultural symbol in reality, which paved the way for the growth of nationalism. According to Kohn, this view does not put enough stress on people's participation as a major factor for the growth of nationalism. "This view overlooks the fact that the very growth of nationalism all over the earth, with the awakening of the masses to participation in political and cultural life, prepared the way for the closer cultural contacts of all the civilizations of mankind (now for the first time brought into a common denominator), at the same time separating and uniting them".³⁹

Nationalism in the beginning stands as a natural historical process⁴⁰ establishing nationalities as political units, that is to say a process of change from traditional society to modern societies vis-a-vis, political institutions, political values, etc. Secondly, the form indicates the theory, principle, or ideal implicit in the actual historical process. As Hayes observes, "in this sense it signifies both an intensification of the consciousness of nationality and a political philosophy of the national state."⁴¹ Hayes further states that nationalism' many mean "in such phrases

³⁹ Ibid.p.12

⁴⁰ Hayes, Carlton, J.H., op.cit., p.5

⁴¹ Ibid.

as 'Irish Nationalism' or Chinese Nationalism", the activities of a particular political party. Combining an historical process and a political theory."⁴²

The next principle, which Hayes discusses is not very far from the principle stated by Kohn (Nationalism as a state of mind and the supreme loyalty and its attachment to the nation). Hayes describes Nationalism, "to denote a condition of the mind among members of a nationality, perhaps already possessed of a nation state; a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one's nation-state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one's nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and in its 'mission' are integral parts."⁴³

According to Anthony D. Smith, a theorist on nationalism and a sociologist, four basic elements are found necessary for nationalism.⁴⁴

Smith mentions firstly that, of many visions, the vision of a national ideal has the most influential active and penetrative force for nationalism throughout the globe. As he defines the national ideal, "fundamentally, it was a belief that all those who shared a common history and culture should be autonomous, united and distinct in their recognised homelands".⁴⁵

⁴² Ibid.p.6

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Smith, Anthony, D., *Nationalism in the twentieth century*, Martin Robertson, London, 1978. p.2

⁴⁵ Ibid. p.3

Smith further adds, "the national ideal therefore embodies both the vision of the world divided into parallel and distinctive national and also a culture of the role of the unique even that shapes the national character".⁴⁶

Smith gives importance to culture as a second basic element. According to him, "the vision of mankind is really and naturally divided into distinct communities of history and culture and they are called as nations". He says, "each nation defines the identity of its members because of the specific culture moulds of the individual".⁴⁷ The basic factor behind this assertion is a long historical tradition. The third element for Smith is solidarity. The nationalist desire is based on the possession of the land on which the history of the nationalist blossoms, the land of the past generation which had seen the flowering of the national genius. Smith emphasizes that for solidarity, territory is an important asset without which one is deficient to build a nation. And this solidarity is the one that the national ideal requires most.⁴⁸

Finally, Smith argues that for a nationalist, a policy is of essential importance. Once the nationalist has the solidarity, the culture and the vision of national ideal, he must have a fixed programme to gain political recognition. The people of a common history must also have a homeland to realise the peculiarity of the culture and the identity of the homeland. The homeland must be free, for this reason the nationalist draws himself into political movements as to acquire self-government and sovereignty. Not all nationalists prefer total self-government or sovereignty, some may prefer

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.3

autonomy of home rule, or some may join federation with other states. But, as Smith argues, all desire to get recognized by the other states that they have right to their homeland, free from interference in the internal affair or specifically cultural affairs.⁴⁹

For nationalism, **Collective Will** is another asset which should be regarded as the fundamental characteristic by nationalists. Once the idea of collective consciousness is achieved, the formation of a collective will should spontaneously radiate from within the group. As the Zionist thinker, Achad Ha'am, correctly admits, that "nation is subjective feeling. A nation is what individual feel in their hearts in the nation, and appeals to philology and biology are really superfluous".⁵⁰

The above idea, according to Smith, reveals that nationalism is ultimately based on will; and will alone cannot serve as the foundation of a state. Renan in 1882 rightly wrote that "nation is truly a daily plebiscite and a political community which conducts daily plebiscite must soon fall into querulous anarchy or hypnotic obedience."⁵¹

Having read Renan's idea, Ellie Kedourie remarks that "national self-determination is, in the final analysis, a determination of the will, and nationalism is, in the first place, a method of teaching the right determination of the will."⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.11

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

Max Weber, who views the nation as a political community emphasizes, that "nationalism is directed more towards political power"⁵³ To emphasize more on political power view, John Breuilly describes that, "To focus culture, ideology, identity, class or modernisation is to neglect the fundamental point that nationalism is above and beyond all else, "about politics, and that politics is about power. Power in the modern world, is primarily about control of the state".⁵⁴

Having discussed the subjective aspects of nationalism, one can come to the conclusion that the idea of nationalism is primarily surrounded by the collective will and the collective consciousness as well as attachments to the nation while performing the supreme loyalty to it. But for Smith, some objective characteristics besides solidarity, policy, and the vision of national ideal are also important as he has discussed the role of culture . But all the subjective aspects must have an objective base. As Dr.Hertz says, "the subjectivist theory need to be supplemented by allowance for the objective factor".⁵⁵

Breuilly says that nationalism is used to refer to "Political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such actions with nationalist arguments".⁵⁶

This definition specifically sets apart the movements taking place on the nationalist grounds in India. And Naga nationalism meets most of this argument of John Breuilly.

⁵³ Tiryakian, Edward, & Neil Nevitte, op.cit., p.62

⁵⁴ Breuilly, John, *Nationalism & the State*, Manchester, Univ. Press, 1982, p.2.

⁵⁵ Deutsch, Karl, W., op.cit., p.26.

⁵⁶ Breuilley, John, op.cit., p.2

CHAPTER - II

A POLITICAL HISTORY OF NAGALAND

Nagaland, one of the most beautiful states of the Indian Union, is situated in the north-eastern corner of the country. This small state is surrounded by Burma on the east, Arunachal Pradesh on the North, Assam on the West and Manipur on the South. The total geographical area is 16,527 Sq. Kms. Nature has provided the state with a beautiful natural set-up. Mountain, Valley, forests and streams are the picturesque side where the tribes of Nagaland have been dwelling for centuries.

About the Nagas, the famous anthropologist, Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf wrote, "entering the Naga country one left behind the twentieth century and was surrounded by people who follow a way of life in some respects not very different from the style in which neolithic man must have lived in great parts of the South-East-Asia".¹ It shows that the Naga people had not yet acclimatized themselves with the modern world. Their culture and tradition is more towards tribal nature. In fact almost all Naga population is a tribal population. Their way of life belongs to traditionalism and they are not at a pace from where to pick the modern world. It is not correct to say that the Nagas are slow at pace.

As Verrier Elwin says, they are a fine people, proud, strong and self-reliant, with the free and independent outlook characteristic of highlanders, everywhere good

¹ Mankekar, D.R., *On the Slippery Slopes in Nagaland*, P.C.Maniktala & Sons, Bombay, 1967, p.21

to look at, with an unerring instinct for colour design, friendly and cheerful with a keen sense of humour, gifted with splendid dances and a love of song. ²

Nagas are said to have been the head hunters, but the arrival of Christianity removed such practices from amongst the Naga people. In fact, the idea that the Naga people are the head hunters is a biased one because almost all the tribes adopt some amount of ritual violence. But Nagas are certainly considered more barbaric because they are associated with head-hunting. Elwin notes that, "they are shifting the gear from war to peace; the cessation of head hunting and the gradual disappearance of the Feasts of Merit." ³

THE MYTH OF ORIGIN OF NAGAS

Many scholars have tried to plunge into a stream from where they brought their own ideas about the origin of the word 'Naga'. They attach their own justification of their idea. John Butler believes, the people of the plains gave the name "Nagas" ⁴ to the people who used to live in the hills. It does not bear a proper justification that for all the hill peoples are not known as Nagas.

Some other scholars have regarded that the word Naga derives from a sanskrit word "Nag" which means a snake. L.W. Shakesper & Robert Reid believe that the word derives from the word Naga, the naked. ⁵ This also does not prove that only the

² Elwin, Verrier, *Nagaland*, Published of P.Dutta for the Research Deptt, Shillong, 1961, p.1.

³ Ibid. p.25

⁴ Singh, Chandrika, *Political Evolution of Nagaland*, Lancers, N.Delhi, 1981, p.4.

⁵ Ibid.

Naga tribes were the naked people. In a tribal situation there is a specific custom or ritual attached to each tribe about their dressings.

Referring to Ptolemy, Asoso Yunou writes that he refers them as 'Nagolong,' meaning the realm of the naked people, almost exactly where the Nagas are now.⁶

Ahaib-un-Disa Talish, the Mughal historian who accompanied the invasion of Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, in Assam in 1662 refers to them as 'Nanga'.⁷ The European traveller, Tavernier also mentions, the Nagas who wore pig's tusk on their caps, very few clothes on their bodies and great holes for ear-rings through the lobes of their ears.⁸

About the migration of Nagas, in the present habitat, Yunou writes "it is crystal clear that their ancestors most probably were the primeval non-Chinese of Ching tribes, who nomadised herding cattle, many centuries before the Christian era, and began to spread towards the east, west, north and south as the legend narrates, right in the western China, Indo-China, Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Burma, Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal right upto Ladakh in the north west of India. ⁹

W.C. Smith, a sociologist proves an affinity of the Nagas with Dyaks and Kayans of Borneo, the Battack of Sumatra in Indonesia, the Igorots and Effigies of the Philippines and some tribal groups of Formosa in cultural similarities with one

⁶ Yunou, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas*, Vivek Publications, Delhi, 1974, p.35

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. p.36

⁹ Ibid. p.37

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another, like head-hunting, dormitory, dwelling houses, disposal of the dead on raised plat forms, a great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage, betel chewing,.....¹⁰

It proves that the Nagas are not the tribes who were concentrated at one place, specially in Naga Hills. They have a relationship not only in Myamnar or Thailand but further east and south-east of Asia as well. They share common culture with almost similar stock of people of Sumatra the Indo-Chinese geographical area and Borneo, etc. ¹¹

Helcombe and Peal hold that word Naga has its derivation in the work "Nok" meaning the folk.¹² According to Chandrika Singh this view seems logical and close to Nagas. But it cannot be said that only Nagas are folks. All tribes have a specific folk culture attached to them.¹³

S.K. Chatterjee attaches Nagas to Kratas of the Hindu mythology. Some other view regarding Naga origin are close to that of christian origin. One of the views suggests that Nagas originated from the stone and the other one relates their origin to a lake. But all these views are myth and more or less religious belief which brings a specific kind of unity within the Naga people.¹⁴

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p.1

¹² Singh, Chandrika, op.cit., p.4

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. p.5

NAGA THROUGH AGES

Naga history is not easily available due to the paucity of a written documentation. But the arrival of the British and their missions led to anthropology, sociology, survey research, Christian missionaries opened new vistas in the Naga history and about this time onward the recorded history of the Nagas is available.

At the beginning of the 13th century, the Shan chief, Sukhapa crossed over the Patkoi ranges, the geographical division between Burma and India and took control of Naga-areas and brutally treated the Naga inhabitants.¹⁵ The relationship between Ahoms and Nagas remain confused for most of the Naga historians, because their relation was marked sometimes by friendly behaviour and at times with hostility. Ahoms regarded Nagas as their subjects, they took taxes, and tributes from Naga people, while rewarded them with land etc.¹⁶

J.F.Michell writes, that the Nagas were under the control and jurisdiction of the Ahom kings. He further notes, "Present inhabitants are the remain of the hill religions enlisted by the Rajas of Assam and given their present lands as their reward of good services." The British annexed the Cachar area of Assam in 1832 and in 1839 began an integration process of Nagas in plains India.¹⁷

The British wanted to take control of the area because (1) they wanted to maximize their territory as well as the defence of the area from intruders of the east

¹⁵ Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p.18

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Singh, Chandrika, op.cit., pp.8-9

(2) frequent Naga raids compelled the British to control the Naga hills. The Britishers first wanted to be friends with them. As the policy did not pay they had to send military expeditions to subdue the Naga raiders. (3) The British arrived in India for commercial purposes in the beginning but became political masters later. In reality, to improve trade and commerce and the production they had to have an area under control at every nook and corner of India. (4) British administration wanted a direct route from Assam to Manipur. They had to cross Naga hills for their commercial interests. (5) Raja Gambhir Singh of Manipur became ambitious to extend his kingdom to Naga hills. This made the colonial masters adopt expeditionary policy to Naga hills. Though the Nagas resisted but the British subjugated them.¹⁸

However, the British established their base in the Naga hills on Dec 11, 1845. John Buttler concluding a treaty with Nagas, reports "All the chiefs were summoned.....to refer all disputes to the British authoritiesto pay annual tributes as a token of allegiance to the British Government."¹⁹

After 1852, the British Government realized the futility of the policy of military invasion in the Naga hills. Mr. Buttler recommended, withdrawal for the said cause (the futility of the British invasion in Nagaland) and the view was agreed upon by Lord Delhousie, the then Governor General of the colony. Resultantly, British troops withdrew from the Naga hills. This non-interference policy in Naga affairs continued till 1865. Between 1852 and 1856 Nagas however did not remain calm in their attitude for they continued their raids in the areas adjoining the Naga hills or

¹⁸ Ibid. pp.9-11

¹⁹ Ibid.

under British administration. It apparently disrupted the hilly areas under British control.

Chandrika Singh writes "This agreement made the British Government virtually the sovereign masters of the Naga people".²⁰

The above cause led British administration to rethink about their policy concerning Naga hills. The appraisal compelled the British administration, specifically Mr. Beadon to propose the then Governor General to protect the British officers and subjects of Assam, "to reassert our authority over them and bring them under a system of administration suited to their circumstances and gradually to reclaim them from the habit of lawlessness to those of order and civilization".²¹

The Governor General was not in favour for total subjugation of the people of Naga hills. Though he still wanted some sort of control to curb the raids. He, ordered Mr. Beadon to go for moderate physical force so that the portion of the hill tracts adjacent to the plains could be brought into order.²²

In 1866, a new administrative zone Samaguting (Chumukedima) comprising the entire Angami hills, the area lying west of Dhansiri was set up. Apprehensive Nagas, consequently, increased their raids on British posts and survey parties. John Butler was killed during these raids in 1875.

By 1877, the Naga outrages reached its zenith which compelled the governor general to propose a greater administrative body in Naga areas. He sought the

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. p.18

²² Ibid.

permission of the secretary of state of India to shift the British Head Quarters to Kohima. Hence the Head Quarters was established in Kohima on May 18, 1879.²³

The year 1879, however led to a violent phase in Naga history and from here on the Britishers got complete control over Naga areas.

The Naga hill district, which was under the Governor of Bengal, was included in Assam in 1874. And its administration was regulated by various acts which made special provision for undeveloped tracts. The hill areas were kept under different footing and the Frontier Tracts Regulation (Second) of 1880 provided that some of the Border areas should be excluded from the operation of laws which might be considered unsuitable. Hence simpler regulations were devised.²⁴

By the act of 1919, the Governor General was empowered to declare any territory as backward in India. As Verrier Elwin points out "the fact that Naga areas come under these regulations did not mean that it was separate from other parts of India or that its inhabitants were receiving different treatment from that given to other tribal people. In actual fact they were in the same situation as many millions of others in India".²⁵

The Simon Commission was sent to India, for Political reform by the king. The reforms were not scheduled for the plain people only and the reforms were to be extended to the hilly areas also.

²³ Ibid., pp.19-20

²⁴ Ramunny, Murkot, *The World of Nagas*, Northern Book Centre, N.Delhi, 1993, p.13.

²⁵ Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p.35

The Naga people were prepared to face the challenges which were to be occurring in their way. In 1918, they had formed the Naga Club for social and political and administrative reasons. This club was an organisation which was regarded as the first expression for their unity and will to form a nation, but no political movements were taken up by the club till the Simon Commission arrived in Kohima on 10th January 1929.

The Naga Club submitted a memorandum to the commission stating, " You are the only people who have ever conquered us and, when you go we should be as we were".²⁶

Hutton, the then Deputy Commissioner was an expert administrator and an anthropologist as well. While forwarding the memorandum to the commission from the Naga club he noted, "It is the purpose of this note to show that the interest of the hill district will not be served by having them included in the reforms, but they will suffer very serious detriment by being tied up to the politically more advanced plains district, while the latter are likely to suffer in the future by being joined with people of an irreconcilable culture in an unnatural union which can ultimately only entail discomfort for both parties."²⁷

He reasoned " racially the inhabitants of the Assam and Surma valley are people of a Hindu or Muhammadan Culture imported from Bengal. The hill districts

²⁶ Ibid. p.49

²⁷ Ramunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.14

of Assam are populated by tribes that are neither Bengali, Shan or Indian Origin and have remained untouched by either Hinduism or Islam".²⁸

He added" none of the tribes are Indian at all except in the barest geographic sense and they feel for the people of the plains a rooted antipathy which seems generally to be heartily reciprocated."²⁹

Hutton's most important recommendation was that "the true solution of the question of their administration is the gradual creation of self-governing communities, semi-independent in nature secured by treaties on the lines of the Shan states of Burma, for whose external relations alone the Governor of the province would ultimately be responsible. Given self-determination to that extent it would always be open to a functioning Hill State to apply for amalgamation if it so desired and could satisfy the other party of advantage in its incorporation".³⁰

According to the Act 1919, some of the hill districts including Naga hills were declared backward tracts. The members of the commission took exception to the word "backward" and proposed the establishment of "excluded areas" of which there was to be a bifurcation; "excluded and partially excluded areas". It was because of backwardness and administrative convenience. The excluded areas were those where population was completely homogenous while the partially excluded areas were those where this homogeneity was scattered but was in a backward situation.

²⁸ Ibid. p.14

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

The specified meaning of 'excluded areas' is defined as "they were excluded from the competence of the provincial and Federal Legislatures and the administration was vested in the Governor acting in their discretion." ³¹ while partially excluded areas were to be in the control of the ministers subject to the Governor exercising his individual judgement.³²

Verrier Elwin points out that in reality there was no special arrangement for the Naga hills district and the fact that it was classified as an excluded area simply brought it into line with a number of similar areas throughout the whole of India.³³

The Government of India Act 1935 came into effect from April 1, 1937 Nagaland Hills Districts and north-eastern frontier tracts and some other areas became excluded areas within the Assam province and were to be administered by the governor of the province acting in his own discretion. Governor was empowered to make regulation for the Naga hills districts as no central or provincial legislature had the effect on these areas unless governor directed such implementation.

The Naga Club was apparently satisfied with the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935. Sir Robert Reid, explaining the situation after the inception of the act in Nagaland hills wrote, "Constitutionally only the two valleys of Assam came within the ambit of the Reform Act of 1935 and so fell under the control by the cabinet of elected ministers. The hill districts, meaning the Balipara Frontier Tract, Sadiya Frontier Tract, Naga hills and Lushai Hills were excluded i.e. they were

³¹ Ibid. p.15

³² Ibid.

³³ Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p.50

administered by the governor, "in his discretion" without reference to the ministry, though the revenue spent there and the staff to administer them would have to be found by the province as a whole. But by Section 52 (a) of the Act, the governor was charged with special responsibility for their peace and good government, a responsibility which it was obvious from the start, would be, and indeed was very hard to discharge".³⁴

THE FORMATION OF NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL (NNC)

World war II inflicted heavy casualties on Nagaland and, to restore the situation in the Naga hills, the then district commissioner, Charles Pawsey, formed the Naga Hills District Tribal Council in April 1945, However, a conference of the tribal representatives held in February 1946, changed its name to Naga National Council. The word 'National' in the Naga phraseology for the first time indicated the intensity of Naga feeling.³⁵

With the help of the British Deputy Commissioner and with the efforts of Mr. Kevichusa, an officer of EAC (Extra Assistant Commissioner) rank, Naga National Council came into existence, after the World War II, in February 1946.

Anand records that the council primarily adhered itself to the welfare of the Naga people. But soon T.Sakhirie gave it a political posture.³⁶

³⁴ Ramunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.16

³⁵ Anand, V.K., *Conflict in Nagaland*, Chanakya Publications, Delhi, 1980, p.62

³⁶ Ibid.

In October 1946, Naga National Council passed the resolution for the first time, which could be described as their first political movement against the Naga hills inclusion in India. Murkot Ramunny notes that "the NNC passed a resolution asking the Deputy Commissioner to disallow any member of any political party from the rest of India to enter the Naga Hills without the consent of the Naga National Council.³⁷

Naga National Council at the time had 25 members and represented all the Naga tribes except those in Tuensang. Though, by this time, NNC's ideas became apparent but it did not attach its membership to any political party. Elwin notes that its primary aim was to attain local political autonomy within Assam and to train the people for self-governance. NNC encouraged individual tribal councils for self-administration. For a few years it also published a newspaper, Naga Nation.

In June 1946, Cabinet Mission visited India, and a memorandum was presented to them by T. Sakhrie demanding;

1. Unity of all Naga tribes
2. Separate electrode, for Nagas
3. Safe-guarding of their interests, and
4. Grant of local autonomy within the Assam province of free India.³⁸

Thus, NNC finally pronounced their demand for separation. Though it was not supported by a majority of the Nagas. Asoso Yunou finds that from this time they

³⁷ Ramunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.18

³⁸ Anand, V.K., op.cit., p.62

began "to achieve the unification and the solidarity of all Nagas under one government as their legitimate national aspiration and interest."³⁹

Nehru, while replying on the memorandum sent by T.Sakhrie and Shashi Meren, the then INC president said, "it is obvious that the Naga territory in Eastern Assam is much too small to stand by itself politically or economically. It lies between two huge countries, India and China, and part of it consists 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 to the Naga territory or any part of it. They would be isolated there between India and China. Inevitably, therefore, this Naga territory must form part of India and of Assam with which it has developed such close associations". He felt that "the whole Naga territory should go together".⁴⁰

Nehru thus declared Indian intention that Nagas should remain with India or should be included within Indian territory. The extremist Nagas were of a different view.⁴¹ Phizo and his followers had by that time made it obvious that the Naga territory should stand separate of India whereas a majority of moderates wanted close relations with India. While the British were not exactly following any of these two views.

³⁹ Yunou, Asoso, op.cit., p.161

⁴⁰ Ramunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.19

⁴¹ Ibid.

Some British administrators thought out a scheme for uniting the area comprising Naga Hills area of Assam and the upper part of Burma inhabited by tribal people to form a Crown Colony.

It was the proposal of Sir Robert Reid who had been the Governor of Assam., Murkot Ramunny records that the idea of Sir Robert Reid was that the "new state should be quite separate from Government of India. His proposal was that the control should come from the White Hall and not from Delhi. To assure the Nagas a square deal, he even went to the extent of suggesting that the United Kingdom, perhaps assisted by contribution from the Indian government would meet the expenses.⁴² Sir Reginald Coupland proposed a rather similar plan which amounted to a condominium, suggesting that the Governments of India and Burma might have a treaty with Britain and that each should take her share of responsibility for the area. This idea was effectively criticised by a later Governor of Assam, Sir Andrew Clow in 1945 and the Nagas themselves equally opposed it, though on other grounds, for they had no affection for any kind of colonialism and they proved as strong as any Congressmen in insisting that "the British must go".⁴³ T.Sakhire also mentions the crown colony in his tretise on Naga case for independence. He wrote, "when it came to be known in the years immediately following the cessation of hostilities, (World War II) that British had a scheme to carve out a colony comprising the Naga hills, the areas now forming the North-East Frontier Tracts (Agency), and the upper part of Burma, the Naga National Council declared that the moment the British quit India, they would

⁴² Ibid, p.20

⁴³ Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p.52

have to quit Nagaland as well. It would be useless to engage in what has been called hypotheticals.... in order to discover what the condition of the Naga country would have been if the colony scheme had been given effect to. The attitude of the Nagas towards the Colony scheme produced the desired effect and it was dropped altogether. There can be no doubt that if the Nagas had lent the slightest support or encouragement to the scheme the Colony might well have been a reality".⁴⁴

It then proves that Nagas were by no means willing to be a crown colony but at the same time they thought that if Nagas, who were demographically insignificant to the 400-million people of India, would be thrown into that crowd where they would lose their identity. The constitution according to which they were to be ruled was not according to their unique system of their life style and traditional customs.

Phizo, accompanied by Jasokie, approached Sir Sadullah and it was reported that he helped them write this memorandum. Which was submitted on the 20th February, 1947. According to Sakhire, as Murkot Ramunny records", "...one group of Nagas favoured immediate independence. The moderates favored the continuation of governmental relation with India in some modified form until such time as the Nagas were sufficiently schooled in the art of running a moderate state".⁴⁵

Most of the illiterate Naga villagers wanted to be left alone for they did not want any alien rule to be given them. Sakhire admits that all views were accommodated in the plan to request the colonial king and government of India to act as a guardian

⁴⁴ Ramunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.21

⁴⁵ Ibid.

power over the Nagas for a period of 10 years. After that Nagas would be free to decide about their own political future.

The memorandum for such plan was submitted to the last viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, in the early part of 1947. The memorandum read as follows:

1. The interim government of the Naga people will be a government by the Naga people over all the people of Nagaland, having full powers in respect of legislation, executive and judiciary.
2. Nagaland belongs to the Naga people and will be inalienable.
3. The interim government of the Naga people will have full powers in the matter of raising and expenditure of revenue, an annual subvention to cover the deficit being given by the Guardian Power.
4. For defence and for aiding Civil Power in case of emergency a force considered necessary by the NNC will be maintained in Nagaland by the Guardian Power. The force will be responsible to the NNC who will in turn be responsible to the Guardian Power".⁴⁶

The Naga plan did not receive a favorable response by either British king or the Government of India. Instead, they were asked to refer the matter to the sub-committee of the advisory committee of the constituent assembly who were tackling the case of the princely states to be included in the Indian territory under the Indian political system. The sub-committee visited Kohima on 27th May, 1947. Nagas remained recalcitrant with their idea of separation and they time and again, insisted on complete independence after the expiry of the 10 years of guardianship by India.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

But, as the sub-committee remained persisted with the idea that Nagas are an integral part of India, did not make any recommendations.

However, the British had to leave India by August 1947. They did not attach themselves with the Naga problem and more or less suggested to the Nagas that they should remain with India for a better future. This view though not properly taken care of by Nagas but somehow the view of the Britishers existed as India attained independence on 15th August 1947. But Nagas announced their Independence day on August 14, 1947 when Pakistan also announced their independence.

Andrew Clows words are quote worthy for Nagas welfare. As on his departure he asked them to remain in India to safe-guard their interest, while P.F. Adams told them to "accept autonomy and not fight for independence".⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER - III

INDEPENDENT INDIA AND THE NAGAS

The British administrators tried by one mean or the other to continue their control in the Naga hills. But Lord Wavell discouraged all British plans and argued that the provincial government should take additional duty to administer the Naga hills, and the central Government should take the responsibility of grants, undertake inspections, and might receive periodic reports.¹

In May 1947 the meeting between Naga National council (NNC) and the sub committee of the advisory committee of constituent assembly, failed to reach any solution. Jawahar Lal Nehru asked Sir Akber Hydari the then Governor of Assam, to visit Kohima from 27th to 29th of June 1947. He had long discussion there with the Naga tribes, Aos, Rengmas, Changs, Angamis etc. So as some of those tribes who participated in the discussions were under the flag of NNC.

In the welcome address T.Sakhrie, Joint Secretary to NNC, expressed a great faith in Sir Hydari. He found him an efficient administrator to solve the Naga problem. In his welcome speech he said , ".....In this, the Naga people have the assurance that your Excellency is anxious to meet their desires, and that their case will receive Your Excellencies most sympathetic consideration.....Our request to Your Excellency is to do all that is your power to enable the Naga to stand

¹ Sema Hokishe, *Emergence of Nagland* (Socio Economic & Political Transformation of the Future), Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1986, p.82.

on their own feet, so that they may be worthy members of a civilized world....." ²

The outcome of this discussion was nine point agreement or more commonly known as "Hydari Agreement". This agreement met with almost all those demands which the Naga people had been asking for a long time. Judicial, legislative, executive and all customary laws were included in this agreement.

On the judiciary, Naga people were provided with the arrangement which was to be fully administered by Naga customs.

"All cases whether civil or criminal arising between Nagas in the Naga Hills will be disposed of by duly constituted Naga courts according to Naga customary law, or such law as may be introduced with the consent of duly recognized Naga representative organizations" ³

The general principle which was given preference with regard to executive policy was to accept that, what the NNC was prepared to pay for. The NNC should control the same and this was included in the agreement as "while the district officer will be appointed at the discretion of the Governor, a sub-division of the Naga Hills should be administered by a Sub-divisional council with a full time executive, paid by the Naga National Council, which would be responsible to the District officer, for

² Yunou, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas*, Vivek publication, Delhi, 1974, p.172.

³ Luithui, Luingham and Nandita Haksar, (eds.) *Nagaland File* (A question of human rights), Lancer International, New Delhi, 1984, P.150.

all matters falling within the latter's responsibility, and to the Naga National Council for all matters falling within their responsibility....."⁴

On the legislative ground, Naga people were given priority over every legislation. The consent of Nagas was to be sought for every legislation. "That no laws passed by the provincial or central Legislature which would materially affect the terms of this agreement or the religious practices of the Nagas shall have legal force in the Naga Hills without the consent of the Naga National council. In cases of dispute as to whether any law did so affect this agreement, the matter would be referred by the Naga National council to the Governor who would then direct that the law in question should not have legal force in the Naga Hills pending the decision of the central Government".⁵ With regard to the land, the agreement provided that it should not be alienated from Naga. On taxation NNC was given priority to collect the taxes from Nagas.⁶

In his welcome speech T.Sakhrie had asked for the review of the boundaries and pleaded for the restoration of old boundaries⁷. This demand was met under the sixth point of the agreement.

In the agreement, it was decided that the district officer would act on the advice of the NNC with regards to arms. The agreement also provided that the Chin

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Yunou, Asoso, Op.cit., p.172

Hills Regulations and the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations would remain in force.⁸ The agreement with the view for schooling and training Nagas in administration provided that the agreement should remain in power for 10 years after which the Nagas would be free to decide if they would like to continue the agreement or if it required any modifications.

This ninth point became the bone of contention not only between the Indian Union and NNC but within the NNC itself. The interpretations were varying from person to person. The original text of the ninth point reads as "The Governor of Assam as the agent of the Government of the Indian Union will have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure the due observance of this agreement; at the end of this period, the Naga National Council will be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people be arrived at".⁹

However, it has to be noted, as Mankekar does that almost all the demands which were put forward by the Naga people received favourable responses.¹⁰ The preamble said, "the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their freely expressed wishes is recognized".¹¹

⁸ Luithui, Luingam and Nandita Haksar, op.cit., p.152

⁹ Elwin, Verrier, *Nagaland*, Published by P.Datta, Research Department, Adviser's Secretariat Shillong, 1961. p.52.

¹⁰ Mankekar, D.R., *On the Slippery Slope in Nagaland*, P.C. Manaktala & Sons., Bombay 1967. p.41.

¹¹ Ibid.

The ninth point of the agreement was misinterpreted by extremist Nagas, and they did not spare any effort to convey their message to the illiterate Nagas that the said agreement and the latter half of the ninth point provides them the insurance that they could gain independence after the expiry of the period of ten years.¹²

The misinterpretations lead Sir Hydari to pronounce that the agreement does not visualize any future for Nagas outside the union of India¹³.

However Asoso Yunou records that "this Agreement struck a fair balance without an overt promise of the recognition of the sovereign Nagaland in future although the germs of freedom and self determination were contained in it in logic in a limited sense in a different way."¹⁴

The conflict between the moderates and the extremists led the latter to announce the agreement as null and void¹⁵ as they met in a meeting convened by Sir Charles Pawsay, about whom Murkat Ramunny records-that he and Mr. Adam ~~or~~ encouraged the Nagas to misinterpret the wordings of the ninth point which might lead them to a total independence.¹⁶

The controversial agreement however did not hinder the understanding between the moderate Nagas and the Indian Union. All the nine points or whatever safeguards for the Nagas were embedded in the agreement were included in the Sixth Schedule

¹² Ibid. p.42

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Yunou, Asoso, op.cit., p.175

¹⁵ Ibid. p.176

¹⁶ Ramunny, Murkat *The World of Naga*, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 1993 p.23.

of the constitution of India.¹⁷ This understanding with regard to Sixth Schedule was arrived at by the then premier of Assam, Mr.G.N. Bardoloi.¹⁸

In the meantime when the moderate and the extremist Nagas were fighting out their supremacy, the Indian Government published the ~ draft constitution according to which the district autonomy was to be provided to the Nagas with regard to self-Government and local self autonomy.¹⁹

NNC regarded the Nine point Agreement as their Magna Carta. And they did not want any meddling with this agreement but the draft constitution had it covered under sixth schedule. A Naga delegation which came to²⁰ Delhi refused to believe that all the points have been incorporated in the sixth schedule and the Agreement has lost its original spirit in which the people of Nagaland trusted most.

Hence we find that the Naga people announced that the union of India has not been able to satisfy their minimum requirement as the nine point Agreement was not given the shape as they had originally wished to give it. Meanwhile, some of the Naga extremists also became vocal with their demand for independence.

THE EXTREMIST NAGAS

A, Z. Phizo was one of the small minority which opposed and continued to oppose the union of the Naga area with India. He was the most ardent advocate of Naga independence.

¹⁷ Sema Hokishe, op.cit., p.89

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ramunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.28

²⁰ Ibid. p.29

To put Naga case to Gandhiji the epitome of peace, love and nonviolence, Phizo arrived in Delhi in July 1947. The conversation took place in Bhangi Basti where Nagas interviewed Gandhiji.

Of many questions which Nagas put before Gandhiji, one was "Government of India won't force us to join India?"²¹ Gandhiji replied "No, not if I am alive. I will go to the Naga hills and say that you will shoot me before you shoot a single Naga".²² When asked about any word of advice to Nagas Gandhiji told them " tell them he considers himself independent and he must respect the freedom of others. They are as independent as I, no one can attack their freedom, certainly not India....."²³

In August, 1947 the extremists decided to form Naga Independence group, as they failed to achieve an understanding with moderate leaders, they decided to declare their independence on 14th August, 1947, the day on which Pakistan was going to declare independence. Meanwhile Phizo had declared that the Nagas don't want anything short of complete independence. Phizo claimed that a majority of Nagas was against any negotiation. He also claimed that the Governor of Assam was directed by the congress men.²⁴ At another place in one of the most acknowledged Pakistani-Newspaper, 'Dawn', Phizo said "We are nearer to the Muslims than Hindus. We feel

²¹ Ibid. p.25

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. p.27

quite homely with the Muslims."²⁵ In a publication on 5th April, 1950, the president of NNC said that they have finally decided not to accept the sixth schedule. On May 15, 1950, it was stated that the word "District-council" given by Indian constitution is not to receive favour from the Naga people.²⁶

However, such statements were at that time forceful enough to create an atmosphere for which most of the Nagas were not ready.

On May 16th, 1951 Phizo and his colleagues conducted a plebiscite to seek people's consent for Naga-peoples-Independence. Who so ever presented the Naga defence argued that there was a 99% vote for Naga-Independence.²⁷

However the records reveal that most of the population did not take part in the plebiscite, firstly because all of the thumb impressions were male which proves that the illiterate Nagas were misled and secondly women not take part in the process.

In a personal document of Phizo it is stated that over 6000 people from all over the Naga area came to Kohima and chose to exercise their, ballot for the Naga-Independence. He records that the box which was kept for the purpose of voting to join the union of India remained empty.²⁸ Other people said that not more than 1000 people turned up for the plebiscite.²⁹

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid. p.30

²⁷ "Naga Problem an Account", (The working paper), Seminar, Presented by Naga student's Federation & Citizens for democracy on Dec.14, 1995 at Gandhi Peace Foundation.

²⁸ Ramunny, Murkat, op.cit., p.35.

²⁹ Ibid.

The result of the plebiscite was brought to Delhi and was shown to the then Prime Minister Nehru on March 11, 1952. At that time Nehru told them "I consider freedom very precious.....But the Independence the Nagas are after is something quite different from individual or group freedom. In the present context of affairs both in India and in the world, it is impossible to consider even for a moment, such an absurd demand for independence of Nagas. It is doubtful whether the Nagas realize the consequences of what they are asking for. For their present demand would ruin them".³⁰

However, in 1952, when Government of India announced its first General - Election no Naga nomination was filed, hence there was no question of any single Naga turning up for the voting. It was a great victory for the extremist Nagas but, on the other hand, it was a shocking consequence for the Government of India.³¹

In Sep. 1952, Phizo went underground to prepare a draft memorandum to the UNO which he planned to send through Burma and the Pak territory. But, in Jan 1953, he was arrested by the Burmese authority.³² and" released in June 1953. In Dec. 1953 he left the Naga hills but continued to remain underground while directing the NNC extremists. He extended NNC ideology in the Tuensang area.³³

At that time Tuensang area was under the admn. of NEFA. NNC was trying its best to extend its activities in contiguous Naga areas. This created a feeling of

³⁰ *Seminar*, Op.cit.

³¹ Elwin, Verier, op.cit.

³² Ramunny, Murkat, op.cit., p.36

³³ *Ibid.* p.37

terror amongst the administrators, hence they drafted resolution and send it to Gov. of India demanding peace. The Officers wanted undesirable people outside the area. The resolution came into effect from 4th Feb.1955.³⁴

Indian efforts for peace

The Naga area is surrounded by two sovereign nations India and Burma, and seperatist activities were dominant in this region. It led the premiers of the two Nations to visit this area for a solution to the Naga problem. The visit took place in March 1953, though the visit was peaceful but no result was apparently obtained.

The public address by Nehru, received little response. When the Indian Prime Minister addressed gathering no actual listener was around him. In reality NNC volenters forced a large gathering to vacate the area where he delivered his speech.³⁵

Nehru however in his speech accused outsiders of dabbling with the Nagas who were being misled. He warned "if this continued the Govt. would have to put an end to their mischief."³⁶

The visit of the Prime Minister failed which led Mr.B.P Chaliha to make - a serious attempt to put an end to the boiling atmosphere of Nagaland. The Naga leaders were hesitant to meet Mr.Chaliha and most of the extremists remained underground. But Mr.Chaliha expressed his feelings. "Since the constitution is amendable any defect in it could be removed. Whatever defect there may be in the

³⁴ Ibid. p.35

³⁵ Ibid. p.37

³⁶ Ibid. p.38.

details, the fundamentals of the constitution of India are sound and provide full scope for fulfilment of the aspiration of all people. With her independence in a state of infancy, India cannot possibly consider the secession of any territory, nor particularly those holding strategic positions. Any such action will not only jeopardise the security of the particular territory but India as a whole. If the resolution is unacceptable, you will certainly reject it. But since it has come from your neighbours it will indeed be very good if the NNC gives its reaction to it so that I may place it again before the committee for such decision as it may deem fit..³⁷

In Jan.1954, the then Lok.Sabha Speaker Mr.Mavalankar visited Naga area. Though he appreciated the aspiration of the Naga people but denied to answer questions which would relate to Naga independence. He further added" we should meet more of each other, talk more with each other to understand each other more fully, and this would take a long time.³⁸

Violence Stirs Naga Area:

In 1954, the period of violence began in Nagland. Verrier Elwin reports that it, first began with an internal rivalry.³⁹ Sang-samo-Litsani Land Dispute and Chingmel Incident (1954) also prove that the violence was receiving encouragement

³⁷ Yunou, Asoso, op.cit., p.210

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Verrier, Elwin, op.cit., p.55

from NNC extremist group. The incident lead to death of more than one person in the area and injured others.⁴⁰

In March, 1955, NNC meetings were held in the Naga Hills District and people were exhorted to take up arms to achieve "Independence" of Nagaland. Reports were received that the NNC volunteers recruited from A village were receiving training in handlings of arms at NNC camps in Naga Hills District along the border. Reports about the smuggling of arms from Naga Hills District of Tuensang Division came to the notice of the administration. This was followed by violent activities of the armed gangs, murder of those who opposed NNC policies, attack on police parties and outposts, and raid on loyal villages, looting, extortion, arson and sabotage were reported from many areas.⁴¹

The Naga underground started to kill army officers and Govt. servants. The total number of deaths took place in the Tuensang area approximately 25 in a short period.⁴²

The violent activities not only stirred Indian officials but also stirred the common Naga. For the Nagas were surrounded not only by inter tribal rivalry but were also surrounded by the group which became violent in demanding independence from India. Phizo however misled a good number of Nagas who took up arms. The

⁴⁰ Ramnunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.43

⁴¹ Ibid. p.45

⁴² Ibid.

most brutal part of this violent act came when the moderate leader T.Sakhrie was called out from the house and murdered brutally by Phizo men on Jan 18, 1956.⁴³

Thus we see the great hope for peace was knocked down by Naga rebels.

However the killing of Sakhrie resulted in the breakup of the NNC in 1955-56 when moderate Naga leaders dissociated from Phizo's extremist policy.⁴⁴ On 26 Sept. 1955, Haralu Sakhrie a moderate leader, issued a statement; We view with mounting concern the situation in the Naga Country which does not appear to be promising of any improvement and feel that there must be immediate change in the atmosphere in the interest of all concerned. But the time has now come when we must openly demand from the present regime of NNC to bring about an improvement in the situation.

"The Policy of non Co-operation hitherto to followed by NNC must be abandoned forthough with and an alternative policy, a constructive and positive policy, adopted. Every Naga is required to do a little practical thinking and realise the negative effect of the present policy. If the present NNC regime persists in its negative approach, active non-cooperation would have to be launched against it until it is purged of its less derisible forces or a positive approach is adopted. There is the other policy, the moral policy of non-violence which NNC has as its declared policy. Every individual Naga must accept this moral policy of non-violence as an article of faith....."⁴⁵

⁴³ Anand V.K.: *Conflict in Nagaland*, Chanakya Publication, Delhi, 1980, p.96.

⁴⁴ Rammunny, Murkot, op.cit., p.45.

⁴⁵ Ibid p.45.

In a letter to PM on Feb. 1, 1956 the moderate leader agreed to give up the demand for Naga independence and sit down for settling the problem of Union with India. In the letter he said, "...In short, we want a Nagaland with in the Indian Union free to develop according to our own heritage and way of life and administered by men who will treat us as equals with friendship and trust and who believe that in the end it is only Naga Indian who can build an Indian Nagaland".⁴⁶

These efforts by moderate Naga leaders provided a stage for the peace process in the Naga country. Though they had lost an efficient leader but their confidence grew stronger. Moderate Naga leaders started preaching for peace, non-violence and tried to foster a belief that if Nagas are to attain peace it is possible within the Union of India and by the people of Naga country.

NAGA PEOPLES CONVENTION AS A STEP TOWARDS THE FORMATION OF THE SIXTEENTH STATE OF THE INDIAN UNION.

In the wake of moderate leaders efforts the Naga people agreed to hold a convention where they were to decide the plan of action to tackle with Naga insurgents.

The Church and the common Naga people came together in summer 1957. They convened from the 22nd -26 Aug. 1957. There were over 2000 visitors representing every tribe. Elwin finds it as a unique event in the Naga history⁴⁷. The first resolution advocated a negotiated settlement of the Naga problem and the third

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.56.

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp.47-48

suggested that, pending a final political solution, the present Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier division of NEFA should be constituted into a single administrative unit under the external affairs Ministry.⁴⁸

The convention requested underground leaders to join hands with moderate Nagas to achieve a political settlement so as comprehensively solve the Naga problem. Elwin says, "for the first time a large body of Nagas declared their opposition to violence, and adopted constitutional means to achieve their political object".⁴⁹

After the convention a Delegation met the governor of Assam and the PM of India to present their resolution. According to which from 1st Dec. 1957 onwards the Naga area was to be administered under the external affairs Ministry and be named as Naga Hills Tuensang Area.⁵⁰

According to the resolution an amnesty was granted to the offenders and violent activists. It was a step forward for the Naga people as they began to cooperate in administration and simultaneously an atmosphere of celebration was in sight. In May 1958, the second Naga People's Convention was held in Ungma Village. This convention had to be contented with the appointment of a Drafting committee to formulate their constitutional demands but they were insistent that the government should leave the door open for the underground leaders to join them.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.65

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

The Drafting committee prepared a 16-point memorandum for the constitution of a separate state of Nagaland.⁵¹ Accordingly third meeting of N.P.C. was held at Mokokchung in October 1959 where several resolutions were taken up, a few of those directly proved conducive to create a congenial atmosphere in the Naga country, it included, release of political prisoners, a general pardon for those willing to come overground and some other relaxations, so as to improve free contact between the overground and underground people.⁵²

Giving up the demand of total independence from India by moderate Naga leaders was a great boost for the Naga political history. Moderate Nagas were confident enough that they shall be treated equally within the Union of India. This turning point in the Naga attitude towards India paved the way for the formation of the 16th state in the existing union of states.

Asoso Yunou records that though a political settlement was coming closer, yet ~~B~~phizoist philosophy of violence and separation from India continued though the tide had receded considerably by the time.⁵³

With regard to the sixteen point memorandum a delegation was appointed by Naga leaders consisting of fifteen members under the headship of Imkongliba Ao. On 26th July, 1960 the meeting between prime minister, Nehru, and the Naga delegation took place. While presenting the sixteen point proposal to Pt. Nehru Imkongliba Ao said, "as the representatives of the Naga people, they had come to him to evolve a

⁵¹ Ibid.p.67.

⁵² Ibid.p.68

⁵³ Yunou, Asoso, Op.cit., p.234.

political settlement of the Naga Hills Tuensang Area. The task was difficult, no doubt, but if they put their heads together, there was no reason why a long-standing political deadlock that existed between the Government and the Naga people could not be solved with honour and dignity to both".⁵⁴

Nehru seemed so sympathetic to the Naga views. He viewed that " If the Naga Hills Tuensang Area was given statehood within the India union, that would have a sobering effect on the Nagas and their hostility would gradually come to an end. The Nagas had a different culture, a different social and religious outlook and the Government was committed to give maximum autonomy to the Nagas in their internal affairs."⁵⁵ He also viewed that if the Naga people do not want to remain conjoined with Assam they should be given a separate status but the sixteen point proposal requires some modifications.

However, the sixteen -point proposal was finally given shape on 30 July, 1960, with slight moderation in its original structure. ⁵⁶

Naga delegation, however, also discussed that the forest and contiguous areas which they had inhabited earlier be included in Nagaland, but the Indian Government referred it to provision in Articles 3 and 4 of the constitution.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Singh Chandrika, *Political Evaluation of Nagaland*, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, 1981, p.70

⁵⁵ *ibid*, p.71

⁵⁶ *ibid*.

⁵⁷ Yunou, Asoso, *op.cit.*, p.235

A.Z. Phizo the extremist leader was not at all satisfied with the conclusion of the sixteen point agreement arrived at between the Government of India and the members of Naga peoples convention. He claimed that the state hood given to Nagaland is a total rejection of Naga peoples will. A.Z. Phico, on 30 July, 1960, at London said that, "the Naga struggle was for a complete sovereign, independent Naga state having international recognition and which at best could have treaty relations with India on the basis of equality and reciprocity and added that the leaders of the Naga People's convention who signed for the Naga state in India on the basis of equality and reciprocity and added that the leaders of the Naga Peoples Convention who signed for the Naga state in India was a puppet assembly; and 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".⁵⁸

Naga Federal Government was established by Phizo's followers under the commandments of A.Z. Phizo. They were quitted by the achievements of the Naga people's convention to which Naga defendants called as a puppet assembly established by Assam Government⁵⁹ because NPC had established a majority of common Nagas, but the formation of Nagaland aggravated the formation of Naga Federal Government (NFG) of the extremist leaders. They started guerilla warfare in Naga territories of contiguous Naga areas.⁶⁰

The brutality of extremist once again crossed the threshold of peace when

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.236

⁵⁹ Seminar, op.cit., p.52

⁶⁰ Yunou, Asoso. op.cit., p.236

Mr.Imkongliba Ao, the man who brought peace for Nagaland was killed by them on 22 August, 1961.⁶¹

On 29 October, 1961, Shilu Ao, with a delegation, came to Delhi and presented a memorandum according to which they asked for more executive power for the inteirm body as Governor being the constitutional head of the state. Nehru being sympathetic enough agreed to the demand. Thus the Naga Interim Body and the Executive councils were installed as de facto government of Nagaland.⁶²

Shilu Ao and his colleagues performed well that the transitional period was over peacefully, though some disturbances occurred as well. The parliament of India prepared two bills for granting complete statehood to Nagaland:- (i) with regard to amendment of part XXI of the constitution for incorporating the provisions of the proposed Nagaland state in the constitution and (ii) with regard to formation of the state of Nagaland and for matters connected there in.⁶³

On 29 August, 1962, the Nagaland state Bill was adopted and was assented to by the President of India on 4 September, 1962. Hence the state of Nagaland came into existence constitutionally within the Indian union. The thirteenth constitutional Amendment bill incepted Article 371-A in the constitution there by acknowledging (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas (ii) Naga customary law and procedure, (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decision according to Naga customer law, and (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources, shall apply to the state

⁶¹ Singh, Chandrika, op.cit., p. 278

⁶² Ibid, p.79

⁶³ Ibid. pp.82-83

of Nagaland under the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decided.⁶⁴

Hutton who was erstwhile Dy. Commissioner of the Naga country, referring to this provision said, "It seems to me that by the formation of the state of Nagaland, protected as it is by clauses in the constitution of India, the Nagas have in fact got more than might have been expected or even desired complete internal home rule financed by the Indian Government; indeed, they have won their war, but to take advantage of their victory the underground must be persuaded to surrender their arms and order in the hills must be restored"⁶⁵

On 1st December, 1963 the then president of India. Dr. Radhakrishnan arrived at Kohima, where he finally declared the constitutional statehood for Nagaland. There he said, "understanding and friendship help to build a society where hatred and violence tend to disrupt it. Let us avoid the latter and adopt the former. On this auspicious day I make an appeal to all the Naga people: Let all past rancour and misunderstanding be forgotten and let a new chapter of progress, prosperity and goodwill be written on the page which opens today. Once again I say that a bright future awaits the brave Nagas"⁶⁶

On this achievement, the President and the Prime Minister of India greeted the people of Nagaland. The electoral machinery, was allowed to function and, in January 1964, the Election-Commission announced elections in Nagaland. The peace which was required for the trouble torn land had somewhat arrived but the rebel Nagas or the underground people remained dissatisfied, while Phizo's Naga Federal government (NFG) was still active and began to react vehemently in frustration.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.86

⁶⁵ Ramunany, Murkot, op.cit., p.100

⁶⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER - IV

PEACE PROCESS IN THE STATE OF NAGALAND

One must recognise the fact that association always proves stronger than dissociation, but the rebel Nagas were not prepared to realise the fact and join the Indian Union. They continued to adhere to the supremacy of the NFG. In the wake of this crisis situation, the Baptist church council organised peace-mission plans.

ATTEMPTS FOR PEACE : THE CHURCH AND THE PEACE MISSION

For Nagaland was under a precarious situation and the area was marred by violence. To restore peace and harmony the Naga Baptist Convention (NBC) took the initiative to organise a convention at Wokha from 31st January to 2nd February 1964, where a resolution was adopted to bring peace in the troubledtorn Nagaland. From this stage requests were made to all the three parties-Naga people, the Naga insurgents and the Government of India (GOI).

While responding to the Naga Baptist Conventions proposal on March 13th of the same year, Naga legislature passed the resolution.

- I. That efforts be made to open every possible avenue to negotiate for such a talk giving full opportunity to all Naga people of Nagaland as to mobilise public opinion to prepare the spadework making the proposed talk a success.
- II. That the leaders of NBC be urged to take immediate initiative to prepare the ground work for availing the feelings of the underground people for a joint peace effort with the view to put an end to the problem.

III. That the underground people be urged to consider this matter of peace talk seriously and respond readily¹

To prepare the groundwork of Peace Mission a three member delegation was nominated by Shilu Ao²

Initially the Peace Mission had four members. But Shankar Rao could not make himself available as he was not in a healthy state. Thus J.P.Narayan, Rev. Micheal Scott and B.P.Chaliha remained as original Peace Mission members. In Nagaland, at that time, two political parties were active - the Naga Nationalist Organisation and the Democratic Party of Nagaland: both appreciated the move by the NBC.

Though Rev. Scott was included in the peace mission there were doubts about his inclusion in the mission. Hem Barua, the then Member of Parliament, expressed his concern over this issue³. Lal Bhadur Shastri, a member of Nehru's cabinet, erasing the doubt, said that his inclusion, was on the ground that he would be interested in the peaceful settlement of the problem within the framework of the Indian Union.⁴

¹ Yunou, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas*, Vivek Publication, Delhi, 1974, p.257

² Ibid.

³ Singh, Chandrika, *Political Evolution of Nagaland*, Lancers Publication, New Delhi 1981, p.101.

⁴ Ibid.

Rev.Scott had established a good contact with the rebel leaders. He even met Scato Swu, the president of NFG. Rev. Scott also visited the jungle hideouts of rebels⁵.

When Rev.Scott, Chaliha and Shilu Ao met, they pressed upon the fact that the peace mission should start working as soon as possible. Chaliha and Rev. Scott arrived at Kohima on 5-4-64 and, while addressing a large gathering, they urged the people of Nagaland to give up violence and restore peace.

J.P.Narayan joined the mission in mid-April. On 16th April 1964 Scott met the underground president of NFG Scato Swu. Swu proposed a cease fire to enable peace talks to take place.⁶ The Peace Mission, on this initiative of NFG, proposed that the Government of Nagaland be prepared to suspend.

- a. Jungle operation
- b. Raiding of underground camps
- c. Patrolling beyond one thousand yards of security forces post
- d. searching villages
- e. aerial raids and
- f. arrests⁷

Provided that the underground people should also respond by giving up all violent activities like raiding security posts, ambushing etc. They would not impose any fines on the Naga people. The above action of the Government would make it

⁵ Ibid. p.102

⁶ Ramunny, Murkot, *The World of Nagas*, Northern Book Centre, Delhi, 1993, p.104

⁷ Ibid.

possible for underground people to move out freely. Hence they were to assure that they refrain from moving with arms and uniforms.⁸

The underground people's assurance was also to be furnished as they would not indulge into importing arms from beyond the borders of India, at least during the peace talk.⁹ As the negotiation was going on the Government of India insisted that the movement of security forces should not be restricted on the borders and patrolling restriction cannot be suspended.

On 25 May 1964 a draft agreement was signed by the peace mission which was also signed by NFG representatives according to which the Government of India would suspend all its aggressive actions against underground people while the latter would also not indulge in any kind of disturbances.¹⁰

The underground people, for many years, wanted the recognition to NFG. And, though it was not recognised by any party, the peace mission in the beginning accepted the status of NFG in which the underground people found an acknowledgement of the status of the NFG by peace mission, though the Government of India would not even recognise such status.¹¹

The NFG underground people also contemplated that the issue would be internationalised since, in their view, Scott was a neutral representative but the Govt.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. p.105

¹¹ Ibid. pp.106-107

of India made it clear that his inclusion in the peace mission is by the Govt. of India.

The Govt. of India insisted that

- (a) on no account Federal Govt. would be recognised.
- (b) Patrolling of International border would continue
- (c) Govt. had never agreed to any international observer and Scott was not an international observer.

(NFG insisted that the area of application be extended to NEFA, Manipur and the Kachar Hills).

- (d) Area of application cannot be expanded to NEFA, Manipur or Kachar Hills
- (e) Protection of convoys and patrolling of roads would continue.

(NFG leaders also insisted that talks should be between the underground people and Govt. of India. Thus denying any recognition to democratically elected Nagaland Govt.)

- (f) For any talk between Govt. of India and underground people, the Govt of Nagaland had to be associated.¹²

On the last point Shilu Ao made a significant gesture that, he would withdraw the Govt of Nagalands representation from the proposed peace talk if it becomes necessary for the permanent peace in the land.¹³

After a time and some effort the Peace Mission on 12 August 1964, produced a signal document from the underground people implying that they had agreed for the

¹² Ibid. p.107

¹³ Ibid.

cease fire or cessation of operation agreement¹⁴ with some modification from the so called NFG.

Though the Govt. of India was not inclined to agree with such modifications, but to break the stalemate it was considered necessary to responding to the said agreement.

While responding to the ceasefire proposal the Governor of Assam told peace mission members that cease fire would come into effect on 6.9.1964, for a period of one month and Indian security forces would not undertake.

- a) Jungle operation
- b) raiding of camps of the underground
- c) patrolling beyond one thousand yards of security posts
- d) Searching of villages
- e) aerial action
- f) arrests
- g) Imposition of labour by way of punishment.¹⁵

The Underground people accepted these conditions.

The President of India greeted the occasion and the Prime Minister extended his gratitude to the members of the peace mission for the epic success that they had achieved.

N.B.C. and whole of Nagland was drenched with celebrations.

¹⁴ Ibid. p.122

¹⁵ Ibid. p.113

CEASE FIRE AND AFTER

Talks began on 23rd Sept. 1964 in the village, Chedema. the Indian delegation was led by Y.D. Gundevia, the then foreign secretary to the Govt. of India, Shilu Ao, U.N. Sharma and Brigadiar Sen were the other members. The rebel Nagas were represented by Zashi Huire, Thinusillie and Isac Swu. The members of the peace mission also took part in the talks as observers and the Naga people were keen to know the result of the talks.

Mr. Gundevia, while addressing the rebels, said, "we have to remove all bitterness from our hearts. A fresh beginning has to be made in peace and friendship and faith. I sincerely say that I have come here to extend the hand of friendship of the Government of India, with the hope and prayer that in peace and with faith in one another we will be able to find a solution to all our problems and bring about lasting peace in Nagland".¹⁶

Speaking on behalf of the rebels, Z Ashei Huire indicated a keen desire to see an end to the problems but in the beginning, however he created a crisis. While he opposed Mr. Shilu Ao's (83) presence because the rebels didn't recognise the Nagaland Government, he also objected to the presence of foreign correspondents.¹⁷

Y.D Gundevia firmly rejected such an argument. He added that it was upto the Govt. of India to appoint its own representative to the talks. He even said that without Mr. Shilu Ao talk is impossible. He also didn't accept the demand about the presence of foreign journalists. At this time peace mission members intervened suggesting that

¹⁶ Singh, Chandrika, op.cit., p.112.

¹⁷ Ibid. p.113

Mr. Shilu Ao should be regarded as a representative of the Government of India and not of the Nagaland Govt. The peace mission thereafter persuaded the Naga leaders to resume talks from Sept 29th. When the talks resumed Mr. Gundevia drew the attention of the peace mission to the fact that the opposing party had violated the cease fire agreement. He further said that such breaches were not permissible under the agreement. He asked rebel leaders to formulate their demands and present them in the next round.¹⁸

The talks took place again on Oct. 10th 1964 where the rebel leaders put forward the demand that Naga's should be independent of India and the Indian army should be withdrawn immediately. They further asked for the release of all Naga prisoners. Z. Huire alleged that there were concentration camps in Nagaland which should immediately be closed down.¹⁹

Gundevia firmly rejected the question of Naga independence.²⁰ He denied the existence of concentration camps in Nagaland and the question of release of Naga prisoners could only be taken up after having arrived at a political settlement.²¹ Thus the discussion again came to a halt without achieving any concrete results.

Hokishe Sema records that on the 1st October, 1964 Issac Swu asserted that India and Nagaland are two separate nations living side by side. According to him

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. p.114

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

they had come there to exchange views to create better relationship. Such a friendship and peace is not sought only with India but with the neighboring states too.²²

While replying Mr. Gundevia argued, "that India and Nagaland were in fact only one nation and the integrity of Nagaland with the rest of the country had to be understood at all levels"²³. He further said that the Indian constitution provided for every possible safeguard. Special provisions had been incorporated in the Indian Constitution for tribal people. Their separatist demand was impracticable as he asserted that Nagaland did not have enough finances and it required a great deal of help from India to have its infrastructural development.

According to him the differences whatsoever were the differences of understanding. Chaliha summed up by saying that the Govt. of India was committed to the welfare of the Naga people and he expressed great faith that some mutual understanding would soon be reached.²⁴

When the Oct. 10th meeting failed the peace mission members came up with an idea of disarmament. They proposed that the rebel Naga army should be disarmed and security forces should be withdrawn from the Naga country. It was suggested that rebel Nagas should deposit their arms and ammunition in a museum under the supervision of the peace mission. The Govt. of India was asked through the proposal to keep the forces restricted only to the purpose of international borders and necessary

²² Sema, Hokishe, *Emergence of Nagaland*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1986, p.116

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. p.117

defence. The rebels were asked to furnish a list of arms and the Govt. of India was to inform about the posts and the strength of the forces deployed therein.²⁵

The peace missions proposal was widely welcomed and it would have been a great solution to the Naga problem had the plan been accepted, but the so called parliament of Naga rebels straight away rejected the idea. However, the Indian Government by itself couldn't make the terms easier by any means. That made the situation a little difficult for the peace mission members and the peace talks continued.

On 11th November, 1964, Gundevia told in the meeting that peace talks might fail if rebel Nagas would not stop the raiding the villages. However on 14th november the Government of India again asked the underground people to define the concept of their independence.

In a letter, the Naga delegation replied to the delegation of Government of India that they wanted a sovereign independent Naga Nation and if no result could be obtained through talks the issue should be sent to the International Court of Justice or to some International Advisory Arbitrator.²⁶ But it was only an effort of Nagas to internationalise the issue to create international pressure on India. On 28th november 1964, when the meeting began, Mr. Gundevia stressed that they were meeting to discuss ' what was right' and 'who was right'.²⁷ Further he said "If we are talking about peace and we want a peaceful solution then why should you, during

²⁵ Singh, Chandrika, op.cit., pp.114-117

²⁶ Sema, Hokishe, op.cit., pp.119-120.

²⁷ Ibid.

these peace talks, send people over to Pakistan, a country unfriendly to us, and why should you want to buy arms".²⁸ On 22nd December, 1964 thin, peace Mission once again proposal that both in parties should seriously work to find out an everlasting peace in the area.²⁹

Visit by Parliamentary Delegation

For a long time the meetings between both parties were not coming to any conclusive result which could be satisfying to both the sides. In the wake of the situation a parliamentary delegation was sent to create a congenial atmosphere. It consisted of all party members with different identities, with, a common aim attached to it that they had to try with best of their efforts to bring peace in Nagaland.

The parliamentary delegation visited Nagaland in February 1965, where they were received warmly. Slogans representing demands from many sides were heard such as 'Nagas for Nagaland', Indian Army withdraw, we want Independence, Nagaland for Nagas, Leave Nagas Alone'. The Delegation held an extensive tour of the area and became familiar with the situation. They were not only shown the best part of the Naga's life, but they also become witness to some worst events, which were taking place, as, for sometime, intentionally created.³⁰

Shri A.P.Jain, M.P., while thanking a public gathering for their welcome said that they had arrived here to make all possible earnest and honest effort to make the

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.pp.124-125

Naga people feel good. The delegation submitted its report where it said "The members of the delegation spared no pains in making clear to the hostile Nagas and their sympathisers that the only solution acceptable to India would be within the Indian union, the details of which could be worked out at the conference table.³¹ The report appreciated the cease fire period where the Naga people responded conductively. It was also appreciated in the report that the cabinet of Mr. Shilu Ao had worked efficiently till the date and it promised to carry on the work which was shouldered upon it. Hokishe Sema records that the parliamentary delegation agreed with the peace mission that an immediate end be put to the violation of the terms of the peace agreement, particularly of the carrying and displaying of arms in the villages by the Naga hostiles.³²

Finally they reiterated that there could be no solution to the Naga problem except within the Indian Union. They hoped that the period of bitter struggle would soon transform into an era of peace and prosperity for the Nagas. The visit of the parliamentary delegation though could not find any peaceful solution to the problem, yet they worked efficiently enough to create peace in the land.

Peace Talks Continue

The peace mission's proposals of 20th December, 1964³³ could not, however, satisfy the underground Naga parliament. In order to clarify certain points they even

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Yunou, Asoso, op.cit., p.276

held a meeting with the Peace Mission at Workha. Yet, even this meeting could not bring about any decision on their part. The dilemma confronting the underground Nagas was that the Peace Mission proposals were widely welcomed by the Nagas, therefore they could not reject them outright. On the other hand, these proposals were unacceptable to them as they did not recognize their sovereignty. Finding the underground Nagas caught in a cul-de-sac, Rev. Michael Scott decided to help them out by internationalising the Naga issue. He wrote letters to the Government of Burma and also to the United Nations inviting foreign interference in the Naga dispute. He also wrote to Shri Chaliha suggesting that an impartial tribunal be appointed who would examine the legal issues under dispute and also enquire into the status of Nagland before 1947 in order to determine whether it was a part of India or not. Shri Chaliha turned down this suggestion because he felt that not only would this serve no useful purpose but these delaying tactics would also prolong the sufferings of Nagas.³⁴ On 6th February, 1965, the underground Nagas replied that "Nagas had every right to decide their future and a plebiscite, under the supervisions of a neutral body, to decide whether they wanted to remain in India or be independent should be held. It further stated, "If India respects the rights of the Nagas, the Nagas are prepared to enter into any kind of relationship with India which will make them good neighbours."³⁵

In September 1965, Mr. Keviyalley, brother of Mr. Phizo, was sent to London to discuss the possibility of holding talks directly between Phizo and the Govt. of

³⁴ Sema, Hoshike, op.cit., pp.126-127.

³⁵ Yunou, Asos, op.cit., p.281.

India. There Phizo told him that next talks of peace mission should be held in London itself. The Govt. of India was conveyed the proposal to which it disagreed. The peace mission members and the Indian delegation offered Phizo a visit to India, where he could hold talks. To this Phizo turned a blind eye. This refusal of Mr. Phizo led to the continuation of the stalemate.³⁶

In this situation when a large majority of Nagas had accepted that staying in India would be good for their prosperous future, Phizo's denial to attend the talks in India only confused the people of Nagaland and India. This reluctance on Phizo's part not only widened the gap but also encouraged the Naga underground people to be more vocal.

By March 1966, the Peace Mission found itself in disarray. Jaya Prakash Narain had already resigned from the Peace Mission on the ground that he had forfeited the confidence of the underground Nagas. Chaliha now expressed the view that the peace Mission having achieved its objective of bringing the two parties together at a negotiation table, should wind up. Thereafter, Chaliha faded out of the picture, leaving the stage exclusively to Scott.³⁷

The resignation of two permanent members of Peace mission led Mr. Scott to begin to manipulate the situation even more freely. His meetings with underground people became frequent and he also slowly began to internationalize the issue.

D.R. Mankekar records "In April, Scott had the temerity to issue a statement condemning the Nagaland Governments efforts to collect the house-tax by force-a

³⁶ Sema, Hokishe, op.cit., pp.127-128.

³⁷ Mankekar, D.R., *On the slippery slopes in Nagaland*, P.C. Manaktala & Sons, Bombay, 1967, pp.147-148.

legitimate duty of any government. On the other hand, he failed to say a word against the hostiles forcibly collecting money from villagers. Indeed, Scott circulated a paper in which he justified collection of taxes from the people of Nagaland by the underground".³⁸

Such an attitude of Rev.Scott led Indian Govt. to serve him a notice announcing his expulsion within two days asking him to leave the country.³⁹

The expulsion of Rev. Scott brought an end to the process of Peace Mission in Nagaland. The Peace Mission completely disintegrated. Yet, it brought two extremely opposite ends to a peace parley, hence creating a breakthrough. Though the Peace Mission had failed to accomplish the task it was given, yet it not only minimized the rift between both the parties but also projected a ray of faith, trust and hope.

Direct Talks with Indian Leadership

After the Peace Mission's too little gain for too much pain, the then Prime Minister of India, Mrs.Gandhi, invited the Naga rebels to New Delhi. Kughato Sukhai led a five-man delegation. He, at the outset, said, "Nothing less than independence would be acceptable"⁴⁰ Hokishe Sema discloses that not all the members of the delegation had a similar approach to the talks, infact some of them

³⁸ Ibid.p.148

³⁹ Sema, Hokishe, op.cit., p.129.

⁴⁰ Ibid.p.132.

even suspected Kughato.⁴¹ Moreover this meeting failed to produce any result. The second talk was held between 9-12 July, 1966, this was futile too. An eight member delegation came to New Delhi in early October, 1967. At this time Hoki she told the then Chief minister T.N. Angami to issue a note asking the Naga underground leaders to spell out their stands clearly as the Naga people were anxious over the unnecessary delay in arriving at a solution. A statement was issued.⁴² It was only on 5 October 1967, that Khugaha could participate in the talks. Though, nothing apparent came out except that a reassertion was made through a letter that Mrs. Gandhi should reconsider the question of Naga sovereignty. Mrs. Gandhi did understand the situation quite clearly, that the Naga rebels by no means were ready to modify their stand. The recalcitrant Nagas did not allow the meeting to go on, whilst Mrs. Gandhi expressed clearly that no further talks would take place unless the rebels agreed to discuss any solution within the union of India.⁴³

Thus, all the hopes for a peaceful solution of the Naga problem were dashed to the ground. The four years of parley between the Government and the underground leaders resulted in complete failure.

However, the question of cease-fire was omitted when on 1 September, 1972, it was officially renounced. On 1 October, 1972, Nagaland was transferred to the ministry of home affairs from the external affairs ministry.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid. p.135

⁴³ Singh, Chandrika, op.cit., p.132.

Peace In the Land : Disintegration of the Underground Organisation

The failure at Delhi Peace talks produced nothing but a disintegration in the Naga rebel camp. Some of the rebel leaders like Thongoli Chang wanted the things to be settled peacefully and politically with India while some others wanted Nagaland to be totally independent and sovereign. As it happened, in the wake of the failure of the Delhi Peace talks, Kaito Sema broke away from Khugato Sukhani. But the Phizo supporters stuck to their demand for international arbitration or international help to solve the Naga problem.

The Phizoites killed Kaito in the hope of eliminating those who were opposed to them. But, contrary to their expectations, all the anti-Phizo groups combined together under the leadership of the Semas in a meeting on 1 November, 1968. They announced the formation of the Revolutionary Government of Nagaland. A political wing known as the Council of Naga People was also created in that very meeting. These bodies, the Revolutionary Government of Nagaland and the council of Naga people were parallel to the Federal Govt. and the Naga National Council. Thus, the underground Nagas were split into three rival groups in 1968 which very much weakened their capacity to put pressure on the Indian Government.⁴⁴

Meanwhile the Phizoite rebels were extended support by China. They were trained at Chinese territory and were given facilities for Naga propaganda. Not only this, on 7 June, 1968 a heavy fighting between Indian security forces and Phizoite

⁴⁴ Ibid. pp. 139-142.

group trained in China took place. This interference by Chinese Govt. was resented strongly by the Govt. of India.⁴⁵

Chandrika Singh discloses that Dr.Aram was given assurance by two Naga leaders Scato Swu and Kughato Sukai, that they were prepared to work out a solution of the Naga problem acceptable to the Government. They further stated that their party was not going to insist on a sovereign Nagaland if that was not acceptable to the Indian Government. Even Imkogmerren Jamir, the self-styled Lt.Col. in the Pro-Phizo Naga Federal Government, expressed the view that a reasonable and peaceful settlement with the Government should be immediately arrived at. If the goal of independent Nagaland could not be achieved when the underground Nagas were united, it would be very difficult for them to achieve it now, when they were divided into small groups. Hence, he said; "It would be best for the Nagas to be within the Indian Union and have a settlement politically".⁴⁶

From 1969 to 1972, Naga rebels were captured in plenty while many of the Naga rebels surrendered themselves; yet firing from the underground side continued until the Naga National Council (NNC) and the Naga Federal Government (NFG) were outlawed under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967. Thus the ceasefire was over on 1st September, 1972 and a month later the administration of Naga land was transferred to Ministry of home affairs from the Ministry of External Affairs.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibid. pp.142-144.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.148

⁴⁷ Sema, Hokishe, op.cit., p.127.

By 1973, Kughato Sukhai and Thangoli Chang with their supporters had realized the futility of violence to gain independence. Hence they finally decided to surrender. The Revolutionary Govt. of Nagaland was dissolved on 16 August, 1973.

From 1973, to 1976, the period seemed completely congenial to provide a ground for some accord between the Naga underground and the Govt. of India. Thousands of people surrendered and some Phizoites also declined to continue with Phizo, including Saviba Ao, Tsen Ao etc.

Shillong Accord

In November, 1975 the much awaited meeting between the Naga rebel representatives and the representatives of the Govt. of India took place. An accord was reached on 5th December, 1975, and the Naga rebels announced that they would abide by Constitution of India.

The accord comprised of three prime clauses as under

1. The representatives of the underground organizations conveyed their decision, of their own volition, to accept, without condition, the Constitution of India.
2. It was agreed that the arms, now underground, would be brought out and deposited at appointed places. Details for giving effect to this agreement would be worked out between them and the representatives of government, the security forces and members of the liaison committee.

3. It was agreed that the representatives of the underground organizations should have reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussion for final settlement⁴⁸

The Shillong Agreement, signed in 1975, was a clear watershed in Naga political history. It marked a beginning as well as an end. The war of attrition was brought to a close at the negotiating table. One could therefore initiate confidently follow-up measures which could have meaning and direction as a consequence of political will from either party to the agreement.

With the signing of the Shillong Accord the situation underwent a sea-change. Before the signing of the accord the NNC had full control over the Nagas. But the support base of the organization started eroding despite A.Z. Phizo's stand against endorsing the accord, claiming it as a complete sell-out of their rights.

With the NNC fast losing Control over the Nagas, tribalism began to raise its head. In 1980, a split took place within the NNC and a new group, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), led by Isacc Swu and T.Muivah was formed.⁴⁹ In 1988 this organization also got divided and the NSCN (Khaplang) faction was born.⁵⁰ Fighting between two factions has since then become a regular feature in addition to the ongoing fight with the Indian Army.

⁴⁸ "Four Decades of violence" North East Sun, Vol.1, No.14, Feb.15-29, 1996 p.9

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

The fall-out of this trend of factionalism is that each claims to be the sole representative of the Naga interests, making the task of initiating a peace dialogue an increasingly formidable endeavour.

In the meantime A.Z. Phizo became unattached to NSCN. It was not on his part that he declined to join NSCN rather the NSCN by itself renounced the Phizoite ideology. On the other hand, the powers that be and our central policy-makers continue to blunder with their contradictory signals. While the former Minister of State for Home Affairs, Prof. M. Kamson, took the first opportunity to airdash to Nagaland and Manipur with an offer of unconditional peace talks, his colleague Sayed Sibte Razi directed state governments to issue international warrants to avail interpals assistance to look underground leaders operating from outside the country.⁵¹

By this time it had become apparent that the rebel Nagas had a support of few Naga natives. But it can not also be said that the policies of the central Govt. were apt to calm down the situation in the troubled land. In fact, the blunder has all along been manifested in the utter dependence on military operations to counter insurgency. The outcome of this myopic strategy is a long bloody trail of Army/Security forces excesses in the state.

NEW HOPES FOR NAGA PEOPLE

Though Nagaland was mired in violence, but there was a hope still alive which could be regarded as a sign for lasting peace in Nagaland. Visits by the Indian Govt.

⁵¹ Ibid.

representatives and heads of the Govts. have brought new determination in the Naga people.

After seven months of Deve Gowda's visit to the North East, his successor, I.K.Gujral, visited the area. There he was on a twin mission of bringing peace and development in the area simultaneously. Gujral offered unconditional talks with insurgent groups of the North-East including Naga insurgents.⁵²

The Baptist church tried its best in the 60's to bring peace in Nagaland, which resulted in the formation of Peace Mission. It proved fruitful for all the groups the NSCN (M) group even agreed to a ceasefire.

On 25 July, 1997, the prime minister, I.K.Gujral, announced in both the houses of parliament that following talks with NSCN (Isaak-Muivah), an agreement had been reached on the ceasefire with the insurgent group to pave the way for talks at a political level.⁵³ Four major groups have also decided to suspend violence during the ceasefire.⁵⁴

The Isaak-Muivah group confirmed the announcement "the move was aimed at bringing about a lasting political solution to the long-drawn Indo-Naga issue."⁵⁵

The ceasefire agreement came into effect from August 1, 1997 and, in its very infancy it received violent blows, though the Home Secretary of India is still satisfied and hopeful that the ceasefire would be held and some political solution would be

⁵² 'North by North-East', *The Statesman*, 29th June, 1997.

⁵³ "NSCN-(I-M) ready for truce, announces PM" *The Hindustan Times*, 26 July, 1997.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

reached.⁵⁶ During the ceasefire it was decided that the talks would be held, but it was a confusing part of the ceasefire that an army officer on August 2, 1997, declared that the ceasefire covered all factions of NSCN. But the NSCN(K) group straight away declined this assuring that the agreement only covered NSCN I-(M) group.⁵⁷

Prospects of peace descending on strife-torn Nagaland appeared bright as the centre embarked upon further rounds of dialogue with the main insurgent outfit of the state later in the month. But the path of negotiations was not without its share of ticklish issues, political analysts pointed out.

With the nine month old ceasefire behind it, the centre also planned to rope in the Khaplang faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) which has so far not responded to the arrangement. The Issak-Muivah group has held to the ceasefire since last August and the centre hopes that joining of the Khaplang faction is only a matter of time.⁵⁸

Mr. Swaraj Kaushal has been appointed as the mediator in the peace-talks but it is still to be said that the BJP government has an uphill task in hand and peace still seems so far away. Yet it seems sometimes so close.

⁵⁶ "Violence mars ceasefire in Nagaland," *The Hindustan Times*, 2 August 1997.

⁵⁷ "Tenuous peace prevails in Nagaland", *The Hindustan Times*, 12, August, 1997

⁵⁸ "Prospects for peace in Nagaland brighten", *The Hindu*, 4.5.98

CHAPTER - V

NAGA ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATIONALISM

"Nagas are one of the indigenous peoples in the world who had conceived and lived by our own concept of distinct people and sovereign since time immemorial. We govern ourselves according to our own concept of statecraft, customs and traditions. Unlike many other indigenous people of the world we are still majority in our own land. We exercise full local self-government. Our customary laws and practices still prevail"¹.

"The Nagas belong to the Tibeto-Burman sub-group of the Mongoloid race and are roughly over 3 million people, who occupy approximately an area of 47,000 sq.miles. The area hold rich mineral deposits and forest resources".²

The above argument represents that the Naga people have their specific attachment with their land, culture and customs. Besides this they also argue to have different language, religion and some other aspects of their daily life which encompasses Naga attitude towards Nationalism. This chapter endeavours to study such objective factors which lead towards Naga Nationalism.

For obvious reasons the loyalty to such objective factors as that of language, religion, race and geography etc. help creating a catalyst for "We" feeling and a feeling of "oneness", and Nagas stand no exception to such view point. The situation

¹ "Suppression of Naga National Movement", *Symphony of Freedom*, All India People's Resistance Forum, 1996, p.149

² Ibid.

of human right is grim which also bring a feeling of being suppressed and works as a force for Nationalism. The following discussion will focus upon the Naga defence for Naga Nationalism vis-a-vis the traditional view point of Nationalism. And it will also be examined how far Naga nationalism is helpful for the cause of the common Nagas.

However, it should also be kept in mind that nowhere can one find two socio-political structures purely analogous to each other. This is primarily because of the degree of the influence of one objective factor or the other.

NAGAS AS A RACE

Race could be considered as one of the basic objective factors in creating a nation. In earlier times, race was a significant identity attached to human beings. Is race a pure concept? Scholars have viewed it widely.

In case of Nagas they have a feeling of belonging to a single racial entity as they argue, "The Nagas belong to the Tibeto Burman sub-group of the Mongoloid race"³ Verrier Elwin in support of the argument in the opening pages of *Nagaland* reveals that they are "An Indo-Mongoloid folk living in the north-eastern hills of India".⁴

³ Ibid.

⁴ Elwin, Verrier, *Nagaland*, Published by P. Datta for the Research Deptt., Shillong; 1961, p.1.

As Snyder observes in common parlance, race and nation are two confusing terms and sometimes they are read and understood as one.⁵ Frederick Hertz notes "that, most people find it difficult to conceive a close social unity without a physical bond, and that they cannot think of common mentality without a common blood. An intimate solidarity of fraternity between members of a nation seems to them to imply a real relationship between the members of a family".⁶

Thus Naga argument of being a separate race appears to be the basis of their idea of nationalism for their physical appearances and their environment has provided them with the foundation to apply their racial unity to their national identity. Is the argument strong enough to prove that the common blood will provide common mentality? Perhaps more of the scholars would deny it. But, at the same time, keeping the Naga case in mind, Lord Bryce's words are worth mentioning; "in the thought and imagination of every civilized people there is an unquestionable racial strain and that race sentiment is one of the elements that go to make up national sentiment and national pride and help to make a people cohesive".⁷

But nation and race should definitely be understood distinctly because race is a factor which preponderantly is an aftermath of the prevailing environment, therefore it should be recognized in the field of natural sciences, whilst nation is a thought of human being and purely a product of human mind as a totality, thus it should be

⁵ Snyder, Louis, L. *The Meaning of Nationalism*, 1954, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, p.14.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid p.15

identified under social sciences. Hence both should be treated not as equals. It thus disproves the argument that the common blood produces common mentality.

Sir Ernest Barker has remarkably distinguished between the two terms. "A Nation", describes Barker, "is not the physical fact of one blood, but the mental fact of one tradition. A gulf is fixed between the race and the nation. The one is a common physical type the other is a common mental content. The one is a natural fact which is already given at the dawn of history, the other is an artificial structure acquired by the thinking, feeling and wishing of human minds in the course of history".⁸

Hence, according to Barker, race and nationalism understandably appear to have no connection with each other. Scholars like MacIver and Page have even gone to the extent that the phenomenon of race is by itself not totally pure. They argue that a race is often thought of as a group biologically different because it represents a common and distinctive heredity. But strictly there are no pure races in this sense. The most we can discover are characteristic physical types prevailing in some regions of considerable size. We may call these types "races", but we cannot regard them as the product of an exclusive heredity since some in mixture of outside stocks is found in every large group and since the physical type itself has environmental determinants and is certainly subject to environmental selection".⁹ Birendranath Datta observes that the phenomenon of race is a myth, "since time immemorial different races have

⁸ Ibid: p.17.

⁹ MacIver, R.M. and Charles H. Page, *Society*, The MacMillian Co., 1990 (reprinted), pp.385-386.

intermixed in different proportions in different areas and at present all humanity is a mixture of races".¹⁰

The term ethnicity stands corellary to race. In a broader sense as described by E. Hunter and Phillip Whitten," this term refers to any group of people within a larger cultural unit who identify themselves as a distinct entity separate from the rest of that culture along with this element of self-identification. This group usually have a number of other characteristics which show its distinctiveness and put social distance between itself and others...".¹¹

Thus the above mentioned words do recognize that the question of identity is primarily dealt vis-a-vis ethnicity. And the above definition also shows that cultural unity for ethnicity is a significant component. Nagas with this regard have a closely knit cultural unity and an identity is attached to it. It helps creating a feeling of nationalism.

But does this prove that nationalism is a product of ethnicity? An ethnic group can be a part of a whole where it may have its demarcated identity and cultural unity. It doesnot necessarily mean to be a whole, nor a part of the whole. In the case of Nagas as described by Elwin, there are a dozen major tribes¹² living in the hills, and these tribes belong to different descents. Like race, ethnicity also involves an element

¹⁰ Datta, Birendranath, "Some characteristics of Ethno-cultural Identity in North East India", Birendranath Datta, *Nationality, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in North-East India*, Ed. B. Pakem, Omsons Publicatons, New Delhi, 1990, p.27.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Elwin, Verrier, op.cit., p.1

of descent, but a race is not necessarily culture specific, whilst the ethnic group is essentially a culture based entity.

In the sense in which the term "ethnic" is used by most sociologists and social scientists today refers to "a social group which consciously shares some aspect of a common culture and is defined primarily by descent"¹³. With this view in mind one can falsify the Naga claim of being one ethnic group though somewhat separate identity was created with the formation of Naga club. But this formation primarily dealt with social and political reasons. Moreover the tribal identities have remained and are still stronger in the Naga country.

According to Fredrik Barth's observations, "an ethnic group, as a population

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating;
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms;
3. make up a field of communication and interaction;
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order".¹⁴

However, the fact cannot be denied that the Nagas form some kind of identity and they constitute a cultural unity which is distinctively demarcated by other ethnic or racial groups, and, whilst talking in terms of race, they may belong to a mythical race which is non-existent as a pure race is a false phenomenon, but the concept of tribalism is truly justifiable for it provides us with an idea of descent order attached

¹³ Datta, Birendranath, op.cit., p.36

¹⁴ Barth, Fredrik, "Introduction;" in Fredrik Barth ed. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1969, pp.10-11.

to every tribe in Nagaland. As far as ethnicity is concerned, Naga cultural unity represents an identity which can be termed as ethnic. But this unity as a whole does not constitute the biological factor of ethnic group.

Finally one can quote MacIver and Page in support of the argument given above "An ethnic group is generally conceived to be one whose members share a distinctive social and cultural tradition, maintained within the group from generation to generation, whether as part of a more complex society or in isolation. This mode of social differentiation has its own distinguishing characteristics".¹⁵ Further on they provide that, "the ethnic group then is a nonvoluntary interest-conscious unit, generally without formal organisation and relatively unlimited in sizes, within which the members are linked together by both primary and secondary relationships".¹⁶

NATION AND LANGUAGE

Language is the prime instrument of human communication. Nations, societies and communities may die but language shall remain as long as A Human exists on the earth.

"A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people. This community is not racial, nor is it tribal... but a historically constituted community of people."¹⁷ What distinguishes a national community from a state community? Stalin confirms, "the fact, among others, that a national community is inconceivable without

¹⁵ MacIver, R.M. and Charles H. Page, op.cit., pp.386-387.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Stalin Joseph; "The Nation", *Nationalism*, Hutchinson, John, and A.D. Smith, Oxford, 1994, p.18

a common language, while a state need not have a common languages".¹⁸ Thus it is confirmed that a nation requires a language or in other words a common language is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

The case in discussion is Nagaland where the problem of language has definitely hindered the path of nationalism. Here in this land of many tribes as many dialects are spoken.

Temsula Ao reveals that in this area more than twenty dialects are spoken whilst no common language for Nagas is in existence.¹⁹ Expressing the role of language Ao further describes, "the role of a language in any given human situation is only too well known for much elaboration here. Its most telling influence on human behaviour and relationships is its power of cohesiveness. Geo-political considerations depend to a very great extent upon linguistic affinities. Wars have been fought and lives sacrificed in order to wrest or create unified territories and areas with a shared language. Language, very much more than religion helps create and sustain a common culture".²⁰

Snyder observes that historically, "before the age of nationalism, almost every village and region, every trade and profession, every social class had peculiarities of speech that were regarded as the special badge of that community".²¹ And this "badge" is still attached to Naga tribes as has earlier been discussed. But Snyder

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ao Temsula "Some reflections on the linguistic diversity of Nagaland", *Modernization in Nagas society*, ed., B.B.Kumar, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1993, p.149.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Snyder, Louis, L., op.cit., p.20

discloses that language seldom dies²² and is never static.²³ This dynamic nature of language or Naga dialects have come close to create a pidgin Assamese known as Nagamese²⁴. This is merely a usage for common purpose of Naga tribes. This cannot be held responsible for Naga nationalism for it does not provide a totality of language paraphernalia.

Thus a nation necessarily requires a language for nationalism or is it that nationalism has its root in language? May be a language for sometime or the other has more vocal influence on nationalism, but on the other hand, sometimes there can be two languages spoken in one nation. But one of these two can be dominant, or one language can also be spoken in more than one nation. Stalin observes, "this of course does not mean that different nations always and everywhere speak different languages, or that all who speak one language necessarily constitute one nation. A common language for every nation, but not necessarily different languages for different nations".²⁵

Historically speaking, " language becomes uniform, eliminates the various vernacular dialects and in general, reflects the formation of the new nations".²⁶ Synder further on writes, "language reached a stage of idolization in modern nation. All nations tend to defend their language as a central symbol of their national

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ao, Temsula, op.cit., p.152

²⁵ Stalin Joseph, op.cit, p.19

²⁶ Synder, Louis, L., op.cit.,p.21

life".²⁷ This central symbol in Nagaland is discouraged, for Naga people have failed to establish a language of their own.

But the process of creating a language is not a matter of years but it takes ages to evolve a language of too many different dialects. Still, language is a dynamic object. This handicap of the Nagas, having no common language, hinders their paramount objective of nationalism. Synder remarks that not only philologists and linguists but the people themselves regard language as a major expression of their independence and prestige, their personality, their characteristics and their culture²⁸. Thus according to the above argument, Nagas are not unified with one language and hence the unity of their objectivity is somewhat loosely defined. Yet English has been declared as an official language²⁹ of Nagaland, but it can not be said that English is the language which has reached every Naga, though it has been undeniably a forceful instrument of communication of educated Nagas. As far as Hindi is concerned, the Naga population (Naga nationalists) have rejected the idea to adopt Hindi as a common language of common Naga. Originally the idea of adopting Hindi as a language would lead to Naga distintegrity, for it would bring them closer to Indianisation. But Hindi has been made compulsory to be taught in lower classes whereas the English language has been under the vigorous influence of Missionaries.

However, it has to be mentioned that "it is through language that the accumulated historical traditions and memories of a people are transmitted from

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ao, M.Alemchiba, "Modernization in Naga Society", *Modernization in Naga Society*, ed. B.B.Kumar, op.cit., p.24.

generation to generation to help maintain the unity of culture that partly distinguishes one nation from another".³⁰ Language can even bridge religious differences as Peter Alter argues illustrating about Islamic, Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Albanians³¹

TERRITORY AND NATION

Although the term nation had a radically different meaning in the earlier times as well as in the modern world, there is one aspect common at which both assume the same regard as for the creation of a geographical unit. While arriving at the concept of nation, geographers consider the factors of language, race, tradition and independent governments, but at the same time persist with the idea of well defined environment giving paramountcy to natural centre. Hence the geographical structure becomes an eminent need for a nation.

Naga people do belong to a certain specified geographical structure to which they attach a profound adoration as "their" earth. "It is mother Earth which/gives life to everything; it is man that makes heaven or inferno of its; she keeps time to end Herself/and everything dwelling therein shall perish".³²

Thus the above maxim represents that Naga people live in a specific, surroundings; mountains, hills, streams, forests, animals and food and fruits, where lies their affection and on which they depend for sustenance of their life.

³⁰ Snyder, Louis, L., op.cit., p.21

³¹ Alter, Peter, *Nationalism*, Arnold, London, 1994, p.7

³² Yunou, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas*, Vivek Publications, Delhi, 1974, p.1

All theorists of nationalism irrespective of their fields attribute great significance to territory in the formation and existence of a nation. There is a close and interlocking relationship between territory and nation. "Nations were originally formed in a narrow geographical area between natural boundaries... while the nation emerged as a product of geography, the national territory at the same time was affected by the development of the nation".³³

Nagas do believe in a central geographical structure in which they are scattered in Naga hills of Manipur, in the North Cachar and Mikir hills, Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Nowgong of Assam, in the north-east of Arunachal Pradesh, in the Somra tract and its contiguous parts of Burma.

Nagas are fond of their land and would like to relate anything which sprouts in their land to their culture. Their folk stories, songs, symbols, customs etc. do praise their land and thence enhancing the love of the home land".³⁴ But Naga advocates argue that first the Britishers and then the Indians succeeded in splitting the Nagas into five zones, four in India (in four separate states) and one in Burma.³⁵

Joseph Stalin asserts that territory is an important component for the existence of Nation. At the out set he questions that inspite of a common language why do there exist two different nations (U.K. and U.S.A.)?. While responding, he says, "because they do not live together, but inhabit different territories. A nation is formed only as

³³ Synder, Louis, L., op.cit., p.25

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ "The Naga Problem : An Account", (The working paper), Seminar Presented by Naga Students Federation and Citizens for democracy. On 14.12.95 at Gandhi Peace Foundation.

a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, as a result of people living together generation after generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory".³⁶ Nagas for centuries have been living in a specific geographical settlement and they have maintained a common history and a common culture for a long time.

Although territory is an essential aspect yet scholars have been able to curtail the importance of territory but in a philosophical sense. As Snyder would put it, "although territory is an essential element in the existence of a nation it can not be regarded as the absolute due to the meaning of a nation. The key factor remains the human selection of possibilities in a given environment. If a trinitarian formula for historical development were sought, it would have to consist of territory, stomach, and mind".³⁷

However it should be mentioned that geographical setting has not necessarily always been an important factor for nation or nationalism. For Polish nationalism, geographical setting did not matter Snyder reveals, "Polish nationalism from the time of the partitions in 1772, 1793, and 1795 until the creation of the Polish state in 1919 existed without a geographical setting".³⁸

Finally the eminent scholar Anthony D. Smith finds modern nationalism as "territorial" in character. Hence "the nation is a human population that is territorially bounded with mobility throughout that territory and whose members belong to a

³⁶ Stalin Joseph, op.cit., p.19

³⁷ Snyder, Louis, L., op.cit., p.27

³⁸ Ibid. p.11

particular territory which is recognized as "theins" by right".³⁹ Whilst Hayes finds that the idea of natural frontiers between nationalities is a myth.⁴⁰

RELIGION AND NATION

When there was no nation, no language (no pure means of communication), no race, existed, mankind existed and existed with a faith to support its routine. Slowly mankind began to disperse and began to create new collections of population which it identified as homogeneous considering the unanimity of language, race, territory etc. Here; only the faith of the human being began to rely upon nature. And this dependence upon nature created the feeling of religion which later on became a dominant force for a nation.

Naga society at the outset, historically, cannot be identified as a uniform religious society. Asoso Yonuo points out "The religion of Nagas is not Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity and Islam but what we vaguely call animism, which dominates substantially the tempo and texture of social, economic, political and cultural life of the Nagas".⁴¹ According to Nagas as observes Yonuo, "there is an invisible benevolent creator of the earth and the disposer of all events, conventionally known as God who created all the things including man even down to the ants, trees, stoves etc. in the universe, put divine souls in them".⁴²

³⁹ Smith, A.D., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Cambridge, 1995, p.5

⁴⁰ Hayes, Carlton, J.H., *Essays on Nationalism*, Rusell & Russell, New York, 1954, p.7.

⁴¹ Yunou, Asoso, op.cit., p.22

⁴² Ibid.

The beginning of the modern era brought about countless changes in the world, in India as well as in the Naga country. Communication ⁴³ transportation and the need for commercial aggrandizement led the erst while colonial power to intrude in Naga country in order to enhance the British empire. Yet it had another idea of inculcating Christianity in the Naga life. Besides the English Church, the American Church, Anthropologists and Missionaries also entered in the Naga lands. This change brought about the end of head hunting (which is more widely known as the Naga cult) and feast of merit.⁴⁴ It proved a marked difference in the Naga society.

This modern age of nationalism with reference to religion sometimes hinders and sometimes helps ⁴⁵ to build an idea for a new nation. India has faced this situation, (two nation's theory of Jinnah) in 1947 with partition of India. This virus of religious nationalism did not spare the innocent people of Nagaland. Time and again they have voiced their demand for Naga independence or they have suggested that their small Christian minority will be side lined by the bigger Hindu population and beef will be banned.⁴⁶

Nagas are said to have been converted into Christianity, but their culture, tradition and symbols still represent a primitive vision. Not only this, only a part of the community has converted into christianity and the number which was converted, has a Durkheimian "unity of belief". As Guibernau quotes Durkheim, "religion as

⁴³ Elwin, Verier, op.cit. p.15

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Snyder, Louis, L, op.cit., p.23

⁴⁶ "Secret Parleys", North East Sun, Vol.3, No.20., May 15-31, 1998, p.9

an element of unity among believers⁴⁷ and argues that "when individual minds enter into a close relation and act upon each other a new kind of psychic life arises from their synthesis"⁴⁸. With this argument one comes to the conclusion that if Naga unity with respect to religion is firm then it has the draw back of being divided in many tribes which invokes a feeling of mythical Naga unity.

For the growth of religious nationalism, Naga people have attained novelty as has been argued by Kohn, that religion was a dominant force before the age of nationalism in Europe as well as in India.⁴⁹ But the effect of this religious movement was different as in India Islam was flourishing in medieval ages and Hinduism had its base strongly founded. Whilst in Europe the Holy Roman Church was vigorously powerful. Here in the Naga country the animist religion nature started to dwindle whereas Christianity started to influence Naga people in the late 19th century. Here one can note that the effects of religion on nationalism have sometimes been slow, sometimes very strong and the degree of the influence has not been equally vehement on all societies. Naga country yet has not been able to accept Christianity as a singular religion for themselves. Thus religion has, as a component of nationalism, become less effective.

However, Nagas must not be considered as fundamentalist though there has been violence and vociferous movement for secession from India. For maintenance of peace in Nagaland, the Baptist Church has played a magnificent part. However

⁴⁷ "Guibernau Montserrat, *Nationalisms the Nation-state and Nationalism in the twentieth Century*," Cambridge, 1996, p.27.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Kohn Hans, *The idea of Nationalism*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1956, p.15.

Nagas wish "to remain within the fold of the christian nations, and of the commonwealth. Today Nagaland is happy to be a follower of Jesus Christ, whom we have come to trust as our saviour. As for the price we have to pay for future happiness, it is blood, tears, and humiliations. This is nothing new, and we take comfort in that, we are no exception in this world when we suffer at the hands of the strong. In the end, when we have gained the moral support of mankind, peace and justice will return to Nagaland. We pray and hope that the Nagas will, sooner, rather than later, gain the moral support of "All the friends for Democracy" in India and beyond in our struggle for justice, peace and freedom".⁵⁰

Common History

In a general definition of nation or nationalism, scholars have given important significance to common history. A people who have been living together for centuries tend to remain as a single collective. Hence the roots of nation lie in the experiences of common history which holds a vision of limitless future.

Naga people have been living in an area which they occupied for centuries. Their culture, tradition and customs have been held on from generation to generation. Legends and songs and their style of living is not a representation for Nagas of today, but it is an indication of their past and a sign of their existence and survival. Hayes accounts, "Man's powerful longing for immortality receives aid and comfort from historic tradition which center in nationality".⁵¹

⁵⁰ "The Naga problem: An Account", op.cit.

⁵¹ Hayes, Carlton, J.H., Op.cit. p.18

Naga people claim that they (the people who live in Naga area) have a common history which does not stand identical to that of Indian history. They argue that, since their history is separate from India's so this idea of nationalism also stands differently. However, "Nationalities are the products of the living forces of history".⁵²

Naga history for long until 1880 was not considered within Indian history, and the reason for its being included in the Indian history is only that, the English people conquered them in 1879-80, after many invasions from Britishers and retaliatory raids for years had taken place from the Naga side. Though examples can be cited in numbers, but they can also be criticised for being mythological.

Nagas expressed regret for being included in the reforms scheme of India at the time when the Simon commission visited the Naga country.⁵³ In the memorandum they presented to the commission, they pleaded for the total exclusion from the view of the reforms scheme and wished that they could remain under the British rule separately without any reforms as such".⁵⁴

Nagas have always been warrior-like and attach significant importance to their past, and their past values, heroic deeds, myths and legends, Symbols etc are very much visible in their society and, if such identifications are carried on, it does signify that a magnanimous past has been retold to the generation and shall continue to be the crutch for the generations to come. Anthony Smith observes, "the power of their

⁵² Kohn, Hans, *op.cit.* p.33.

⁵³ Yunou, Asoso, *op.cit.*, p.132.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* pp.131-132.

identification with an ethnic past with its heroic myths and legends, symbols and values is vital to the success of their nationalist enterprise".⁵⁵

Smith suggests that an ethno-history should be seen as a combining force for the future to come. "It is this linking of ethno history with national destiny that works most powerfully to uphold and preserve a world of nations. The modern nation has become what ethno-religious communities were in the past: communities of history and destiny that confer on mortals a sense of immortality through the judgement of posterity, rather than through divine judgement in an afterlife".⁵⁶

However the Naga problem has not appeared in this part of the world with a sudden burst; rather it has been created and multiplied by the dominant culture. "They (British) divide Naga lands into different administrative units under two nation states; India and Burma. Within India, they were further divided into smaller administrative units by various political boundaries. All this was done without consultation with or the consent of the Nagas".⁵⁷ Nagas also committedly argue that, "the Nagas and their land have never ever been a part of India, and it is a grave mistake for the Indian public to lump the Naga political problem with all the other movements currently in operation".⁵⁸ It shows historical disagreement of Nagas with India.

⁵⁵ Smith, A.D., op.cit., p.158.

⁵⁶ Ibid. pp.158-159.

⁵⁷ "The Naga problem: An account", op.cit.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Finally one must keep the words of Joseph Stalin in mind that "A nation is not a racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people"⁵⁹

Human Rights Situation in Nagaland

In this world of peace and justice a man in dirth of power is more willing to believe in God and a man suffused with power would believe in disposing it. Such situations have occurred time and again in different parts of the world. Such an episode has been taking place for years in Nagaland, where people lived with amity and pleasure, the brutality has come down heavily shattering the faith of Nagas in the Indian Army and the Indian Government. The lust of these power maniacs did not even spare women and children. Such an occurrence has never succeeded in calming down the desire of Nagas, instead, the Naga nationalism has grown stronger.

Human rights of Naga people have been snatched-time and time again since after three years of the inception of Indian constitution, the Government empowered the Governor of Assam to impose fines on public meetings so as to create public order through the Assam Maintenance of Public Order (Autonomous District) Regulation Act, 1953, which was applicable to Naga people also.

In 1958, government brought forth the Armed Foces (Assam and Manipur) special Power Act, which inflicted incalculable harm upon innocent Nagas. Yet the government of India kept an arguing that this act is primarily to provide security to Nagas.

⁵⁹ Stalin Joseph, op.cit., p.15

In addition, another act meant specially for Nagaland, came into force in 1962. It was called "The Nagaland Security Regulation Act of 1962". This act required the prior consent of the concerned authority to enable the armed forces to enter or leave any village covered by it.

In November 1970, the government, by the use of notification from the Home Ministry, extended the area covered by the 1958 Act to the then existing Union Territory of Tripura.

In September 1972, the government amended the act of 1958. It had three fold objectives - (a) it is proposed that the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act, 1958, may have uniform application in all the five states and the two Union Territories in the North-Eastern region. (b) It sought to state clearly that the Governor of these states and the Administrator of the two Union Territories would have the power to declare an area as disturbed. It proposed to take that power also for the central government.⁶⁰

These acts however enable the military power to carryout functions at their own will. They inflicted in human torture upon the people and forget the morality of the Army. They instead of protecting people, looted and brutally raped the women and committed heinous acts.⁶¹

In a memorandum by the East District Women association to the then prime minister of India, 1974, it urged "an in human treatment meted out to some Tangkhul

⁶⁰ *Endless War*, People's Union for Democratic Rights, January 1983, New Delhi, pp.1-2.

⁶¹ "Report of a Fact-finding Team", Luithui Luingam, Nandita Haksar (Eds.) *Nagaland File*, Lancer's International, New Delhi, pp.210-211.

women in the East District of Manipur, during March 1974 by some personnel of 95 BSF, has surpassed in all its manner of action any Leinour crime ever recorded in the history of this great nation of India"⁶²

Besides all these happenings Naga areas have gone under permanent threat of violence by Indian security forces. As recently as 29 June, 1996, Bahadur chetric was shot dead for no reason, and Miss. Rukhiezonuo was shot dead for resisting rape, both at Nerhema Village of Kohima district.⁶³ All this happened when the disturbed area act was under promologation. People may have been disturbed by violent underground Nagas but the threat with which they lived all these times was from the security forces.

The movement for Human Rights is a movement for the full realization of the human personality through social transformation. Mankind, with lot of struggle, has made history of freedom from exploitation and subjugation. Naga people's, movement for human rights, argues, that Naga people have suffered enormously with multiple damages. They have been exploited politically, culturally, militarily, economically etc. and they (NPMHR) pledge to take up "the task of initiating organized struggle for achieving the following:-

To ensure and safeguard

1. the right to life;
2. the right to work;
3. the right to live together as a people and the unification of all Naga Lands;

⁶² Ibid. p.205.

⁶³ Report of Naga peoples Movement for Human Rights, vol.II, October, 1996, p. 2.

4. The right to hold and communicate one's beliefs;
5. the freedom of movement, assembly and association;
6. free access to all places of learning,
7. maximum participation of the people in the making of decisions affecting their lives;
8. freedom from socioeconomic exploitation, political domination and military repression;
9. against anti-democratic practices and the dismantling of institutions and social values which legitimise and perpetuate these within our society;.
10. against the practices of arbitrary arrest, detention, torture and execution, and the use of unconventional weapons; and
11. against the imposition of undesirable alien legal systems and socio-cultural concepts and ways of life."⁶⁴

The above discussion shows that the Naga people have immense attachment of their ethnic-entity language, territory and religion. Besides, these, they also have long standing traditions, culture, symbols, folks and value systems emerging from their common history, which they have been communicating for generations. These however are the paramount components for Naga nationalism. A.D. Smith finds that for a modern nation the following components are necessary.

At the outset Smith says ⁶⁵ that the modern nations are "mass nations" i.e., "they appeal to the whole people and when they alivate the people into the nation they

⁶⁴ "Declaration of NPMHR", *Nagaland Files*, op.cit.,pp.232-233.

⁶⁵ Smith, Anthony D., op.cit., pp.54-56.

theoretically include all strata of designated population in the sovereign nation". (b) The modern nation is a "a legal, political community" (c) He emphasises on national ideology. Modern nations are legitimated through a universally applicable ideology, Nationalism. As an ideology "the world is divided into nation, each of which has its own character and destiny that an individuals first loyalty is to his or her nation; that the nation is the source of all political power". (d) Modern nation is a part and parcel of wider international system in which the whole world is divided into separate nation states. Finally he says modern nation in preeminently "territorial". in character.

Finally Ernest Renan's words are apt to conclude this discussion, " Man is not enslaved, nor is his race nor his language, nor his religion, nor the course of the rivers, nor the direction of the mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, with a healthy spirit and warmth of heart, creates a moral conscience which is called a nation. When this moral conscience proves its strength by sacrifices that demand abdication of the individual for the benefit of the community, it is legitimate, and it has a right to exist.'⁶⁶

⁶⁶ "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?", Renan Ernest, *Nationalism*, Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, op.cit. p.18.

CHAPTER - VI

CONCLUSIONS

Human evolution does show that it has a tendency to progress and develop according to the human mind. History never recedes, it always keeps moving on. With the idea of development, mankind received the idea of power. Manipulation of power leads mankind to acquire supremacy over every possible object which it could command.

Naga struggle is a strive to gain power, and Naga Nationalism is a means for it. For development, or protection of their identity, or for safeguarding their traditions, land, language, etc. they need to promote conducive atmosphere which would prepare a congenial ground for their self determination, power, or atleast a share of power, which would enable them to enhance their interest.

Since the dawn of the Indian Independence, tremendous changes have taken place. Not only has it occurred in the plain lands of India but the peripheral states have also received developmental opportunities. Nagaland in all spheres-social, economic, political and cultural - has shown ample development. This hill state today is not what it had been a few years back. Now, there is not only a fully representative stable government in Nagaland, the state is also well in the path to social change and economic development. The people have sufficient opportunity for self expression and self-determination suited to their customs, religion and traditions. There is significant clue of peoples participation in the political process. Efforts are being made not only to develop the village, tribal and regional councils but also for providing job

opportunities to Nagas. This is also because of the liberal and democratic approach of the government of India and the sagacity, tolerance and political maturity shown by Nagas.

Though Nagas have been provided with the best of the opportunities, yet they have not been fully satisfied with the provisions which they are receiving. The paramount question which hinders the progress of the said areas and the integrity with India is primarily not the development opportunities, but the question of granting total independence to Nagaland or from the Naga point of view, the safeguarding of Naga identity, culture, customs, tradition and their common history with the principal object of attaining political power or independence.

problems remain

Naga integration with India is a political integration, and Myron Weiner, some years ago, suggested five levels of political integration (discussed by James Manor) which are worth mentioning in this context. First, there is national integration, the process of bringing together culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of a national identity.¹ This use of the term is generally applied to "an ethnically plural society" (India is a plural society) and refers to the need for a sense of territorial nationality which overshadows or eliminates - subordinate parochial loyalties'. This type of integration is clearly related to a second, territorial integration. This refers to the problem of establishing national central authority over subordinate political units or regions.² It involves 'the subjective

¹ Manor, James, "The dynamics of political integration and disintegration", *The States of South Asia: problem of National Integration*, eds. Wilson A.J. and Dennis Dalton. Vikas Publication, Delhi, 1982, p.89

² Ibid.

feelings which individuals belonging to different social groups or historically distinct political units have toward the nation'. A third type of political integration he called the elite-mass integration. This refers to the 'problem of linking government with the governed'.³ Between the elite and the mass, the apex and base of the political system, there are 'marked differences in aspirations and values'. These differences do not in themselves represent disintegration or a lack of integration 'so long as those who are governed, accept the right of the governors to govern'. Integration between the elite and the mass 'occurs not when differences among the two disappear, but when a pattern of authority and consent is established'.

A fourth type is termed value integration, referring to 'the minimum value consensus necessary to maintain a social order'.⁴ This may entail 'ends values' concerning appropriate collective goals. Or it may involve ideas concerning means, 'for the achievement of goals and for resolving conflicts'. In either case, the concern here is with 'desirable and undesirable conduct'. Finally, there is the matter of integrative behavior which involves 'the capacity of people in a society to organize for some common purposes'.⁵ In some societies, this capacity tends to be a near monopoly of the elite(s). In others, people throughout the population possess the will and ability to organise with others.

The above mentioned suggestions clearly state that the central authority should take control of the subordinate area. The area of Nagaland has been controlled

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

politically by India for more than fifty years now (when British Government withdrew their political authority from India). It does not necessarily imply that the Naga people have accepted a subjective feeling.

This subjective feeling is a paramount concern of the relation between the elite and the masses. The relation between the two has been satisfactory at the first sight but doubts have been raised with regard to Naga nationalists' violent movement and vehement agitation for political independence and political power. This dilemma reduces the capacity of the governors with regard to their right to govern those who accept the rights to be governed.

With respect to Weiner's final level, the common collective purpose of the Indian population as a whole (including Naga population) does not seem to be one, specifically because India is a plural ethnic society and hence the interest pertaining to the particular ethnic group and the interest of the nation as a whole do not remain without collision. The nationalists do not aim at a common goal of national interest for the obvious reason that they desire a full independent nation-state for Nagaland.

Demand for sovereign independent and a greater Nagaland is out of question for the Indian Government. But, the situation prevalent in Nagaland, can be eased with the efforts by both the parties, Naga nationalists and the Government of India.

One of the problems that New Delhi faces in dealing with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (I-M) is that by doing so it isolates all the other streams of Naga nationalism as well as those who have been participating in the democratic political processes of India.

But the NSCN (I-M), which is perhaps the most representative of Naga nationalism, would have nothing to do with any of its adversaries or those who it thinks have compromised with the Government of India. No one knows how the NSCN (I-M) would deal with these various political streams in Nagaland, were a political settlement to be arrived with it alone.⁶

The Naga people are not a single unit (what every Naga nationalist group eulogize). Too many groups are there and different solutions are being offered by all of them. The Naga people's paramount concern should lie in a singular interest, i.e., all of them - different Naga nationalist groups and the democratically elected Government of Nagaland-should join hands and propose an agenda on which the talks should take place. First and foremost the Naga problem should be discussed within the Nagas themselves and it should lead to a further discussion with the Government of India. One group which has agreed to the ceasefire must not solely take responsibility to solve the problem.

The Government of India and the Myanmar Government should put together their sincere efforts to curb cross border terrorism. The NSCN(K) group operates from Myanmar territory and has been an obstacle to the peace process in Nagaland.

The Naga nationalist groups who broke away from the other Naga nationalists at the conclusion of the Shillong accord must sincerely abide by the Shillong Accord, for it was in the general interest of the Naga people as a whole and was meant only for the welfare and development of the Nagas. Opposing such benign deeds is by itself a curse to true nationalism. The Indian constitution has held, under Art. 371A

⁶"Naga rivalry affects process of peace", The Hindustan Times, 12 July, 1998.

that it would secure every traditional customary and religious right for Naga people. Since the people of India and its constitution has promised to protect and respect the Naga people's will, it is expected that Naga people will react in a positive manner.

For the military to stay for a long time in an area, demoralises the faith of the natives since military ideology does not serve the purpose of integration amicably but by force. It is suggested that the military should withdraw from Nagaland and the Naga's be free of the constant vigilance of military to ease their minds. Though the military has been involved in the developmental planning but it seems more appropriate, if the work for development is taken over by non governmental organizations. Indian Government should gradually try to withdraw their reliance over Indian security forces.

With regard to Naga insurgency, Naga nationalism or development in Nagaland or even the sincerity for peace by both the parties is remarkably observed by Monalisa Changkija. "The fact is, the Naga political movement, also known as Naga insurgency is much more than the xenophobic aspirations of a negligible populace kept alive by a handful of power hungry, terror striking, desperate and misguided men, fuelling secessionist passions. Nor is this movement a reaction to economic non-development and poverty. But at the same time it is a fact that the centre's negligence towards Nagaland is a cause of underdevelopment and poverty in the state, which in turn continue to perpetuate the movement".⁷

⁷ Changkija, Monalisa, "Still waters run deep", North East Sun, Vol.3 No.22, June 15-30, 1998, p.41.

Under the 16-point agreement, clause 13 provides that "the other Naga Tribes inhabiting the areas contiguous to the present Nagaland be allowed to join Nagaland if they so desire".⁸ With this regard the Nagaland assembly has passed three resolutions (12.12.64, 28.7.70, and September, 1994). The third suggests, "whereas, by the quirk of history the Naga-inhabited areas have been disintegrated and scattered under different administrative units without the knowledge and consent of the Nagas by those who took it upon themselves uninvited to rule over the Nagas; and whereas, the Nagas irrespective of territorial barriers have strong desire to come together under one administrative roof. This assembly, therefore, resolved to urge upon the government of India and all concerned, to help the Nagas achieve this decried goal with undertaking".⁹

The above resolution by the Nagaland Assembly provides that the contiguous areas inhabited by Naga people should be brought under one administrative unit. Since, divided Nagas feel that their unity and identity is being distorted, hence it becomes necessary that the areas should be drawn under one unit so as to do away with such feelings. The Nagas who live in areas which do not belong to Nagaland do argue that they have been suppressed and tortured by alien states.

Because social scientist believe in amity, humanity and integrity, so, why not create an atmosphere which will provide more free contacts between the Naga people and the population of India as a whole? For this reason some may even propose the

⁸ "Naga Problem : An account" (The Working Paper) Seminar Presented by Naga Student's Federation and Citizens for democracy, on Dec.15th 1995 at Gandhi Peace foundation.

⁹ Ibid.

abolition of the inner liner permit. But it does not seem fit to be abolished because it is primarily addressed towards the welfare of the tribal people and anything which would discourage tribal identity vis-a-vis tribal development should not take place. Though it has been an obstacle for the smooth flow of people from either side, yet it should not be withdrawn.

The greatest need of a human being is the need to be needed and Naga people perhaps have this fear that they lack the feeling of being needed by the Indian population. But the paramount concern of this feeling pertains to Naga elites because Guibernau argues ".... what makes so many peoples willing to die for their nation?

Where does the power of nationalism stem from? Why do people bother about the preservation of their land, culture, language, political institutions and ways of life?

One could answer, that elites have a special interest in perpetuating the nation they belong to. It could perhaps be argued that it is always more attractive to be a minister, a leading intellectual or an artist of a small country than to have to compete within a much larger entity...."¹⁰

The appeal of Naga people's movement for human rights suggests that they would like to stay within the folds of the Indian Constitution but they argue that some of the conditions must be met by the Indian government also. Under this pledge, they do not propose Naga sovereignty and independence.

Naga people's movement for human rights insists, that Naga people have suffered enormously with multiple damages. They have been exploited politically,

¹⁰ Guibernau, Monsterrat, *Nationalisms the Nation-State and nation the Twentieth Century*. Polity Press Cambridge, 1996, pp.141-142.

culturally, militarily and economically etc. and they (NPMHR) pledge to take up "the taste of initiating organised struggle for achieving the following:

To ensure and safeguard

1. the right to life;
2. the right to work;
3. the right to live together as people and the unification of all Naga lands;
4. the right to hold and communicate one's beliefs;
5. the freedom of movement, assembly and association;
6. free access to all places of learning;
7. maximum participation of the people in the making of decisions affecting their lives;
8. freedom from socio-economic exploitation, political domination and military repression;
9. against anti-democratic practices and the dismantling of institutions and social values which legitimise and perpetuate these within our society
10. against the practices of arbitrary arrest, detention, torture and execution, and the use of unconventional weapons; and
11. against the imposition of undesirable alien legal systems and socio-cultural concepts and ways of life".¹¹

It would seem proper to come to a conclusion that there seems to be no definitive statement, designed to satisfy the scholars of various fields, of various

¹¹ "Declaration of NPMHR" *Nagaland File*, Luithui, Luingam, Nandita Haksar (eds.) Lancer's International, Delhi, 1985, pp.232-233.

disciplines as to, what is Nationalism? Snyder has aptly included basic components in his definition of nationalism which could be taken as a guide for the future studies (though the definition was put forward in as early as 1954, yet it still seems conducive to the studies till today).

It says "nationalism, a product of political, economic, social and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind, feeling or sentiment of group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, attached to common traditions and common customs, venerating it's own heroes, and in some cases having a common religion".¹²

Nationalism, according to Snyder, has two major senses. Concrete geographic, linguistic, political, social, economic and cultural (the objective factors of nationalism). And the ideal, the psychological (primarily the subjective aspects of nationalism).¹³

Snyder's conviction provides paramount assertion to the fact that nationalism should be considered first and foremost as "a state of mind, an act of consciousness, a psychological fact. It is that socially approved symbol used by modern society in its search for security".¹⁴

Nationalism, as an expression of the human mind, takes on characteristics of an unending dichotomy in the thinking of man. Good form and Evil form.

¹² Snyder, Louis, L., *The Meaning of Nationalism*. Rutgers University Press. New Brunswick, New Jersey. 1954, p.196.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Different nationalities of Yugoslavia have now attained an independent status as a nation state. Croatia and Bosnia are the two illustrations of such nationalities. Ethnic Albanian's, Kosovo nationalism, is another example which is marred by violence which originated in early 90's. However violence, expansionism and repression could be taken up as an Evil form of nationalism which Synder considers "is the result of the most powerful emotions, blind, unreasoning fear. It is the fruit of mental and moral confusion and of maladjustments between thinking and action".¹⁵

Victor Gollancz's powerful statement gives a very clear vision of the "Good" and the "Evil" forms of Nationalism. "Nationalism of all the evils I hate, I think, I hate nationalism most. Nationalism-national egoism, thinking in terms of one's nation rather than in terms of humanity - nationalism is evil because it concentrates on comparative inessentials (where man lives, what sort of language he speaks, the type of his culture, the character of his "blood") and ignores the essentials, which is simply that he is a man. It pursues a spurious and abstract "national glory", which is devoid of any actual existence, and has nothing whatever to do with the glory, or with the daily and hourly happiness and well-being of the nationals in question. It is partly an invention of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians and partly a drug from which the populace derives, not individual peace of mind, but a kind of bogus and vicarious satisfaction. it makes one set of people hate another set that they haven't the smallest

¹⁵ Ibid. p.197

real occasion for hating; it leads to jealousy, oppressions, strife and eventually war".¹⁶

In the Good form, according to Snyder, "...nationalism is free from an attitude of superiority to the neighbor. Man has a natural attachment for his home, which he wants to protect against all dangers. He sees a solution of his tests in community or national action. The individual gravitates towards the nation because, to him, it represents self-preservation and safety. Furthermore, he takes pride in the history and culture of his own group".¹⁷

Hayes finds difference between patriotism and nationalism but does not deny that both attach great sentiment to the motherland. He argues that, "patriotism is love of one's country, and, as has been suggested earlier, love of one's country is a peculiarly natural and ennobling expression of man's primitive sentiment of loyalty".¹⁸ On the other hand, describing nationalism vis-a-vis patriotism, Hayes sees nationalism as a contemptuous concept of human mind, though it contains the symptoms of one's love to his country. "Nationalism is partly love of country, but chiefly something else. Nationalism is a proud and boastful habit of mind about one's own nation, accompanied by a supercilious or hostile attitude toward other nations; it admits that individual citizens of one's country may do wrong, but it insists that one's nationality or national state is always right. Nationalism is either ignorant and prejudiced or inhuman and jaundiced; in both cases it is a form of mania, a kind of

¹⁶ Ibid. p.112.

¹⁷ Ibid.p.197

¹⁸ Hayes, Carlton J.H., *Essays on Nationalism*, Russell & Russells, New York, 1954, pp.274-275.

extended and exaggerated egotism, and it has easily recognizable symptoms of selfishness, intolerance, and jingoism, indicative of the delusions of grandeur and it is far from ennobling; in a word, it is patriotic snobbery".¹⁹

Hayes goes on to say that patriotism is not hateful, henious, expansionist, violent but what it contains, is humility. "If we really love our country, we shall be bowed in humility in its presence and in its service, and in humble fashion we shall labour to bring to it all the blessings and hopes of humanity and to promote the happiness and well-being of all its citizens. We shall be so intent upon improving our country, spiritually, intellectually, and physically, and upon making it a fit habitation for fellow human beings that we shall not have the time or the inclination to attack other countries or other peoples in thought, word, or deed".²⁰

However, Smith argues that 'nation and nationalism provide the only realistic socio-cultural framework for a modern world order. They have no rivals today. National identity too remains widely attractive and effective and is felt by many people to satisfy their needs for cultural fulfillment, rootedness, security and fraternity. Many people are still prepared to answer the call of the nation and lay down their lives for its cause. Finally, nations are linked by the chains of memory, myth and symbol, to that widespread and enduring type of community, the ethnies, and this is what gives them their unique character and their profound hold over the feelings and imaginations of so many people".²¹

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Smith, A.D., *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Cambridge, 1995, p.159.

The people of Nagaland have been cooperating with the efforts of Govt. of India and it has also proved healthy for the development of Nagaland. From 1964 onwards, all the general elections have proved the fact, that people's participation in the democracy has grown strong and their faith in Indian government has grown even stronger. There is only a small minority of Naga people who eulogize nationalism. But this is the time when they should join hands with common Nagas to create a peaceful and hopeful future for Nagaland. They boycoted the last elections and threatened the people of Nagaland, which heavily reduced the percentage of voting in Nagaland, which in turn an unfortunate episode for the small state of Indian union. Though Naga nationalism has been a bone of contention, yet it should be solved within the frame-work of Indian constitution. one must also learn the words of Carlton Hays where he says that our nationalism should stand equal with pure patriotism and "if we have the virtue of humility in sufficient degree, we shall eventually learn the great and divine secret that we are not worthy of our country, that no man is worthy of what he loves. When that time comes, we shall have a real understanding of the basis of perpetual peace; we shall then have a true sympathy not only for our fellow nationals but likewise for the foreigner afar and for the stranger within our gates. Nationalism, when it becomes synonymous with the purest patriotism, will prove a unique blessing to humanity and to the world."²²

²² Hays, Carlton, J.H., op.cit.

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