

# THE NAGA CHRONICLE

*Compiled by*  
V.K. NUH

*Edited by*  
WETSHOKHROLO LASUH

The longest armed struggle in India has been that of the Naga people. Beginning soon after India's Independence, the Nagas asserted their rights over their land and political destiny. Their struggle took the form of armed resistance, which was countered by the Indian armed forces. The Indian government has played a very careful role in both, repressing insurgency and at the same time bringing development to Nagaland and other Naga inhabited areas. Various agencies were at work among the Nagas, in India and abroad over these years in search of peace for the Naga problem. While relative peace has come to Nagaland, particularly after the ceasefire agreement and its extension, the issues raised by the Nagas in Manipur and parts of Arunachal Pradesh continue to pose a challenge to those interested in arriving at a long and lasting solution to the issue of Naga insurgency.

*The Naga Chronicle* is a collection of documents relating to the Naga people's movement right from its inception for redefining their status. The documents have been collected and edited by Rev. V.K. Nuh, himself part of the struggle and author of several other works on the Nagas. Over the years he has painstakingly collected material relating to the Nagas. This book is undoubtedly the single largest collection of documents on contemporary Naga history and politics encompassing all the important documents related to Naga movement. As the Naga peace-making process reaches another crucial and very significant stage, *The Naga Chronicle* will go a long way in understanding the Naga people and their aspirations.

**Rs. 1500.00**

A true ambassador for Christ, **Rev. V.K. Nuh** is presently General Secretary of the Council of Naga Baptist Churches in Nagaland. From humble beginning as an evangelist, he later became a Chaplain in the Naga Army, and in spite of being jailed as a political prisoner in Imphal Central Jail, his enthusiasm never waned. Serving as Headmaster in a Bible School he went on to become a Pastor of the Baptist Church. He served as Field Director of the Chakhesang Baptist Church Council from 1971 to 1992 where he was conferred with the honorary title of 'Executive Secretary Emeritus'. Subsequently he was also awarded with the 'Honorary Doctor of Divinity' at Gurukul Theological Seminary, Madras.

A vital spokesman of the Naga society, which is characterised by much traumatic socio-political upheaval, Rev. Dr. Nuh's accomplishments are many. With the genuine love for his motherland and his vision he still leaves no stone unturned to further the cause of the people. Rev. Dr. Nuh has authored several books, some of which are:

- *Nagaland Church and Politics*
- *My Country My People*
- *Crusade on Naga Morality*
- *Theological Reflection on Naga Society*
- *Revive us again*
- *Struggle for Identity in North-East India*
- *My Native Country—The Land of the Nagas*

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ISBN 81-87498-62-5

Published by Regency Publications, 20/36-G, Old Market, West Patel Nagar, New Delhi 110 008 for Indian Council of Social Science Research—North-Eastern Regional Centre, Shillong, and Printed at Radiant Printers, New Delhi 110 008, Phones: 2571 2539; Telefax: 2578 3571.

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## FOREWORD

The longest armed struggle in India has been that of the Naga people. Beginning soon after India's independence, the Nagas asserted their rights over their land and political destiny. Their struggle took the form of armed resistance, which was countered by the Indian armed forces. The Indian government has played very careful role in both repressing insurgency and at the same time bringing development of Nagaland and other Nagas inhabited areas. Various agencies were at work among the Nagas, in India and abroad over these years in search of peace for the Naga problem. While relative peace has come to Nagaland, particularly after the cease-fire agreement and its extension, the issues raised by the Nagas in Manipur and parts of Arunachal Pradesh continue to pose a challenge to those interested in arriving at a long and lasting solution to the issue of Naga insurgency.

The Indian Council of Social Science Research, North Eastern Regional Centre, Shillong is pleased to present *The Naga Chronicle*. This is a collection of documents relating to the Naga peoples movement for redefining their status. The documents have been collected and edited by Rev. V. Nuh, himself part of the struggle and an author of several other works on the Nagas. Over the years he has painstakingly collected material relating to the Nagas. This book is undoubtedly the single largest collection of documents on contemporary Naga history and politics. As the Naga peace-making process reaches another crucial and very significant stage, a publication such as this will go a long way in understanding the Naga people and their aspirations.

Mrinal Miri  
Chairman  
ICSSR-NERC

## PREFACE

The Nagas inhabit in the present Indian State of Nagaland, part of Manipur, Assam and parts of upper Myanmar.

The advent of the British imperial power in this area took place in the 19th century. The Nagas resisted the intrusion of the British into their lands (1832–1936).

The British unified the desperate Naga Peoples and brought them under their administration which became part of upper Burma (now Myanmar) in 1935. However a section of the Naga led a struggle for a separate sovereign existence outside India. This book chronicles the historical process of the making of Naga Nationality.

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## ABBREVIATIONS (AND EXPLANATIONS WHERE DEEMED NECESSARY)

- CNBC** : Council of Naga Baptist Churches;  
Apex body of Baptist churches established and populated by the Nagas within and without the Nagaland state (including Naga inhabited regions in Myanmar);  
Headquarters at Kohima;  
Currently membership of 42 church associations  
Formed in 1987
- NNC** : Naga National Council;  
The Naga political body that first took up the case of Naga sovereignty and independence with the British Empire and India;  
An outstanding goal of this body is to achieve political independence through the means of non-violence;  
Formed in 1948
- NSCN** : National Socialist Council of Nagaland;  
Formed in 1980 by the discontented NNC General Secretary Th. Muivah and his allies Isak Chishi and SS Khaplang;  
Subscribed to revolutionary method towards liberation of the people
- NSCN (I-M)**: National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isak-Muivah faction);  
Called NSC Nagalim (Isak-Muivah) since 1990s
- NSCN (K)** : National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang faction);
- FGN** : Federal Government of Nagaland;  
The acronym for the government formed by the NNC 22nd March, 1956
- NPC** : Nagaland Peace Council/Naga People's Convention
- UNC** : United Naga Council;  
An apex body of the Nagas based in the Manipur state

- NPMHR : Naga People's Movement for Human Rights
- PM : Prime Minister
- CM : Chief Minister
- GOI : Government of India
- MOU : Memorandum of Understanding
- NBCC : National Baptist Church Council;  
Apex body of the Baptist Christian associations in the state of Nagaland; Membership open to non-Naga associations, inter-tribal associations/associations based on professional lines;  
Headquarters at Kohima;  
Currently has 20 member-associations.
- BPFNA : Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America
- GPRN : Government of People's Republic of Nagaland;  
The name of the government for NSCN;  
Now GPR Nagalim for I-M faction;
- BWA : Baptist World Alliance;  
World body of Baptist Christians
- NEI : North East (India)
- IPS : Indian Police Service
- CRDS : Comprehensive Rural Development Service
- RUF : Re- Unification Force;  
Floated in 1994 with the goal to unify the Naga national workers of the Chakhesang tribe
- CPO : Chakhesang Public Organisation;  
The apex tribal body of the Chakhesang tribal community;  
Affiliated with the Naga Hoho like other tribal organisations/hohos

## A NOTE

While compiling, editing and arranging the manuscripts of a wider range of Naga Chronicles, every possible care was taken to ensure that the

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## PART I

# The Naga Chronicle

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Dr. Director, ICSSR—NERC, Shillong, who has taken keen interest and helped this valuable documented work. And we do express our sincere thanks to Regency Publications for printing the book.

KHABAKI PHEMAMONG

COUNCIL OF NAG BAPTIST CHURCHES

His khaddie got him at last,  
Again, to a steep side of towers,  
He returned alone, weary,

Have fought he walked a thousand miles,  
Wearing torn trousers and a shirt,  
Heavily loaded for self,  
Up and down walked deep forests,  
Without sleep, hunger, he struggled for months,  
Crossing deep rivers he had enemies,  
Fought his way, not counting his wounds.

## A NOTE

While compiling, editing and arranging the documents into a whole book titled *The Naga Chronicle*, every possible care was taken to keep them as original in form and language as when they were first treated final. Subsequently, there may be some sections of the *Chronicle* with grammatical errors and incoherent/unsystematic presentations. However, they were left as they are with the reasons stated above.

The responsibility of other factual errors will be borne by the Research Department, Council of Naga Baptist Churches.

The CNBC Research Department is deeply indebted to Dr. C.J. Thomas, Dy. Director, ICSSR—NERC, Shillong, who has taken keen interest and publish this valuable documented book. And we do express our sincere thanks to Regency Publications for printing the book.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT,  
COUNCIL OF NAGA BAPTIST CHURCHES

## A TRIBUTE

With deep sense of responsibility I express my gratefulness to them who sacrificed their precious lives for the Naga self determination. Words are too weak to express how much the Nagas owe them who fell in battles for this cause. Many others suffered for life-time owing to tortures they had gone through. Here are two of my poems as a special tribute for them (earlier published in *Nagaland Church and Politics* authored by me).

### **THE MAN WHO SACRIFICED FOR YOUR TOMORROW**

*Wishing to see children and wife,  
This liberator came home secretly.  
And 'stead of getting protection in his village,  
He was betrayed by friends.  
Claiming his right;  
asked his men for defence.  
But was misunderstood,  
And hunted back to deep forest.  
Knowing the risks of his life,  
as he was under enemies' attack.  
He felt the separateness of his home.  
Yet, looking down on his rusted weapon.  
Too weak to face enemies.  
But finding no way out he fought.  
Fighting and bathing in his own blood,  
with thirst and hunger,  
With his last breath, he said:  
"This is all for your tomorrow."*

### **THE MAN WHO FOUGHT FOR YOU**

*He died of slow starvation.  
Stones were his pillows.  
And he slept on earthly floor.  
Feeding on wild fruits, By night he came home.  
Asking for a handful of Rice,  
Yet, of him, his own people were scared.*

*His kindreds fed him at last.  
Again, to a camp made of leaves.  
He returned alone wearily.  
Bare-footed he walked a thousand miles  
Wearing torn trousers and a Cap,  
Heavily loaded for self-defence  
Up and down walked deep forests,  
Without map, guideless, he struggled for months together.  
Crossing deep Rivers he met enemies.  
Fought his best not counting his wounds.  
At last, asking for mercy killing.  
With tears he bade his friends farewell  
And breathed out his last.*



A Tribute to Naga Army (1972).

For half the Twentieth Century, Naga people have gone through immense struggle. Realising its importance, I preserved some available documents.

Now, I have compiled those important documents in the form of a book in order to preserve the Naga history.

I am convinced that God has a special purpose for the Naga people whose leaders have laid the foundations of, for, our nationality right.

March 1, 1999

REV. DR. V.K. NUH

## INTRODUCTION

*"A homeland is not given or gotten as a gift, it is not acquired by privilege or political contract; it is not bought with gold or held by force. Nor it is made with the sweat of brow. It is the historic creation and collective enterprise of a people. The friends of its labour, bodily, spiritual and moral over a span of generation."*

—David Ben Gurion

Webster dictionary says that a nation can be defined as a group of people held together by ties such as race, language, religion, manners and customs, tradition, history, geographical surrounding, commerce and laws.

According to anthropologists' observation, culture is what holds a community together, giving common frame-work of meaning. It is present language, thought pattern, ways of life, attitude, symbol and pre-supposition and is celebrated in art, music, drama, literature, and the like. It constitutes the collective meaning of the people and the collective heritage which will be handed down to generations still to come (M.M. Thomas).

Originally the word 'nation' which takes its origin from the Latin word '*natio*' indicates a backward tribe in contrast to '*gen*' or '*papulis*' signifying civilized people as that of ancient Greece and Rome.

According to Dr. Radhakrishnan, "It is a society based on communion of mind and union of heart." In a quite liberal sense a stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological characteristics are manifested in a community of culture.

Jacque Maritain defines a nation as "A community of people who become aware of themselves as history has made them, who treasure their own past, and who love themselves as they know or imagine themselves to be, with a kind of inevitable introversions."

India is multi-social, multi-religious and multi-lingual in character, and in a sense multi-national. Nationalism was pursued with the aim of fulfilling the aspirations of different people and nationalities for equal opportunity of development after gaining independence from the British yoke.

Tribal religion is the belief expressed culturally. Beliefs are interpretations and explanations of myths. Thus, tribal culture is myth lived out, or

religion in practice. For the tribal religion and culture are consistently related like two faces of the same coin. These articles show how the tribal culture and religion are identical. This the author asserts after studying the creation of myths of the tribals, indicating at very step how it applies to tribal life.

*Mission Digest 1993* said: No true society can exist without common belief and common aim. Religion declares the belief and aim. Politics regulate society in the practical realization of that belief and prepares the means of attaining the aim. Religion represents the principle, politics the application. There is but one sun and heaven for all the earth.

History shows that religious organizations and training of the mind in religious thinking have been an integral part of Naga society. Since times immemorial, Nagas had their own religion. The Naga religion, by and large, could be termed as monotheistic.

Monotheistic people generally believe in an almighty, eternal, *Creator-God* who is invisible and of whom no images are made. His name is usually held in deepest reverence. The supreme God is constantly symbolized by the sky or heaven. His name is often the same word used to denote the sky. The supreme God is honoured and considered too lofty for direct contact.

Thus, Naga people concerned themselves with the spirit world. They believed, according to their traditional religion, that all things are animate and all phenomena are inhabited by spirit. This belief is generally known as *animism*.

Nagas' traditional ways of worship and sacrifice were more or less similar with the Jewish belief in one sovereign God. Their religious practices were almost the same as of Judaism. For the Jews, Torah—the Old Testament—is the final law; for the Naga people, whatever religion sanction exists becomes final law in regulating the society.

It is no wonder why Christianity had changed Naga people's belief, because Nagas' age-old belief is similar to Jewish belief. Recent developments in Christian thinking and endeavours have acted as the most vital factors in making Naga people release natural character, featuring self-determination.

There is no country in the whole world in which Christianity has retained a greater influence over the soul of man than in Nagaland. A Christian must put into practice his principles and purpose if they are to serve man's needs in the present world. This is the concept of Christian responsibility to society.

An ancient Athenian's interest was all centered in the city. His art was civic. His religion was not merely a family matter but an affair of the city. And his religious festivals were live celebrations. Therefore, to the Greeks, political philosophy was the harmony of the common life ethics, social trends, economics, etc. To them, a human being is a social animal. He is easily affected by sympathy and desire for sympathy.

To Naga people, just like the Greeks who believed in city state, village life was a small state. Their religion, civic life, festivals and many other affairs were limited within their own village jurisdiction. Each village having well-organized system of life is perhaps one of the oldest democratic systems in the world. Every village had its own system of managing its village administration. For hundreds and thousands of years, they lived in these mountains. They had their own institutions to educate and train their youngsters to live in harmony with their fellowmen in their own villages. They were fond of their own village life.

It is a known fact that the whole world has gone through dramatic changes in the aftermath of World War II. Most of the colonial establishments have been overthrown. Most of Southeast Asian countries became independent and now have come to be self-respecting and self-reliant nations. After achieving nationhood, they have developed themselves into worthy nations in all respects, ready to compete with the west in all fronts.

Naga people believe in sovereign God who has said, *I heard them cry out to be free from their slave-drivers. I know all about their suffering, and so I have come down to rescue them from the symptoms and to bring them out a good land, the land of milk and honey* (Exodus 3: 7-8).

July 2002

REV. DR. V.K. NUH

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