

**Emergence of Coalition Politics in Nagaland**  
**(A Case Study of Three State Assembly Elections 1993-1998-2003)**

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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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## Certificate

Certified that this Dissertation entitled **Emergence of Coalition Politics in Nagaland: A Case Study of Three State Assembly Elections (1993-1998-2003)** submitted by David Sechu is in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is his bonafide work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

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

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>DPN</b>	: Democratic Party of Nagaland
<b>NEFA</b>	: North-East Frontier Agency
<b>UFN</b>	: United Front of Nagaland
<b>NHTA</b>	: Naga Hill-Tuensang Area
<b>NNC</b>	: Naga National Council
<b>NNDP</b>	: Naga National Democratic Party
<b>NNO</b>	: Naga National Organization
<b>NNP</b>	: Naga National Party NPC Naga People's Convention
<b>NSCN</b>	: National Socialist Council of Nagaland
<b>NSCN (I-M)</b>	: National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak-Muivah)
<b>NSCN (K)</b>	: National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang)
<b>DLP</b>	: Naga Democratic Party
<b>UDF</b>	: United Democratic Front
<b>NPCC</b>	: Nagaland State Pradesh Congress Committee
<b>NDM</b>	: Naga Democratic Movement
<b>JLP</b>	: Joint Legislative Party
<b>NPF</b>	: Naga People's Front
<b>NPC</b>	: Naga People's Council
<b>GPRN</b>	: Government of People's Republic of Nagaland
<b>NSF</b>	: Naga Students' Federation
<b>DAN</b>	: Democratic Alliance of Nagaland

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## CHAPTER -1

The increasing frequency of split and mergers of political parties in association with political power had signified and reflected the development of coalition politics in the political arena. Coalition System is stabilizing itself as a normal and natural system but beneath it's exterior image projected as a mere part of the political process, remains the basic structure of mechanism that explain the working of coalition in democratic political process. Infact, today, apart from the issues debated by various political scholars, the entire questions of power and governance in many political system revolves around this central point that is, coalition system. Coalition politics is emerging as an indispensable aspect of democracy in accommodating mosaic of interest. Besides, not only arousing greater political interest for political scientist and political scholars to debate on this coalition political process, it had created spaces for various regional and local political parties to gain their base in the political race. Coalition's remarkable place can be clearly understood by tracing its popular concept and its development process in the political system.

### **Meaning, Focus and Scope**

The term 'coalition' is derived from the Latin word 'Coalitio' which is the verbal substantive of coalescere, co-together, and alescere-to grow up, which means to go on to grow together. Basically, it means the coming together or a union of originally distinct elements where these distinct elements coalesce for the purpose of joint action, usually limited to particular or specific purposes. According to the dictionary meaning coalition means an act of coalescing, or uniting into one body: a union of persons, states: alliance.<sup>1</sup> The term as it is generally used in political science is a direct descendant of the exigencies of a multi party system in a democratic set up. These specific purposes could be common goals or even common threats that they face. It is a phenomenon based on the understanding and recognition that their purposes would be better served through joint

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<sup>1</sup> Sahni N.C. Coalition Politics in India, edited by Naresh Chandra Sahni. New Academic Publishing Company, New Delhi. 1971. p.18.

action to survive rather than unilateral action and it is an astonishing chorus of discords. 'Coalition formation is modeled as a cooperative game. Each party enters the endowed with a proportion (weights) of votes that it obtained in the election'.<sup>2</sup> It is a combination of a body or parts into a whole. The desirability to one individual of being in coalition with another, the fact that individual will assess payoffs with different value schedules that these value schedules will change with time as well with the composition of the winning coalition.<sup>3</sup>

Theory of political coalition is a rather recent development in political science. There are broadly three kinds of coalition theories. First, there are utility maximization theories that postulate the size principle that predicts the minimum winning coalition. Proceeding from the axiom of the rationality of political actors, these theories deduce the theorem that in the formal coalition situation with the majority decision rule the coalition formation would hover around the minimum winning size, typically around 50% points. The smaller the coalition the larger the quantum of power and patronage to be shared among the winners. Second, there are ideological and policy compatibility theories, proceeding from the assumption that the maximization of utility must contend with ideological concordance among parties whose policy preference are least discordant. Third, there are theories that treat coalition as sequential episode that offers opportunities for redistribution of political resources that determine the relative political influence of coalition partners. The gain and lose in the present round and their implications for the ensuring one primarily guide the competitive demands and concessions made by parties to each other.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Sened, Itai. "A Model of Coalition Formation; Theory and Evidence". The Journal of Politics, published by Southern Political Science Association, Vol.58, No.2. (May, 1996), pp, 350-372.

<sup>3</sup> Eric. C. Brown; Peter Rice. "A Bargaining Theory of Coalition Formation". British Journal of Political Science, Vol.9, No.1. (Jan., 1979), pp.67-87.

<sup>4</sup> M.P. Singh. "India's National Front and United Front Coalition Government: A Phase in Federalised Governance. Asian Survey, Vol. 41, No.2. (Mar.-Apr., 2001). Pp.328-350



In this coalition game it is generally accepted that a coalition can take place only within the context of mixed motive in which both conflicts and common interest are simultaneously present and must govern the course of action chosen. Quite often coalitions are formed to prevent or resist a common enemy from capturing power. In this context even parties having ideological differences are compelled to come to an understanding as they have to choose the lesser evils. The **Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN)** was formed by the other non Congress political parties in Nagaland agreeing to a '**Common Minimum Programme**' to capture political power in Nagaland. It is equally significant to note that the coalition is often temporary and limited in nature and the coalescing elements present in this coalition arrangement do not give up their distinctive identities.

**William Gamson** views that the coalition theory applies to situation which meets the following conditions: 1) there is a decision to be made and there are more than two social units attempting to maximize their share of the payoff. 2) No single alternative will maximize the payoff to all participants. 3) No participant has dictatorial power i.e., no one has initial resources sufficient to control the decision by himself. 4) No participant has veto power i.e., no member must be included in every winning coalition. The general hypothesis of the theory states that any participant will expect others to demand from a coalition a share of the payoff proportional to the amount of resources that they contribute to a coalition.<sup>5</sup> Different dimensions in this genre of studies include the impact of values, role of political leader in accommodating potential conflict, social modernization, economic development and party system and election outcomes. Mr. Riker develops three major principles which he seeks to apply to the analysis both of domestic and international politics. These principles are the size principle, the strategic principle and the disequilibrium. The size principles states that coalition rationally tends towards that minimal size necessary for victory although some allowance may be made to guard against uncertainty. The strategy principle attempts to delimit who will align with whom and to detail the condition which produces these strategic tendencies. The

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<sup>5</sup> William A. Gamson, "*An Experimental Test of a Theory of Coalition Formation.*" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 26, No. 4. (Aug-1961), pp.565-573.

disequilibrium principle asserts that in atleast some cases or under some circumstances, rationally optimal coalition will eliminate some of the players in the game and this will promote disequilibrium over a sufficient long period of time. Therefore, one would expect disequilibrium combination to occur and social system to change dysfunctionally.<sup>6</sup>

Coalition behavior and activities can cover a wide range of various social, Economic and political aspects. This paper is about coalition politics that takes place in the political realm. 'Each party must estimate not only which party coalition can win but also which coalitions are possible in the sense that each coalition partner would view the coalition as a desirable one'.<sup>7</sup> 'The task of negotiating a viable coalition government can be very difficult, but these difficulties may be lessened to the extent that a government can be created with few partners or with smaller partners whose influence on government policy is likely to be limited. This suggest the hypothesis that successful formateurs tend to be large themselves and their coalition partners few or small; for either role, a recent rise in Parliamentary representation may have a favourable effect'.<sup>8</sup> The coalitions are a product of politics in a parliamentary democracy. Which can be found in the form of electoral coalitions, inter electoral coalitions, post electoral coalitions, legislative coalitions, executive coalitions and ruling coalitions? The main objective of entering into this coalition arrangement is to capture power. If politics is defined as a struggle to capture power, the context of coalition politics adds more meaning to it.

The most commonly understood and used meaning of a coalition, are alliances in which parties agrees to share the offices, "spoils" or troubles of running a government. Finally While incepting coalition games into Nagaland political scenario which the paper will be dealing with, not many of these coalition behaviors were witnessed but clearly it is epitomizing signs of coalition tendencies which are maturing towards a coalition phase. It is generally accepted that a coalition can take place only within the context of mixed

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<sup>6</sup> William H.Riker, "*The Theory of political Coalition*" Reviewed work by Morton A. Kaplan. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol.347, Combating organized Crime, (May, 1963) . Pp.137-138.

<sup>7</sup> Dodd. Lawrence, "*Party Coalition in Multi Party Parliament; A Game Theoretic Analysis.*" The American Political Science Review, Vol.68, No.3 (Sep., 1974), pp.1093-1117.

<sup>8</sup> Paul V. Warwick. "*Coalition Government Membership in West European Parliamentary Democracies.*" British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 26, No. 4. (Oct., 1996)

motive in which both conflict and common interests are simultaneously present and must govern the course of action chosen. The objective of this paper is to provide a systematic explanation for the formation of coalition governments in the political trend in Nagaland State polity.

### **Coalition and Political Parties**

'Multiparty Parliament do not appear as detrimental as the scholarly consensus of the past 70 years would suggest; party coalitions are not necessarily antagonistic to durable government. A re-examination of the impact of party system on cabinet durability is in order. Why are some coalitions durable whereas others are not? Why do some multiparty Parliaments produce durable cabinets whereas others do not? What impact does the party system have on cabinet durability- the answer to this question lies in the complex world of multi-party Parliament. Politics in this world has been characterised quietly aptly by Maurice Duverger as a 'Parliamentary Game'. The object of this game is to form and control the government; in the game a durable government must find support from a coalition of associated parties: their alliance is always uneasy, and intrigues are perpetually being hatched in the lobbies of Parliament to break up the existing combination and replace it with a new one. Some intrigues succeed and a cabinet falls, other intrigues fail and a cabinet persist'<sup>9</sup>. The often incisive role played by these parties in these multiparty governments, not only for their survival but also in national policy making as well, as we shall see, has been instrumental in the transition that has taken place in capturing power. In India, we see the Federal system no longer appears as centralized as it was twenty years ago; it is because of the space that has been wrested by these parties in the national sphere through the cooperation and compromises achieved through the pull and push of coalition politics. Even in states like Nagaland coalition is formed along with other political parties headed by a regional dominant party to capture power. The benefits they got from supporting and joining government at the federal level have translated into a more cooperative or non-centralized form of federation.

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<sup>9</sup> Dodd. Lawrence, "*Party Coalition in Multi Party Parliament; A Game Theoretic Analysis.*" Op. Cit. pp, 1094.

There can be other explanations for coalitions in the political realm which could include for example, the use of coalitions and alliances as a "legitimation" mechanism by an "excluded" party, to diminish its political isolation. Ariel Levite and Sydney Tarrow in their study of the Herut and its successor the Likud in Israel and the Italian Communist Party (PCI) in Italy note how these two parties adopted and transformed themselves from an untouchable and delegitimized status in a dominated party system, using various strategies including among other alliances, to move towards a more acceptable status in the party system<sup>10</sup>. A parallel paradigm shift could be drawn with the Naga People's Council (NPC) and its successor the Naga Peoples Front (NPF) in Nagaland where it came to power apparently by forming alliances with the non Congress I political parties. This no doubt, is an important aspect to the understanding of present day Nagaland Politics; but it tells us only half the story, as it does not take into consideration the role of both the "coalition makers" and "coalitionable parties". Moreover the focus here is on the mechanism and formation of coalition politics in the state of Nagaland.

### **Coalition Politics and Nagaland**

The federalization of coalition politics in India has intensified coalition politics in a parliament democracy. Coalition governments are now been accepted as a natural form of government and an in depth study has gone into understanding different aspects of their working and removing the numerous fallacies that existed about them. The important conclusion that can be derived from these numerous writing is simple; they are not abnormal manifestation of competitive party politics. Similarly, there needs to be a careful study of the Nagaland experience to remove the misconceptions like parochialism, short sightedness, populism and so on that they are popularly associated with coalitions. However considering the significant differences in culture, history, political preferences and practices it will be difficult to transplant theories and explanation that have been developed in conditions that could be considered alien to the

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<sup>10</sup> Ariel Levite and Sidney Tarrow, "The legitimation of Excluded Parties in Dominant Party System," *Comparative Politics*, 15(3), April 1983, pp.295-326. This conceptualization has been applied to India in Balveer Arora, "Federalisation of India's Party System", in Ajay K. Mehra, D.D. Khanna and Gert W. Kueck (ed), *Political Parties and Party Systems* (New Delhi: Sage, 2003), pp.83-99.

Nagaland Scenario, just as the coalition are varied and anomalous, their stability and functioning qualities are also uncertain. Therefore, Though the Coalition Phase is quite new in Nagaland many political observers are trying to view it as very unpredictable and problematic (*Sui generis*), and there is therefore a need to clearly search for a *modus Vivendi* that could take into account the rich and varied developments in coalition literature and also consider the peculiarities of the Nagaland political scenario.

There have been witnesses of two parties or independent candidates joining the government earlier but not a true litmus test for a coalition politics was tried in fact it was a contemporary development and so the transition from single party government to a multi party government has been quite new and scanty. Consequently, studies on the coalition experience on Nagaland has been quite new and so it will be interesting to explore this coalition political venture and also leaving space to do further research in this area.

### **Brief political history of Nagaland**

Historically, the evolution of the state of Nagaland may be seen from three major transformations. 1) Pre and post British colonial period till India's Independence. 2) From the Independent era till the Nagaland Statehood Declaration. 3) The transformation which witnessed a resurgence of active Democratic participation.

Nagaland, the Sixteenth constituent state of the Union Republic of India was formed on 1st December, 1963, out of the territory of the erstwhile Naga hills-Tuensang Area (NHTA). With a territory of 16,579 sq.kms, it is located in the eastern most corner of North-East India on the border with Myanmar. It touches the east, specifically Arunachal Pradesh in the North, Assam in the West and Manipur in the South while the eastern side is bordered by the international boundary with Myanmar. Nagaland is a strife-torn state and carries a chequered and tearful history dominated by tribal population consisting of various Naga tribes which is constitutionally recognized as schedule tribes. The term 'Nagaland' is controversial to both non Nagas and Nagas. The rest of the

Indians think that it does not sound 'Indian' - they are not Indian in any sense of the word, neither in origin, nor in language, nor in appearance nor in habits, nor in outlooks, and it is only by historical accident that they have been tacked on to an India Sub-Continent(Maxwell, 1980:3).<sup>11</sup> In its 40 years of statehood, many changes and development in the social political and economic aspects have taken place at a fast pace with a measure of confusion and puzzlement. Beneath the status of a state within the Indian Constitution, its political turmoils arising out of the age old sovereignty demands of the Nationalists continue, creating a conflicting politics between parliamentary Democratic politics of the state apparatus and the politics of the Nationalist Organizations such as **Naga National Council (NNC)**, **Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland of both the other two factions i.e. (NSCN-IM) and (NSCN-K)** etc. "Nagaland has had a troubled political history for many decades with insurgency predating statehood. What had begun as a non violent struggle for self determination later too the shape of violent and armed conflict".<sup>12</sup> While this had created political turmoils in the last four decades, it has also shaped the outcome of state politics to a great extent. As is the fact today, the parallel politics of Nationalist Organizations continue to influence the present and future course of the Nagas' future and also that of state politics. "Overtly and covertly, the course of Nagaland politics is determined by the ebb and flow of the Naga National Movement."<sup>13</sup>

Basically, the present status of the state and its politics was the outcome of Nationalist activities. This suggests a peculiar state politics unlike the rest of the states in the Indian Union, which is rooted in the political historical background dating back to pre-state period and beyond. The political culture and tradition too are rooted on the same background. As such, it will be impossible to understand the peculiar politics of the state vis-à-vis the centre and National politics without a reference to its history

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<sup>11</sup> K.S. Ambrose Lurstep. *An Insider's View of Naga Problem*. Cited from 'Nagaland' (A Contemporary Ethnography) Edited by : Mitra Subhadra Channa, Cosmo Publication. New Delhi. 1992, pp. 4.

<sup>12</sup> **Nagaland State Human Development Report, October 2004**, by Department and Coordination. Government of Nagaland.

<sup>13</sup> Shimray Atai A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*. NSCN as a factor in Nagaland State Politics, First Published 2005 by Romilla & Co. Publishers New Delhi. Pp.217-245.

The Nagas are a singular race of people.<sup>14</sup> The fact, which have been attracting others about the Naga society, are the Naga's traditional cultural and social values and their political organizations which carried down notable set of customary practices, social, political and religious moorings through talks based on legendary and mythological statements rather than a written than a political history of its own. Since time immemorial, inter-tribal warfare, head hunting practices (*which is considered to bring fame and prosperity to the village*) had compelled them to live in relatively isolated conditions. The basis of the ancient political system of the Naga people was the sovereign village state with different forms of governments. "Some tribes practiced an absolute power under the village Chief whereas some other tribes practiced a similar republican form of government with a peculiar democratic system where the adults elect the Head of the Village"<sup>15</sup>. The Semas, Konyaks and Maos practiced hereditary monarchy which had absolute power over its people, among the Konyaks the king (Ahngs) possessed greater arbitrary power whose words were treated as laws (such was its power that even the Supreme Court cannot overrule the verdict of the Ahng which was further strengthened because of the incorporation of Article 371A- Special provision with respect to the state of Nagaland)<sup>16</sup>. A council of elders who were elected by the clans from amongst the most respected experienced and influential persons assisted the king or chieftain. The Angamis, Lothas, Rengmas etc practiced a peculiar type of democracy with little variation in the nature of composition of political system. In the words of Asoso Yonuo, "they are nominally governed by the two kings of their respective villages, chosen for their bravery in war skilful; diplomacy richness in the farm of cattle and land or power of oratory in contrast to the hereditary system in which the office of king passes to the eldest son on the death of his father."<sup>17</sup> The Ao people practiced purely democratic form of the political organization because their faith in democratic life was unshakeable.

A study of ancient political organization of the Naga people reveals that they were advanced and systematic in their political consciousness believing in equality,

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<sup>14</sup> V. Elwin, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1969. p.42.

<sup>15</sup> Horam. M., *Nagas in The Last Thirty Years*. New Delhi, Cosmo Publication, 1988. pp.14.

<sup>16</sup> Bakshi P.M. *The Constitution of India*. Universal Law Publishing, New Delhi, 2007. p.308.

<sup>17</sup> Asoso Yonuo, *The Rising Nagas*, Vivek Publishing, New Delhi, 1974, p.15.

liberty and fraternity. Hence they incorporated all these democratic principles in their political life reflecting a symbol of republic life where the council of Tatars of the village, was responsible for village administration (consisting of village elders eventually the most experienced and noble person). In the words of Tajenyuuba, the council was vested with "legislative power to make new rules of customary laws, to revile or to suspend the rules then in force."<sup>18</sup> V. Elwin, the popular English author, appreciating the democratic spirit and political system of the Ao Nagas, wrote that "Each village amongst the Aos is a small republic, and each man is as good as his neighbours, indeed it would be hard to find anywhere else more thoroughly democratic communities. Headman Tatars, so exist but their authority is very small."<sup>19</sup> Hutton while appreciating such system wrote that "the least that can be said of the Nagas is that in general the Nagas has mental outlooks and mental processes far more consistent with those of the Europeans than has the ordinary native of India..."<sup>20</sup> If the Cholas dynasty had experienced rich village system in the south during ancient India the ancient Nagas had their own share of rich village system in Northeast part of India be it republican democratic or of aristocratic monarchic it was observed obediently rather defiance of the authority not by written constitution but by customary laws serving as the constitutional base. This was all because the ancient Nagas possessed political spirit like the people of the ancient Greece.

"The custom that had collective wisdom of the people used to keep the people in discipline and the king or chieftain was treated as the repository of God's favour and their behaviours and treatments towards general mass were sound and reasonable"<sup>21</sup>. The ruler acted "as the sagacious agent of the people. All this was possible due to age-old honoured customs', which served as "a great measure of order, peace and stability to the Nagas."<sup>22</sup> The ancient Nagas knew that to violate the customs meant to breach the religion which consequently meant "incurring wrath of the almighty and his ultimate punishment. It was

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<sup>18</sup> Tajenyuba, *Ao Nagas Customary Laws*, Guwahati, 1957, pp.74-75. As cited in Singh Chandrika, *Naga Politics*, op. cit. p.10-11.

<sup>19</sup> V. Elwin, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, op. cit. 1969. pp19.

<sup>20</sup> Hutton, *The Angami Nagas with some notes on the neighbouring Tribes*, London, 1921, p.33.

<sup>21</sup> Asoso Yonuo, *The Rising Nagas*, op. cit. p.17.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.



the customary law which bonded the Naga family, clan, the village and the tribe."<sup>23</sup> However small, this administrative structure was efficient in maintaining order in the society, while giving due amount of freedom in respect of every fields to the village population. This ensured tightly knit village societies that with-stood time and challenges. Significantly, this traditional method of keeping order in society has seemed to determine the Naga people's concept of authority and subsequently politics in the modern era.

It was not until the coming of the British that all the war-like tribes of Nagas were unified under one administrative control. British arrivals marked a turning point in the Naga's political, socio-economic, cultural and religious life. Nagas came into close contact with different nationalities and people with different ways of thinking and aggressive ethical values. He was now worldly-wise and sophisticated and what was more, he was very politically minded<sup>24</sup> The Angami society (Naga society) was tempted by the manifestation of colonial culture on the one hand, but was keen to preserve their social organization and indigenous culture on the other.<sup>25</sup> One positive contribution of the British to the isolated Nagas was unifying all the tribes though unintentionally and only for easy their administrative convenience, which ultimately laid the ground for the latter to come together under one political history and also opening the window for the Nagas to learn a new culture, follow a new civilization and opt for new political organizations. The advent of the British into the Naga Hills in 1932 following the Yandaboo treaty with Burma and Manipur Raja was soon followed by fierce wars with Nagas villages and thereafter gradual consolidation of its authority over the Naga areas. Though this was done primarily in the plain areas of Assam from raiding the Nagas, circumstances, compelled it to gradually establish its administrative centre, first in Samugating (Chumukedima) in 1866, Kohima in 1976 thereafter spreading to other areas. Subsequently, the Naga Hills district was formed in 1866. However except for political control, British exercised no control over other socio-economic matters and thus, the

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> S.J. Duncan's paper (abridged), 'Naga Hills Administration-Reminiscences', presented at a seminar on Nagaland, Organised by the Shillong Political Science Association, Shillong, 1969. As cited in Chaulie, S.K. Hill Politics in Northeast India. Orient Longman Limited, Calcutta, 1999. p.153.

<sup>25</sup> Sanyu Visier. A History of Nagas and Nagaland (Dynamics of oral tradition in Village Formation):. trans. by Ajay Verma Common Wealth Publishers. New Delhi, 1996 p.112.

people were virtually left alone in these matters making no impact for socio-economic development. A few regulations such as Inner line Regulation Act were passed. As such the Nagas received only legal attention from the British government.

While economy remained untouched throughout the British rule, social development were attended to by the British Christian Missionaries. Education was imparted on modern lines through schools while at the same time religious preaching taught the people new social ethics in contrast to the traditional customs and beliefs. "Christianity and the western education it brought with it, which combined the Christian ideas of universal love with the political and social beliefs of western liberalization, no doubt helped the individual to overcome the negative aspects of tribal isolation..."<sup>26</sup> It also led to emergence of the educated middle class that were to later lead the people on political issues.

As a result of these developments, the first organization of the Nagas, "Naga Club" was instituted in 1918 by a few educated Nagas. The basic purpose of the Naga Club was "promotion of understanding, development of fraternal feeling and unity among the Nagas."<sup>27</sup> Though mainly a social set-up, it also took up political issue as evident from the memorandum it submitted to the 1929 Simon Commission in which they demanded certain political arrangements for the Nagas in the near future. This was soon followed by the formation of various Tribal Councils in the twenties. The emergence of the Naga Club was a historic point as it unifies the Nagas and sharpened their political consciousness eventually leading to the formation of the first political platform of the Nagas. In 1945, C.R. Pawsey then D.C. of Naga Hills formed the Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDC) by incorporating all the Tribal Councils with the objective of achieving unity and political consciousness and political platform for the Nagas. This was a bold initiation which provided impetus to the unity of all Nagas. As can be seen, in no time, this organization was converted into Naga National Council (N.N.C) in 1946. From then on, the Naga politics got rooted under the leadership of NNC.

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<sup>26</sup> Mishra, Udayon, North East India Quest for Identity, Omson's Publication, New Delhi, 1988, p.26.

<sup>27</sup> Piketo Sema's British Policy and Administration in Nagaland (1881-1947), New Delhi, 1992, p.51. As cited in Singh Chandrika, Naga Politics, op. cit. p.36.

The era of politics beginning with the N.N.C formation greatly shaped the political history of the Nagas through its activities leading to another phase of politics with the formation Nagaland state. Purely a political organization, the N.N.C. demanded sovereign political units throughout its struggle. In the seventeen years between its information and grant of statehood, the “prickly Naga problem began to emerge in early 1947” on the “open-ended commitments specially, the last point of the 9-Point Hydari Agreement signed in June 1947.”<sup>28</sup> The last provision that became controversial state that “the Governor of Assam as the agent of the Government of Indian Union will have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure the due observance of this agreement; and at the end of the period the Naga Council will be asked whether the said agreement to be extended for all further period or a new Agreement regarding the future of the Naga people would be arrived at.”<sup>29</sup> As a result of this, the N.N.C. led by A.Z. Phizo declared Nagaland sovereign Independence state on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947, just a day before Indian Independence day. The Nagas are not a single homogeneous people. The better educated elements do possess a sense of kinship as member of a single Naga community and it was this feeling of community that Phizo Angami, the leader of the dissident element sought to invoke in his bid for the creation of a sovereign Naga State. When this demand met with firm rejection by the Indian Government in May 1951, the extremist resorted to war.<sup>30</sup> Subsequently, the continuous failure of the centre to meet the demands of the N.N.C. compelled the latter to announce the boycott of the two general elections of 1952 and 1957. The February 15, First India General Election was boycotted amidst tight security provided to the Nagas. The continuous deadlock between the Indian government and the N.N.C gradually created a tense atmosphere deteriorating in 1953 and thereafter. Violence erupted and police and army patrol intensified. At this stage, a few N.N.C. leaders were reported to have gone underground due to the order to arrest them. Consequently, the innocent people were the victims of the outbreak of political turmoil.

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<sup>28</sup> Horam, M., Naga Politics, Seminar paper presented at Nagaland House, New Delhi.

<sup>29</sup> Asoso Yonuo, *The Rising Nagas*, op. cit. p. 175.

<sup>30</sup> B.G. Gokhale. Nagaland-India's Sixteenth State. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 1, No.3. (May,1961), pp.36-40

At this stage, an important event took place that determines the course of two parallel political forces which we witnessed today as the state politics and the Nationalist politics. The N.N.C. came to be divided between the extremist pro-Phizo which tightened its demand and the moderates that seek peaceful Gandhian methods to settle the political issue. Their difference grew acute in 1955. Finally, with the murder of Sakhrie Angami, a moderate, in 1956, the two factions parted company almost for good.<sup>31</sup> While the N.N.C. extremists took to open armed confrontation with the government agents i.e. Armies and sticking to its demand for complete sovereignty, the moderate faction under Jasokie, T.N.Angami etc. pursued peaceful constitutional methods. As early as 1955, the Moderates had demanded the reorganization of the N.N.C. on peaceful lines. Eventually, they formed a Reforming Committee chaired by T.N.Angami. It issued a statement on 18 February 1957 opposing violence and extremist methods thus giving a formal confirmation on the split between the two factions.

The Moderates Reforming Committee cooperated with the Indian Government sending three candidates unopposed to Assam Legislative Assembly in the second General Election of 1957. Meanwhile, the appalling conditions of the people inflicted by turmoil and the government's willingness to concede to certain constitutional demands to solve the crisis and also its subsequent encouragement made the Moderates to organize the First Naga Peoples' convention (NPC) in August 1957 which was representative in character. As a result of this convention, Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) was created on the 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1957; the objective of the central government was to constitute the Naga areas as a separate administrative unit under the External Affairs Ministry to be administered by the governor of Assam. It had three districts namely, Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. This was the foundation for the creation of the state and significantly, N.N.O. the first regional political party took roots from this convention. In the second N.P.C. held in May 1958, efforts were made through an appointed Liaison Committee to contact the Extremist underground and get its opinion in the constitutional demands. With no response, the N.P.C. went ahead and drafted the 16 Point memorandum demanding statehood within India.

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<sup>31</sup> Yonuo, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas*, op. cit. p.214

The third and final N.P.C. held in October 1959 adopted the memorandum. A year later, in 1960 a decision was made to have an interim arrangement for the future political status of NHTA. In 1962 an Interim Body was constituted with 45 members elected accordingly to the 'Customs and usages' of the Naga various tribes respectively. Here one can argue that the members of the Interim composition was selected from community lines and not on political party lines in view of the heterogeneous political society prevalent in Nagaland. This interestingly, was to later shape the wave of Naga politics. The Interim Body requested the Government of India to speed up the process of the creation of Nagaland<sup>32</sup>. The Indian Government had fully realized that it was impossible to uproot the Nagas spirit of nationalism and to curb down their fight for freedom. Hence Pt. Nehru while receiving the Naga delegation had prepared his mind to give sympathetic hearing to the Nagas problem. He hinted that the Nagas would be given a separate administrative unit of their own. With this assurance the Naga delegation returned back to their home and began to work actively to bring normalcy in Nagaland by persuading the Naga freedom fighters to give up the path of militancy and accept the negotiated settlement of the Naga problem within the Indian federal system.<sup>33</sup> Finally, the statehood of Nagaland came into being on 1st December, 1963.

The Moderates though at the initial stage were insignificant, received mass support after the successful first convention. This took the limelight away from the undergrounds for a while. They emerged as the new leaders of the people. By the grant of statehood, they had established themselves as leaders. Meanwhile, the N.N.C. resorted to more violent methods and waged an undeclared war against the armed forces. The moderates too were the target of N.N.C.'s propaganda and criticisms. On the threshold of entering the next phase of political history i.e. statehood, there was a seeming contest between the two factions over the question of which political pursuit either that of the "Federal Government" (N.N.C.) or the state structure envisaged would be a practical solution to the peoples' political aspirations and problems. The politics of both took roots

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<sup>32</sup> Pakem, B. 1999. *Coalition Politics In North East India*: op. cit. p.116.

<sup>33</sup> Singh, Chandrika, *Naga Politics, A critical Account*, Mittl Publication, 2004. p. 62.

apart sowing the seeds for the growth of parallel politics equally strong in influencing the Naga people. The opposing camp (N.N.C.) only caused an obstacle for the normal development of state's politics in a specific direction thus confusing the people as well as having to bear the consequences of political turmoils.

The Nationalists still remains a strong force till today, influencing the entire society as whole as well as the state politics. Over the years, many changes have taken place in this camp. However, it has become a formidable force and continues to be a major factor in state's politics while at the same time reiterating its single most important demand for sovereignty. On the other hand, parliamentary democracy has slowly taken roots in the state. Meeting the challenges of inexperience, unstable political periods, difficulties of adapting to a new political system etc., state politics have survived, and nearing maturity. Today, the state politics have survived however, like all the rest of the states in India; it faces major problems and difficulties that arise within a modern political system. The creation of the new state assures the Nagas of an opportunity to develop in their own way and without violent disturbance to their cultural life. In the word of Gokhale 'although the transitional period is bound to bring with it numerous problems of adjustment. The handling of this problem will call for vision and skills on the part of the Naga leaders; the success of the new state will depend largely on the degree of confidence that they can inspire among all the Naga tribes'.<sup>34</sup> In the 43 years of statehood, it has created a new political history consisting of the electorates, political parties and programmes, elections and formation of governments. "Citizens have shown alertness and exercise control and influence on their elected representatives and managed to secure their responsiveness".<sup>35</sup> On the threshold of its maturity, it is left to the people in making the right decision.

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<sup>34</sup> B.G. Gokhale. Nagaland India's Sixteenth State. Op. cit.

<sup>35</sup> Sema Hokishe "Emergence of Nagaland". 'Social, economic and political transformation and the future.' Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi. 1986. Pp.172-181.

### **Nature of study**

The era of coalition politics has created a new dimension to the political arena. As much as it contributes in determining political government it incepts and reveals the politics of equation and politics of accommodation. The coalition system provides an ideal platform for various political parties to negotiate or bargain as to who gets the maximum advantage in the political trade. Coalition politics is a testing ground for the various political parties to be accountable to what they represent and what they are expected to perform by the electorates. It resembles a rainbow of interest which needs to be blended classically within the political power structure. With increasing demands of diversified interest coalition system is significantly getting closely related with politics and its processes.

In this study I intend to research on Coalition Politics in Nagaland. Specifically my study centre on the linkages and influences which is shaping the pace and direction of the state politics. In other words it is an attempt to understand and explain how coalition politics emerged in the context of Nagaland politics. For this purpose I have re-selected for my case study, the three state assembly elections- 1993, 1998 and 2003 for special reasons. Firstly, we will be dealing the three phases where we witnessed how the congress as a political party manages its stability for the full term putting a brake on political defection and personality clashes within. Secondly, the 1998 election will highlight why and under what nature all the opposition political parties boycotted the election and how the Congress came to power with absolute majority. Thirdly, the 2003 election will deal with how coalition came to the political stage of Nagaland with strong reasons, namely, the emergence of the strong regional political party Naga People's Front (NPF), the Bharatiya Janata Party opening its Assembly account and maiden entry of some political parties, namely Nationalist Congress Party NCP, Samata Party, besides, other national political parties as well as regional and independent political parties in the

election fray (this includes the Letter Heads party)<sup>36</sup>. It will also talk about the controversial book, 'The Bedrock of Naga Society', written by the former Chief Minister S.C.Jamir, which was resented strongly by the Naga Nationalists, civil societies and many NGOs. This chapter will show how we witnessed the era of a strong coalition politics under the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland. For, to my mind the time has come for coalition system political parties cannot remain isolated be it in the centre government or state of Nagaland.

### **Methodology and Chapterization Scheme.**

This study does not propose any alternative theoretical explanation as such and is eclectic in so far as it borrows from various sources. Unlike the usual approach in the area of coalition studies, which has been deductive, my methodology will be based more on limited inductive approach relying more on observation, and empirical data. The method of using coalitions and alliance as a legitimation mechanism to diminish its political isolation will also be employed. This study does not seek to evaluate the performances of coalition government. As there are few reasons and systematic explanations for coalition politics in Nagaland state. So in the first place it has been decided that the focus be limited primarily to formation and maintenance of coalition government. An evaluation of performances could be an independent study in itself, given the significance and the complexity of the issues which is accounted not only by the indicators that is used to measure performances in political science literature which are systematic in nature.

The content of this work has been divided into five chapters it proceeds with the **first chapter** as the introduction and trying to understand and provide us with the necessary tools to make sense of coalition politics while explaining it in Nagaland

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<sup>36</sup> Here the term letter head party is used to appropriate the various parties that appears in the media during election. These parties hardly fight the election fray nor has any strong impact on the state electoral politics.



political context. Further, to make the paper more presentable I have also dealt intensively on the political history of Nagaland.

**Chapter two** deals with the various phases of elections from 1964-1989 where we will discuss the constraints, complexity, dynamics and incentives that have positively undergone changes. The nature of Nagaland politics will be explain and deal with intensively.

**The third chapter** focuses on a brief case study of the three state assembly election- 1993, 1998 and 2003. The witnessed of the congress I as a political party maintaining its stability for the full term, political defection was reduced. The 1998 election will highlight why the non Congress I parties boycotted the election and how the Congress came to power with absolute majority. The 2003 election will deal with how coalition politics came to the political stage of Nagaland with strong reasons, namely, the emergence of the strong regional political party Naga People's Front (NPF) and entry of so many political parties in the election fray, both national political parties as well as regional and independent political parties. It will also talk about the controversial book, 'The Bedrock of Naga Society', written by the former Chief Minister S.C.Jamir, which was resented strongly by the Naga Nationalists, civil societies and many NGOs. This chapter will show how we witnessed the era of a strong coalition politics under the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland.

**Chapter four** will focus on the dynamics of insurgency. Why and how insurgency had shaped and affected the state politics, and also highlighting the notion of parallel government in the state. There are so many other factors and variables but I have decided to concentrate in this particular factor keeping in mind that the study of Nagaland politics is not completed without understanding this sensitive area which rises like a phoenix in every election with different momentum.

**The final chapter, conclusion.** This chapter will analyse how coalition politics has enabled more responsible electorates giving them choices, it will discussed how the

people are learning how to live with their insecurity amidst peaceful situation and how they are viewing their dreams and aspirations with optimism in the Nagaland political scenario realizing the worth of peoples' power in a democratic state.

## Chapter II

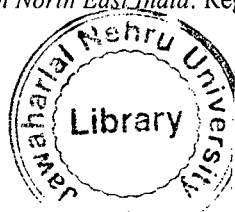
### Beginning of the electoral politics in Nagaland and its dynamics Election in Nagaland (1964-1989).

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This chapter tries to impart the working of the popular democratic process in Nagaland and the dynamics of political change in the midst of Naga insurgency. The entry of the national political parties like the Congress (1974) by merging with N.N.O. posed a stiff challenge to regional politics which the Nagas have been feasting since then. Nagaland had the distinction of being the only state in North-East India which was broadly having a two party system.<sup>1</sup> Before 1974, the election was a fight for power between the Naga National Organization (N.N.O.) and the Democratic Party of Nagaland (D.P.N.). Later, it became a politics of power between the Congress and a strong regional political party (it is difficult to appropriate the name of particular Regional party as it has been getting baptized with different names in almost every election). The emergence of popular electoral politics following every elections had given rise to popular personality clashes, tribalism, differences of loyalty, leading to political crisis. The significant development leading to signing of the Shillong Accord added more chicken soup to electoral politics. Even in this various phases of State Assembly election, coalition ministry/government was witnessed. Nevertheless, a litmus test for a coalition politics was not tasted yet. Which can be primarily viewed as due to the presence of two strong political parties besides independent candidates and presence of one weak other political party.

On the eve of India's Independence. 'The Naga politics was caught in whirlpool of two cross current. One was the separatist tendency of the Naga political leaders who wanted independent Nagaland and another was the desire of the Indian political leaders to keep the Naga Hills an integral part of Indian political system and assimilate the Naga

<sup>1</sup> Pakem, B. *Coalition Politics In North East India*. Regency Publication. New Delhi, 1999. P.117.



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people in the mainstream of the Indian nationalism'.<sup>2</sup> The sincere and tireless efforts of the moderate Naga leaders ensured a new era of a political democratic process in Nagaland. The Statehood marked a new phase. This new phase infact, was a more difficult one.<sup>3</sup> The British did not intervene in the social, economic aspect of the Nagas as long as their economic interest were not jeopardized only legal administrative service were provided to a limited extend. Later the Naga Hills were incorporated as a district in Assam but unfortunately, Nagas witness only limited opportunity as Naga problems continued. Besides, the Nagas apprehension of been dominated by the people from the plain areas created identity resurgent. When the First General Election of India took place in 1952, the Nags boycotted the election. One primary reason was the boycott call given by the N.N.C. Even the Second General Election met with the same faith. During this time the Nagas suffered the most at the hands of the Indian Army. Arm Forces Special Power Acts (1958) and other provisions of Arms Act were introduced to counter insurgencies. The first incident of guerrilla technique and ambushing Indian army also took place in Assam in 1956. However it was the common Naga people and villagers who were sandwiched between these two camps of the Indian army and the Naga army. No franchise was exercised in both these elections, though, three candidates were returned unopposed in the 1957 election later they quitted when Naga Hills was separated from Assam in December 1957.<sup>4</sup> Thus, it was with the beginning of statehood that electoral politics in Nagaland began to take shape dramatically. Election in the state are conducted normally according to the constitutional provision. Till date, ten State Assembly Elections have been held. The political instability has necessitated the holding of frequent election then what is normal for a period of four decades. Nevertheless, the various elections had brought along various dynamics and a pragmatic understanding of how the Naga electoral politics had emerged and where it is heading towards.

Nagaland Act (Act 73 of 62) provided that for a period of ten years from the date of formation of the state of Nagaland referred in clause (2) of Article 371A of the

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<sup>2</sup> Singh, Chandrika. Naga Politics (A Critical Account), A Mittal Publication. New Delhi, 2004. p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Murkot Ramunny. 1988. The World of Nagas. New Delhi. Published by Northern Book Centre. p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Report on the First General Election, 1963. By chief Electoral Officer-Nagaland. P. 2.

Constitution of India, the total number of seats in the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland shall be 46 of which six seats shall be allocated to the Tuensang district and shall be filled by person chosen members of the Regional Council from amongst themselves in such a manner as the Governor after consulting the Council may by notification in the Official Gazette specify and persons chosen by direct election from Assembly Constituencies in the rest of the State of Nagaland.<sup>5</sup>

<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>SEATS</u>
Kohima and Mokokchung District	40
<u>Tuensang District</u>	<u>6</u>
<b>Total seats</b>	<b>46</b>

Interestingly out of 60 seats only one seat is open to non-locals. One reason for this can be argued as due to the presence of strong population of non locals in the plain area of Dimapur which borders Assam. The rest of the seats are reserved and contested only by the local candidates. The state in the beginning of electoral politics has two strong regional party system besides Independent candidates till the third Assembly Election. With the entry of the national political party (Congress) and later other national political parties the political platform began to reflect a multiparty system. Practically the main contest was between two main rival political parties and any stronger Regional party from amongst them. Electoral politics is gaining momentum as we can see from the records of the present and preceding elections. Before 1993, seven elections were held. A brief reference of each would serve to make one understand the elections beyond and how coalition politics emerged, which is the scope of this study.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

## **First Assembly Election (1964)**

### **Only two strong regional Political parties contesting for power.**

After the creation of the Statehood, Nagaland witnessed the beginning of electoral politics for the first time in 1964. Two political parties appeared in the electoral battlefield. Mr. Kevichusa Angami, a retired Naga civil servant formed the Democratic Party, pledging peace and 'lasting good relationship with the government of India'. The other party was set up by P. Shilu Ao, and called the Naga National Organization, which was committed to Nagaland's continuity in India.<sup>6</sup> However the first state Assembly can also be viewed as a contest of power between the Naga elites from various communities. Since the contestants were apparently wealthy, educated and the concept of getting the new state power was also viewed as an opportunity. This was an election of not only the success of the political party but also a victory for the popular sovereignty or general will of the people. From this period onwards, the state has carved out for itself a politics that has its impact and implications on the people within its boundaries. which earlier was confined to the larger Assam state. The pre statehood had witnessed an almost derelict of democratic process and the Nagas not only abstain from the elections but failed to garner enough opportunity. The new situation purely introduce an era of state politics that involved the whole Naga masses on one hand and the threat of the Naga extremist which continue to survive and influence the Nagas on the other. The Naga extremist had threatened that Nagas should restrain from voting in the election as it was a foul play of the centre government to do more harm. At the initial stage there was very little room for coalition politics in the state because of the strong two party system.

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<sup>6</sup> S. K. Chaube ,(1973) *Hill Politics in Northeast India*. Northeast India. Orient Longman Limited, 1999. p.165.

Before statehood the Nagas did not involve actively in the electoral process. Interestingly after Statehood it showed a different perspective of many Nagas who were eager to game up the election. An electorate of 1, 24,231 voted for the 40 assembly seats spread over two districts. Polling was recorded at 76.4% <sup>7</sup>. The Naga National Organization (N.N.O.) a registered party, which consisted of most of the members from the Interim Body and moderates members from the erstwhile Naga Peoples' Convention contested strongly. The other regional party, the Democratic Party (D.P.) was formed by Mr. A. Kevichusa who was another dynamic visionary Naga leader and had aspired to change the Nagas with his party. Besides these two regional political parties there were also a handful of Independent candidates. These Independent candidates continue to change the fortune of many political parties in the state since then. As anticipated, the distribution of seats after the elections was

<u>Name of the Party</u>	<u>Seats</u>
<b>Naga National Organization</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Democratic Front</b>	<b>12</b>
<b><u>Independent</u></b>	<b><u>2</u></b>
<b>Total Seats</b>	<b>40</b>

**(Six seats were nominated from Tuensang District)**

The two independents and six nominated members from Tuensang joined the N.N.O which formed the ministry with strength of 34. Mr. P.Shilu Ao. Who earlier served as the Chief Executive Councilor of the erstwhile Interim Government became the first Chief Minister of Nagaland.

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<sup>7</sup> Report on the First Assembly Election Nagaland, 1964, Published by Chief Electoral Officer Government of Nagaland,

The election was fought in a difficult terrain of threat from insurgency besides; election education has to be imparted to the people and convinced them to join the mainstream. The Victory of the N.N.O. was not only viewed as an electoral victory but it also became the voice of the people of change for development and peace. The monopoly of the N.N.O. can be due to its mass public image where there were members from various communities, besides this most of the N.N.O. members played significant role in attaining statehood. The N.N.O. was also well organized and shares a good relation with the central government. Moreover, it was the only body that was mediating and articulating between the Nagas and the centre. It indeed replicated an ideal political party for the Nagas during this period. Whereas on the other hand the Democratic Party failed to obtain enough seats in the State Assembly as it lacks mass base and most of the members were mostly concentrated more in the capital and nearby regions, dominantly in the Tenymia regions<sup>8</sup>. Except A. Kevichusa most of the members in the party were not in par with their adversaries in terms of experience and popularity. The other Independent candidates were either those candidates who failed to get part tickets or individuals who wanted to win and deliberately determine the fortune of the two regional parties. From the perspective of social aspect and cleavages tribalism in the electoral politics was almost absent as one cannot totally rule out tribalism which was formidable even in the Naga Nationalist organization. However in this historic election the people left behind their community differences and voted for peace and development. No doubt the Nagas with wisdom voted for the N.N.O.

In May 28, 1965 the first State Assembly by-election was held due to their resignation of the 12 Democratic party members on the ground that the state governments failed to call and include Mr. Phizo Angami on the ongoing peace talk (during this period Phizo was exiled in England). In this bye-election eight N.N.O. candidates were elected unopposed and three other members of the party defeated the Independent candidates. Hence boosting the already strong N.N.O. Party in the Assembly House. Most of the

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<sup>8</sup> The term Tenymia is used by certain Naga communities believed, to belong to the same Tenymia family and having similar culture or way of life. Namely, tribes like- the Angami, Chakhesang, Rengma, Pochury, Zeliang, and some communities from the southern Naga.



members from the Democratic Party belong to the areas where Phizo's influence was strong, hence when the government fail to satiate their demands they resigned and did not even contested in the bye-election. From this context the Democratic Party can also be viewed as a more Naga nationalism oriented party as it express its solidarity with the N.N.C. even though it was to abide by the Constitution. This paved the N.N.O. after the by-electin to emerge as a strong single party system in the state.

The N.N.O. came to power but found itself tied with so many promises and responsibilities. The commitment of restoring peace in the state became a Herculean task which was to continue to be a big headache for many political parties to come in the near future. Inorder to deliver its commitments and peace to the state the Peace Mission was constituted along with the initiative of the Church. Fortunately, the first Cease-fire Agreement was signed on 24 May 1964 between the underground and the government of India. This Cease-fire Agreement was a historic achievement of not only the ruling Party but also for the people which came as a relief as peace relatively restored back. The government also received positive response from the public which was to later shape the party in the next election. Though in a trouble state like Nagaland one cannot expect total peace however, the diminishing of peoples' fear and anxiety due to the outcome of the ceasefire between the government of India and the Naga Nationalist positively responding can be regarded as a state of peace better than a state of war.

Ironically, the response and relation of the state government and the Naga Nationalist was strangle and intimidated with mistrust and rancor. The Naga Nationalist considered the state government as a puppet government at the hand of the Indian government to do more harm to the Nagas. The extremist who have joined underground continue to demand a separate nation and nothing less. The extremist continue to assert that the issue is not one of secession from the Indian Union because in the first place we had no historical, political or cultural affinity with India and therefore can never join the Indian Union of 1947. As the clear N.N.C. statement declares: "the question of divorce

can never arise when the question of marriage does not exist in the first place".<sup>9</sup> The state government was unrecognized and kept out of major dealings over the nationalist political issue. On the other hand it was the church members and the Peace Mission body which acted as a non-political body and tried to mediate with the Naga nationalists.

On the whole, an overall question was that did the people have really accepted the authority of the new government? one may certainly conclude that several politicians and bureaucrats have tacit understanding with the Naga Nationalists. For instance, T. Sentichuba Ao, Ex-Minister, disclosed why leaders like Kevichusa, Tikasosang, Vizol and Tajenyuba, etc, took part in Indian election. He said, "Their main purpose was to put an end to all the sufferings of the Nagas under the hands of the Armed Forces and to bring peace and settlement of the long standing Naga political problem by letting the underground leaders initiate the move."<sup>10</sup> In spite of the fact that it is in a better position, the people were still sympathetic to the N.N.C. Most of the leaders in the government ministry had also earlier served and contributed in the making of the Naga Nation in the past. Beside, many other leaders also continue to shower their sympathy for the Naga national cause which continued since then. The N.NO. proximity with the Indian government and the indifference attitude of the Naga Nationalists towards it had also damage the position of the state government. The people were undecided as to which of the two were more legalized to be the representative of the people. One was the oldest Naga political party which had been vocal and voicing the aspirations of the Nagas and the other one was presenting an era of development, peace and a democratic process. The absence of a clear-cut decision left the two opposite camps to exercise their influence and authority paradoxically. There were areas where the state government's writ runs during the day and the undergrounds during the night<sup>11</sup>. The situation compelled the new ministry to trend cautiously in establishing its authority. Since the state was still at its infancy stage the government continued to play safe by concentrating more on the state

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<sup>9</sup> Iralu D. Kaka, *How Then Shall We Live? (Reflection on the Political Economic and Religious Implications of Naga Nationhood)*. Published by Kaka D. Iralu, N.V. Press, Pezielietsie, H.S. Road, Kohima, October, 2001. p.6.

<sup>10</sup> Ao. T. Sentichuba, "The Political Scene". *The Nagaland Journal*, October 21, 1992.

<sup>11</sup> *Mainstream*, 13 April, 1968, p.38.

administrative machinery. Summing up, the new government single role during this period was making its presence felt in the state, specifically, the new democratic system..

In 1966, P. Shilu Ao leadership met with crisis from within the party due to internal differences within the party. Some factor for this crisis can be attributed to personality crisis and the stand of the government on the Naga issues. Mr. T.N. Angami was favoured and inducted in place of P. Shilu and in the absence of a strong opposition Mr. T.N. Angami faced no trouble in the Assembly and he completed his tenure. Mr. Angami convinced the Indian government to adopt more liberal attitude towards the underground people and provide more funds for economic development of Nagaland and its people.<sup>12</sup>

### **Second Assembly Election (1969)**

#### **Hegemony of N.N.O. (Naga Nationalist Organization).**

The second Assembly Election like the earlier election was also not free from the interference of Naga nationalists that had call for boycotting the election. On the other hand the people had tasted popular Democratic participation and were ready to give their mandate. No doubt, the people were confused and sandwiched in choosing the direction of the N.N.C. or the democratic process. The second assembly election was held amidst a political situation of uncertainty and violence as the one prevailing in the last few years. During this period the Ceasefire Agreement was revoke as the agreement was breached by both sides. Underground activities also heightened up with militarization. The Peace Mission was dissolved as nothing positive came out. This period was mark by the peoples' fear and anxiety where the nationalist activities continued one side, and on the other side the state machinery went through with the next state election. Nonetheless, the second Assembly increasing electorates can be considered as remarkable fact in more

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<sup>12</sup> Singh, Chandrika. Naga Politics (A Critical Account), A Mittal Publication. New Delhi, 2004.p.118.

ways as it substantially gives an insight into the latent faith in the democratic institutions, political awakening and maturity of the Nagas to share and take responsibility in the governance of the state.

This election more or less replicated the first Assembly election in terms of political parties contesting. One major difference from the earlier election was the replacement of the Democratic Party by the United Front party. Mr. A. Kevichusa who was earlier the leader of the dissolved Democratic Party became the President of the Front. The Democratic party was earlier dissolved with the intention of paving the way for the underground to have a better peace talk with the Indian government after the Cease-fire. However, with the failure of the talks and the consequent stalemate, the ex-D.P. member reformed the party under a new name; as such its party policies and ideological stand were the same as before. The basic objective of the Front was "to work for the unity among the Nagas on the principle of justice and equality; and to take step to bring about a political settlement through peaceful negotiations"<sup>13</sup> on the other hand the N.N.O. Party talks about delivering peace, prosperity and a stable government to the people if voted to power. There was also an increase of Independent candidates in this election.

There were altogether 144 candidates, including 2 ladies contesting for the first time to seek election from the 40 Assembly constituencies against 87 male candidates. Among the 144 candidates 40 were sponsored by the N.N.O., the only recognized party of the state and 30 by the United Front of Nagaland, the only unrecognized political party of the state and 74 independent candidates. Of special significance is the fact that this time all the 40 seats were contested, whereas in 1964 in as many as 14 Assembly seats there were uncontested returns.<sup>14</sup> In the last Assembly election, the district of Tuensang was allotted only 6 seats in to be filled indirectly by persons chosen by the members of

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<sup>13</sup> A Leaflet, issued by the United Party of Nagaland, Dimapur, 1969. As cited in Singh Candrika. Naga Politics. Op. cit. p.120.

<sup>14</sup> Report on the Second General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1969, Published by Chief Electoral Officer Government of Nagaland. P.2.

the Tuensang Regional Council according to the provisions of Clause (a) of sub-section (1) of Section 11 of the State of Nagaland Act, 1962. In the Second State Assembly Election, Constitutional arrangements remained the same but the number of seats increased to six seats by the Act of 61 (1968) of the Indian Parliament. Eventually, increasing the total seats to 12 and consequently, the strength of the State Assembly seats also increased to 52 as against 46 of the last one. There was an increased electorate turnout by 42.42% to 1, 76,931 as against 1, 2, 4,231 in 1964.<sup>15</sup> As discussed, all the seats were contested signifying a more politically active and conscious society. Polling had slightly improved at 78.4%. The election campaign was also lively and intense when compared to 1964. Many public meetings were held, speeches of various political leaders were delivered, house-to-house canvassing were witnessed, personal contacts by political leaders and commitments to bring peace and prosperity to the state were the main theme of the election campaign. There was a shadow of doubt that the election might be disturbed by the undergrounds but at the end of the day the pressure of the public people reign and election took place peacefully. The outcome of the election result was

<u>Name of the Party</u>	<u>Seats Contested</u>	<u>Elected</u>
<b>Naga National Organization (N.N.O.)</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>United Front of Nagaland</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Independent</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>40</b>

The N.N.O political party had mass public support and gains respect from various communities because of it diversified representatives. The N.N.O. party with better bargaining and popularity manage to get the support of the other 12 seat from Tuensang district and its seat tally increased to 34 seats. The victory of the N.N.O. was officially hailed both inside and outside Parliament as democratic evidence of the Naga vote for a union with the rest of the country. But this was far from truth as the people were

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

participating in the democratic process actively yet their hope and sympathy for the Naga nationalist was still strong. "Federal republic of Nagaland" is still overpowering in for many of them".<sup>16</sup> His impression of the Naga psychology in the present context is justifiable. In spite of a repeated show of a high democratic participation, Nagas have always retained their sympathies for the Nationalist organization. It is true that the democratic leaders were elected to power but the nationalist continue to view them as opportunist and puppets of the Indian government. The United Front failure can be attributed to its decrease in its popularity and the emergent significance of N.N.O. Tribal sectarianism in the district of Kohima and neighbouring areas explains the decline of the United Front. During this period socially the politics of tribalism was taking roots in a wider context, the bond that existed between members of the village society, drew the tribe members together forming into a cohesive unit. The political leaders were also identified with their community and region as electoral politics began to take roots.

Mr. Hokishe Sema formed the ministry. However the factor of insurgency provokes some members within the government to rebel against Mr. Sema. The N.N.O Rule witnessed the deteriorating law and order deteriorating besides, manipulative and intervention of Insurgents over the elected members and ministry. In 1972 Mr. Sema life was attempted by the insurgents eventually led to the centre to impose the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967. Consequently, some N.N.O. members defected to the other party U.F.N. emulating a sign of siding with the underground. This was a set back for the N.N.O. in the next election. To make matters worst, the centre took a strong stand and came down heavily on the undergrounds. The Cease-fire agreement continued to be revoked and the existence of the Arms Forces Special Power Act added more woes to the depleting situation. However the major significance of this election was that the Nagaland electoral politics witnessed a ruling political party completing its tenure under the same leader for the first time.

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<sup>16</sup> Kranti, Sen, "Peking in Shadow over Nagaland", in Mainstream, 13 April, 1968, p.38.

### **Third Assembly Election (1974)**

#### **United Democratic Front Government and imposition of President's Rule.**

By this time the Nagas the democratic set up in Nagaland had become sound and stable. Many important events happened in a synchronized pattern. During this phase the entire country was also under emergency rule however no amount of Mrs. Indira Tyrannical rule failed to exhaust the Naga movement. During this phase the Shillong Accord was signed between the Naga National Council and the government of India thereby weakening the activities of the Naga nationalist. This was later revived by a few leaders opposed to the accord under the newly formed group National Socialist Council of Nagaland (N.S.C.N.). It marked a distinct departure from the previous organization in that it was invigorated, well trained in arms and organization and followed a distinct and clear-cut ideology and policy in achieving its aim. The peoples' outlook and interest in the electoral politics heightened. For state politics, it marked the beginning of a heightened political activity and increasing nationalization in the Indian perspective. For the first time in the history of Nagaland electoral politics a national political party (Congress I) entered into the state politics. The merging of the N.N.O. with the Congress was nothing new as the N.N.O. had always looks towards the wisdom of the centre government which was then Congress (single Congress Party System in India). Unfortunately ill effects of democratic politics such as defections, ministerial instability, corruption, nepotism, took its roots in the state. After the 1974 election the politics of defection ultimately brought the state under the President's rule in 1975. It was the politics of defection; which allowed neither the Vizol ministry nor the ministry of Jaskokie to be stable.<sup>17</sup> Eventually, one can argue that, this period provides an overall reflection of the current state politics. In the past Nagas had their own Democracy which can be considered as one of the purest system whereas Election Democracy is a borrowed idea and this system breeds more negation to the Naga society.

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<sup>17</sup> Singh, Chandrika. Naga Politics (A Critical Account), op. cit. p131.

The polling took place for three days in February. There was a raise of democratic participation in the election mainly due to the inclusion of Tuensang district in the direct election following the expiry of 10 years reserved provision, increasing the Assembly seats to 60 under Delimitation Act 76 of 1972.<sup>18</sup> A new regional political party United Democratic Front (U.D.F. in lieu of the United Front emerged). One chief reason for this development may be due to personality clash as by now many Naga political leaders started viewing election as a contest for power. Leaders like T.N. Angami who had earlier founded the N.N.O. joined the UDF for leadership. The N.N.O on the other hand continued to be strong, promising the voters with its earlier stance on commitments. For both the party the main issue was to bring an honorable settlement of the underground Nagas.

There were altogether 217 candidates contesting for seats out of which 57 were set up by the Naga Nationalist Organization (N.N.O.), 52 by the United Democratic Front, the two Regional recognised political party of the state, and 108 Independent Candidates.<sup>19</sup> The election campaign was almost the same like the last Assembly election. However the polling result was astonishing as the U.D.F. obtained majority. The results of the election stand as

<u>Name of the political party</u>	<u>Seats Contested</u>	<u>Elected</u>
Naga National Organization	57	23
United Democratic Front (U.D.F.)	52	25
<u>Independent candidates</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>12</u>
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>

<sup>18</sup> Report on the third Assembly Election, Nagaland 1974, Published by Chief Electoral Officer Government of Nagaland, p.11.

<sup>19</sup> Report on the third Assembly Election, Nagaland 1974. op. cit. p.14.



For the first time, the electoral fortune changed sides for the two parties. The one decade rule of N.N.O was replaced by the victory of the U.D.F. some reasons for this development can be attributed to inter party differences and personality clashes among the N.N.O. The lack of party discipline and political culture hovered around the political leaders. Reasons like the promulgation of Arms Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA). The failure to extend the Cease-fire had not only soured the relation between the Naga nationalists and the Indian government but, it also created a feeling of insecurity and alienation which was responded with public disappointment towards the government. Besides this, the splendid one year decade of the N.N.O. was eventually getting corrupted and thereby eroding the party's credibility and efficiency.

The U.D.F. under Vizol Angami captured power with the help of the 12 Independent candidates. However the winning credibility came with a price as the UDF credentials and loyalty to the constitution was questioned. The leader of the U.D.F., Vizol, whom the Manchester Guardian described rather incorrectly as the world's only head of government with no surname, is a pro-Phizo man. His sympathies were with the underground. The Governor L.P. Singh entertained a doubt whether Vizol and his followers respect the Indian Constitution. Therefore he asked Vizol for certain assurances before entrusting him with the reins of office. Vizol gave the necessary assurances; the most important of them was that he and the U.D.F. would respect the constitution.<sup>20</sup> The cause of this allegation was that many of the members in the party have underground background at one or the other time besides; they have always expressed their sympathy to the nationalist even openly. Even earlier in 1964 election the Democratic Party resigned in the Assembly due to the failure of the government to show concern for the nationalist. The centre ostracizing attitude is very much evident in the Governor's behavior prior to the formation of the ministry. In an interview the Governor said, "if I had not got this assurance, even though the U.D.F. had a majority, I would have thought

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<sup>20</sup> Rao, V Venkata, A Century of Tribal Politics In Northeast India. 1874-1974. S. Chand Publications, New Delhi. 1976. p.534.

seriously if I could invite him (Mr. Vizol) to form the ministry".<sup>21</sup> This clearly indicates that the centre was ready to go to any extent to control the democratic state situation from inclining to a pro nationalist ground. Another reason was the centre bias attitude and favoritism towards the N.N.O. that shares good rapport with New Delhi.

The electoral politics turned into a profession of power, prestige and money and the Naga leaders began to indulge in it with less values and principles. Opportunist politicians emerged in the political scene that was ready to adopt any means to be on the winning side. Therefore in 1975 the Vizol ministry witnessed crisis as eleven members of the U.D.F. Party defected to N.N.O. Since the defector had joined the N.N.O., it got majority and Jasokie Angami of N.N.O. was invited to form the ministry which was again short lived as ten members within the N.N.O. again defected to U.D.F. due to political manoeuvring. Though Jasokie was not ready to accept defeat and claimed majority support before the Governor, the members of the U.D.F. did not allow the Assembly to function. As a result, the speaker adjourned the House on 19 March, 1975. Thereafter the events took such a turn that no option was left for the governor other than to promulgate first time the President's rule in Nagaland on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1975.<sup>22</sup> The political instability can also be attributed to the pressure that the candidates get from the communities it represents.

It was during this period of President's rule that the Shillong Accord was signed. The acceptance of the Accord by the N.N.C. was a historical event, as it opened a new chapter in the political history of Nagaland. However the Naga movement did not die down as some sections and leaders of the underground vehemently opposed the Accord. It was later this section of underground with equal intensity revived the movement under a new group National Socialist Council of Nagaland (N.S.C.N.) with better ideology, programme and organization (which later split into two faction. Namely NSCN I-M and

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<sup>21</sup> . Lal, Shiv, Election Archives, No. 18, April-June, 1974 pp.46-47.

<sup>22</sup> The Assam Tribune, Guwahati, March 9, 1975, as cited in Singh Chandrika Naga Politics. Op. cit. p.126.

NSCN-K). Another notable event that took place in Naga politics during this period of emergency was the realignment of political parties where the N.N.O decided to merge with the Congress. Speaking about the significance of the merger of the N.N.O. Hokishe Sema, the President of the Naga Pradesh Congress Committee, said, "the merger signified the fulfillment of the ardent desire and aspiration of the people of Nagaland because the days of isolation are over and the entire Naga people are conscious of it. No wonder everyone in Nagaland is happy at the merger and the news has been received here by one and all with unreserved mirth and jubilation."<sup>23</sup> For the Congress there could not have been a better chance to launch into N.N.O. which have been an insurmountable task of near impossibility for an outside national party to enter into a state like Nagaland which was opposed to any national intrusion into its territory. This phase was marked by defection, personality clashes, shifting of loyalty and such but on a whole it is also equally admirable to find the political leaders determined and wise enough to ensure the working of a democratic process fully.

#### **Fourth Assembly Election (1977)**

##### **Formation of the United Democratic Front Government and the entry of the National Political Party (Congress).**

On the expiry of the President's rule, this election was held in 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1977, Nagaland went to the poll after 30 months long spell of President's Rule one of the longest in national history at one stretch. The Nagas showed their keen desire for a popular government.<sup>24</sup> The political environment prevailing during this period showed that 'reason' had come to dominate the 'peoples consciousness' due to the dynamic and

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<sup>23</sup> Nagaland Times, Vol. VI, No. 7, Dimapur, May 26, 1976. As cited in Singh Chandrika. Naga Politics op. cit. p131.

<sup>24</sup> Report on The Fourth General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1977.  
Published by Shri I. Sashimeren Aier, I.A.S. Chief Electoral Officer, Government of Nagaland. P.3.

dramatic political development and changes in the state. The signing of the Shillong Accord had affected the organization of the Naga movement which became less vocal. Though undoubtedly the peoples feelings and sympathies continued to be reposed on the traditional institution ie, nationalist organization, they committed themselves to the democratic process of the state and made the effort to make the best use of it for the simple reason that for the time being, there was no choice at this juncture as the nationalist had almost surrendered. By now the N.N.O. had already merged with the Congress epitomizing the prospect of future electoral politics.

In this election, there were broadly three main political parties for the first time namely, the N.N.O., the U.D.F. and the National Convention of Nagaland (N.C.N). Altogether 239 candidates filed their nomination out of which 35 had withdrawn their candidature while one nomination was rejected. Thus the total number of candidates in the field was 203. out of which 50 candidates were set up by the U.D.F. Congress 38, National Convention of Nagaland 31 and Independents contested 75 seats. The Fourth State Assembly Election in Nagaland was considered the most peaceful in the history of Nagaland. There were no disturbances from any quarters, no quarrel, no riots and also no irregularities reported in this election. The business in all the polling stations was conducted peacefully and smoothly. Fortunately, the people of Nagaland relatively underwent going full swing in the national mainstream posing is no question of looking back to their troubles days of the past. The population of Nagaland according to 1971 Census was 5, 16,449. The total electorates of the entire State for the fourth election stood at 3, 98,035.<sup>25</sup> The increase in turn out of the voters can be viewed as due to the decrease of the interference of the Naga Movement in the post Shillong Accord and the enthusiasm of the public and leaders to play major role in developing and promoting peace. This time many Nagas felt that the state democratic process was the only means to develop their living standard. The result of the election stands as

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<sup>25</sup> Report on The Fourth General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1977, op.ciot., p.3 and 10.

<u>Name of the political party</u>	<u>Seat Contested</u>	<u>Elected</u>
Congress	38	15
United Democratic Front	50	35
National Convention of Nagaland	31	1
<u>Independents Candidates</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>9</u>
<b>Total Seats</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>

The U.D.F. Party under Vizol Angami formed the ministry and established its position in the state. Its success can be attributed mainly to the public sympathies after the premature end of its first ministry widely believed to have been the handiwork of the centre. The merging of N.N.O. with the Congress I and its new identity as a national party was also viewed with apprehension by the public that might affect their social life. Moreover Indira Gandhi declared the Emergency period which was not received well by the people and was considered it as authoritative which might have a negative impact in the future. Also the prospect of a regional political party representing the regional aspiration was given more weightage by the people. Another notable reason can be the overwhelming support of the underground Nagas who preferred the U.D.F which had sympathy towards the Naga movement. But despite its absolute majority, the U.D.F. collapsed mid-term owing to dissatisfaction of Mr. Jamir who was not satisfied with the post of the Deputy Chief Minister. When Mr. Jamir was expelled, he formed the U.D.F. (Progressive) Party. The negative political manipulation had affected the party to deliver its promises to the people. The expulsion of Jamir, in fact became the root cause of political instability in Nagaland paving the way for the growth of political confusion, short-lived government, politics of defection and personal rivalry among the political leaders.<sup>26</sup> On 29 March, with some understanding the Congress and the U.D.F. (Progressive) Party formed a coalition under the name of **United Legislative Party (U.L.P)**. However by now Naga politics took a series of dramatic political changes in

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<sup>26</sup> The Warrior, Vol. 8, No. 8, November 1977, published by the Directorate of Publicity, Govt. of Nagaland, Kohima, p.16-18. as cited in Singh Chandrika. Naga Politics (A Critical Account). Op. cit, p142.

quick succession where neither party's principle and ideologies nor party's disciplined remain effective. The U.L.P. after 48 days met with the same fate due to political defection and this paved the way for the U.D.F. to get its right share of forming the ministry for the third time. The U.L.P. later merged with Congress I.

The 1977 government met crisis with intense politicking due to defection and personality clashes. The year witnessed three ministries inter changing between parties and temporarily aligned parties. The syndrome of contemporary political instability was visible from then on. The active non interference of the Naga movement prompted the political leaders to become more selfish and self indulgent and subordinating the aspirations of the people.

#### **Fifth Assembly Election. 1982.**

#### **Beginning of Congress trend and polarization**

The Congress I Party by this time was a formidable political party in the state when the U.D.F. (Progressive) Party got saturated into it. The Congress I during this phase apparently laid the foundation which can preferably and most appropriately be call the "Congress Trend". This trend or phase started with the 1982 election though with a poor show in terms of seats in the beginning. During this period, the Congress I party had a strong influence on the state politics with its national characteristics getting slowly infused into the state politics. Apart from the money culture that took roots in this phase a prominent feature of the changed political equation that developed was the polarization between National political party and Regional political parties. The Congress I represented the Indian Nationalism and the Regional parties representing the regional sentiments and identity. In deeper sense ideological differences was also there. The Regional party stressed that only a regional party can understand the indigenous aspiration. On the other hand the Congress was in power at the centre which further

increased the image of the party's prospect in coming to power. In order, to appease and remove the misconception and apprehension of the people the Congress assured the people that it pledges to preserve and protect their tribal identity and way of life. The Congress I which was joined by the defectors from the U.D.F. due to personality clashes was also not spared. It created more problems of leadership crisis and accommodation of the new members into lucrative ministerial post in future within the party itself 'bargaining' became a feature. With personalities like Mr. S.C. Jamir, Mr. Hokishe Sema, Mr. R.C. Jamir and Mr. T.N. Ngullie contesting for party leadership, creating dissension within the whole party structure and the members. The centre was not ready to lose the election at the cost of personality clashes and defection hence it was ready to appropriate a high profile electioneering.

The **Naga National Democratic Party (N.N.D.P.)** was another chain of the United Democratic Front which have been undergoing constant reforming process but have retained more or less the same character and content. The N.N.D.P. on the other hand also felt the pressure of Congress (underdog) which was popularizing day by day besides; it has to maintain its position of status quo. It had to defend its position much like what Martin Harrop wrote "oppositions don't win election, government lose them".<sup>27</sup> In this election the interference of the underground was limited, as it did not call for any boycott of election or threat to candidates or voters unlike in the past. The Naga nationalist were slowly and successfully retaining back the will of the people since the Shillong Accord crisis, as such it had been the fact that no political party in the state could ignore the underground and its issues as it would mean alienating the people indirectly. Economic and developmental issues, peaceful settlement of Naga problems became the priorities of the political parties. The question of stability of the government also became a big concern for the Naga masses.

According to the 1981 Census the total population of 7 (seven) districts of Nagaland stood at 7, 74,930. the total electorate of the entire state for the fifth General

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<sup>27</sup> Harrop, Martin, *Elections and Voters*, Macmillan Education Ltd., London, 1987, p.230.

Election-1982 increased to 5,96,453.<sup>28</sup> The high percentage of voting turn out also indicates the tribal affiliation to certain political parties that will work accordingly to their advantage. The election took place on 10 November 1982, the Congress I and the N.N.D.P. polled almost the same votes securing 32.1% and 31.9% votes respectively. The outcome of the poll was

<u>Name of the political party</u>	<u>seats</u>
<b>Congress</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>NNDP</b>	<b>24</b>
<u><b>Independent Candidates</b></u>	<u><b>12</b></u>
<b>Total seats</b>	<b>60</b>

From the result of this election one can perceive that the electorates were not concerned about the polarization or the ideological differences between the Congress and the Regional party. What is pertinent here is the phase of electoral politics taking the trend of tribalism and the party leadership and locating it within the community interest. The same number of seats secured by both parties created the need for "horse trading" by both parties. As a rule the independent in such a situation have a say in determining which party could form the ministry through its bargaining power. In other words these Independent candidates have no obligation with any political party hence they are viewed as sitting on the fence and waiting to jump at any side that will work to their advantage. The Congress I with vast experience in this matter and money power as well as being in the central government finally succeeded to win over 11 from among them and formed the ministry with a strength of 35, under Mr. S.C. Jamir the new party chief. The personality clash did not arise as the central command directed Mr. Hokishe Sema not to contest the election and instead appointed him as the Governor of Himachal Pradesh.<sup>29</sup> Thereby the hostility of the two leaders which was viewed by many political observers causing instability if the Congress came to power in the State proved to be wrong. Going

<sup>28</sup> Report on the Assembly Election of 1964, 1969, 1974, 1977. Published by Chief Electoral Officer, Government of Nagaland. p.4.

<sup>29</sup> Mr. Hokishe Sema became the first Governor of another State from Nagaland.



back to the social history of the Nagas, village democracy were on the basis of tribe, clan or khels. The personality of a leader was important but nevertheless, at the end of the day the leader from the major tribes moved the political wheel. Therefore, most of the political leaders are either from the major tribes namely, Angami, Ao and Sema. Each wanted to outshine the other with their tribes. The Congress I influence within these tribes is predominant. The Congress unity, charismatic leadership of Mr. Jamir and the influence among the major tribes brought the Congress I back to power.

In March 1985, the Congress I ministry was rocked in March, 1985 when six of its ministers resigned in protest against the death of two students in police firing in Kohima the capital town of Nagaland. The students were protesting against the induction of a non local IPS Officer which was also objected by other members within the Assembly. This affected the Jamir ministry besides this, several members of the ruling party were charged with corruption. Sensing the shaky ground of the Congress I ministry of the state, the central party leaders directed a changeover where Mr. Sema credential was required to take over the Congress ministry, The second Congress I ministry of the term eventually completed the rest of the tenure.

### **The Sixth Assembly Election, 1987.**

#### **Clash of personality and shifting loyalties**

The political developments of this period reflected how the democratic process was misused by various political leaders to capture power besides, the entry of the Congress can be viewed as doing more harm to the state politics. Among many are the manipulation politics of the Congress I to stay in power by means, right or foul as is witnessed in other parts of India. Being a national party, it was in a comfortable position to follow its whim, but ultimately destroyed the fabric of a profile clean politics, through

the Congress I, the state could be said to have been keeping in step with the national politics that was also in shambles. The political developments in this period apart from revealing the state's political conditions also proved the fragility of constitutional law and provisions. The post of the governor was used by the party in power at the centre to serve its purpose in the state. It was ironical that what the same leaders who were trying in the past to show and draw the people of the state, into the Indian constitutional structure, then perceived as the only 'big brother' who could give future to the Nagas were now indulging in extra constitutional acts.

The congress I by now had much in stake as its position was ebbing away due to the crisis and dissensions within the party ranks. Following the crisis, the people were also apprehensive and suspected the Congress I party's loyalty to the regional wishes. The Congress I bowing to the direction of the central leaders have only proved the allegations of opposition leader Mr. Vamuzo. But the major issue of concern for the party is its intra-party dissension arising mainly due to leadership crisis. The party having accommodated many defectors over the years had done more harm than good as it created for itself the problem of adjusting its member in their proper positions. On the other hand the N.N.D.P. had capitalised on the Congress I crisis, though it has leadership tussle it was not as acute as its adversary. Another strong perceiving reason was that it does not have to depend on any higher authority to solve its problems besides this, most of its leaders hailed from the same region of the state giving due place for tolerances among them. Its main weakness is equally its inability to expand its support base.

The objectives of the political parties in the state during the election mainly revolve mainly around peace and development. There were no extreme ideological differences among the different political parties. However as the electoral politics germinates into maturity issues concerning the Nagas were not overlook. Firstly, the Assam Naga boundary dispute. Both the government disregards each other claims and took steps to lay their claims on the area. Despite high level meeting and consistent efforts to solve this issue peacefully, armed skirmishes broke out between the two states' police on March 14,187. This was followed by an agreement between the two

governments to maintain status quo. But seemingly conflicts and discontent arises frequently and this issue also crops up during election mainly due to the setting up of polling booths in the areas. it became highly politicized in Nagaland.<sup>30</sup> Secondly, the section of the undergrounds who refused and condemn the Shillong Accord were slowly resurging themselves along with other Northeast insurgents. The active and direct participation of insurgent group in the past was not very visible however the importance of the Naga issues continued to dominate the election process. Being the core of the Naga political process, no political party could ignore its importance as it will alienate the people and spoil its chances. Thirdly, bill seeking to dereserve one seat in the Assembly for the general was passed by the Parliament under the 58<sup>th</sup> Amendment Act amending Act 332. The Bills proposal in Parliament was vehemently opposed and voted against it by the Assembly.<sup>31</sup> Both these had taken place during the Congress I ministry and had therefore been blamed for its lack of interest on this matter. Spearheaded by the N.N.D.P., the Act was also opposed by many other non-governmental organization. The Act was violative of the 16-Point agreement of 1960 between the central government and the Nagaland's People Convention (N.P.C.) which stated that the Nagaland Assembly shall comprise representatives of the various tribes of the state only. As such it left many dissatisfied over the Congress I party's role.

In the sixth State Assembly Election the total electorate was 5,82,301. Altogether there were 214 candidates to contest the 60 Assembly Seats. There were altogether 1235 polling stations, an increase of 19 polling stations over the Parliamentary Election of 1984. Despite the difficult terrain and far-flung inaccessible area, elaborate and proper planning and arrangement were made for peaceful conduct of the election.<sup>32</sup> The day polling took place on the 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1987. There were 214 candidates contesting,

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<sup>30</sup>The Assam-Nagaland border dispute dates back to pre-independence period during the British forward policy in the aftermath of the 1857 Revolt. After which the Naga Hills district was formed by roughly demarcating in 1925 the boundary between Assam's Sibsagar and Nowgong districts and the Naga Hills. This had led to the loss of the Naga areas as claim by the Naga leaders. The formation of the state made this issue more acute.

<sup>31</sup>Report Sixth Assembly Election, 1987, Published by Chief Electoral Officer, Government of Nagaland.p.1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

the B.J.P. (*Bharatiya Janata Party*) contested the election for the first time with two candidates in the fray. Another regional party in the fray is the N.P.P. (Naga People's Party) with 32 candidates. It was formed in 1980 by Mr. Huska Sema, who sought to keep out of the 1980 merger of Vizol's UDF and Jasokie's N.N.ND.P. forming into N.N.D.P. and consequently its ministry. This party, however new, became a strong probability to divide the regional votes as well as a bargaining candidate. Overall state election result was

<u>Name of the Political Party</u>	<u>seats contested</u>	<u>Seats</u>
<b>Congress I</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>N.N.D.P.</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Independent Candidates</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>N.P.P.</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>BJP</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>NIL</b>
<b>Total Seats</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>

The victory of the Congress can be attributed to the presence of the two charismatic leaders of Mr. Jamir and Hokishe from the two major communities. As the political vote banks of Congress was very strong from these two communities and their regions. The electoral battle became a contest between the tribes rather than political parties, notwithstanding to which party the candidate belonged. This can also be observed from Weiner's justification that tribal, in a core reserved tribal constituencies do vote as a bloc.<sup>33</sup> The higher the tribal leader is placed in the party hierarchy the higher the prospect of that party from that community. The Congress I securing majority formed the ministry headed by Hokishe Sema, unlike the last election Where the Central Congress leadership manage to tackle the leadership crisis between Mr. Jamir and Mr. Sema, this time the Congress ills were far from over. Mr. S.C. Jamir emerged as the outstanding contender for the top post, though reportedly charged with misuse of funds, he was capable of

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<sup>33</sup> Weiner Myron, *Electoral Politics in Indian States, There Disadvantageed Sectors*, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1975, p.100.

keeping his members pacified and his popularity runs through the lower ranks. On the other hand Mr. Hokishe is an eminent politician and enjoys the confidence of the centre however his absence from state politics for more than a decade had restricted him from keeping in touch with the current development and the upcoming younger generation of party members.

As a result of this leadership crisis the chances of the Congress I ministry lasting for the full term was suspected. Prior to the 1987 elections, few newer arrangements and legislations took place. The Anti-Defection Bill, 1985 was passed by Rajiv Gandhi government. This has put the entire candidates on a cautious footing in regard to their election strategy. However, the legislators' gang up and manage to defect from one political party to another. The underlying dissatisfaction within the party soon revealed itself eight (8) months later after the swearing in of the ministry when 13 legislative members, cabinet ministers and a deputy speaker of the party resigned enbloc on 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1988, when the Chief Minister was abroad. They later found the Nagaland Regional Congress (NRC) and then finally merged with N.N.D.P. and formally stressed to form a new party called Nagaland People's Council (NPC) and form absolute majority with a view to form coalition ministry with Vamuzo as the leader.<sup>34</sup> But this could not materialize as the governor did not obliged.

Thereafter, the governor's role in the crisis led the state into a constitutional crisis and the President Rule was imposed. His refusal to allow the new party to prove its majority nor get its opinion for further action clearly proved his partisan role in favor of the Congress I which had appointed him. This was clearly a case of a governor toeing the line of the party in power at the centre which can also be termed as political governor. Within a week of the crisis, the President's Rule was imposed for the second time in the political history of the state and the Assembly was dissolved paving the way for a fresh election in the near future.

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<sup>34</sup> Pakem, B. Coalition Politics In North East India: op, cit. p.119.

## **The Seventh Assembly Election (1989)**

### **Horse trading and band wagon in Nagaland politics**

There was a brief spell of non political activities during the President's rule. The crisis which could have spelt another period of instability was snubbed at its roots. Though in political circles, the imposition meant sabotaging of a proper democratic process, in reality, it brought refuge from unstable governments. The President's rule created a conducive atmosphere for political parties of the state itself. The past political history of the state shows the continuous process of parties formation, split, realignments, re-grouping, dissensions, etc. this has checked the parties growth into maturity and firmness, hence the need had arrived for the parties to make a fresh start and cope with the growing situation and demands.

The total electorate in this election was 5, 82,426 as against 5, 82,301 in the Sixth Assembly Election. Altogether there were 144 candidates left in the field to contest 60 seats. There was almost a total polarization of political parties in the state which was considered as a positive sign for democratic process. Electioneering and elections were very actively canvassed and keenly contested between the Nagaland People's Council and the Indian National Congress.<sup>35</sup> Except for the 1984 election this was the lowest number among the elections while the 1982 election recorded the highest number at 245 so far. Polling took place on 21<sup>st</sup> January, 1989. It was recorded at 85.64%, a marginal increase over the 1987 but in stark improvement over the 1982 record. The final declaration of the election results was,

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<sup>35</sup> Report of The Sixth Assembly Election, 1989, Published by Chief Electoral Officer, Government of Nagaland. P.7.

<u>Name of the Party</u>	<u>Seat Contested</u>	<u>Elected</u>
Congress I	60	36
Nagaland People's Council	60	24
Nagaland People's Party	12	Nil
<u>Independent</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>Nil</u>
<b>Total Seats</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>

Mr. S.C.Jamir the leader of the Congress I formed the government. Here the result of the election was quite shaky for the government to be stable in a political environment of instability and defections. Likewise as assumed because of defections and/or split, the NPC was in a position to wrest power from the Congress (I) after one year. Thus, in May 1990, the NPC ministry was formed with Mr. K.L.Chishi as Chief Minister but could last barely a month in office. Chankija has rightly remarked that with the “help of the very same person against whom Mr. Chishi wasted a lot of lung power, he toppled the Jamir ministry and formed the government. Chishi Probably forgot that two can play at a game and Jamir played it brilliantly with Vamuzo in the state. So down goes Chishi and up comes Vamuzo... and with the generous help of Jamir, he pulled the Chief Ministerial Chair down from Chishi”.<sup>36</sup> The Congress I and the NPC had been bitter critics to each other, but in the 1990, when the opportunity arrived, the leaders of both the parties formed the government with the only objective to share political power. This was nothing but the marriage of convenience. Vamuzo was the twelfth Chief Minister of Nagaland within ten years. Mr. S.C. Jamir supported Vamuzo who was once a bitter political rival of Mr. Jamir only for personal gain.

Vamuzo defected from NPC and sided with the Congress I forming the coalition government and later expelled Mr. Jamir again with seventeen other members from his party. On the other hand, Vamuzo on a radio broadcast justifying his move said, “it is through a unique political experiment that the NPC and the Congress I have joined hands to provide a stable and efficient government. This government is not only expedient but

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<sup>36</sup> Monalisa Chankija, “Nagaland Politics With Hopes and Disgusts”, in the Northeast Sun, August, 1990, p26/XII.

also desirable in the larger interest of the state.”<sup>37</sup> Commenting on existing political scenario of the state caused by internal political rivalries, Mr. Vamuzo expressed the opinion that the rivalries “have raven apart our society to such an extent that even at the grass-root levels our people were sharply divided. It is in this conviction which has led to the birth of the Joint Legislature Party.”<sup>38</sup> It was during this time that there was an understanding among the various groups in the Assembly to form the joint legislator party which captured power in June 2, 1990 with Vamuzo as Chief Minister. The Vamuzo coalition government could continue in office till the General election to the State Assembly in 1993.<sup>39</sup>

Interestingly this election was marked by a change in its result which is in tune with its respective leader’s prospecting the political ladder indicating the practical reality of tribal affiliations. In 1987 when Hokishe replaced Mr. Jamir, as Congress I leader, the Zunheboto district to which the former belongs returned all the Congress I candidates, while Mokokchung result showed a dismal performance of the party. But the trends reversed in the 1989 election when Mr. Jamir replaced the former party leader. Mokokchung district returned all the Congress I candidates while the other Zunheboto district. The politics of revenge rather than development and the politics of tribalism further divided the Nagas. Another characteristic of the political parties in Nagaland was the absence of ideological differences which created more harm than good. As the Naga nationalist movement became less vocal unlike the post Statehood election the political parties whether regional or national began to indulge in money politics, tribalism, regionalism and such. Caste politics was absent as Nagaland is a state of 16 tribes however the politics of tribalism cannot be considered less evil as it became the order of every State Assembly election.

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<sup>37</sup> The Hill Express, op. cit June 26, 1990, p. 5. As cited in Singh Chandrika. Naga Politics ( Critical Account) op .cit. p157.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Pakem, B. 1999. Coalition Politics In North East India: op. cit. p.119.



The 1989 election results had a marginal difference with the 1987 election. During the 1987 Assembly Election the congress I, NPC, NPP, and Independent candidates got their share of seats. However in the 1989 election only the Congress I and NPC managed to get seats leaving no room for other political parties. Due to a short interval between, the trend has not altered much. The latter election has only made the 1989 verdict more acute and clearer. In the process, it has eliminated the weaker forces in the political arena, giving the people only two choices namely either the Congress I or the NPC. The chronic instability that has become a part of state politics could have compelled the electorates to give a clearer verdict and pave the way for stability and development. The 1989, party position in the Assembly provides an arrangement for a stable functioning of government.

## Chapter III

### Congress Stability, Intervention of NGOs and Coalition Politics

In this chapter we will be dealing with a case study of the last three state assembly elections i.e., 1993, 1998 and 2003. Horse Trading is not a new thing in Nagaland politics. It became acute and reached its climax by 1990; election reached the climax of defection where there were no foes or friends but only to capture power. Election became a marriage of convenience for various political parties. The vulgar play of unlawful activities during election and dirty tricks in forming the government became prominent feature of Naga politics' as the Naga politicians began to take more interest in political game. Eventually President's Rule was imposed in Nagaland in 1992, as the politics of defection was at its climax. Nothing could stop the dirty game of defection and horse trading in Nagaland at that period because personal rivalry and rancour had become very much intensified among the Naga politicians. They were playing the game of revenge and retaliation in forming and toppling the government. In the process they had become too blind to see the consequences of their game and its impact on the Naga people. Even the Anti-Defection Act could not prohibit them from maligning the clean politics of Nagaland.

The 1993 Assembly witnessed a stable Congress Government after a long time eventually; this put a brake on defections. It was during this phase that Congress solidified its position in the state. The 1998 election was unique in the sense that all the non Congress parties boycotted the election on the call of the NGOs and civil societies which comprises of the Naga Mothers' Association (NMA), The Naga Students' Federation (NSF) Naga Peoples' Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) and the Naga Hohos . This made way for the Congress to gain absolute majority. The Congress did not boycott as it has to abide by the Constitution. Nonetheless, the election was termed as undemocratic and unmandated. The 2003 election was significant, as the coalition politics was empirically tasted and the verdict of the people clearly indicated that coalition era has arrived in the state of Nagaland which replicates unity in diversity.

Where the multi interest of the people are represented through multi representation of various political parties.

### **Eight State Assembly Election.**

### **Stability of the Congress.**

Over the years, with each election, there has been a remarkable change in the political situation which in turn had influenced the elections. Each elections had therefore had acquired a unique characteristic shaped by the political atmosphere preceeding it. Elections in Nagaland till 1990s had been marked by regionalism, tribalism, defections and shifting of loyalties, and clash of personality. In the early 90s The Naga people have witnessed such vulgar dream several times. The politics of defection enhanced the value of independent MLAs. Legislative defections in India are the product of the various socio-political complexes under which the system operates and must be accepted as a hard sociological reality. The causes are historical, institutional and motivational and often a combination of all three.<sup>1</sup> The political parties either ruling or opposition left no stone unturned to win over the independent MLAs offering them money and ranks of their choice in the government. The party which had remained poles apart became fast friends overnight and forgets their all ill-wills against each other keeping aside their past differences.

For instance, the Congress I and the NPC had been bitter critics to each other, but in the 1990, when the opportunity arrived, the leaders of both the parties formed the government with the only objective to share political power. This was nothing but the marriage of convenience. Vamuzo was the twelfth Chief Minister of Nagaland within ten years. Mr. S.C. Jamir supported Vamuzo who was once a bitter political rival of Mr. Jamir only for personal gain. Vamuzo defected from NPC and sided with the Congress I forming the coalition government of JLP and later expelled Mr. Jamir again with seventeen other members from his party. On the other hand, Vamuzo tries to justify his

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<sup>1</sup> Subhash C. Kashyap, *The Politics of Defection: The Changing contours of the Political Structure in State Politics in India*. Asian Survey, Vol.10, No.3. ( Mar., 1970),pp.195-208

move saying that it is a unique political experiment that the NPC and the Congress I have joined hands to provide hands to the state a stable and efficient government for the larger interest of the public.

### **Campaign**

The Eight state Assembly Election took place due to the dissolution of the Assembly by the President of India on 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1992 and proclamation of the President's rule from 2nd April, 1992. Politics had gained ground in the state in total contrast to the reservation of the people towards it in the past and had become popularized in the 90s. Except the Indian National Congress (I) and BJP in Nagaland all political parties during the 1990s were regional. The political leaders from these various political parties were at one or the other had either been veteran supporters of the politics of insurgency or leaders of the underground Nagas. They talk a lot of public welfare of the Naga people and the solidarity of the Nagas, but in practice it has been observed that such leaders have least interest for the welfare of the common people.

In comparison to the earlier election, the campaign in this election was high keyed. After expiry of the President's Rule, in pursuance of Sub-Section (2) of Section 15 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 (43 of 1951), the Governor of Nagaland is hereby pleased as recommended by the Election Commission of India, issued notification on 12<sup>th</sup> January, 1993 to call upon all the Assembly Constituencies in the State of Nagaland to elect members in accordance with the provisions of the said Act and of the Rules and order made under.<sup>2</sup> By now the politicians were hungry and restless for power and were ready to devour it by any means or methods. The methods of campaigning were the same and tribalism and money power played prominent roles. As usual various leaders from outside the state were invited for the campaign. The election was more of a money politics which had overshadowed political issues. The various political parties

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<sup>2</sup> Report on the Eight General Election To The Nagaland Legislative Assembly 1993. Published by Chief Electoral Officer. P.2.

also brought out its priorities and objectives in the Indo-Naga political problem besides other agendas. The NPCC (I) reiterates their stand:

*The Congress (I) party is irrevocably committed to the open door policy of settling all outstanding problems through peaceful means and negotiations and it maintained that the underground Nagas are an inalienable part of the Naga society and they must have a say in settlement of the Naga political problem.*<sup>3</sup>

Besides, the Congress pledge to fulfill the following objectives, 1) The year 1993 shall be declared as the year of reconciliation and peace. 2) Priority shall be given to youth welfare. 3) To make Nagaland a self-reliant state and to generate employment opportunities, to revive agriculture and industries, boost tourism and education, to revive village and area council.<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that the manifestos of various political parties in the state reflects more or less the same as there are not much ideological differences.

### **Nagaland People's Council (NPC)**

The NPC formed a strong regional party in Nagaland state and its political stand on the issue is worth examining. The election manifesto of the NPC in 1993 reads:

*The NPC continue to give topmost priority to the search for lasting peace by means of a peaceful and amicable solution to the Naga political problem through the policy of reconciliation. In pursuit of this declared policy, the NPC shall continue to strive to bring together the various underground organizations to a common platform in order to set the stage ready for a negotiated political settlement with the government of India... towards this end, the NPC shall continue to urge upon the central leadership to lift the ban on NSCN so as to create confidence in them for a positive response to this genuine call for lasting peace.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Lest We Forget, NPCC (I), 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Nagaland Pradesh Congress I. Election Manifesto State Assembly Elections February 1993. Published by General Secretary (Incharged Publicity) All India Congress Committee (I), 24, Akbar Road, New Delhi.

<sup>5</sup> Manifesto of Nagaland People's Council, Eight General Election, 1993.

From the above statement one can decipher total peace only through an amicable solution of the Naga political problems and there is an urgent need to bring the entire Naga nationalist to a common platform. Nevertheless, urging the central government to lift the ban on NSCN. The NPC represents the regional interest of the Nagas.

### **Democratic Labour Party (DLP)**

Among the few political parties in Nagaland state, Democratic Labour Party is exceptionally nationalist in outlook and declaration. If there is any possibility of achieving the goal of the Nagas through peaceful means and to reorient the Naga society within the perceived Naga nationalist outlook, then certainly it is DLP which can carry through. Its main manifesto is to integrate all the contiguous Naga areas under one umbrella administration and to solve the Indo-Naga political problem through a peaceful resolution at the earliest.

### **Polling and results**

The Election took place in the month of February 1993. The revised number of electorates based on the 1991 census was 12, 15,573<sup>6</sup> compared to the 1964 census of 5,96,453. There were three main parties namely, Congress I, Naga People's Council (NPC) and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) besides some Independent candidate. The results of this election stand as;

<u>Name of the Party</u>	<u>Seat</u>
Congress I	35
Naga People's Council (N.P.C.)	17
Democratic Labour Party (D.L.P.)	1
<u>Independent</u>	<u>7</u>
<b>Total Seats</b>	<b>60</b>

<sup>6</sup> Report on the Eight General Elections To The Nagaland Legislative Assembly. Op. cit. P.2.

The Congress I Success can be judged from its high profile electioneering methods. The Congress I was also viewed by the public as the political party that can bring stability to the government in the state. Being in power in the center in 1993, it had all the resources, manpower, money and influence. Besides these veteran leaders like former Chief Minister K.L. Chishi and some other senior leaders won from Congress I ticket boosting the prestige of the party. The Congress party vote bank was also high from many of the major tribes and regions. The ability of Jamir to keep his party members intact and check defection had to an extent diffused instability. Hence, the Congress I with its catch all party and central support was viewed as a party that can run a stable government. Another reason was the weakness of the NPC as an opposition party. Mr. Vamuzo's credential of a regional political leader was questioned when he formed the J.L.P. besides, Mr. Jamir and Mr. Chishi had joined hands within the Congress I Party adding more woes to the leadership crisis within the opposition party. By this period the insurgency activities were minute and they did not intervene vigorously thereby, erasing the fear of the electorates. The Naga Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) which split from its parent body Naga National Council (NNC) was further divided into two factions. Both the factions were engaging in eliminating each other but fortunately it did not affect the election to an expected degree. During this political lull of the insurgency, the state of Nagaland witnessed relative peace and developments like opening of sugar and paper mills, construction of roads and promotion of transportation and tourism. The division within the insurgent groups had disappointed the common people and eventually many Naga leaders and electorates began to focus more on accumulating material gains and benefits. The Congress I managed to complete its full term and gave more values and principles to the state politics which earlier was almost virtually decaying.

## **Ninth State Assembly Election 1998.**

### **Intervention of Non-governmental organization in Naga Politics.**

After the successful full term of the Congress ministry in 1993, the Congress I was preparing to repeat its performance in 1998 state Assembly election. However, the intervention of the Naga Hoho<sup>7</sup> and the non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) in electoral politics of the state marked a unique trend which had never been witnessed in the political history of Nagaland. In the word of Pakem "the electoral process of 1998 that had taken place in Nagaland had no parallel in North-East India nor earlier been in Nagaland itself."<sup>8</sup> These bodies of NGOs and Hohos had been silent spectators of election in Nagaland from the beginning. But in the General election for composition of the Naga Legislative Assembly in 1998, which was scheduled to be held on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1998. When an entire management for fair election was done and all the political parties were preparing hard to face the electoral battle, the NGOs at this juncture NGOs made a call for the deferment of election in Nagaland under the banner of 'Nagas want solution, not election' and 'give peace a chance to bring about a lasting solution to the vexed Naga problem.' The Naga Hoho Summit also demanded deferment of the election in Nagaland until the Naga problem was solved forever. The resolution of the Naga Hoho Summit declared that "in the event of any political party or intending candidates file his or her nomination for the election, he or she will be considered and declared anti-Naga and he/she will be entirely responsible for any consequences."<sup>9</sup>

Consequently, upon such resolution all the non-Congress parties such as NPC, NDA except some Independent candidate boycotted the election. Meanwhile the effort was also applied to persuade the government of India to postpone the election schedule keeping in view the desire of the Naga people. Demonstration was also staged all over the state where thousands of people belonging to all tribes and all walks of life participated. The issue that the participating in the election of 1998 without solving the Naga problem

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<sup>7</sup> Hoho termed as a body of Naga organization from various Naga communities

<sup>8</sup> Pakem, B. 1999. *Coalition Politics In North East India*: op, cit. p.120.

<sup>9</sup> North=East Politics, Vol. 1, No.6, June-July, 1990, p, 2.



was undemocratic and unconstitutional, and it was raised with greater voice. However the government of India dishonoring the request of the NGOs asked the state government to take the election as per the schedule already declared. Thereupon, the Naga Baptist Church Council as one of the constituent unit of the NGOs directed the unit churches of Nagaland to observe as the 'White Flag Day' to show the solidarity with the NGOs, which was a total success.<sup>10</sup>

### **Manifesto of the Congress**

The Nagaland Congress I manifesto of 1998 contains the following objectives. 1) To bring Peace in Nagaland and a lasting solution to the Naga political issues. 2) Stable, efficient, accountable, transparent and progressive government. 3) Modernisation and consolidation of economic development of Nagaland towards self-reliance as we march into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. 4) Fulfillment of aspiration of the youth with priority on human resource development. 5) Intensification of welfare schemes for the weaker sections of society- the handicapped, the destitute, the aged and the poor. 6) Preservation, enrichment and promotion of the rich Naga heritage.<sup>11</sup> The manifestoes were not very different from the earlier elections of 1993 more or less a repetition of the same.

### **Polling and result**

Nagaland witnessed the 1998 election on 23 February. Interestingly, there was none to contest the election other than the Congress I candidates and a few independent candidates supported by the Congress party. It was first time in the political history of Nagaland that forty-three out of all sixty seats of the Assembly were uncontested. Even the independent candidates, too on the pressure exercised by the NGOs had withdrawn their nomination papers and other parties did not install any candidates to contest the election.<sup>12</sup> Contest was there but only for seventeen seats and that also between the Congress I candidates and those who were denied tickets by the congress I. unfortunately

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<sup>10</sup> Singh, Chandrika. *Naga Politics, A Critical Account*. Mittal Publication 2004. p 165.

<sup>11</sup> Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee. Election Manifesto of 1998 Elections.

<sup>12</sup> Singh, Chandrika. *Naga Politics, A Critical Account*. Op. cit. p.165

the three major political parties in the state, namely state Unit of BJP, NPC, and NDM did not participate because of the boy-cott call by the Naga Hohos and various NGOs.

<u>Name of the Party</u>	<u>Seat contested</u>	<u>Elected</u>
Congress I	(won uncontested)	43
Congress I	17	12
<u>Independent</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5</u>
<b>Total Seats</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>

The Indian National Congress (INC) contested all the 60 Seats, independent also filed their seats in only 17 Assembly seats, leaving 43 seats to be won by the INC as uncontested.<sup>13</sup> Out of the 17 seats 12 seats were again won by the Congress I and the Independent won 5 seats.<sup>14</sup> Ninety-nine per-cent voting was reported which wasn't correct. The forces that opposed the election hindered the process of electioneering. There were some cases of looting of the polling booths, two persons were killed and several cases of kidnapping were also reported. Mr. S.C. Jamir, the leader of the Congress I formed the government on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1998. The government was called as an 'unselected and unmandated'. Many people and leaders protested and file cases against the undemocratic spirit of election but all in vain. As the Commission defended its decision on the plea that the election was a must after completion of full term of the Legislative Assembly. The Election Commission while pleading its move to hold election in Nagaland in 1998, further argued that the parties that refrained from participation in the election could be derecognized.

The Ceasefire had already been declared by the NSCN (I-M) and the government of India in 1997 and the representatives of both the parties were coming close to solve the

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<sup>13</sup> Report On The Simultaneous Election, 1998 For 9<sup>TH</sup> General Elections To The Nagaland Legislative Assembly & 12<sup>TH</sup> General Elections To The Nagaland Parliamentary Constituency. Published By Chief Eectoral Officer, Nagaland Kohima.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

prolong Naga issue through negotiations. This had made the Naga people hopeful about coming of permanent peace in the state. That is why the people wanted solution first rather than election. The move of the NGOs and the Naga Hoho for the deferment of the election in 1998 was a sort of pressure tactics upon the government of India to solve the problem. But trump card was in the hands of the Congress I, which did not like a solution without its consent. Had the solution been found out, perhaps the party would have been ousted from the power. Moreover, another dominant faction of the underground, NSCN (K) was yet out of process of the ceasefire and peace talks. That is why Mr. Jamir expressed his view that no ceasefire or solution to the Naga problem would be effective and durable until opinion of all sections of people were taken into account.<sup>15</sup>

Any way, the move that was taken by the NGOs and the Naga Hoho in 1998 clearly indicates that the longing of the Naga people for permanent peace and solution of the Naga issue needs first priority. It was first time in the political history of Nagaland that all the political parties barring the Congress I joined hands together to boycott an election. The NGOs including the Naga Students Federation openly supported the resolution of the Naga Hoho for deferment of the election. It made the point clear that the Naga people want peace and prosperity, no doubt, but not at the cost of wars and bloodshed.

The resurrection of insurgency in the state had disrupted total peace in the state. At this juncture the double standard policy of the Indian government, which openly sided with the Nagaland Pradesh Congress leaders, added more fuel to the fire. It was the central government that helped the Congress candidates during election of 1998 despite the boycott given by the other political parties and the NGOs. What happened during the election of 1998 was a total mockery of democracy in Nagaland. According to the observation of Vikheho Swu, "Nagas refrained from causing their votes despite all security arrangements". Election was conducted no doubt, but it was the Congress I workers and polling officials who "manning the booths had a field-day proxy-voting or orchestrating proxies as a result of which votes were cast on behalf of people who

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<sup>15</sup>. Singh, Chandrka. *Naga Politics. A Critical Account*. Op. cit. p166

refrained from participation and were recorded even in the polling booths where voters turnout was nil".<sup>16</sup> Chankiza has rightly remarked that "The political dramas being staged currently in Nagaland is unfortunate, the reflection of the malignancy of the attitudes, values and trends of the Naga society."<sup>17</sup> Although criticism was bestowed upon Congress I, the party managed to complete its full term without much difficulty.

### **Tenth General Elections of Legislative Assembly 2003.**

#### **The Political trend of Coalition Politics**

The 2003, Election can be considered as a politics of disappointment against the Congress. The public people, Civil Societies, Naga Hoho's, besides other political leaders had requested the Congress party in the state to refrain from the election till a peaceful solution was arrived at. But the Congress having tasted power and stability for five years was not ready to shy away from it. Beside this the Congress I was a national party and it has to abide by the Constitution and sensing its advantage position it took part in the election of 1998. This enraged the other section of the people and non Congress political parties who were gearing up to teach a lesson to their adversaries. Another factor is the publishing of the booklet '**Bed Rock of Naga Society**' authored by the Chief Minister S:C. Jamir. The booklet talks about how the Nagas were living in a society of primitive, barbarian society and how the statehood had positively transformed the Nagas way of life. The booklet enraged the insurgent groups, politicians and many Nagas. Mr. Ric said the Booklet distorted Naga history and had negative impact on Naga society. No author either British or India written any book on Nagas has done so much damage.<sup>18</sup> He resigned from the Congress I party and form his own party (NPF). In this election no single party claim absolute party majority raising the prospect of a formal coalition more

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<sup>16</sup> Vikheho Swu, "Naga People's Experience with electoral and party politics", in Nagaland Post, August 23, 2000, p.5.

<sup>17</sup> Monalisa Chankiza, "Nagaland Politics with hopes and Disgusts, op. cit. p. 26/XII.

<sup>18</sup> Easter Mirror. Rio Trains Gun on Jamir, 'Bedrock'. Jan. 28

firm. The so called popular 'waves' triggered by emotive state issues was apparent this time. There no clear mandate for a person or party. The fragmentation of the votes aroused speculation about the viability of a coalition government arrangement in a state accustomed to governing parties with strong Congress trend and a strong regional political party.

The most attractive feature of this election was the participation of five political parties from outside namely the BJP, JD (U), RLD, Samata Party and the Nationalist Congress Party. While three political parties participated from within the state, namely, Naga People's Front (NPF), the Nationalist Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Nationalist Democratic Party (NDP). Besides them some independent candidates also filled the nomination papers to try their luck, the NPF considered the old party of Nagaland which was an offshoot of the earlier National Naga Democratic Party got a new nomenclature, just a little before the election. The NDM is also a new political party which appeared before the election under the leadership of Mr. K.L. Chishi. There were also other political parties which we can termed it as letter head parties as these parties do not contest in the election but gives their Party publicity.

### **Campaign and Conduct of Election**

In comparison to the 1998 election where the non-Congress political parties did not contested, the 2003 election campaign was full of political activities. The non Congress had decided to form an alliance to defeat the Congress, the role of money, door to door campaign, holding of rallies, tribalism, projecting of the leader besides others. To woo the voters the leaders of different political parties came ahead with a number of promises to the Naga electorates. The leaders of Indian political parties also took the troubles to visit Nagaland and address the public meetings at different places including the remote areas. The use of muscle and money power and capturing of polling booths has become a common feature in India during the election period. Nagaland is not exception. Election is a contest for power. Almost all political parties and their candidates apply dishonest means to obtain success. In the tenth general election in Nagaland for composition of the legislative Assembly the political parties including the independent

candidates did not remain behind in using unfair means according to their capacity. Both the underground factions NSCN (I-M) and NSCN (K) have publicly announced that they would intervene the election influencing the electioneering process by using their forces. This is evident from the communication of the Election Commission to the Nagaland Chief Secretary after receiving a number of complains against the underground sections regarding their interference in the elections. The Election Commission from Delhi wrote to the Chief Secretary, "The Commission is in receipt of reports stating that the ambience generated by the Ceasefire agreement in the state is being misutilised by the NSCN (I-M) and NSCN (K) in the state."<sup>19</sup> Asserting that the Commission was naturally watching this unwelcome situation closely. Asking the state government of Nagaland to treat the Commission's directive with "outmost seriousness" is said, "exemplary and deterrent action has to be taken from any quarter that tends to vitiate the free and fair character of the elections."<sup>20</sup> Despite the vigilance and awareness of the government these forces worked to help the candidates of their choice wherever they got opportunity.<sup>21</sup>

Violence was reported from different places during the election. There were all together 1583 polling stations where electronic machines were introduced for the first time. The open play of money and muscle power badly influenced the free and fair play of the elections. Incidents such as snatching of voting slips were reported in several polling booths in Dimapur and Wokha district while large scale proxy voting and booth capturing were reported from different districts such as Kohima and Mokokchung.<sup>22</sup> Five persons lost their life while three got injuries. Twenty polling stations spreading across six Assemblies went for repolling on genuine cause. There was also report that five electronic voting machines were broken at Lakhuti village under 39 Sansi Assembly Constituency. A number of complains were received from different polling parties about capturing of polling booths and proxy voting.<sup>23</sup> First killing took place at Kohima town at 4.30 PM on 26<sup>th</sup> February 2003 when the exchange of firing took place between the cadre

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<sup>19</sup> . Eastern Mirror, Vol.1 No. 194, February 22, 2003.

<sup>20</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Singh, Chandrika. *Naga Politics. A Critical Account*. Op. cit. p.213.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Nagaland Post, March 3, 2003.

of the NSCN (I-M) and the police personnel while raiding house by the Naga police. One-armed cadre of the NSCN (I-M) was killed and one AK 47 rifle, one 9mm pistol and two country made revolvers were also recovered from the place where the incident occurred. 2 other killings took place in Mokokchung district during a clash between supporters of the rival groups. Two women were reportedly killed in Pughoboto near the office of the Additional Deputy Commissioner, Zhunheboto when police resorted to blank firing to disperse an unruly mob that attempted to prevent polling party returning from Lazami for depositing the electronic voting machines in the office of the ADC<sup>24</sup>

It was also reported that one EVM was destroyed at Tuensang Sadar I and two other in two polling station at Chazuba. In Phek district also four EVMs were destroyed in Kikruma village and one in Lekrumi village. The situation remained the worse in the district of Tuensang under 60 Assembly Constituency Pungro-Kiphire, the "Miscreant completely gutted the office of the ADC APPP (Judicial) Election office, counting hall, GBs court, Assistant Commandant VG office computer office and CIC office early this morning leading to complete breakdown of law and order situation."<sup>25</sup> The crux of the problem was a quarreling among the counting agents for lack of some essential documents along with the Electronic Machines. It is said that the angry mob put the aforesaid offices on fire throwing out law and order. As a result the counting was again postponed.

The Nationalist Democratic Movement (NDM) described the overall election scenario within Ahthibung circle polling stations under 6 Tening Constituency as "gross and total violation of the established law and justice."<sup>26</sup> A press released issued by the party secretary alleged that three insurgent groups NSCN (I-M), Kuki Revolutionary

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<sup>24</sup> Nagaland Post, February 27, 2003.

<sup>25</sup> Nagaland Post, March 3, 2003.

<sup>26</sup> Nagaland Post, March 2, 2003.

Army and NSCN (K) all played their cards in favoring one party or the other. According to the release the NSCN (I-M) threatened the electorate not to vote for the Congress.<sup>27</sup>

Thus it is very much obvious that the tenth general election in Nagaland for the composition of the Naga Legislative Assembly cannot be described as peaceful and fair election. Even the underground section despite their announcement not to interfere elections, were found directly or indirectly indulging in poll affairs<sup>28</sup>. According to the editorial of the Nagaland Post (February 27, 2003) "elections have once again proved that along with money and muscle or gun power, other elements such as inter-village feud, communal inter-tribal prejudices and rebellious spirit, has turned the democratic process into a farcical exercise." Regarding the growing higher percentage of poll the editorial further remarked that "such high voters turn out is mainly due to the booth capturing or voter impersonation in which the party claims to be clean in this regard..... It is shameful that all the appeals made during the nice sounding manifestoes of various political parties end up in the dustbin while monarchy rules during election. No manifesto or poll pledge is worth even listen to unless the political parties make a commitment to curb the menace of money, gunda or gun power."<sup>29</sup> Another reason for the large polling vote can be argued that the Nagas by nature were democratic people from the past village system.

#### **Declaration of results**

Repolling was declared at several polling stations due to unlawful incidents, which occurred there on the day of the polling. However, the elections were completed and the results that came out were surprising because the people's verdict went against the ruling party viz., the Congress I. after twenty one years the Nagaland Legislative Assembly witnessed a hung Assembly as no party could secure clear majority. Out of nearly twelve lakhs voters the total percentage of the votes was 80%.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Singh, Chandrika. *Naga Politic. A Critical Account*. Op. cit. p 202.

<sup>29</sup> Nagaland Post, February, 24, 2003.



There were a total of 225 candidates contesting in the election. The strength of various political candidates contesting the election are as follows. The INC-60, BJP-38, NCP-7, JD(U)-13, Samata party-4, Rashtriya Lok Dal-3, All India Trinamool Congress-2, NPF-54, Nationalist Democratic Movement-25, Nagaland Democratic Party-2, Independent-17.<sup>30</sup> The results of the tenth general election of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly are unique in several aspects. Firstly, Congress (I) party was made to eat humble pie, securing only 21 seats out of the total sixty seats of the Assembly. In the ninth general elections held in 1998 the party had won not less than 53 seats, due to the boycott of the elections by the other political parties on the call of the NGOs and the Naga Hoho. The government of S.C. Jamir was termed as 'unmandated' and 'unelected'. The Congress in the tenth general election got major setback. The number of the seats secured by the political parties, which participated in the tenth general elections, is mentioned below:

<u>Name of the Party</u>	<u>Seat Contested</u>	<u>Elected</u>
<b>Indian National Congress I (INC)</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Naga People's Front (NPF)</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Bharatiya Janata Dal (BJP)</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Nationalist Democratic Movement (NDM)</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Janata Dal (U) JD (U)</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Samata Party (SAP)</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Independents (IND)</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Naga Democratic Party (NDP)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>NIL</b>
<b>Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD)</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>NIL</b>
<b>Trinamool Congress (TC)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>NIL</b>
<b>Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>NIL</b>
<b>Total Seats</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>

<sup>30</sup> Report On The General Elections To 10<sup>th</sup> Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 2003. Government of Nagaland, Election Department. Published by Chief Electoral Officer.

The BJP manage to secure 7 seats which many political consider it as ironical in a strong Christian state. Such victory made the BJP leaders from Nagaland to Delhi proud of their performance and it also enabled them to state that BJP is not a pro-Hindu political party. Avinash said," the allegation against the BJP that it serves Hindutva is wrong. It only proves our point in states which are predominantly Christian." H.S. Rotokha said that "Vajpayee is the kind of man who can resolve a problem."<sup>31</sup> Some of the BJP's members in Nagaland expressed the view that the Naga voters wanted lift from BJP at the centre by ousting 'corrupt Congress men.' Nagaland BJP General Secretary Ato Yepthong, boasting of the role of the BJP in peace process in Nagaland with underground section said," for 50 years the Congress failed to find any solution to the Naga problem. The ongoing peace process is the outcome of sincere efforts by our leaders like Vajpayee and L.K. Advani. To continue this process we need to have a government in Nagaland that favors peace talks.<sup>32</sup> After victory of the BJP, Mr. Hokishe Sema, the most prominent BJP leader in Nagaland expressed the view that" we want to bring back peace in our state to ensure that our party will act as a bridge between the centre and the militants."<sup>33</sup> But from our understanding, one can view that the BJP in Nagaland is just an opportunist party as it lacks strong ideological background in the state. Besides many of the BJP winning candidates were those who were denied party tickets from the Congress and the NPF, another reason was that some veteran political leaders like Hokishe Sema the former Chief Minister became the President of state BJP Unit boosting the party. The NDA (National Democratic Alliance) was in power in the Centre government ready to resource and increase the party's prospect in the state. (The prospect of the Congress I in the 80s' in Nagaland was strong when the Congress was in power at the centre).

Other NDA allies like the JD (U) and SP which are all national political parties, for the first time ensured their safety in Nagaland by securing some seats in the Nagaland Legislative assembly. It is also notable that the NDM had secured altogether five seats but after declaration of the results and before formation of the government left their parent party and joined the NPF raising the number of seats of the NPF from 19 to 21.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Nagaland Post, February, 24, 2003.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Stating the cause of its victory in the tenth general election, the party's coordinator of the state. The leader of the Samata party also boasted of the role of I.K. Gujral, the chief leader of the party and the previous Prime Minister of India who had taken initiative to proceed the peace process in Nagaland. However, Mr. S.C. Jamir while explaining the process of peace in Nagaland said, " it was Congress Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao who set the ball rolling in the mid 1990s by meeting the two NSCN (I-M) leaders abroad. Subsequently our government in Nagaland did everything possible to facilitate the peace process including steps like withdrawal of police cases against the two NSCN (I-M) leaders."<sup>34</sup> It is hence not surprising that the various leaders from various political parties were projecting their national leaders and taking the credit for the party performance which was very unlikely 3 decades back.

The notable feature of the tenth general elections of the state is that the decade-rule of the Congress came to an end paving the way for the opposition parties to come in power. The NPF, though lacked the clear majority, it reached to the crown by formulating coalition with other like minded political parties and independent candidates. Several of important Congress leaders lost their seats including the speaker, Mr. Lohe. It indicates that the Congress in fact, lost the majority support of the Naga voters. Two of the women candidates also lose to the contest. Many Congress political heavyweights lost the election. There were also other political parties that contested in few seats but lost, this party one can consider it as letter heads party which appears in Medias with publicity but had no seat account in the state.<sup>35</sup>

### **Formation of the DAN Government.**

Mr. Neiphiu Angami, the leader of the NPF form the ministry under the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN). He was sworn in at Raj Bhavan on 6<sup>th</sup> March 2003 bringing to an end the decade old Congress regime in Nagaland. Governor Shaymal

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Singh, Chandrika. *Naga Politics. A Critical Account.* Op. cit. p. 205

Datta administered the oath of office and secrecy to Rio and other Ministers at a simple function.<sup>36</sup> The ministry, which has the support of 38 member in the 60 member-house, comprised of all the DAN constituents-NPF, BJP, NDM, JD(U) and the Samata party including four independent members. The ministry of Mr. Rio comprises of 22 ministers of Cabinet rank and 6 ministers of states. Of the cabinet ministers 10 are from NPF, 3 from BJP, 2 each from JD (U) and NDM and four independents. Out of six Ministers of state three are from NPF, one each from NDM, BJP and JD (u). Seven of the ministers are first times<sup>37</sup>. In order to get a clear picture about the Coalition government, the following chart presents a clear view of the DAN Council of Ministers:

**Cabinet Ministers:**

1. Shri Neiphiu Rio	NPF (Chief Minister)
2. Shri Noke	NPF
3. Dr. Surhozellie	NPF
4. Shri H. Khekiho Zhimomi	NPF
5. Shri Kewekhapse Therie	NPF
6. Shri Z. Obed	NPF
7. Shri Thenucho	NPF
8. Dr. T.M. Lotha	NPF
9. Shri Huska	JD(U)
10. Shri E.T. Ezung	NPF
11. Shri Deo Nukhu	JD(U)
12. Shri Tiameren	BJP
13. Shri N. Yeabonphong	NPF
14. Shri Chenlom Phom	JD(U)
15. Shri Kihoto Hollohon	NDM (joined NPF later)
16. Shri Nyeiwang Konyak	NPF
17. Shri A. Lakuimong	BJP
18. Shri Nkhao Lotha	NPF

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

19. Shri P. Longon	NPF
20. Shri Kutovi	IND
21. Shri Imkong Imchen	IND
22. Shri P.Chuba	IND
23. Shri Jongsilemba	IND

#### **Ministers of State**

1. Shri Kheto	NPF
2. Shri Heweto	NPF
3. Shri M.C. Konyak	BJP
4. Shri Vatsu Meru	NPF
5. Shri R Khing	JD(U)
6. Shri Kiphili Sangtam	NDM (later joined NPF)

Out of altogether 38 members 29 were included in the Council of Minister including the Chief Minister. Such distribution of ranks clearly indicates that most of the members were interested in ministership and the coalition had to satisfy them. Such thing is not new in Nagaland. In previous formation of the ministry its size had been larger only because most of the Naga politicians are interested in ministerial ranks. If their choice is not satisfied, there is a risk of breaking up of the ministry. Interestingly, four Independents candidates were inducted as Ministers. This Independent and individual party defectors who are either local notables with ties only to their supporters in the constituencies or are men of little or no influence and stature, who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by offering their votes in a closely balanced legislature in exchange for a minor portfolio in government.<sup>38</sup> For such men the stakes of political bargaining have also risen. Mr. Rio after becoming the Chief Minister did not rule out further expansion of his ministry "as and when required." It means the new Chief Minister had to grapple with the prospect of having 11 legislators to make his ministry stable and avoid defection, which has been rampant in the history of the Naga politics.

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<sup>38</sup> Paul R. Brass. "Coalition Politics in North India". *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 62, No.4. (Dec., 1968) pp. 1174-1191.

The Chief Minister ministry clearly indicates that he did all under the pressure of the leaders of different political parties. He said the expansion was made keeping in view the resentment of various members of the alliance. If they all were not accommodated in the ministry, Rio would have to placate the left-behinds by appointing them as chairman of various state government corporations. Passing remark on the formation of the jumbo size Rio's ministry<sup>39</sup>, the editorial of the Nagaland Post wrote, "The current formation of the new Government by the coalition of DAN with independents and major chunk of the DAN has only proved that the word minister does not mean to serve but to be served."<sup>40</sup> The editor is very much near to the truth, as most of the leaders are opportunist or individualist and the absence of a clear ideology had further added more desire.

After taking oath the new Chief Minister, Mr. Rio said "the people had voted for change and we respected their verdict to promise that peace would be brought back in Nagaland through a negotiated political settlement."<sup>41</sup> Mr. Rio, has a reputation as a master of compromise, a skill that served him well in putting together the fractious party. Rio wants a settlement acceptable to all sections of the people. He assured the people to unite all NGOs, Naga Hoho, Naga Mother Association and the Naga Student's Federation for greater and united voice of the Naga people. Talking to the newsperson Mr. Rio, before becoming the Chief Minister said that the decade long Naga political issue would be the top priority of the DAN. He further said that an honorable solution to the Naga Political problem besides rebuilding the state on the socio-economic front would be high on DAN's agenda. That is why he hinted for formation of a political Affairs Committee to monitor and bring unity among the undergrounds and overgrounds.<sup>42</sup>

During the election both the Congress I and the alliance of the DAN had given much preference to the solution of the Naga problem. In fact, the peaceful solution of the

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<sup>39</sup> Singh Chandrika, Naga Politics, A Critical Account, op. cit. p205.

<sup>40</sup> . Nagaland Post, March 7, 2003.

<sup>41</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> . Ibid.

Naga problem through negotiation that is going on remained the central issue to attract the voters. The Congress claimed that it were their leaders who had taken the initiative to start the negotiation with the underground leaders while the BJP along with the JI (U) and the Samata also claimed that it were their leaders who played vital role in giving push to the process and persuaded the leaders of the NSCN (I-M) to have dialogue at New Delhi. The burning issue of the state has been how to settle peace in Nagaland and solve the prolonged Naga issue. The leaders of the NSCN (I-M) have remained far away from the Congress leaders while their inclinations have been towards the leaders of the NPF and recently towards the BJP. That is why the leaders of the NSCM (I-M) directly Or indirectly favored the victory of the NPF candidates during the tenth general elections. On the other hand, the leaders of the NSCN (K) have been sympathetic to the Congress under the leadership of S.C. Jamir. During the election both the groups played their roles to assist parties of their favour, which raised several controversial issues latter on S.C. Jamir the leader of the Congress I attributed the set back to interference in the election by the NSCN(I-M) while the leaders of the NPF blamed the NSCN(K) for its interference in the election<sup>43</sup>. Nagaland Congress Vice President, Khriedi Theunuo, alleging the NSCN (I-M) cadres are abducting, harassing and intimidating our supporters."<sup>44</sup> Mr. Jamir accepted the defeat disappointedly, no doubt, but he considered the electioneering as "abnormal situation because all our party candidates in their strongholds were targeted by armed cadres." According to him the security forces which were there, they were to show their presence."<sup>45</sup>

Mr. Rio is the Chief Minister no doubt, but he is heading a coalition government which is the newly floated Democratic Alliance of Nagaland, a conglomeration of various national and regional political parties who have joined their hands together. He needs special strategy and charisma to keep the coalition intact. We can understand that most of the allies had certain objectives in forming the coalition ministry. One factor is to oust the Congress I from power and second factor is to serve their interests. The editorial of Nagaland Post, March 11, 2003, has rightly remarked that "the fact there are 33

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<sup>43</sup> Singh, Chandrika. *Naga Politics. A Critical Account*. Op. cit. p. 211.

<sup>44</sup> Nagaland Post, March 2, 2003

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

ministers comprising 29 cabinet and four minister of state, reveal that each alliance partner and their respective leaders are naming their prices which has to be borne in a coalition politics." People are expecting a lot from the new government. The Naga Hoho while welcoming the new government and congratulating its members expects from them to work towards peace and solution to the Naga question with the government of India and "neighbouring states to rebuild the scattered Naga family under one administrative unit."<sup>46</sup> The underground section is not ready at all to come to the point of unity rather they continue to level allegations against one another. Moreover, the state of Nagaland is indulged in mass corruption from top to bottom. The state has not settled nicely on the ground of development people are still in the grip of poverty and scarcity. There is uneven distribution of benefits of the plans and schemes with the result that the society has been divided into two divisions- the rich and the poor. To bring those Nagas who are settled in other states like Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh is another serious problem. It is a Herculean task to settle such issue for both the central government and the state government.<sup>47</sup> Until there is peace there cannot be development and without development peace is a far cry. One can only wish that the coalition government gets enough wisdom and courage to lead the state into an era of peace, progress and prosperity.

Thus in the 52-year history of electoral politics in Nagaland there were 13 governments including four clear cut cases of coalition ministries of the UDF coalition in 1974 under Vizol, the NNDP coalition in 1977 under J.B.Jasokie, the JLP coalition in 1990 under Vamuzo and the DAN coalition under Neiphiu in 2003. In between there were also the President's Rule which are viewed with suspicion of political designs. Significantly the element of coalition politics in Nagaland could be traced right from the time of the Interim Body of 1960 which was based more on the consideration of communities rather than on a coalition of political parties.

Another landmark in Nagaland coalition politics was in the First General Election of 1964 when there was an intra-party coalition in the ruling NNO of P.Shilu Ao and of

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<sup>46</sup> Nagaland Post, March 4, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> Singh, Chandrika. Naga Politics. *A Critical Account*. op.cit. p. 214.



T.N. Angami. Here again if we go deeper into this intra-party coalition in the NNO, it was based mainly on community consideration rather than on coalition politics per se. even the UDF coalition ministry of 1974 was in fact the fusion of the two intra-party coalition of the UFN and the breakaway legislators. Another intraparty coalition was the fusion of the breakaway NNP and the breakaway UDF to form the NNDP. In the words of Pakem "inspite of these developments in the field of coalition politics in Nagalands we may still say that by and large the trend in Nagaland is towards developing a two party system right from the beginning"<sup>48</sup> Nagaland elections had always presented a strong national political party (Congress. I) and a strong regional political party. But today the political scenario are changing, the electorates are becoming more matured taking active participation in the Democratic set-up. Nagaland Elections are determined by various factors like tribalism, regionalism, clannism, money politics, personality clash and shifting of loyalties, insurgency, political manipulation and opportunism.

Weiner points out that, 'voters, as individual or as a member of groups simultaneously have attachment to parties, kin groups, factions, caste (tribe) and individual leaders and... rather than be burdened by traditional attachments. The individual has many loyalties to choose from. Under These circumstances it is very difficult for a party or community leaders to simply herd their voices to the poll.'<sup>49</sup> This remark is equivalent even in Naga politics today. The onset of coalition in Nagaland is an important aspect of the paradigmatic shifts in the state political system .the immediate political context is the decline of the strong political parties i.e., Congress and regional party head to head in every election reflecting more of a bi-party system has given way to numerous other political parties in the state. No party will find it easy to win a working majority of its own to govern the state. Coalition politics provides wider platform to accommodate all this interest which had intensified ever since the coming of election in Nagaland.

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<sup>48</sup> Paker, B. 1999. Coalition Politics In North East India: op, cit. p.121.

<sup>49</sup> Donald E. Smith. Indian Voting Behaviour: Studies of the 1962 General Elections by Myron Weiner: Rajini Kothari as cited in Review Work (s). Journal of the American Oriental Society, Voil.87, No.2 (April-June., 1967), pp.208-209.

## Chapter IV

### Dynamics of Parallel Government in Nagaland

*"We have our Constitution and our government. We act by that. Our problem is not the law and order question of India. We also levy taxes because we are the only authentic authority of the country."*<sup>1</sup>

"Overtly and covertly, the course of Nagaland state politics is being determined by the ebb and flow of Naga national movement. It is in this context that the NSCN becomes an important factor in Nagaland state politics."<sup>2</sup> Hitherto, the study of Nagaland politics is incomplete without dealing the Naga movement. A historical political problem which had taken more than 60 years appears to camouflage its frequency to keep its movement alive and burning. The 16th Point Agreement resulted in the creation of Nagaland state. This marked the bifurcation of Naga political aspiration into two directions. On one hand, those who ascribed to the idea of statehood within the Indian Union followed the political trend of the rest of India and came to view politics not in its sense of shaping the destiny of the people, but saw no further than the elections, power and money. On the other hand a large section of Nagas kept alive their quest for a sovereign nation state<sup>3</sup> while equally taking part in the democratic process.

This chapter will be dealing with the dynamics of the state machinery and the Naga Nationalist (insurgents).<sup>4</sup> The velocity and mass escalating the response of the underground, middleground and over ground will also be dealt with briefly. Finally,

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<sup>1</sup>Muivah, Th., "A Rejoinder to the Indian Propaganda Stunt Submitted to the General Secretary, UNPO, The Hague, Oking, June 6, 1994 p.11. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S., Let Freedom Ring, Story of Naga Nationalism, published by Romilla & Co., Publishers, 2005. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup>Atai Shimray A.S., Let Freedom Ring, Story of Naga Nationalism. Op. cit. p.219

<sup>3</sup>Dr. Sanyu Visier. What Nagaland State Did to The Nagas: A Historical Perspective, Cited from 'Nagaland' (A Contemporary Ethnography) Edited by: Mitra Subhadra Channa, Cosmo Publication. New Delhi. 1992. p.269.

<sup>4</sup>Nagaland State Human Development Report, October 2004, by Department and Coordination. Government of Nagaland.

<sup>4</sup>The terminology of words denoting the Naga movement (nationalist) would be used interchangeably depending on the subjectivity.

the question of whether there is a parallel government or dilemma of parallel government will be left open for further research.

The mission of the Shillong Accord on 11 November 1975 failed to bring all the underground into the negotiating table apparently many of the nationalist had surrendered and eventually the expectation in both the government camps (Indian and Nagaland Government) that insurgency was over, ended in a lull. Mr. Phizo, the President of the NNC who was in exile in London failed to condemn the Accord strongly. However, Isak Swu, the Vice President and Thuinglang Muivah, the General Secretary of the NNC condemned the Shillong Accord and denounced it outright as a complete sell-out of the Nagas right to self-determination.<sup>5</sup> Isak and Muivah though dissatisfied and disappointed nevertheless lost their zeal and enthusiasm was determined to fight for the Naga cause and took the Shillong Accord as a trick of the government of India to strangle the Naga freedom struggle. That is why Isak and Muivah decided to abandon the old organization, the NNC, and give birth to a new one to be called as the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). It also established the Government of People's Republic of Nagaland (GPRN) replacing the old Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) "Mr. Isak and Mr. Muivah were alive to the fact that the trend of elected Nagaland Government was towards establishment of a capitalist society under the guise of socialism, which was borrowed in Nagaland from Indian political system. They also viewed that such trend had been badly undermining the established traditional Naga social cultural and economic system.

Hence been influenced by the political philosophy of Marx, Lenin and Mao-Ze-Dang, They thought to give Naga society a socialist base based on teaching of Jesus Christ. Muivah had lived in China from 1966 to 1971 and was much influenced by the Chinese Revolution and also the Philosophies of Mao, he said "West would only give us assurance, just to ensure that the Nagas did not go over the Chinese totally."<sup>6</sup> thus it is obvious that Muivah was impressed by the Chinese leaders, gave birth to the NSCN with a view to not only achieving Naga's independence but also to constitute socialist Naga society based on the Chinese line, but here, further analysis

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<sup>5</sup> Naga Students Federation, *The Naga Problem: An Account*, New Delhi, 1995, p.14.

<sup>6</sup> Region, June 19, 1998, p.4. as cited in Singh, Chandrika. *Naga Politics (A Critical Account)*. Mittal Publication. 2004. P. 177.

is the dichotomy of the Naga society must be committed to the principles of Jesus Christ. The Accord was vehemently condemn, yet it did not weaken the Naga Movement paradoxically it germinated into a more organized movement that began to shape the socio-economic and political aspects of the Naga society causing great concern to the law and order and destabilizing peace. The Naga movement issues became a paramount agenda in Nagaland political system.

### **The N.N.C. Naga National Council**

. Naga political history can be said to have begin from 1918 when the first Naga Organization Naga Club was formed. Since then many tribal councils and organization were formed culminating in the NNC under which the Naga Nationalist Movement for independence grew under Phizo Angami. In the mid Fifties, the deteriorating condition between it and the army compelled a section of NNC moderates to oppose the NNC's extremist method of functioning. As a result this new section organized separate conventions to discuss issues and to settle the problem peacefully, between 1957-1959. Out of this convention, a resolution was drafted for statehood which was accepted and approved by the Parliament between 1960-62. The state was finally formed in 1963. Meanwhile, the NNC was retained by the Extremists when the moderates drifted away from the NNC. The Extremists, soon after the departure of the moderates, went underground and formed its various wings such as NFG and NFA. Since then, there has been two parallel politics and political organization in the state. These two are often in conflict with each other because of the opposite direction both had taken. But at the same time both had very often influence the other. Over the years, both have undergone change and development. In spite of the many long years of existence, the movement of the Naga have not died mainly due to the support of the people in spite of the fact that the state structure has already been existing. As such the case was that the people could not participate in either of them fully or effectively. This hampered the growth of state democracy.

## **Division in the NSCN.**

A common tendency of the Naga Politics either of the over ground or underground has been the disunity or division in the political organization due to personality clashes (ego) or inclination towards tribalism. During the period of first ceasefire (1967) considerable amount of efforts were invested to concede peace, but it failed causing a great setback on the part of the underground organization. This had resulted in inner fighting and eventually dividing and weakening the organization. This precipitates the Indian government to control the situation and ultimately signing of the Shillong Accord in 1975. Muivah, Khaplang and Isak were disappointed with the Shillong Accord which had sold way the rights of the Nagas. The trios break away from the N.N.C. and form their own organization, christen Naga Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). They once more revived the Naga freedom movement, no doubt, but the NSCN could not remain united for long. Firstly, Personality clash began between Muivah and Khaplang who had willingly joined their hands to fight for the cause of the Nagas. Secondly, Seeds of tribalism was visible; the majority of the undivided NSCN was from the Konyak tribe whereas the Tangkhuls dominated the command structure. It was this factor which created discontent and apprehensions among the Konyaks and Myanmar Nagas that the Tangkhuls were about to strike a deal with the central government, thus sparking the split<sup>7</sup>. The clash ultimately led to the division of the NSCN in 1988. Mr. Khaplang after division formed a new group, namely, NSCN (K). On the other hand Muivah and Isak led the group of their own and termed it as NSCN (I-M). Factionalism is no monopoly of the underground. It haunts the government too. What is important to note is that the two evils often interact. Many officials of the state government have an underground background<sup>8</sup>.

Thereafter, both the faction became bitter enemies engaging in two fighting trench- one against the government and another against their own fellow friends who had been together till yesterday. In the words of Vashum, "The Nagas have been badly divided on factional political parties cutting across tribal solidarities and allegiance.... Today every Naga tribe big or small is observed to have divided as to their loyalty and affiliation to one underground political group or the other. Domination of one political

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<sup>7</sup> Chandrika Singh, *Naga Politics, A Critical Account*. Op. cit. P.179.

<sup>8</sup> Chaube S.K. *Hill Politics in Northeast India*. Orient Longman Limited. 1999 p.169.

group/faction with their counter parts among the tribes is also prominent.”<sup>9</sup> An analytical study and observation indeed reveals the truth that personality clash and tribalism had deep roots in the Naga society which is a paradox in itself within the NSCN concept of socialism. Both the factions of the NSCN<sup>10</sup> claim to be the real heir of Nagaland.

The Naga nationalists consider the granting of Nagaland statehood as a ploy to divide and rule the Naga people by the government of India.<sup>11</sup> As many Nagas living in Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and even in the Country of Myanmar were sidelined, the question of bringing all the Naga inhabited Areas under one administrative area was denied. The Nagas living in this area felt that the political division will further wane their emotional unity and lead to more backwardness. As a matter of fact, this division of the Nagas subsequently developed into another disturbing trend of Naga nationalism as regional feeling gain momentum.<sup>12</sup> As in the word of Neville Maxwell,

*"from the ouster it was suspected by members (NNC) and supporters of the latter that the idea of statehood had been conceived by the Indians to divide and delude the Nagas; and explicit confirmation that the Indian Intelligence Bureau was behind the statehood movement is to be found in the memoirs of that Bureau then Director, B.N. Mullick."*<sup>13</sup>

The creation of Nagaland statehood led to the first major divisions among the Nagas. Many NNC (moderates) members and supporters joined the services of the new state as politicians, bureaucrats, contractors and businessman and there was a paradigm shift leading to emergence of a new elite class. One can termed it as grasshopper elite keeping in mind the allegory of the Grasshopper and the ant<sup>14</sup>. Even during the transitional period where Interim Body members were constituted as care

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<sup>9</sup> R. Vashum, Naga's Right to Self-Determination, New Delhi, 2000, p.120-140.

<sup>10</sup> When we talk about NSCN, focused will be more on NSCN (I-M) due to its systematic and well organized network and availability of sources.

<sup>11</sup> A Brief Political Account, GPRN, Oking, May 7, 1992, p.17.

<sup>12</sup> Atai Shimray A.S. Let Freedom Ring. Op. cit. 221.

<sup>13</sup> Maxwell, Neville, India, the Nagas and the North East, Minority Right Group, London, New Edition 1980, p.6. Also see Written Interview of Isak Swu, wherein he stated: "the very formation of so-called state of Nagaland is the political offensive taken by the government of India to keep the Nagas divided.... The NSCN takes it as a puppet state and it is simply 'White Elephant Gift'." As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. Let Freedom Ring. Op. cit. p. 222.

<sup>14</sup> Short stories, 'Grasshopper and the ant' also a folktale. Note, this may not be applicable to everyone or in every case.

taker in the formation of the state, some members were prominent members of the NNC.<sup>15</sup> Apparently when S.C. Jamir the former Chief Minister of Nagaland released the booklet titled "Bedrock of Naga Society", The booklet talks about how the Nagas in the past were living in a society of primitive, barbarian society and how the statehood had positively transformed the Nagas way of life. The booklet was responded with reactions from various groups of NGOs and Civil societies besides some other politicians, but the most feedback came from the NSCN affecting his governance.

The moderates who splitted from the NNC felt that Nagas had faced numerous forms of inhuman violation and peace became the need of the hour. One can view that the moderates success in achieving Nagaland statehood can be one step to move towards autonomy and independence.<sup>16</sup> Thus in the change of political environment, the moderates nationalists adopted to continue the struggle through peaceful means and use the state apparatus for the benefit of the Nagas. According to Major K. Kumar's account, the group of defence (related) experts had then argued: that coming of an extremist 'underground' over ground does not necessarily suggest that he has turned into a moderate one if not a loyal one. They argued that a vast majority of the Nagas still hesitates to call themselves Indians... they point out to the various events and activities of the underground which gives a caution if not an indication of the worst to follow.<sup>17</sup> Even today, several Nagaland state politicians are people who were in one way or other connected with the Naga political movement and continued to play active role in contemporary politics.

Although one cannot agree that all the politicians worth their salt is link with one or the other faction of the insurgent groups still one may certainly conclude that several politicians and bureaucrats have tacit understanding with the Naga Nationalists. For instance, T. Sentichuba Ao, Ex-Minister, disclosed why leaders like Kevichusa, Tikasosang, Vizol and Tajenyuba, etc, took part in Indian election. He

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<sup>15</sup> Who is who in Interim Body, Nagaland, Assembly Secretariat, Kohima, Nagaland. 1963.

<sup>16</sup> Horam, Naga Insurgency, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1988, p.67.

<sup>17</sup> Sharma, Lt. Col. Gautam et.al (ed.), India's Northern Security: including China, Nepal and Bhutan, S.K. Bhatia Reliance Publishing House, New Delhi, 1986, p.228. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. Let Freedom Ring. Op. cit. p. 233.

said, "Their main purpose was to put an end to all the sufferings of the Nagas under the hands of the Armed Forces and to bring peace and settlement of the long standing Naga political problem by letting the underground leaders initiate the move."<sup>18</sup> He also writes that many of these leaders were arrested and put in jail. This one group he feels are among those politicians who are honestly committed to the nationalist cause and think statehood is only an interim arrangement. There is also another group who are neither pro-government nor pro-Naga nationalists but enjoys benefit from both end. This is what M. Horam precisely called 'playing a double game' by the state politicians.<sup>19</sup> As a matter of faith, this groups indulged in dual allegiance, i.e. the constitution of India as well as to the Naga aspiration.

The intelligence report of the Research and Analysis Wing (RW) which was submitted to the Union Home Ministry maintained that "some influential leaders of the ruling party in Nagaland (state) are providing shelter and support to both factions of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN)".<sup>20</sup> The NSCN claimed that it was the only authentic body of the Naga people to fight for the cause of the Naga's sovereignty. The Indian Defence establishment is particularly quite vocal in asserting this allegation. For instance, recently, the Chief of Staff, Eastern Command. Lt. General O.P. Kaushik maintained that the NSCN were getting help from civil officials and the business community.<sup>21</sup> They also alleged that a large quantum of government funds was flowing into the hands of the Naga nationalist.<sup>22</sup> It is indeed true in most cases that there is tacit understanding between the Nationalist organization and Nagaland state politicians or bureaucrats and the latter do not hesitate to extend help in material or otherwise. After all it is a sentiment and feeling of oneness that bring them closer.<sup>23</sup>

Th. Muivah justifies running a parallel government executing several actions plan including revenue collection, prohibition orders, awarding punishment against non-compliance etc. Although the NSCN does not physically harm the civilian population normally, they have been known to killed those accused of being 'informers' as well as politicians supposed to have betrayed the Naga cause.

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<sup>18</sup> Ao. T. Sentichuba, *The Political Scene*". The Nagaland Journal, October 21, 1992.

<sup>19</sup> Horam, op. cit., p.90.

<sup>20</sup> The Telegraph, October 26, 1994. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*'. Op. cit. p. 223.

<sup>21</sup> The Telegraph, June 25, 1995. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*'. Op. cit. p.223

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Atai Shimray A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*. Op. cit. 223.



The GPRN in a published statement made it clear that minimum taxes ought to be levied on the Naga public, symbolizing people's participation in the national cause. Another objective of their taxation on government establishments and institutions or agencies is to make India 'pay dearly' and make what they call 'occupation of Nagaland' a costly affair.<sup>24</sup> thus the ultimate objective is to "drive out the enemy and all her occupation forces from Nagaland... we are bound to destroy all her establishment."<sup>25</sup> It is in this context that the NSCN "along with a strong hand forced the ONGC unit in Nagaland to quit operations".<sup>26</sup> Interestingly, the order to stop oil extraction work came from the Nagaland state government<sup>27</sup> who obviously acted under the pressure from the NSCN and the Naga Students Federation (NSF). A deeper understanding would conclude that at the end of the day, it was mostly the layman who ends up paying heavily. Timothy wrote, "People were taxed by underground left and right. They taxed businessman and in return the businessman recovered the tax paid to the underground from public by increasing the prices in the markets. Taxes were imposed on vehicles, goods or essential commodities and all items in the state."<sup>28</sup> Regarding extortion he further wrote, "Rampant extortion started in every corner in the state by the undergrounds. They are full of demand notes in each and every shop and homes in the state."<sup>29</sup>

The NSCN's policy on exploration of natural resources in Nagaland inhabited areas is intended to protect and conserve them until Naga can exploit them in their own. This is evident from the Ahza (order) issued by Angelus P. Shimrah, Secretary, External Affairs, GPRN:

*But it is a sad reality that the adversary in collusion with economic exploiters of this land, is daily robbing and systematically devastating our homeland with no end in sight... in light of the circumstances, with an eye to save our mineral resources and forest products for our nation... pass this Ahza... No individual, clan or village is*

<sup>24</sup> GPRN Statement, Information and Publicity Cell, GPRN, July 30, 1993, The Nagaland Journal, August 18, 1993.

<sup>25</sup> Idem.

<sup>26</sup> "ONGC's Nagaland Operation to Stop", The Meghalaya Guardian, October 25, 1994. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring'. Op. cit. p. 232.

<sup>27</sup> "ONGC Ordered to Stop Work at Champang", The Eastern Clarion, May 11, 1994.

<sup>28</sup> Daily Review, Vol. XII, No. 153, October 24, 1998. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*. Op. cit. p. 232.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

*entitled to export mineral products (such as... Uranium, petrol, gold, chromites etc) and forest products (such as ... agar, timber, etc.) to other countries.*<sup>30</sup>

It is unbelievable but true that the NSCN is running a parallel government which is even admitted by the top brass of the Indian Defence Forces.<sup>31</sup> It is generally known today, that the NSCN success in running a parallel government is because they enjoy good support from the state ministers, state officers, business community, contractors, etc., and of course, there is also the people's loyalty to the cause in both Naga areas Nagaland and Manipur state. It is in this context that the security forces alleged that Ministers in both Nagaland and Manipur state (Naga inhabited areas) are hand-in-glove with the Naga nationalists and government vehicles were used to transport men and arms. Thus the feeling remains that the army is helpless in the North East. Factionalism is no monopoly of the underground. It haunts the government too. Many officials of the state government have an underground background. In 1966 P. Shilu Ao, was defeated in the Assembly surprisingly by his own party (NNO). Ministers carry a big stick".<sup>32</sup> This reflects the status and the writs of the NSCN passing through these areas amidst heavy concentration of the crack forces of the Indian army (Mountain Division) including its elite paratroopers, Rashtriya Rifles, Special Commandos, etc.,<sup>33</sup>

The NSCN find it easy to make its presence in Nagaland politics in view of the prevalent consensus on certain issue affecting certain long term interest of the Nagas. Large scale violation of human rights in Nagaland over the past five decades have created suspicion and hatred towards the promoters of state power and its hegemony.<sup>34</sup> There is no group organization or party who would openly defend the Shillong Accord either. All the political parties and the movement leadership equally advocate unification of Naga areas. In addition, total absence of developmental

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<sup>30</sup> GPRN Ahza, Angelus P. Shimrah, Secretary, External Affairs cum Organiser, Southern Nagaland, Oking, January 3, 1988. as cited in Atai Shimray A.S. Let Freedom Ring. Op. cit. p. 233.

<sup>31</sup> "Rebels Retain Upper Hand in NE", Amrita Bazaar Patrika, December 29, 1993. as cited in Atai Shimray A.S. Let Freedom Ring. Op. cit. p. 233.

<sup>32</sup> Op. cit. p.233.

<sup>33</sup> Op. cit. P. 233.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid

activities and large-scale corruption<sup>35</sup> have also put a question mark on the ability of electoral politics to deliver justice. Naga national spirit is silently dying in the hands of the state election.<sup>36</sup> "let the state parties do their duties under the constitution and the underground pursue their political objectives truly. This is why several journalists who visited these areas came to the conclusion that "there are now two governments running the show: one headed by the government (head of the state) and the other, underground."<sup>37</sup> The NSCN's systematic collection of taxes received praise even from the security forces,<sup>38</sup> according to an Army Officer, the 'taxes' are paid both out of fear and voluntarily.<sup>39</sup>

On October 27, 1993 the Nagaland state Pradesh Congress Committee (I) planned a massive peace rally. But when the NSCN issued order banning it,<sup>40</sup> the NPCC (I) tactically postpone the rally indefinitely.<sup>41</sup> Another occasion of similar nature occurred on December 5, 1994. the Congress (I) Party had postponed to organize a massive Youth Rally in Dimapur 5, 1994 where Mahinder Singh Bitta, President, Indian Youth Congress (I) was invited as the Chief Guest. But on December 4, a day before the proposed rally, the GPRN in a release issued by the information and publicity Cell prohibited holding of the Youth Rally as they deemed this to "Indianise Naga Youths".<sup>42</sup> Consequently, that rally never took place, although officially it was mere postponement.<sup>43</sup> The Nagas boycotting the Independence Day of India is a yearly phenomenon. The GPRN came out openly with an appeal to the Naga general public to stay away from Independence Day celebration.<sup>44</sup> The state government on its failure to dissuade the NSF stringently came out with an order, asking all the government employees (state and central) of all grades to compulsorily attend the

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<sup>35</sup> Kuldip Nayar, "North-East Image of Indian Democracy", Grassroots options, April, 1996, p.34. as cited in Atai Shimray A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*. Op. cit. p. 234.

<sup>36</sup> Rev. V.K. Nuh. *My Country My People Focus on Nagaland*. 1998. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit. p.234-240.

<sup>37</sup> Chibber, Lt. General (retd.) M.L., "Indian Low Intensity Conflict" *The Shillong Times*, September 4, 1994. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit. p.234-240.

<sup>38</sup> Ganguly, Tapash, "Hill of Discontent", *The Week*, December 11-18, 1994. p.15. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit. p.234-240.

<sup>39</sup> *The Sentinel*, December 28, 1993. . As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit. p.234-240.

<sup>40</sup> "NSCN Bans Rally", *Nagaland Post*, October 27, 1993.

<sup>41</sup> "Congress (I) postpone Rally", *Nagaland Post*, October 29, 1993.

<sup>42</sup> "GPRN Prohibits Rally", *Nagaland Post*, December 5, 1994.

<sup>43</sup> "Youth Rally Postponed", *Nagaland Post*, December 5, 1994.

<sup>44</sup> "The Tussle Between Government and NSF", *Hill Express*, August 18, 1994. as cited in Atai Shimray A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*, op.cit. p.234-238.

celebration of Independence Day with the stipulation that they shall be held responsible for non-participation.<sup>45</sup> Despite the steps taken the celebration was a total failure with "only a skeleton gathering"<sup>46</sup> as a local paper reported, "streets were taken a deserted look, vehicles and even the pedestrian were off the road".<sup>47</sup> The central question that 'whether the NSCN, as the main nationalist group struggling for Naga aspiration made any impact on Nagaland state politics', can be partially explained with the help of extracting some election manifestoes of some major political parties issued during Nagaland Assembly election.

## **Election Manifestoes of Major Political Parties in Nagaland.**

### **The Nagaland Pradesh Congress (I)**

In 1993 Election Manifesto the party conveyed its stand on the Naga political issue as follows:

*The Congress recognize that the underground problem is political, needing political approach punctured by love, sympathy and understanding. It also recognizes that any meaningful; dialogue with the government of India could be fruitful when the issue is presented one voice. The party therefore shall mobilize all possible and constructive forces to bring unity and mutual understanding among different groups of the underground groups of the underground set-up. The party is sanguine that all the Nagas belonging to one family and having brotherly feelings for one another, a compassionate approach would unite them at one forum and resolve the differences with a spirit of give and take. This issue shall be listed in our party agenda having the top priority.*<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> "Order to Attend ID Function" Nagaland Post, August 12, 1994.

<sup>46</sup> "ID Celebration", Hill Express August 16, 1994. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. Let Freedom Ring, op. cit. p.223-242.

<sup>47</sup> "NSF Victory", Hill Express, August 16, 1994. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. Let Freedom Ring, op. cit. p .238.

<sup>48</sup> Nagaland Pradesh, Congress (I), Election Manifesto, State Election 1993, All India Congress Committee (I) New Delhi, 1993, pp 6-7.

**In another pamphlet of the NPCC (I) it reiterates their stand:**

*The Congress (I) party is irrevocably committed to the open door policy of settling all outstanding problems through peaceful means and negotiations and it maintained that the underground Nagas are inalienable part of the Naga society and they must have a say in settlement of the Naga political problem.*<sup>49</sup> This statement vividly reflects that Firstly, the Naga problem is purely a political issue and the social and economic problem is just a bandwagon to it. Secondly, the party is committed to peaceful approach to the issues and equally committed (as part of their open door policy) to bring all the different groups of Naga nationalists under one umbrella. Thirdly, the NPCC (I) which is also a national party can lubricate the federal character in understanding and assisting the Naga nationalist into a negotiating table. Last but not the least, the Nagaland state Legislative Assembly unanimously passed a resolution proposing the integration of contiguous Naga inhabited areas under a single administrative unit on September 16, 1994.<sup>50</sup> Interestingly this had come at a time when NSCN's power and strength was formidable. The NPCC (I) declaration is more expediency than of any real political conviction. It was more of an appeasement policy, to keep the party in good book of the NSCN and also to win votes. When the party came to power it was found to be inadequate as it could not evolve any substantive policy (as promised in the manifesto). More than anything, the party leaders were haunted by their involvement in conspiracy to break the NSCN from within. (When by sponsoring Khaplang group in an attempt to decimate the NSCN under Isak and Muivah).<sup>51</sup> The Congress alleged role in banning the NSCN<sup>52</sup> in 1991 seriously undermined the credibility of the party's stand. No wonder, the NSCN top brass are exceptionally critical of S.C. Jamir as they recall:

*Since the installation of an Indian puppet government in Nagaland, the stooges who run this government have always been repressive and hostile to our national cause.*<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Lest We Forget, NPCC (I), 1993.

<sup>50</sup> Sunil, Oinam "Vamuzo Naga Bill", NE Sun, January 14-20, 1995, p.5.

<sup>51</sup> "open letter to S.C.Jamir", Brig.' V.S. W UNGMATEM, Chief of the Naga Army, The Freedom December 22, 1993. Also see Governor V.K. Nayar's report and recommendation to the President of India, NE Sun April 9-15, 1994, As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring'. Op. cit. p. 236.

<sup>52</sup> "Ban on NSCN: Not Conducive to Peace: Vamuzo", Nagaland Times, December 5, 1990.

Also see Speech made by Rh.Raising Killo and Chaplee Kilonser (Home and Finance Minister) on NSCN Day, January 31, 1991. . As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit., p.234-240.

<sup>53</sup> Progress Report, Ministry of Home Affairs, GPRN, 1988-93, P.14. . As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit., p.234-240.

The fact is that the same government of S.C.Jmir had earlier rejected a private bill by Huski Sumi<sup>54</sup> having similar content. But this time without any interruption, Vamuzo's private bill unanimously passed. The reason may not be too far to seek. Both Vamuzo and Chubatoshi Jamir were accused of involvement in banning the NSCN, though both of them outrightly rejected the accusation. In the words of Vashum, "some feelings of discontentment and jealousy among another are manipulated by some politicians/leaders of respective tribes for vested interest to create confusion among the Naga masses.... Affecting the Naga movement."<sup>55</sup> Chandrika Singh substantiates further saying 'the involvement of the Naga politicians in the affairs of the undergrounds with a marked objective to create disunity among them and with selfish attitude to serve their own interests, in fact have weakened the Naga movement'.<sup>56</sup> Then S.C.Jamir was particularly accused of aiding and abetting (NSCN –K) Khaplang group to decimate the NSCN(IM) and the charge was made by none other than the Chief of the Naga Army, 'Brig.' V.S. Wungmatem.<sup>57</sup> Hence, under these circumstances, one cannot rule out NSCN influence as a moving spirit behind the Assembly's resolution and as a gesture to appease the Naga nationalists.

In such a situation, the Congress (I) political assurance vis-à-vis the Naga issue is a complete negation of it when it comes to the practical aspect of it. Thus, in the final analysis, specially with reference to Nagaland situation, its election manifesto declarations are nothing but cheap propaganda stunt and are merely directed to catch vote bank.

### **Nagaland People's Council (NPC)**

The NPC formed a strong regional party in Nagaland state and its political stand on the issue is worth examining. The election manifesto of the NPC in 1993 reads:

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<sup>54</sup> "Assembly Rejects Private Member's Resolution", Naga Banner, July 16, 1993. . As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit., p.234-240.

<sup>55</sup> R. Vashum, Naga's Right to Self-Determination, op.cit. p.140.

<sup>56</sup> Chandrika Singh. 'Naga Politics'. A Critical Account. Op. cit. p.181.

<sup>57</sup> Wungmatem, 'Brig.' V.S., "Open Letter to S.C.Jamir", Nagaland Post, December 15, 1993.

*The NPC continue to give topmost priority to the search for lasting peace by means of a peaceful and amicable solution to the Naga political problem through the policy of reconciliation. In pursuit of this declared policy, the NPC shall continue to strive to bring together the various underground organizations to common p[platform in order to set the stage ready for a negotiated political settlement with the government of India... towards this end, the NPC shall continue to urge upon the central leadership to lift the ban on NSCN so as to create confidence in them for a positive response to this genuine call for lasting peace.*<sup>58</sup>

From the above statement one can decipher total peace only through an amicable solution of the Naga political problems and there is an urgent need to bring the entire Naga nationalist to a common platform. Nevertheless, urging the central government to lift the ban on NSCN.

The NPC's election manifesto of 1989 had strongly emphasized on the same issue. It says:

*The search for lasting peace in the Naga homeland by means of a final negotiated settlement of the Naga political problem between the government of India and the Naga underground shall remain the first priority of the NPC.*<sup>59</sup>

Certain attempts were made by Nagaland state government under Vamuzo's leadership to bring all the nationalist groups to a common platform<sup>60</sup> but without any tangible result. Interestingly, this can be considered as one of the first time where the Naga politicians tried to unite the warring patriots.

### **Democratic Labour Party (DLP)**

Among the few political parties in Nagaland state, Democratic Labour Party is exceptionally nationalist in outlook and declaration. If there is any possibility of achieving the goal of the Nagas through peaceful means and to reorient the Naga

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<sup>58</sup> Manifesto of Nagaland People's Council, Eight General Election, 1993.

<sup>59</sup> "NPC's Election Manifesto 1989", Ura Mail, January 4, 1989.

<sup>60</sup> "Efforts On to Unite Naga Factions", The Hindu, March 7, 1992.

society within the perceived Naga nationalist outlook, then certainly it is DLP which can carry through. Its main manifesto is to integrate all the contiguous Naga areas under one umbrella administration and to solve the Indo-Naga political problem through a peaceful resolution at the earliest.<sup>61</sup> The credibility of the party is yet to be tested, it lacks a strong presence in the state and only time will tell about its commitment.

The NSCN also works through other people's organization such as the Naga Student's Federation (NSF), Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR). These organizations, directly or indirectly help the NSCN in espousing the cause of Naga unity. Both the NSF and the NPMHR are organizations which are committed nationalists in their stand and they made no bones about their political commitments.<sup>62</sup> Thus the efforts of the NSF and NPMHR are consolidating the unity of the Nags. These organizations have exposed human rights violations by the Indian security forces through their international campaign for the right to self-determination of indigenous people.

During the 2003 election both the Congress I and the alliance of the DAN had given much preference to the solution of the Naga problem. In fact, the peaceful solution of the Naga problem through negotiation that is going on remained the central issue to attract the voters. The Congress claimed that it were their leaders who had taken the initiative to start the negotiation with the underground leaders while the BJP along with the JD (U) and the Samata also claimed that it were their leaders who played a vital role in giving push to the process and persuaded the leaders of the NSCN (I-M) to have dialogue at New Delhi. The burning issue of the state has been how to settle peace in Nagaland and solve the prolonged Naga issue. The leaders of the NSCN (I-M) have remained far away from the Congress leaders while their inclinations have been towards the leaders of the NPF and recently towards the BJP. That is why the leaders of the NSCN (I-M) directly or indirectly favored the victory of the NPF candidates during the tenth general elections. On the other hand, the leaders of the NSCN (K) have been sympathetic to the Congress under the leadership of S.C. Jamir. During the election both the groups played their roles to assist parties of

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<sup>61</sup> Manifesto of Democratic Labour Party, Nagaland, 1993, p. 2-4.

<sup>62</sup> Atai Shimray A.S. *Let Freedom Ring*. Op. cit. p. 239.



their favor, which raised several controversial issues later on S.C. Jamir the leader of the Congress I attributed the set back to interference in the election by the NSCN(I-M) while the leaders of the NPF blamed the NSCN(K) for its interference in the election<sup>63</sup>. Nagaland Congress Vice President, Khriedi Theunuo, alleging the NSCN (I-M) cadres are abducting, harassing and intimidating our supporters."<sup>64</sup> Mr. Jamir accepted the defeat disappointedly, no doubt, but he considered the electioneering as "abnormal situation because all our party candidates in their strongholds were targeted by armed cadres."

However, there is another sizeable group of politicians who indulge in shifting loyalties.<sup>65</sup> The nexus between the nationalist and the Naga politicians cannot be ignored. It is this group that causes serious concern both to the government of India as well as the Naga nationalist. (Between the government of India and the NSCN) and at best can be termed as political opportunist'. It is these groups of politicians, who are more bent on appropriating the best of government benefits, swindle government funds and attempt to keep the Naga nationalists in good terms. The observation of a journalist in this context is quite pertinent: since 1980, every successive government had made Nagaland a paradise for corruption... the people in power in Nagaland saw the state as their personal fiefdom."<sup>66</sup> This development is due to the callous attitude of the central government which believes only "pumping in money to the state and keep the local politicians happy. As a consequences, for such politicians and bureaucrats or in other words to satiate the greed of this grasshopper elites such political movement should continue as it only benefits them. For some politicians and bureaucrats in the Nagaland state, the line of thinking is that the nationalist movement or insurgency has been of considerable weight in getting more share of central resource for the region solely depending on Delhi.. Many politicians and bureaucrats try to take advantage by keeping the 'movement' alive for their selfish benefits or otherwise is in tune with Delhi's short sighted policy. In the words of senior Indian journalist M.J. Akbar, "Peace with the extremist, is being deliberately sabotaged by the Chief Minister (S.C.Jamir) who would like the insurgency to continue since that is

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<sup>63</sup> Singh, Chandrika. Naga Politics. Op. cit. p. 211.

<sup>64</sup> Nagaland Post, March 2, 2003

<sup>65</sup> Wungmatem, 'Brig.' V.S. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit., p.234-240.

<sup>66</sup> Mehmood, Fazal, "Corruption and Insurgency go Together", The Shillong Times, February 10, 1994. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit. p.234-240.

the best cover he can hope for..."<sup>67</sup> indeed this element is quite strong in Nagaland state politics and no wonder all these years, the nationalists of all camps are distinctly critical of this particular group of politicians and bureaucrats. In the word of Isak Chishi Swu: "Their sole intention is to win the election and to continuous to survive as money makers without serving any cause."<sup>68</sup>

Such is the subtleness and irony of state politics in Nagaland state. That there is no monitoring as to how the huge funds under Five Year Plans are being utilized and projects executed. As a result most of the funds end up in the pockets of politicians, contractors and the omnipresent traders and businessman. And the fact is that the Nagas in general blame the central government for corrupting the Naga society.<sup>69</sup> A Naga journalist writing on the ground situation in Nagaland state and the faulty policy of the government of India, said "money was poured in, ostensibly for development, which infact found their way to the personal coffers of privileged few. No investigations are ever held because the government is only interested in containing the insurgency problem. Cases of fraud and corruption have mushroomed overnight and millionaires created. Vested interest grew and became entrenched. A privileged class has been floated."<sup>70</sup> One can view that an apathy is slowly but gradually gripping the people. The spirit that sustained them in their villages for centuries and preserved the Nagas as an admirable people who maintained an orderly society has been destroyed and disused.

### **Resumption of Ceasefire and Peace Talks (1997)**

The year 1997, maybe considered as a year of peaceful solution to the Nagas. Credit should go to the former Lt Prime Minister of India who had initiated the move and carried on by his successors till today by entering into a peaceful dialogue with the Naga undergrounds. The leaders of the NSCN (I-M) keeping in view the persistent

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<sup>67</sup> Akbar M.J., "Corruption and Vested Interest in Insurgency" The Telegraph, April 17, 1985. As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring'. Op. cit. p. 239.

<sup>68</sup> Written Interview of Isak Chishi by Atai Shimray, in his book 'Let Freedom Ring'. P. 239

<sup>69</sup> Singh, Prakash, (Former Director-General of BSF) "Kohima to Kashmir: must the Indian State Repeat the same mistake?", Indian Express, June 24, 1993. . As cited in Atai Shimray A.S. 'Let Freedom Ring' op. cit. p.234-240.

<sup>70</sup> Chasie, Charles, Naga Problem and the Solution", The NE Sun, June 11, 1988, p.26.

demand of the Naga people for observing peace in the state and find out a peaceful solution to the Naga problem, had changed their mind. Thereafter the former Prime Minister I.K. Gujral pushed the peace talk further. The Ceasefire came with effect from first August, 1997 and to initial at political level.<sup>71</sup>

The terms of ceasefire between the government of India and the NSCN (I-M) are as under:

“For securing peaceful political solution, discussion has been held between the government of India and the NSCN leadership. It has been mutually decided to ceasefire for a period of three months with effective from first of August 1997 and embark upon political level discussions.”<sup>72</sup> It was also decided that:

1. The talks shall be unconditional from both sides;
2. The talks shall be at the highest level, that is, at the Prime Minister level; and
3. The venue of the talks shall be anywhere in the world, outside India.

The ceasefire and peace talks are going on and some positive results have come out. The armed tussle between the Indian security forces and the Naga militants has been reduced to a great extent. However, the factional clashes between the two underground groups- the NSCN (I-M) and the NSCN (K) continued. “All of them are talking about Naga Sovereignty, fighting for the same cause, but they are killing each other. It appears to us that the main objective has taken a set back whereas egos are dominating the present actions”<sup>73</sup> The then Chief Minister S.C. Jamir declared some areas as ‘peace zones’ but peace is frequently disturbed due to direct arm clashes between the two factions.

The Naga churches another body that have been contributing positively in the Naga political problems are expressing their solidarity to the Naga cause, but they vehemently condemn violence as a means to achieve the goals.<sup>74</sup> In the words of V.K.

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<sup>71</sup> Times of India (Delhi) July 26, 1997.

<sup>72</sup> MIP, GPRN, Sovenier Nagalim ministry of information and Publicity. Government People’s Republic of Nagaland, p.54.

<sup>73</sup> Realities of Naga Political problem, by Chief Minister S.C. Jamir. Released by Press Secretary to C.M. Kohima. P.7.

<sup>74</sup> V.K. Nuh, Crusade on Naga Morality, Kohima, 1996, p.109. As cited in Atai Shimray. Let Freedom Ring. Op. cit. p.240.

Nuh, "our freedom fighters are also violating human rights by killing innocent civilians and meddling with village internal affairs, rather than struggling for the national cause. They are creating sense of confusion, fear and despair among fellow Nagas everywhere."<sup>75</sup> Stating the excessiveness committed by the Indian security forces in Nagaland he stated that the Indian forces for inflicting on civilians and thereby violating human rights "have left the irreparable psychological scars upon our people... the Indian army and other paramilitary units have done their share of killings, torturing and raping innocent Nagas."<sup>76</sup> In the words of Shishak," the Naga freedom fighters, under the banner of 'Nagaland for Christ', have for the most part forsaken the leadership of Jesus Christ in their freedom struggle. Instead, they seem to be relying on human power, reliance on AK-47 rifles and not on God. It will lead the Nagas to self-destruction."<sup>77</sup>

The freedom movement in Nagaland has passed through various stages. Neither the creation of Nagaland state under the union of India nor the autonomies provided in the constitution (article 371-A) to the Naga people satisfied the Naga underground. The tenth general elections for composition of Nagaland Legislative Assembly have taken place where the Naga electorates have exercised their right to franchise willingly. Various political parties have emerged and are engaged in party politics of the state. All these indicate that the undergrounds are yet determined to achieve their right to self-determination amidst their crisis of internal-conflicts and unpleasant habits and behaviour on the other. (Engaged in anti-social activities). Professor Gangmumel Kabui has rightly said,"large section of the Naga people have accepted the Indian Constitution and participated in free India's democratic political processes."<sup>78</sup> Allegations are also coming up that some underground Nagas are helping or siding with their relatives in business. According to one Naga businessman from Dimapur,"the colour of Naga national movement has turned to something like the welfare of the underground activities, specially, high-up as and their family and related ones. Their accountability to the people is very much lacking; the collection and maintaining of huge money from the people is kept in the dark for the public to know. The money they collect is too heavy for the public. Moreover the collection is

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid. p.107.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. p.108.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in R. Vashum, Naga's Right to Self-Determination, op. cit. p.141.

<sup>78</sup> R. Vashum, Naga's Right to Self-Determination. Op. cit., p.142.

usually harsh and there is nothing like 'voluntary payment' nowadays. Everything is compulsory or one has to risk his life."<sup>79</sup> Viewing all this if someone, ask how do you view the Naga problem? We can only say it is a purely historical political problem but today it is also becoming more of a law and order problem.

Nevertheless, there are many Naga public who wants to see an independent Nagaland. Their sympathy and goodwill are clutch with the national workers. No doubt another psychological attachment that has brought the Naga general mass near to the insurgents mass is the corruption prevailing among the Naga elites either ruling or non-ruling who have scrupulously and dishonestly misappropriate huge amount of money which was diverted by the government of India for general welfare.<sup>80</sup> The Indian government pouring in huge amount of money in the state had negated the Naga society. We can reason out that the traditional values and norms based on honesty, hard work, obedience and such got diluted into isms of tribalism, clannism, and individualism. The Nationalists still remains a strong force till today, influencing the entire society as whole as well as the state politics. Over the years, many changes have taken place in this camp. However, it has become a formidable force and continues to be a major factor in state's politics while at the same time reiterating its single most important demand for sovereignty. On the other hand, parliamentary democracy has slowly taken roots in the state. Meeting all the challenges of inexperience, unstable political periods, difficulties of adapting to a new political system etc., state politics have survived, and nearing maturity.

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Chandriks Singh. Naga Politics. A Critical Account. Op. cit. p.192

## CONCLUSION

In a democratic set up state like Nagaland, coalition politics is emerging as a sequential episode that offers opportunities for redistribution of political resources. Nagaland is a state of 16 tribes where the political leaders are identified with their tribes/clans and regions and therefore, the leaders try to accumulate maximum payoff. The politics of tribalism, regionalism, shifting of loyalties and personality clashes offers an interesting concept for coalition politics in Nagaland. The formation of coalition depends on limited personality charisma and sectarian legitimacy of various leaders, parties and their limited vote banks. Legislators of both the NPC and Congress I party in Nagaland formed a coalition under the JLP with Vamuzo (Chakhesang) as the leader. Non Congress opposition formed coalition in the state in 2003 led by Neiphiu Rio (Angami). These leaders organization JLP and NPF, respectively had limited legitimacy. The former was formed on the principle of capturing power. Whereas the latter was formed on the principle of opposition to the Congress with adhoc programme. Coalition politics are formed to prevent or resist a common political enemy from capturing power hence due to tribalism; clash of personality and regionalism political parties agrees to enter into a contract of coalition to diminish its isolation. The arrangement of coalition and alliances as a 'legitimation' mechanism by which an excluded political party diminish its isolation is relevant in the case of Nagaland coalition politics. The Nagaland regional political parties in many occasions had fought against the Congress separately which all the more had made Congress invincible. In 2003 State Assembly Election the NPF (Naga People's Front) Party formed the **Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN)** an umbrella of all the other non Congress political parties in Nagaland, agreeing to a '**Common Minimum Programme**' to capture political power in Nagaland and to prevent the formidable Congress party from coming to power. It is equally significant to note that the coalition is often temporary and limited in nature and the coalescing elements present in this coalition arrangement do not give up their distinctive identities.

In the beginning chapter, I have dealt with brief theoretical aspects of coalition politics in the political system. If politics is viewed as a struggle for power, coalition system is a mechanism to derive that power through accommodation. Modern democracy is a system around which other aspect such as politics, social, economic and others revolve. At the same time, they are evolutionary and are constantly and gradually changing in adjusting to the changing needs of mankind. But it remains to be seen how and into what its evolution will take place. Importantly it is the people who are to mould and shape the future. Coalition politics is a modern phenomenon which got popularize only in this century despite threat from other party system. It is still in the process of experimenting. Countries that reflect pluralist tendencies can find coalition system interesting as it can represent diversified interest and it has work well in such countries. In the same chapter I have dealt with the political history of Nagaland till statehood to give a better understanding to this topic. Without knowing the evolutionary stages of Nagaland it is difficult to understand the contemporary Nagaland politics. From where the state came and how far has it gone today.

Historically, the evolution of the state of Nagaland may be witnessed from three major transformations. 1) Pre and post British colonial period till India's Independence. 2) From the Independent era till the Nagaland Statehood Declaration. 3) The transformation which witnessed a resurgence of active Democratic participation. Naga political history can be said to have begin from 1918 when the first Naga Organization, Naga Club was formed. Since then many tribal councils and organizations were formed culminating in the NNC under which the Naga Nationalist Movement for independence grew under Phizo Angami. In the mid Fifties, the deteriorating condition between it and the army compelled a section of NNC moderates to oppose the NNC's extremist method of functioning. As a result this new section organized separate conventions to discuss issues and to settle the problem peacefully, between 1957-1959. Out of this convention, a resolution was drafted for statehood which was accepted and approved by the Parliament between 1960-62. The state was finally formed in 1963. Meanwhile, the NNC was retained by the Extremists when the moderates drifted away from the NNC. The Extremists, soon after the departure of the moderates, went underground and formed its

various wings such as NFG and NFA. Since then, there has been two parallel politics and political organization in the state. These two are often in conflict with each other because of the opposite direction both had taken over the years; both have undergone change and development respectively. In spite of the many long years of existence, the movement of the Naga did not die down mainly due to the support of the people and sections Naga political leaders who continue to have a soft corner for the Naga movement. On the other hand, the state structure was already existing as such; the people could not participate in either of them fully or effectively. This hampered the growth of state democracy.

In chapter 11, we have discussed the beginning of the electoral politics in Nagaland from 1964-1989. The importance of this election lies in the fact that it set forth a different trend of politics in the state of Nagaland. The main objective of dealing with this various election is to imprint a better understanding of the topic on the dynamics of the electorates. As we have seen The first State Assembly Election was unique in not only ushering active democracy in the state but interestingly, only two regional political parties namely, Naga Nationalist Organization (N.N.O.) and the Democratic Party (D.P.) were contesting for power in the election, amidst intensifying intervention of Naga nationalists.

The second State Assembly Election was dominated by the N.N.O (Naga National Organization). The party was equally strong even in the first Assembly Election as most of the party members were moderates who succeeded in bringing about the statehood. Many of these members had earlier served in the Naga Nationalist Movement. The victory of the N.N.O. was officially hailed both inside and outside Parliament as democratic evidence of the Naga vote for a union with the rest of the country.

In the third State Assembly Election of 1974, the U.D.F. (United Democratic Front) came to power. The period between the 1974 election and 1977 election is the most eventful



period in the state's political history. Many important events happened in a synchronized pattern. Each had its impact on the state's political process as well as the nationalist organization and its movement. In a short period, all the disturbing developments were over, but it altered the course of the two parallel politics while at the same time consolidating each of them in their own line of politics. During this period the Sillong Accord was signed which sounded a temporary death knell for the nationalist movement, so far led by the N.N.C. During this phase the entire country was also under emergency rule, it marked the beginning of a heightened political activity and increasing nationalization in the Indian perspective. The N.N.O. merged itself with the Congress party and for the first time in the history of Nagaland the national party had entered into Nagaland politics. Unfortunately ill effects of democratic politics such as defections, ministerial instability, corruption, nepotism, took its roots in the state. After the 1974 election there was a constitutional crisis as both N.N.O. and U.D.F. were claiming majority so President's rule was witnessed in Nagaland on 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1975. Eventually, one can argue that, this period provides an overall reflection of the current politics.

In the fourth Assembly Election of 1977 the U.D.F. again came back to power but it did not last long. This phase was the most unstable with intense politicking so far. As a result, there were three ministries inter changing between parties and temporarily aligned parties. Mass defection took place for the first time setting a new trend for future politics. But despite its absolute majority, it collapsed mid-term owing to the larger redefection led by Mr. S.C. Jamir who later on formed the U.D.F. (Progressive) Party. On 29 March it aligned with Congress I and N.C.N. (National Convention of Nagaland) and formed a coalition ministry under the U.L.P. (United Legislative Party) . However it was short-lived lasting only 48 days due to the second wave of defection from the party to the parent U.D.F. party again. This paved the way for the U.D.F. to form the third ministry in the term. The U.L.P later merged with Congress I.

In the fifth Assembly Election the Congress came to power. The Congress I during this phase apparently laid the foundation which can preferably and most appropriately call the

“Congress Trend”. This trend or phase started with the 1982 election though with a poor show in terms of seats. During this period, the Congress I politics was a strong influence on the state politics with its national characteristics getting slowly infused into the state. Apart from the money culture that took roots in this phase a prominent feature of the changed political equation that developed was the polarization between National party and Regional parties.

The sixth Assembly Election the Congress came back to power but due to personality clash within the party defection took place. The defectors formed the Nagaland Regional Congress (NRC) and then finally merged with N.N.D.P. (an offshoot of the NDF) and formally stressed to form a new party called Nagaland People’s Council (NPC) and form absolute majority with a view to form coalition ministry with Vamuzo as the leader. But this could not materialize as the governor did not oblige. Thereafter, the governor’s role in the crisis led the state into a constitutional crisis and the President Rule was imposed.

In the seventh Assembly Election the Congress I secured majority but due to defection it failed to form the ministry. Some of the legislature and defector members came to an understanding and formed the JLP (Joint legislature Party) government in the state. In the past Nagas had their own Democracy which can be considered as one of the purest system whereas Election Democracy is a borrowed idea and this system breeds more negation to the Naga society.

In the third chapter I had made a brief case study of the recent three State Assembly Election i.e., 1993-1998 and 2003. The 1993 Assembly Election witnessed a stable Congress Government after a long time eventually this put a brake on defection. It was during this phase that Congress solidified its position in the state. The 1998 election was unique in the sense that all the non Congress party boycotted the election which was called off by the NGOs and civil societies making way for the Congress to gain absolute majority. The Congress did not boycott as it has to abide by the Constitution.

Nonetheless, the election was termed as undemocratic and unmandated. In the 2003 State Assembly Election the DAN (Democratic Alliance of Nagaland) came to power. Giving hope to the electorates that a new era of political trend has arrived where the people have varieties of political parties to choose from. The most attractive feature of this election was the participation of five political parties from outside namely the BJP, JD (U), RLD, Samata Party and the Nationalist Congress Party. While three political parties participated from within the state, namely, Naga People's Front (NPF), the Nationalist Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Nationalist Democratic Party (NDP). The electoral politics have become more competitive as many parties had fared well in the election. The 2003 state Election was significant, as the coalition politics was empirically tasted and the verdict of the people clearly indicated that coalition era has arrived in the state of Nagaland which replicates unity in diversity. Where the multi interest of the people are represented through multi representation of various political parties.

Thus in the 52-year history of electoral politics in Nagaland there were 13 governments including four clear cut cases of coalition ministries of the UDF coalition in 1974 under Vizol, the NNDP coalition in 1977 under J.B.Jasokie, the JLP coalition in 1990 under Vamuzo. But this coalition were not authentic in the sense that most of the coalition were form either through defections, horse trading, there were only two strong political parties and the rest were either independent candidate or a fragile party besides, one noteworthy feature is that coalition were formed only after the election. Whereas the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN) Coalition was formed in 2003, can be considered as a true coalition as the elections were contests with understanding among the various non Congress political parties to oust the Congress. The NPF did not contested in all the 60 seats and in many constituencies there were signs of limited understanding between certain non-Congress political parties. This reflected a new experience of coalition in the state. Altogether 11 political parties contested in the election fray. In between there were also the President's Rule which are viewed with suspicion of political designs. The manner in which the President's rule was imposed after the State Assembly Election of 1974 and the entry of the Congress to the state was

viewed with suspicion. The Congress I coming to power after the President Rule of 1988 and 1992 was seen as the centre Congress I government's intention to stall the formation of the next Congress ministry for the reason that it preferred to have only the Congress ministry at the state. Significantly the element of coalition politics in Nagaland could be traced right from the time of the Interim Body of 1960 which was based more on the consideration of communities rather than on a coalition of political parties.

Another landmark in Nagaland coalition politics was in the First General Election of 1964 when there was an intra-party coalition in the ruling NNO of Mr. P. Shilu Ao and of Mr. T.N. Angami. Here again if we go deeper into this intra-party coalition in the NNO, it was based mainly on community consideration rather than on coalition politics per se. even the UDF coalition ministry of 1974 was in fact the fusion of the two intra-party coalition of the UFN and the breakaway legislators. Another intraparty coalition was the fusion of the breakaway NNP and the breakaway UDF to form the NNDP. In the words of Pakem "inspite of these developments in the field of coalition politics in Nagalands we may still say that by and large the trend in Nagaland is towards developing a two party system right from the beginning" Nagaland elections had always presented a strong national political party (Congress I) and a strong regional political party. But today the political scenario are changing, the electorates are becoming more matured taking active participation in the Democratic set-up. Nagaland Elections are determined by various factors like tribalism, regionalism, clannism, money politics, personality clash and shifting of loyalties, insurgency, political manipulation and opportunism.

Weiner points out that, 'voters, as individual or as a member of groups simultaneously have attachment to parties, kin groups, factions, caste (tribe) and individual leaders and... rather than be burdened by traditional attachments. The individual has many loyalties to choose from. Under These circumstances it is very difficult for a party or community leaders to simply herd their voices to the poll. This remark is equivalent even in Naga politics today. The onset of coalition in Nagaland is an

important aspect of the paradigmatic shifts in the state political system .the immediate political context is the decline of the strong political parties i.e., Congress and regional party head to head in every election reflecting more of a bi-party system has given way to numerous other political parties in the state. No party will find it easy to win a working majority of its own to govern the state. Coalition politics provides wider platform to accommodate all this interest which had intensified ever since the coming of election in Nagaland.

The fourth Chapter deals with the dynamics of the state machinery and the Naga Nationalist (insurgents). The velocity and mass escalating the response of the underground, middle ground and over ground will also be dealt with briefly. Finally, the question of whether there is a parallel government or dilemma of parallel government will be left best to the judgment of the readers. This chapter had been a special area keeping in mind that the study and understanding of Naga Politics or political parties is incomplete without knowing the Oscillation of the Insurgents.

The people have given their verdict and the result of the Assembly Elections in Nagaland followed expected lines with no single party getting absolute majority. The Congress I and the NPF finished in more or less the same number. The Regional party NPF spearheads a pre-poll alliance which includes the BJP, JD (U) and Samata party which have all managed to open their account for the first time in Nagaland. Significantly the DAN had a pre-poll alliance and the parties fought the election on a united front with friendly contest wherever necessary. The victory of the alliance have proven that the people had voted for change creating a setback for the Congress to get hat trick and the leader S.C. Jamir who had said I will come back to power. Today, Nagaland politics continue to attract the attention of many other regional and national political parties. The political trend of the Congress had been overthrown and a rainbow of political parties is taking shape in the state. It is therefore very unlikely that in the near

future coalition dharma has to be applied for any political parties in the state to come to power.

Nagaland has undergone various degrees of transition over the years. This would not be surprising considering the fact that the present year is its 44<sup>th</sup> year of its existence as a state. An insider may not notice the change so much. But the reality could be understood by the observation of several outsiders, British and Indian who were one time posted there as officers before the statehood. Among the many features of society, changes in the political system are more remarkable and distinct. After all it is the pivotal point of the social structure. This can be in the context of emergence of coalition politics in Nagaland which has been discussed and analysed here. Nevertheless this study throws light on other aspects, socio-political history as well. In the word of Paul Brass, he said 'a moving developing dynamic nation has to be constantly readjusting itself to newer forces and newer needs. Nothing should therefore be done to arrest the natural process of readjustment and realignment of political forces. Any artificial restraint may be dangerous and may render the system itself dysfunctional. Nagas have come a long way and has undergone various degree of turmoil. Nagas have realized if they do not change the waves of the political system to their advantage they themselves will become a victim to that disadvantage.

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