REGIONALISM AND CHANGE IN NAGALAND

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Regionalism and Change in Nagaland",submitted by Tsukjemchila Imchen in partial fulfilment for the Degree of the Master of Philosophy(M.Phil) in Geography is a bonified study of the researcher to the best of my knowledge and belief. The researcher has given the acknowledgements to all the quotations, extracts and ideas borrowed from other studies.

The dissertation may now be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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C O N T E N T S

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Imchen

Dated: Aug 1993. Tsukjemchila Imchen

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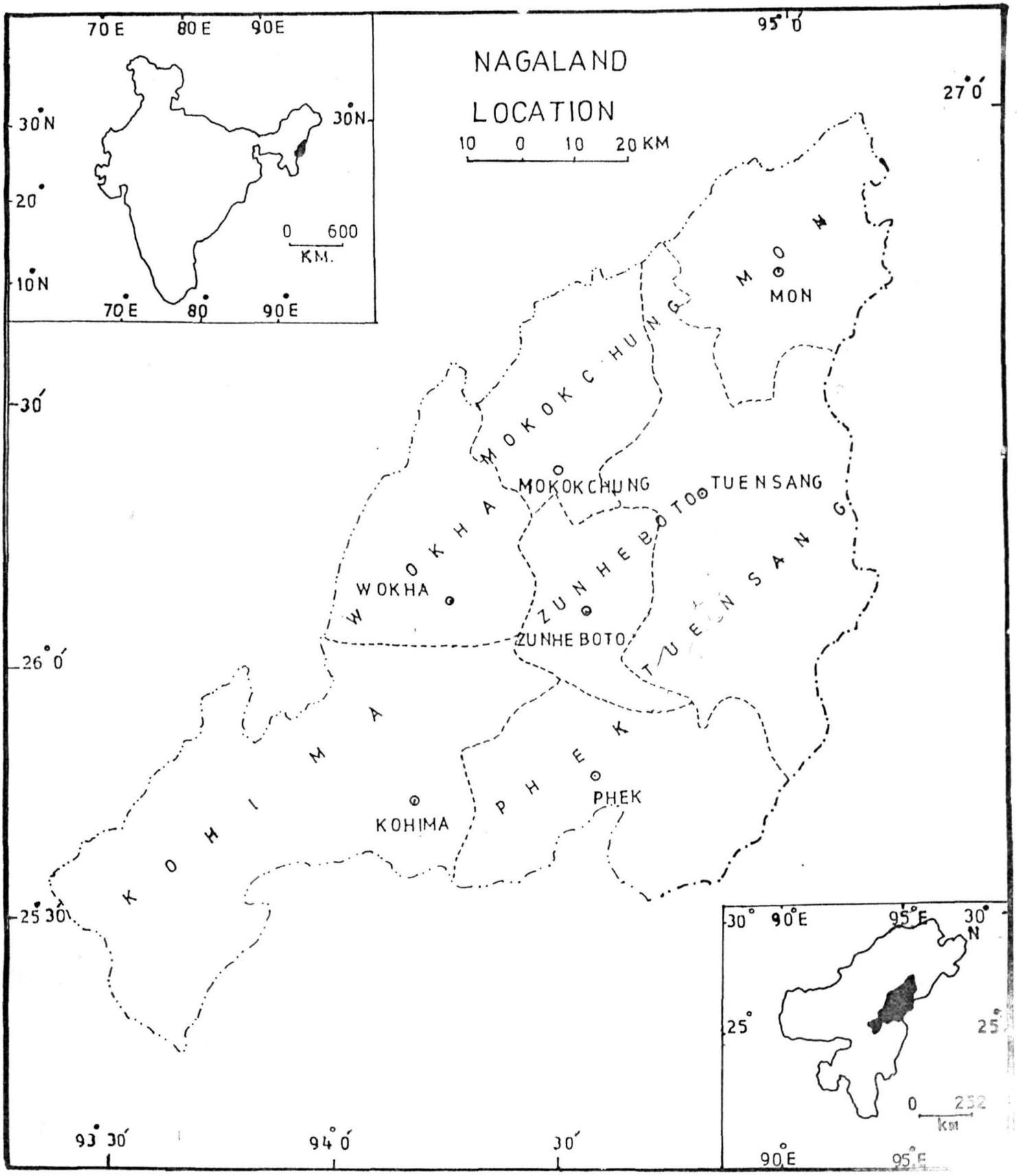
NAGALAND
LOCATION
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FIG - 1.1

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Increasing efforts have been made in our time to reduce the weight of the differences and diversity, which has been an outcome of the heritage of history and nature and as such, this inequality is not always directly linked with diversity, but it acts as a conditioning factor which results in what Francesco Campagna term 'Geographic injustice'. Such diversities gives rise to regional distinctiveness, its awareness creates a situation wherein regional forces assert their identity. As a phenomena it emerges out of the cummulative of variations pertaining to socio-cultural, economic and political spheres such as the man-environment, linguistic, historical and cultural forces, economic disparities, political trends and ethnic conflicts which act as catalyst in fostering regional awareness. In its extreme form regionalism can assume the form of separatist tendences. If such movements are ultimately crushed, the concerned region assumes the status of a constituent regions as was seen in the southern states of America after the civil war. Sectionist tendencies become more accentuated when cultural and territorial loyalties are conjoined, assuming the form of separatism.

1.2 A CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK OF REGIONALISM.

Regionalism can be conceptualised as a multi-dimensional composite phenomena as well as a in-built process within Nationalism. This concept has come to occupy an important position in political geography by virtue of its relevance in the growing complexities of contemporary political situations prevelent today.

From a theoretical view point regionalism has often been characterised both as a doctrine as well as a tendency implying -

1) Decentralization of administration on regional basis.

2) A socio-cultural counter movement against the imposing of a monolithic National unity.

3) A political counter-movement aiming to achieve greater autonomy of sub-cultural regions through greater political autonomy of self government within the federal structure of a nation.

4) The tendency for separatist to fulfill political aspiration of a regional group living in a specific sub-cultural region.

It is a modern phenomena in political geography representing idea in-action ideology, a social movement and a theoretical basis for regional planning. The existing complexities and heterogenity that exist in space give rise to demands for greater political and economic de-centralisation policies, which would not only ensure a more balanced regional development, but also allow greater participation of the various groups in influencing the decision making and implementation of policies. This reinforced the necessity to delineate formal regions on the basis of taking into consideration certain criteria (Mahesh Chand and V.K. Puri:1983).

Varying perspectives could be adopted for arriving at a better understanding of the concept of political regionalism from a spatial context. Structural approaches subsumes several perspectives viz. un-even Development, Inter Colonialism and Ethnic competition. Proponents of this approach namely Nairn (1977), Hechter (1975) and Ragin (1979), all see political regionalism arising as direct result of objective social forces (structures).

In the internal colonialism, integration process have been achieved by the domination of a central or core ethnic group while peripheries have been permanently

disadvantaged or exploited and their local culture has been threatened by the culture of the dominant group; however the culture of the peripheries are retained and if for some reason, the powers of the core group declines, the former may agitate, giving rise to separatist politics. He equates 'peripheral sectionalism' with latent separatism. Nairn on the other hand traces Nationalism directly to the operation of the global capitalism economy, while Ragin attributes regionalism to ethnic tension and competition for the same rewards and resources, as a result of interconnectedness of the previously economically and territorially separate groups.

The Dialectical approach advocates for a relationship between objective structures and human behaviour for if the relationship between the two are ignored then "one is condemned to reduce all behaviour to a logical formula"(John. A. Agnew: 1981). If the former advocates strong commitment to nationalist consciousness, then the latter considers the possibilities of ambivalence in political commitments. Regionalism may also assume a defensive- Nationalist attitude as a defensive mechanism against the amalgamation into the mainstream and the possible loss of culture such a process could entail.

Finally the role of elitist and core periphery perceptives are no less important in fostering political regionalism. Socio-economic changes as a result of modern technologies when combined with growing political aspirations can create instabilities in a setup hitherto seen as orderly, which necessitates the provision of new systems of coordinates and as such this involves an element of centrality denotes the seat of authority and lower as a result of which the centre is viewed as a privileged location within a territory assuming the seat of power making, having control over negotiations and resources. In reverse the periphery is constrianed by its dependence on the culture for its well being. It has little control over its activities and tends to have a poorly developed economy.

In geographical terms the periphery is defined as that which surrounds the centre and in political relationships assume a subordinate role. It also exhibits a marginalised culture, so fragmentation and parochialism becomes entrenched and as a result were able to resist the influences of extra-mural processes of absorption by the ever expanding centre. In stable areas, such subordination are accepted, despite resentment

but in unstable areas they could create conflicts, tensions and confrontation. Un-even development could accentuate a change in perception towards an established order and rapidly changing technological and economic scenario.

In the communicational-cybernetic power system, several power centres emerge in hierarchical order branching out to an ultimate authority and if commands flow from centre to its peripheries, then information travels in the reverse order. As opposed to this concept, functionalist - normative view of Durkhiem and Parson, where power is replaced by collective moral concensus on shared norms and values and such a society is based on commonality or immaterial elements such as images and moral codes. There was no meaningful centre-periphery differentiation in primitive societies but the emergence of urban civilization and network of central place, a polarization between the two rose, giving way to the cybernetic society.

On a global scale regionalism can be considered as a voluntary grouping or association of three or more states with the ultimate purpose of forming a unified

political entity, for defensive arrangements but went on later to produce cooperations in other spheres. On a smaller scale it takes the form of process or phenomena operating at the national level.

Territorial integration by historians have laid emphasis only on the cycles of consequents and aggregation, empire building and as such have not stressed on the ethnically or culturally homogenous regions. In ancient times, people's primary large-group loyalties were the clan and tribe. They were defined by the social group into which they were born and there was a close identification with their territory. With the interregnum of feudalism, smaller political structures in the form of modern nations finally emerged. This was characterised by incorporation of new domains, as a result, politically abounded territories came to define the people.

A persistent thread in international politics during the last half of the twentieth centuwry both in developed and developing nations, was the growing importance of regionalism. Regional concerns and interest are being raised as cultures and groups are deliberately or unintentionally being excluded from the existing

government's economic and social policies and as such, it has resulted in disenchanted groups seeking greater political representation and territorial control over their destiny (Stanley D. Brunn : 1981).

Such demands have been recognised in Canada among native Americans, the French speaking sections of Quebec, Basques in Spain etc. Such demands may represent varying views. In France it represents greater de-centralisation and in Britain, it verges on localism, as it goes way beyond the traditional differences between Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England. Such demands must either assume non-violent postures as in Quebec or of a violent nature as in Spain and India. It may transcend international boundaries if ethnicity and religion forms the basis for such demands.

Regionalism in the Indian context generally refers to assertion of distinct ethnic, linguistic or economic interest by various groups within the union. Regionalism threatens to balkanise the country and in India it has assumed mainly three forms.

1) Demand of the people of certain areas for separate statehood.
2) Demands of people of certain union territories for full fledged statehood.
3) Demamd of people of certain areas for secession from the union. (Dr. Satyabrata Rai Chowdhuri : 1993).

Territorial identity can be reinforced by territorial exclusiveness which advocates for special claim of the indigenous population to first claim is employment, school, housing, position in the administrative services and even the control of state political system.

Rise and growth of regionalism is rooted in the failure of the national political systems to meet the aspirations of the people. The ever widening chasm between the privileged and the not so privileged societies in the country is the root cause of inter-ethnic, inter-communal and inter-regional conflicts which characterises regionalism. The role of political 'parties and regional elites cannot be ignored as they often attempt to promote regional issues and understate national ones. In Nagaland an extreme form of regionalism developed, which attained the status of a full-fledged insurgent movement by the late 1950's. Increased social contact and education gave rise to the

emmergence of the middle class who spear headed the Pan-Naga solidarity movement, making it one of the oldest of its kind in the country as well as one of the most organised mass-based movement.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Geographical isolation of the study area gave rise to historical traditionalism and cultural distinctiveness, which generated a sense of attachment of the people with the interest of local significance. The implications of such entrenched individualism and ethnocentrism has wider dimensions and could be identified at two levels. At the first level , exists a perceived notion of negligence by the central government, which has been compounded by the harsh economic realities and a decisive cultural distinctiveness, resulting in only partial assimilation into the mainstream. Such conflicts were perpetuated in the form of separatist tendencies. At the secondary level un-equal participation in the powers and wealth of the state and the ensuing competition among the various contending groups and marginalisation of minorities gives rise to dissatisfaction which could generate ethnic conflict and social stratification along economic lines.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.

Based on the above background attempts will be made -

1) To evolve a framework for understanding the historical evolution of regionalism in the state of Nagaland.
2) To understand the changing political processes and regionalism in the state.
3) To understand the process of the transfer of power from traditional political setup to the modern state apparatus.
4) To highlight the relationship between the lopsided nature of socio-economic development and the consolidation of regionalist forces.
5) To understand the nature of socio-cultural changes including the process of de-tribalism and emergence of extreme form of tribalism to re-assert the same.

1.5 HYPOTHESIS:

The physiographic distinctiveness of micro regions provides the basis for the emergence of numerous socio-cultural groups in Nagaland, with minimum interaction in the area, but once these isolated cultural entities were confronted by a larger socio-cultural group like the pan-Indian citure then the processes of assimilation is likely to give rise to an extreme form of regionalism.

Further it is almost equi-distant from the tri-junction of the Indo-China - Burma - Bangladesh in the south.

The region is characterised by high hills, sharp crest ridges, deep gorges and narrow valleys and dissected by a number of seasonal and perennial rivers. To the east lies the Naga Range which forms the water-shed between India and Burma. Saramati is the highest peak (3,048 m), in the Naga range, while Japvo '2,995m) is the highest in the Kohima hills.

Climatically there appears to be some degree of spatial variations ranging from sub-montane temperate in the east to sub-tropical in the west. In general the altitudes vary between 194m and 3,048m.

For administrative purpose, the area has been divided into seven districts, twenty-two sub-divisions and twenty-eight C.D. Blocks, with approximately 1,112 villages and seven towns and Kohima as its capital.

The total population according to the 1981 census was 7,74,930 which stands at 12,15,573 according to 1991 census showing an increase of 56.86% and a density of

73 persons per sq. Km. The population is heterogenous in character with as many as 16 different tribes speaking different dialects.

The sex-ratio was 890 females per 1000 males in 1981, while the literacy rate was 51.09% according to 1991 census. The literacy rate is comparatively higher among the males (56.05%) while the female literacy rate stands at 45.52%.

The dominant religion is Christianity (80.21%) in 1981. The Hindu population which comes in second, is a mere 14.36%.

The state has a dominant agrarian economy with 72.36% of the population employed in this sector. Agriculture is pre-dominantly Jhum in nature with terrace cultivation confined to areas where it is feasible. The potentiality of resources are yet to be fully realised and tapped, in addition the inadequate infra-structural facilities deter progress and satsifactory economic development in the region.

1.7 DATA BASE AND METHODOLOGY.

The datas used in the present study were collected from secondary sources, such as census report and statistical handbooks. Published and unpublished literature and report

also provided valuable information, but the study was handicaped by the lack of adequate data, hence the seven districts were chosen as units to study the levels of development and the regional disparities. To measure the level of development sixteen indicators were selected based on resource, agriculture, industry and social amenities. The composite index for these respective categories were computed using the following formula:

$$\text{Composite index} = \left(\frac{X - \bar{X}}{SD}\right)$$

When X = Unit variable

X = mean of a number of variables

SD = standard deviation of the sum of the data.

Finally the respective composite indicies for the various categories were added to arrive at the overall level of development in the state. Cartographic techniques have been used to represent the datas.

1.8 LITERATURE SURVEY:

Although a substantial amount of literature is available on the present theme, as it has clear inter-disciplinary connections nevertheless, specific literature pertaining to the region has been limited. A list of books which have provided useful information have been referred below.

John A. Agnew in his article, "Structural and Dialectical theories of political regionalism" (in the book, Political Studies from Spatial Perspectives edited Alan D.Burnett and Peter J.Taylor, 1981) reviews two contrasting theoretical approaches to explain political regionalism. The structural theories subsumes uneven development, Internal Colonialism, ethnic competitiveness while the Dialectical approaches focuses on the roots of political action, emphasising the relationship between objective structures and human behaviour and the possible existence of ambivalent political commitments of the peripheral groups are examined. As opposed to this view is the overwhelming commitment of people to National consciousness as the structural theory of Hecter would predict.

"Ethnicity and Nation - Building in South Asia" by Urmila Phadnis - (1990). In the chapter "Ethnic Separatism in North-East India" is of the opinion that separatist movements in this region is due to an assertion of tribal group identity and distinctiveness, a protest against their assimilation vis-a-vis the 'mainstream. Geographical linkages coupled with the tribal affinities across the various states in the area, made possible militant group inter-action

possible. All of them seem to have one thing in common, which is an acute sense of relative deprivation and grievance vis-a-vis the institutions of power and authority at the local and central levels.

Francesco Compagna and Calogero Muscara in his article "Regionalism and social change in Italy" (in the book Centre and Periphery: Spatial Variations in Politics edited by Jean Gottmann - 1980).

They attribute the 'conditioning' of geographical variation which results in widespread 'Geographic injustice' to the development of regionalism. Despite regional variations in Italy, the rapid industrialisation in the north, attracted migrants in large numbers from the relatively less developed southern regions and as a result their was amalgamation of the various cultures, promoting homogenity of the population.

Richard Muir (1975) "Modern Political Geography"

Discussions pertaining to the 'maze of contradictions' with regards to literature on core areas is mentioned in the chapter 'political regions and structure' . De Blij regards the core areas as 'every adequately functioning state systems includes... a core area.'
On the other hand Hartshorne thought ' a core area is neither sufficient nor essential to the evolution of state or nation'.

"Centre and Periphery" A Case Study of Spatial Variations in Politics in India with Special Reference to the North-East India - Regional Seminar Paper presented at the Mizoram Campus, 1988.

It was suggested that stable areas promote a healthy relationship, while unstable areas are prone to conflicts. To ensure a healthy relationship, there has to be equal participation in the economy and even distribution of its resources. Literature relating to the history, culture and economy has provided a better understanding of the area and its problems. Professor E. E. Essien Udom attributes uneven economic development in Africa to the interest articulation factor providing an added dimension to the already complicated and complex situation in the region.

Arun K. Chatterjee "Sociological Context of Regionalism In India: A Conceptual Framework"

The author discusses the concepts, structure, objectives, and determinants which influence the forces of regionalism. He cites the factors such as Man-Environment, Historical, Cultural linguism and political factors which act as determinants.

Harm. J.de blij "Systematic Political Geography".

The author provides information as to the origin of the 'Core' concept as defined by Ratzel, Whittlecey etc. It was Ratzel who first defined this reality in politico-geographical terms as 'territorial cell'. Despite the variations and differences both Ratzel and Whittlecey attributed the core to petain certain qualities such as density of population, good network of transport and communication as well as being the exact location from where the state orginated, thereby differentiating from the peripherial areas surrounding the core.

1.9 CHAPTERISATION.

The present study has been divided into 6 chapters whose main components are as follows.

Chapter one deals with the development of the concept of regionalism and its adaptation in the state of Nagaland.

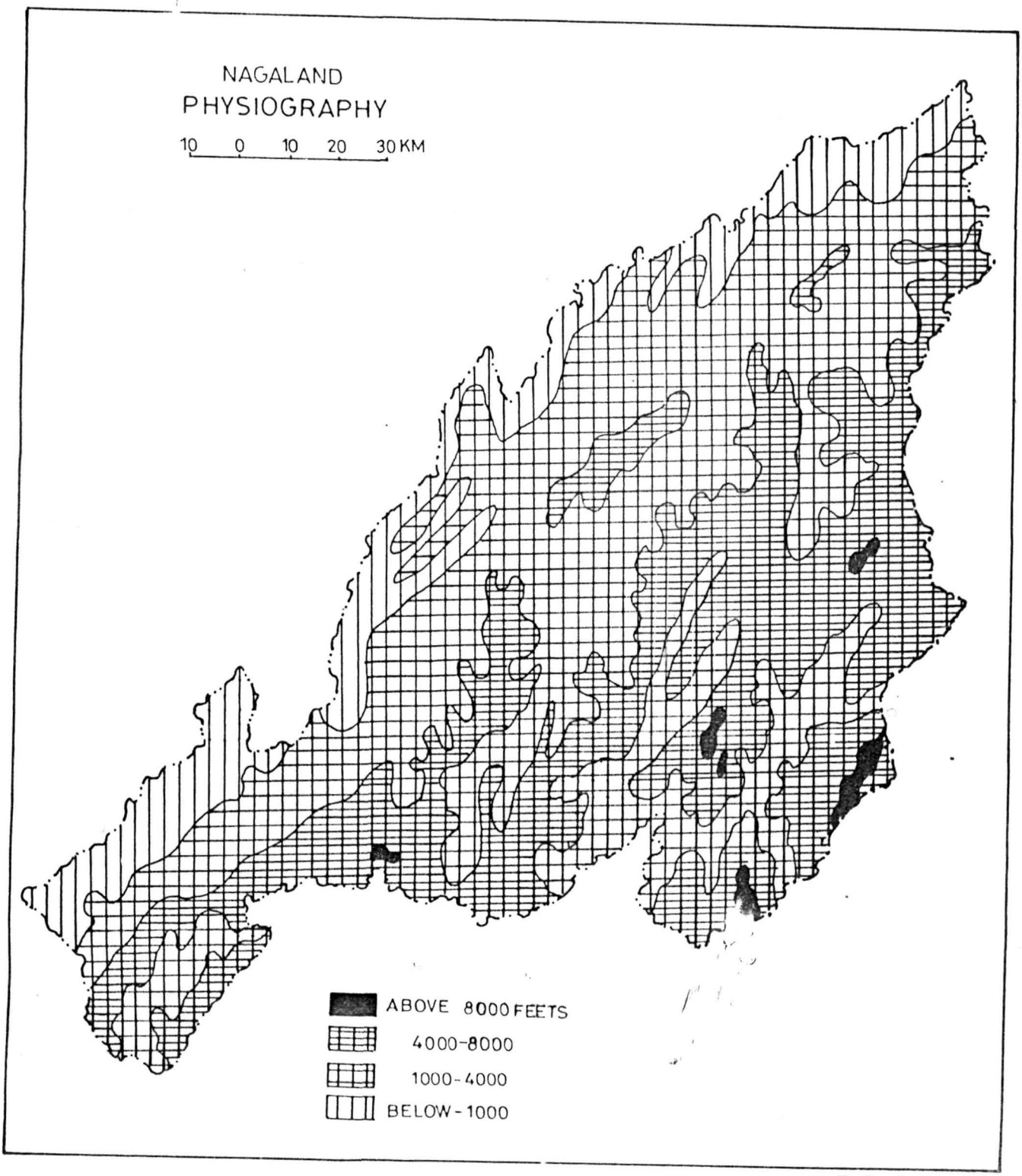
Chapter two gives an account of the geographical mileau and the characteristics of the study area specifically the size, density, growth of the population, socio-demographic features viz. religion and literacy rate.

Chapter three discusses the socio-economic and cultural mileau of the area, with emphasis on cultural attributes and the linguistic regions.

Chapter four deals with the political development, electoral participation, and its role in the emergence of regionalism.

Chapter five examines the development of Insurgency in the region, its continuation and hence the impact of the movement on study area as well as its impact on the surrounding territories.

Chapter six includes the summary of the main findings of the study.


NAGALAND
PHYSIOGRAPHY
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ABOVE 8000 FEETS
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1000-4000
BELOW-1000

FIG-2·1

CHAPTER - IX

GEOGRAPHICAL MILEAU OF NAGALAND: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA.

CHAPTER - II

2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL MILEAU OF NAGALAND : CHARACTERISTICS OF NAGALAND

The state of Nagaland is one of the eastern most states of the Indian Union. Spread over an area of 16,488 sq.Km. it is the third smallest state in the country (the first and second being Sikkim and Tripura respectively). Located between 25° 6' N and 27° 4' N latitude and between 93° 20' E and 95° 15' longitude. It accounts for 0.52% of the total area of the country. It is bordered on the west by Assam, Arunachal pradesh on the north, Manipur in the south and Myanmar to its east. This unique location making the state, is strategically significant; it is almost equidistant from the trijunctions of Indo-China-Myanmar in the north east and Indo-Myanmar Bangladesh in the south.

The area is characterised by high hills and narrow valleys, forming a mountain system that extends from the Chittagong hill tracts to the Patkai mountains as a point, where the range is joined by north-eastern off-shoots of the Himalayas. It adjoins a part of the Chin hills and Arakan Yuma system. Geographically the terraine can be divided into 3, North East-South West trending longitudinal segments.

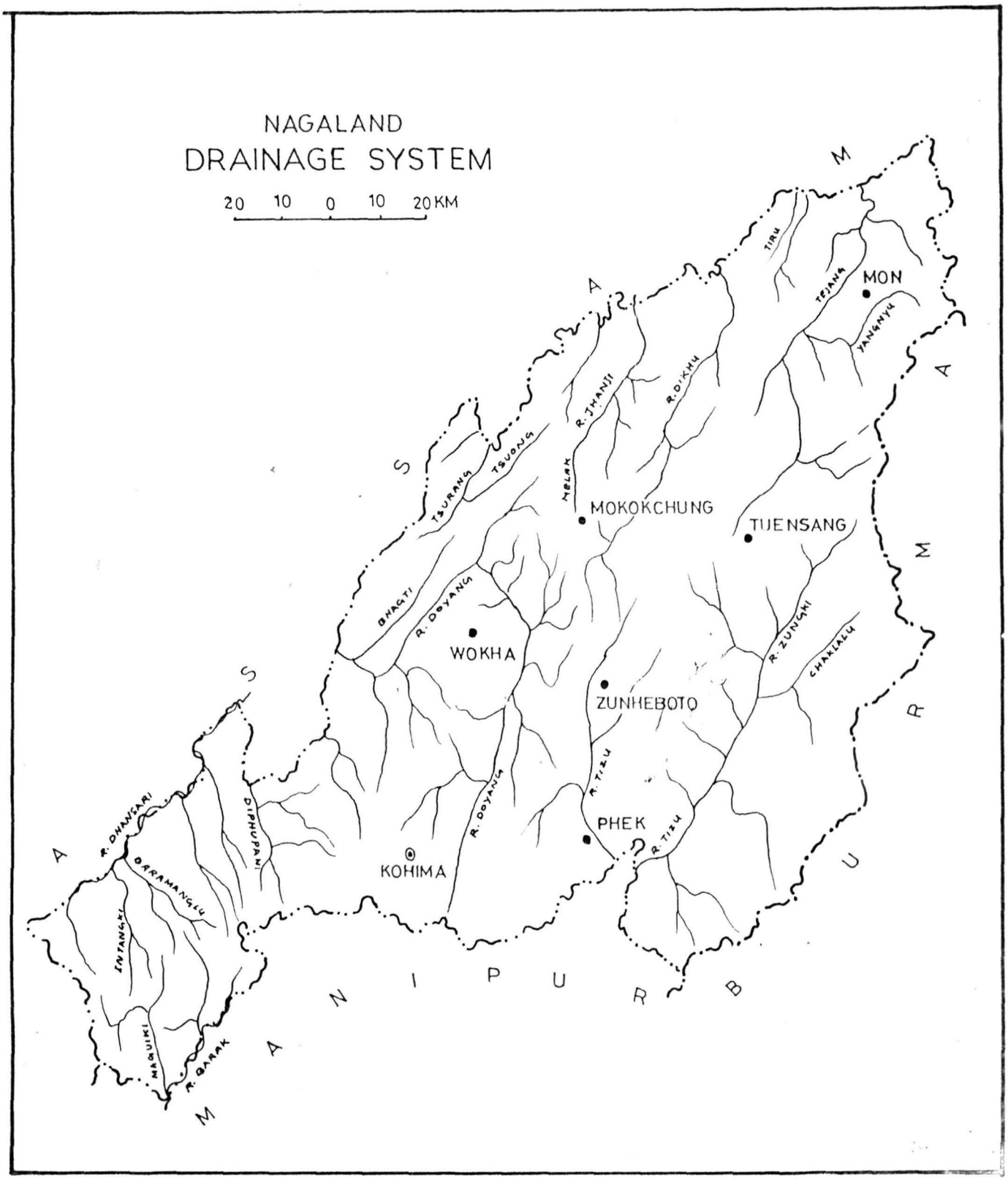
(1) The hill ranges in the east

(2) Medium to high hill ranges in the intermediate zone.

(3) The outer foot hill areas in the west.

The altitude varies between 110 metres - 3840 metres above sea level. The outer foot-hill areas which rise from the plains of Assam in the Western part of the state are the areas of lowest elevation in the three segments. The altitude in the outer foot hills varies from 110 metres to 600 metres. The altitude declines in the western extreme, giving way to flat, low lands. To the end of the outer foot-hills lies the intermediate zone characterised by continous hilly ranges with altitude ranging from 600 metres to 1,200 metres. These hill ranges run through the central portion of the state with a north-east to south-west alingment. The eastern part of the state is dominated by rugged terrain and lofty hills.

The Patkai range traverses the extreme western region. It attains an height of 3,840 metres at mount Saramati and terms a watershed between India and Myanmar the Barail range enters the state at the south-west corner, traversing in a northerly direction through the


NAGALAND
DRAINAGE SYSTEM
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MON
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YANGHYU
TIRU
R. JHANJI
R. DIKHU
MELAK
TSUONG
TSURANG
MOKOKCHUNG
TUENSANG
BHAGTI
R. DOYANG
WOKHA
R. ZUNGKI
CHAKLALU
ZUNHEBOTO
R. TIZU
PHEK
R. TIZU
R. DOYANG
KOHIMA
DIPHUPANI
R. DHANSARI
BARAMANGLU
INTANGKI
MAKUTKI
R. BARAK
A S S A M
M A N I P U R
B U R M A

FIG-2·2

west of Kohima, with mount Japvo as the highest peak (3014 metres). The Barail range is connected to the Patkai by smaller ranges. One such range runs in a south-eastern direction, which later assumes an easterly trend. The second range takes a Zig-zag course, joining the first range at Mao and chosses Patkai range in the eastern part of Tuensang.

There are a number of valleys located with an average altitude of 300 metres. The important ones are the (1) Ghaspani valley (2) Merapani valley (3) Bhandari valley (4) Tsurang valley (5) Lakhuni valley (6) Tiru valley.

The Ghaspani valley is located in the south western part of the state(Kohima district) while the Merapani and Bhandari valleys are situated in the mid-western district of Wokha. To the north of Merapani valley lies the valley of Lakhuni. These valleys lie in the Mokokchung district. The Tiru valley also called Tirupathar is situated in the Mon district. It is covered by thick forest. The rugged topography makes the area in-accessible. It becomes more difficult by presence of streams and rivers.

2.2 DRAINAGE.

The state is dissected by both season and perennial rivers. The four most important rivers are Doyang, Kikhu,

Dhansiri and Tizu. All have dendritic pattern, while the former three rivers flow into the Brahmputra, Tizu flows into Chindwin in Burma.

Doyang is incidentally the longest river in the region originating at Japoo near the northern slope of Manipur. This river serves as boundries to the territories of the various Naga tribes. It flows through the Angami territory flowing east of the Rengma area, northwards towards the Sema district finally passing Wokha as it finally flows into Dhansiri. Doyang has two tributaries, the Chibu and Nzhu. Dikhu river originates in the central part of the state, traversing north along the boundaries of Mokokchung and Tuensang district, an important tributary being Yangyu which joins Dikhu in the north, before it flows into the Brahmputra. Dhansiri originates in a point south west of Kohima district serving as a boundary between the state and North Cachar and later flows into the Brahmaputra.

Tizu: The Tizu is perhaps the only east flowing river originating in the central part of the State. It assumes a south-easterly course, where it is joined by Zunki an important tributary, finally it flows into the Chindwin river in Burma. Mulak river flows through the Ao arch and

is joined by Tsurang before it flows into the Brahmputra, where it is locally known as Jhanji river.

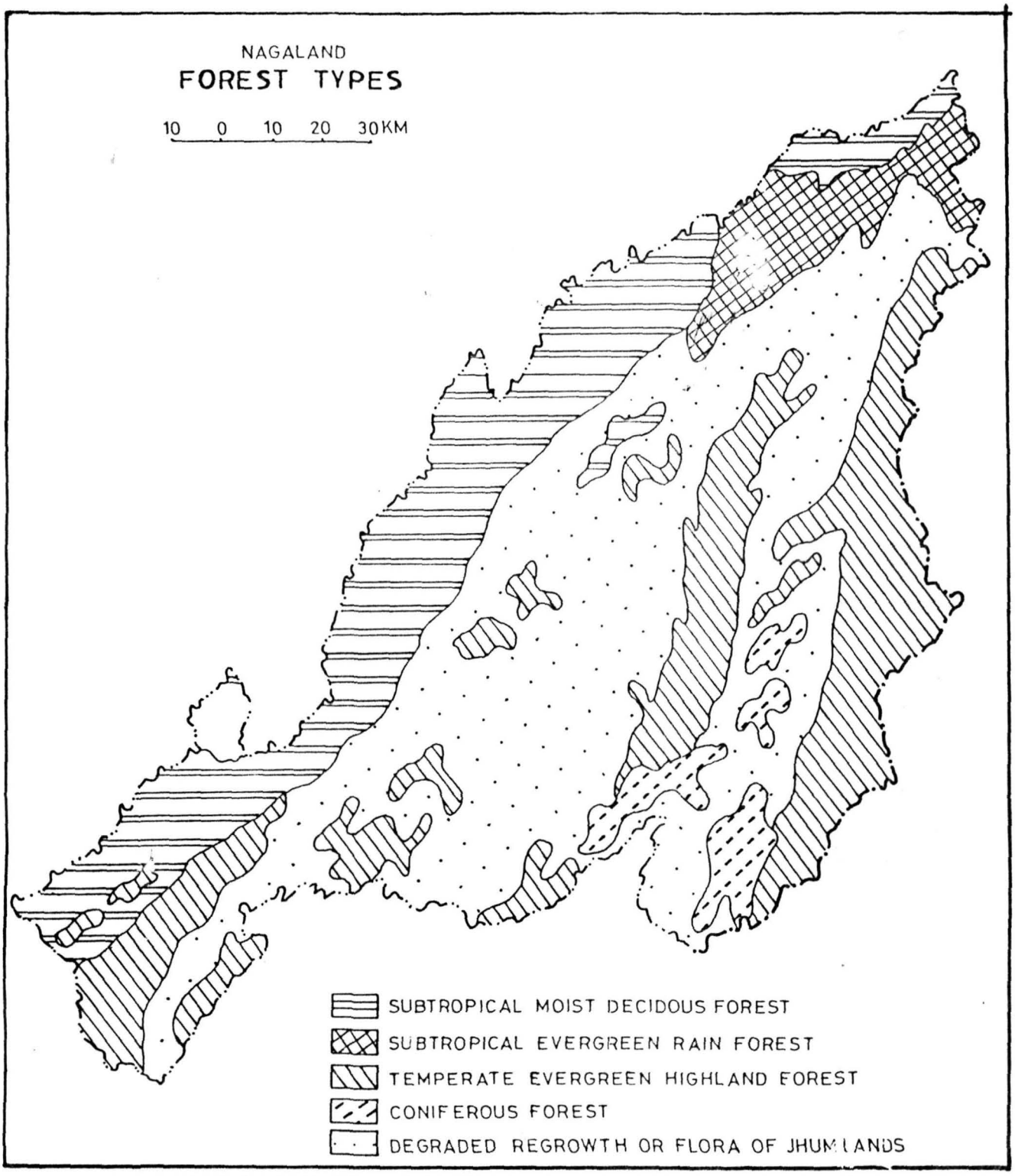
Besides these rivers there are a number of rain-fed rivulets, whose beds remains dry in the dry season. Two important natural lakes are Amoklushi and Yimyu Awatsung both located in the Ao area.

2.3 CLIMATE:

The climate shows some degree of spatial variation. It ranges from a warm sub-tropical in the foot-hills, in the mid-slopes and lower ranges of the western flank, it is moderate submontane. In the western part of the state the climate is of the cold and temperate type. The temperature varies from 5°C to 25°C. Winter are cold and occurance of snow and frost in certain areas are not uncommon. The monsoon season begins in May and continues till about October. The annual average rainfall is recorded at 200 cm. to 250 cm. Four seasons can be generally identified:

a) Winter which begins in December and continues till about February.

b) Pre-monsoon which begins in the month of March and continues to April.



SOURCE - DEPTT OF FORESTS, NAGALAND.

FIG - 2·4

c) Monsoon which begins in the month of May and ends in September.

d) Retreating Monsoon which begins in October and continues to November.

The winter and summer seasons dominate a major part of the year while spring and autumn are short lived. January has been recorded as the coldest month in the state, while the months of July and August have recorded the heaviest rainfall. The humidity at an average reaches 85% to 95%. The retreating Monsoon months mark the most pleasant season, when the weather as a whole is cloudless and cool.

2.4 SOIL AND VEGETATION.

As typical of mountaneous terraine, the state has in general poor soil cover with the exception of the valleys along the foot-hills owing to the torrential rain, rapid erosion which is further aggravated by the practice of Jhum cultivation and excessive logging in recent years.

Soil can be broadly classified into -

A) Alluvial Soil

B) Residual Soil - .

The former includes the recent alluvium(enisol), old alluvium(oxizols), mountain soil. Entisols occur mostly in the western and south-western part of the state. Old alluvium is found in north-west Nagaland, while mountain soil occurs in the valley areas(central and eastern). Fertile allugial soils are confined to the low lying areas. Residual soils which are porous in nature are found in most parts of the state. Residual soils are laterite brown forest soils and podzolic. The combined effect of the soil, climate and altitude have a stimulating effect on the vegetation which is highly diversified. Basically four forest types have been identified and they are :

(1) Sub-toropical evergreen rain forest
(2) Sub-tropical moist deciduous forest including bamboo.
(3) Temperate evergreen highland forest.
(4) Coniferous forest.

The sub-tropical moist deciduous forest is found mainly in the western part of the state, which encompasses the lowest altitude areas in the region.

Sub-tropical evergreen forest is concentrated in the north west, while coniferous forest are confined to the high altitude areas in the south-east. Certain areas have been demarcated as reserved forest namely Intanki, Rangapar and Singphan. Of late the government has made an effort to bring more areas under reserved forest.

2.5 MINERAL RESOURCES.

Although the state is endowed with mineral resources, it's potentialities have not been ascertained so far, as no proper exploitation or tapping of resources have been seriously undertaken particularly in the eastern part of the state. Coal is mined at the Borjan in the Saffrai areas, it also occurs at Jhanji and Desai valley, 13 and 32 Km south of Nazira respectively. Smaller deposits have been found in the district of Mokokchung in and around the villages of Lakhuni, Merinokpu and in the wokha district as well.

Iron, Chromium - nickel - cobalt bearing magnetite and clay deposits have been found in phek and Tuensang districts. Besides these petroleum has been found in the Champang oil fields in the Wokha district (400 tonnes of crude oil per day) and in the Changki Satsuk areas in the

district of Mokokchung. Building materials such as slate, sandstones of good quality have been mined in the Tuensang district. Asbestos,magnesite,talc,marble and chromite are some of the other minerals found in abundance in the state.

Based on the terrain conditions and the geography of the state, the human interaction and activities can be assessed and the region could be divided into easily accessible, less accessible and least accessible areas. Areas situated at a lower altitude are the easily accessible areas,while higher ragged terrain forms the less accessible zones.

A situation that is typical of inaccessible, isolated areas are the lack of the much needed technological impulses or transferance of progressive ideas, as a result of inadequate communication linkages. This has conditioned a feeling of exclusiveness and individuality. As a result of which such areas have resisted the processes of absorption into the mainstream.

The physiography has been largely instrumental in shaping the human landscape. Rivers had long served as a natural territorial boundaries of the various tribes,

while the hill tops influenced the sitings of settlement, as its inaccessibility provided maximum protection against aggressive neighbours.

The river Doyang separates the Angami and Rengma territories, flowing northwards the river demarcates the territories of the Lothas and the Semas before flowing into the river Dhansiri. The river Dikhu separates the Aos and the eastern Nagas, while the Zeliangs and Angamis are separated by the tributeries of Dhansiri. The Semas are confined between the Doyang (which separates them from the Rengmas on the west) and river Tizu (from the Yimchunger on the east).

Areas which are below an altitude of 400 metres are occupied by the Zeliang, western Sema, western Lothas and Aos. The central portion of the state which falls in the category of 800-1200 metres is occupied by the Angamis, Rengmas, Lothas, Upper Konyaks and Sangtam tribes. The south-eastern part of the state which is more rugged is occupied by the Chakhesang, Pochury,Yimchunger, Chang and Upper Konyak. It can be inferred that the natural micro regions have influenced not only the spatial distribution of the various tribes but has also restricted movement and interaction. As a result of which the various tribes after having settled down, acquired distinch characteristics.

Conclusion.

Geographical inaccessibility posed by the rugged terraine led to the 'isolation' of the various Naga tribes, thereby evolving district socio-cultural traits. This 'isolation' restricted social inter-action,encouraging 'individualism', as reflected in the formation of self-contained soverign political units, that were the highest political organisation and to whom its members owed ultimate alliegence. Such individualitic tendencies emerge in the course of ethnic conflict, posing a threat to 'solidarity' and ultimately the political stability of the region.

2.6 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION.

The state is an area of 'Relative Isolation'. It is inhabited by various Naga groups who together constitute 84% of the state population. There are more than sixteen major tribes who constitute the tribal population and a relatively large 'non-tribal' section of which the Hindi speaking form the largest section. Followed by the Bengalis, Assamese and several minor communities.

2.6.1 DENSITY AND SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION.

The total population is estimated to be 1,215,573 according to 1991 census. It is distributed over an area of 16,579 sq.km. This is 0.5% and 0.14% area and population of the country's total.

It is ranked 22nd on an all India basis and 5th in North east. The density of population has increased from 47 per sq.km to 73 sq.Km as against the national average of 267 per sq.km in 1991. Table -1 shows the districtwise break up of total area, population and density for 1991.

Table - 1

Districtwise Area, Population and Density

Districts	Area in sq.Km.	Population	Density
Kohima	4,041.00	394179	98
Phek	2,026.00	101823	50
Wokha	1,628.00	82394	51
Zunheboto	1,255.00	97933	78
Mokokchung	1,615.00	156207	97
Tuensang	4,228.00	232972	55
Mon	1,986.00	150065	84
Total	16,570.00	1215573	73

Source: Population census report ,1991.

The above table shows that the districts of Tuensang and Kohima have the largest percentage of land proportion of population in 1991 period.

Mokokchung which is much smaller in area than Wikha, Phek and Mon has incidentally a larger population. Areas which fall under the attraction areas by virtue of its well developed infrastructural facilities show higher density of population.

2.6.2 SEX RATIO.

According to 1991 census, out of a total of 1215573 persons 6343273 are males and 572,300 females, which means that there are 890 females for every 1000 males, as against the all India average of 929 females. Table - 2 shows the sex ratio of different districts in 1991.

Table - 2

Sex Ratio in Nagaland in 1991

Districts	Females per 1000 males.
Kohima	871
Phek	879
Zunheboto	931
Wokha	927
Mokokchung	916
Tuensang	890
Mon	870
Total	890

Source:Statistical handbook of Nagaland 1991

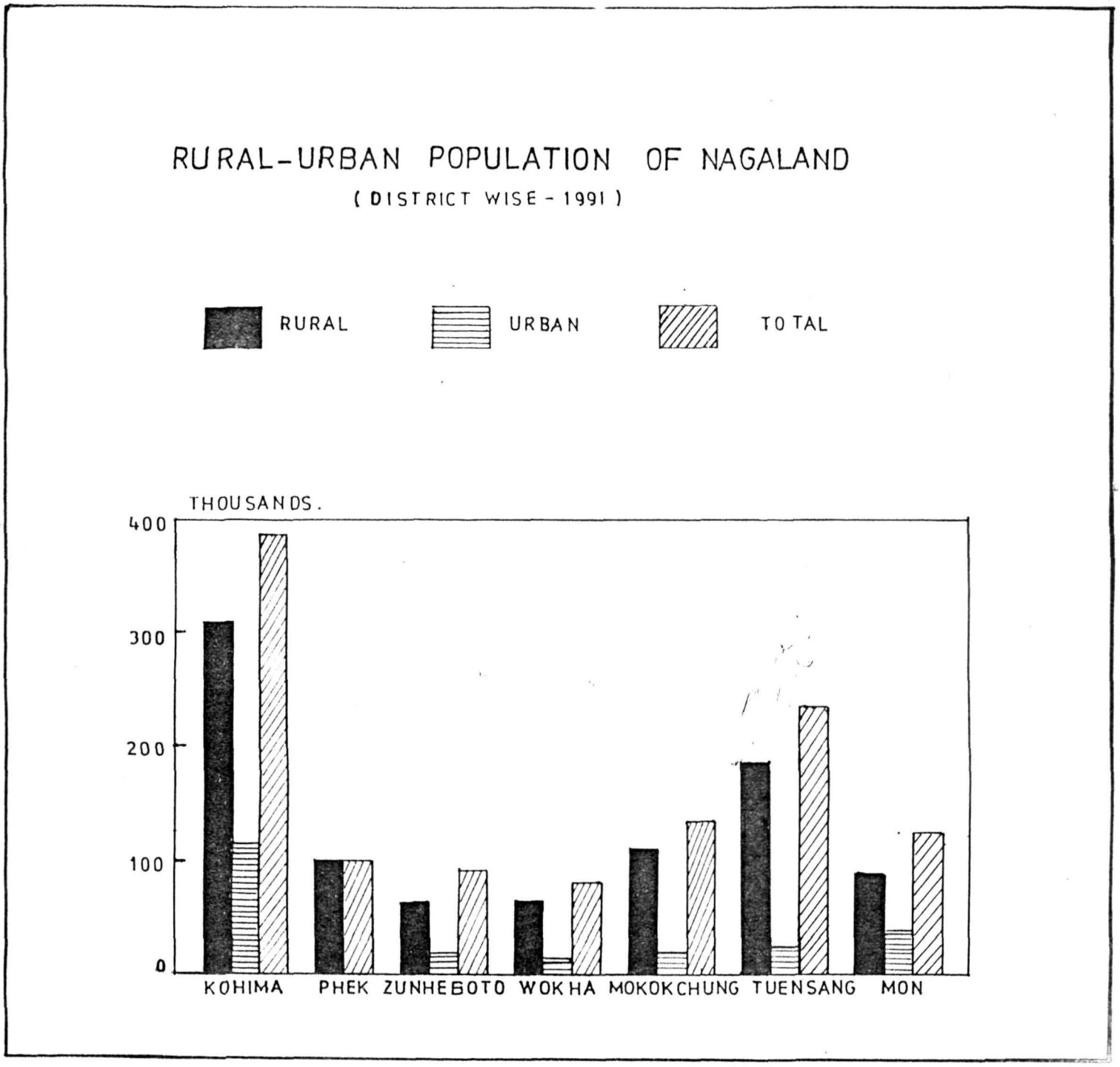

RURAL-URBAN POPULATION OF NAGALAND
(DISTRICT WISE - 1991)
RURAL
URBAN
TOTAL
THOUSANDS.
400
300
200
100
0
KOHIMA
PHEK
ZUNHEBOTO
WOKHA
MOKOKCHUNG
TUENSANG
MON

FIG _ 2.6.3

The district of Zunheboto accounted for the highest sex ratio of 931. The general pattern which emerges from the study is that areas which offers fewer incentives to migrants has a relatively higher female sex ratio, while areas which provides a greater employment potentiality has a higher male ratio, therefore it upsets the sex ratio. Higher female mortality rate could be yet another reason.

2.6.3 URBAN -RURAL.

The population is dominated by rural sector. In 1991 the urban population stands at 238591 person, while the rural is 948351. Increase in urban population since 1981 (120234 persons) was due to the creation of newer urban centres.

Migration and increase in literacy rate has meant that the prospects of youths, particularly rural dwellers has increased which explains a rise in the urban population. Table - 3 illustrates the urban - rural population district-wise for 1991.

Table-3

Urban and Rural Population District-wise (1991).

Districts	Rural	Urban	Total
Kohima	314403	141728	394179
Phek	101823	-	101823
Zunheboto	68166	19099	97933
Wokha	69471	16632	82394
Mokokchung	116862	18720	156207
Tuensang	190441	22330	232972
Mon	84588	27082	150065
Total	948351	238591	1215573

Source: Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1991.

2.6.4 GROWTH PATTERNS OF POPULATION.

Population growth places constraints on the available resources of an area, economic development and social environment in short. Table -4 show the increase in population over the tenyears.

Table - 4

Population Growth in Nagaland
(1901- 1991)

Year	Persons	Percentage in decadel variations.
1901	101550	-
1911	149038	+47.76
1921	158801	+ 6.55
1931	178844	+12.62
1941	189641	+ 6.04
1951	212985	+ 8.60
1961	369200	+14.07
1971	516449	+39.88
1981	774930	+50.05
1991	1215573	+56.86

Source: Statistical handbook of Nagaland, 1991.

2.6.5 SOCIAL COMPOSITION:

Prior to the coming of the British, the area had little contact with the other parts of the country and continued to do so as a result of the non-intervention policy of the colonialised. With the creation of the state in 1963 the area experienced a great influx of migrants, who were attracted by the developmental progress and employment opportunities, add to the diversity of population. Table-5 illustrates the percentage of migrants from different parts of the country according to 1991 census.

Table - 5

Percentages of Migrants From Different Parts of the Country (1981)

Sl No.	State/U.T Other Areas	Persons Migrated	% to total number of persons.
1.	Andhra Pradesh	296	0.6
2.	Assam	10,000	20.40
3.	Bihar	7,598	15.34
4.	Gujarat	11	0.03
5.	Haryana	625	1.26
6.	Himachal Pradesh	313	0.63
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	146	0.29
8.	Kerala	2,157	4.35
9.	Madhya Pradesh	299	0.60
10.	Maharastra	102	0.20
11.	Manipur	3,006	1.15
12.	Meghalaya	569	0.18
13.	Mysore	95	0.83
14.	Orissa	411	1.75

Table -5(contd....)

Sl No.	State/U.T. Other Areas	Persons Migrated	% to total number of persons.
15.	Punjab	867	2.66
16.	Rajasthan	1,316	0.09
17.	Sikkim	48	0.8
18.	Tamil Nadu	412	
19.	Tripura	361	0.73
20.	U.P.	6,865	13.86
21.	West Bengal	1,784	3.61
22.	U.Territories	187	0.37
23.	Countries beyond India:		
(a)	Burma	317	0.63
(b)	Nepal	9,276	10.74
(c)	Bangladesh	1,979	4.00
(d)	Others	385	0.77

Migration from State/Union territories and countries beyond India to Nagaland 1971.

Census of India 1971,Nagaland series 15 part II D.Migration Tables.

Table-5 show that the maximum migrants were from Assam while the least were from Gujarat. The migrants are concentrated around Kohima and Mokokchung districts.

Table - 6

Schedule Tribes Other than Nagas
(1981)

Schedule Tribes	Population
Garo	1472
Kacharis	7212
Kuki	9839
Mikir	440

Source: Statistical handbook 1990.

Apart from the various Naga groups several Tribals live in the state, such as the Kukis, who form the largest non-Naga tribal population (9839), followed by the Kacharies and the Mikirs. (Table 6, shows schedule tribe population other than Nagas in the State). The important non-tribal population comprises of the Hindi speakers with 46.09%, followed by the Assamese, Bengali and Malayalam, while the Telugu community forms the smallest section. Table - 7 shows the linguistic distribution district wise for 1981.

Table - 7

Distribution of Linguistic Groups Specified in the 8th Schedule, District wise(1981)

District	Total	Assamese	Bengali	Hindi	Malayalam	Orissa	Punjab	Tamil	Telugu	Others
Kohima	24619	1743	26.78	43.75	4.59	1.75	2.38	1.34	0.84	1.14
Mokokchung	8423	13.23	10.04	57.56	9.20	0.87	4.89	1.35	0.90	1.14
Tuensang	4777	24.35	22.53	37.99	8.98	1.04	3.52	0.50	0.23	0.98
Nagaland	37819	17.35	22.69	6.18	1.46	3.08	1.27	0.78	1.13	

Source: Census of India 1971: Nagaland series 15,part 3.

The Distriwise distribution of linguistic groups in the districts of Nagaland shows that the District of Kohima alone has 65.09% the total. It is followed by Mokokchung with 22.27% while Tuensang has the least concentration of non-tribal population, which is 12.63. The reason for this may be due to the remotness of the area and the nature of topography.

The tribal population is dominate accounting for 84% of the total population, representing 1.26; of the schedule tribe population of the country and occupies the second position after Mizoram. Table - 8 shows the schedule tribe population in the various districts.

Table - 8

Distribution of Schedule Tribe Population in the State (District-wise Break-up (1991)

Districts	Percentage of Tribal population to total population.
Kohima	65.53
Phek	93.54
Wokha	94.39
Zunheboto	95.23
Mokokchung	91.56
Tuensang	93.46
Mon	89.35
Total	84.00

Zunheboto has the largest concentration of tribal population which stands at 95.23%, while Kohima has the lowest which is 65.53% wherein the Dimapur sardar has the lowest tribal population. It is apparent that areas which are adjacent to the, plains account for a greater diversity of population, as a result of interaction, and generally having a better infra-structure as opposed to districts in the interior having inadequate facilities which would hardly be congenial for rapid economic progress (less commerce viability; low density of population reduces the market potentiality, terrain hinders smooth transportation).

2.6.6 RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION.

The people are pre-dominantly Christians, with a larger proportion of the population being Baptist, while catholics constitutes only a fraction of the total. In 1971, the christian population was 66.76%, which increased to 80.21% by 1991. The second largest religious group are the Hindus who constitute 14.36%, Muslims form 1.52%, while the Buddhist comprise less than 1%. The tribals were formerly animist who were converted to christianity by the American Baptist Missionaries, which explains the dominance of christians in the State. Table -9 shows the Distribution of religious groups in the state, on a district basis for 1981.

Table -9

Distribution of Population on the Basis of Religion(1981)

District	Hindus	Muslims	Christi-ans	Sikhs	Buddhist	Others
Kohima	75879	9272	149259	162	232	14239
Phek	4476	226	63465	-	20	2405
Zunheboto	2534	203	52897	19	58	44
Wokha	4041	200	58350	-	11	384
Mokokch-ung	6514	829	96364	49	128	279
Tuensang	10830	494	136509	48	36	4411
Mon	6992	582	64746	30	32	6553

Source: Statistical Handbook of Nagaland.

Districts such as Mon, Tuensang have a very high concentration of religious groups other than Christianity, Hindu etc. Conversion was a relatively recent phenomena as compared to other areas. Much of the impact of missionary activities was felt in the accessible regions, while the interiors had been left virtually untouched, until the Naga missionaries took up the task, however a small section remain animist in the interiors.

The first Christian church was established at Moulung village, in the district of Mokokchung in the year 1862 and thereafter spread to other Ao areas and Naga Hills. Horam(1975)

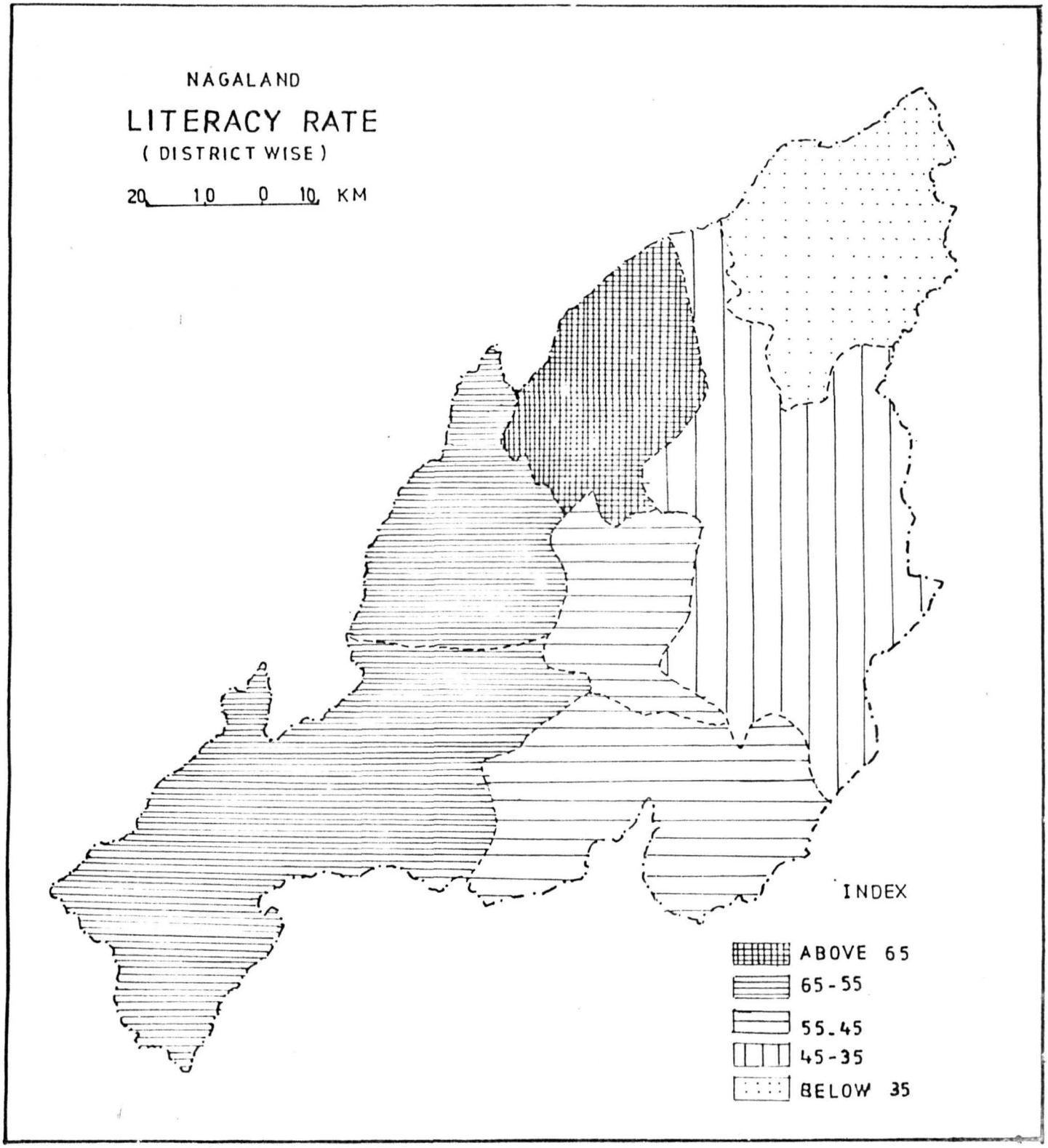

NAGALAND
LITERACY RATE
(DISTRICT WISE)
20 10 0 10 KM
INDEX
ABOVE 65
65-55
55-45
45-35
BELOW 35

FIG-2.6.8

is of the view that the Naga religion which abounds in taboos and Christianity which also laid down strict rules, meant that the converts change of faith were the mere exchange of one set of taboos for another. This explains why the Nagas embraced Christianity so easily, in a society that fiercely resisted every alien penetration (Non-availability of data for 1991, compelled, the use of 1981 data).

2.6.8 LITERACY RATE.

Levels of education and its growth has a direct impact on development, standard of living and is characterised by the broad outlook and modern ideas. Therefore analysis of the literacy levels and its rate perhaps continues to be one of the most important indicators of development.

Traditiona Institutions.

The Morung or youth dormitory is typically a huge building, which dominates a Naga village. Its importance varies from tribe to tribe and fulfills various functions. It is not only a sleeping place for the unmarried men in earlier days, but also served as guard house. Its most important function was its role as an education centre, where indoctrination of social values was performed verbally. In a sense it could be considered a school, since young

people learnt about social practices and belief from their elders. It acted as a training ground for one's future and it is said that individuals retained life long connection with the Morung.

With the advent of the British in the Naga Hills, the missionaries followed. Initially the administrators were suspicious of their intention but realising the benefits of their intervention, allowed them to carry out welfare and such other activities simultaneously. (the administrators faced severe opposition from the Nagas which made social activities and administration extremely difficult and expensive).

Though the primary objective of the missionaries was to preach the gospel, simultaneously education was initiated. They started educational projects where ever they went so much so, that the mission centres grew into important centres of education. The centre at Impur in the district of Mokokchung was then the best educational centre. It is said that it attracted students from all over the state. Presumably education was made important so as to enable the illiterate tribals to read the scriptures, which indirectly helped in the spread of Christianity and at the same time, enabled and at the same time enabled the administrators to consolidate their control over the hills areas effectively.(than all their military force had previously achieved).

PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION.

Initially the missionaries set up schools but with the increase in number of students, villages set up their own schools, sanctiioned by the funds raised from within their village. However there were no secondary schools in the hills till the end of the Nineteenth centuary, which compelled the student to pursue their studies in Assam. Substantial progress was made only after the emergence of state in 1963 prior to this period in 1901 the literacy rate was only 1.03%. As a result of the government initiatives, literacy rate in the state increased significantly. In 1941, the percentage of literacy was only 5.08%, which increased to 52% in 1991, as against the All India rate of 36.23%. This places the state in a second position in the North-East behind Mizoram.

The district of Mokokchung has the highest rate of literacy in the state, which is an impressive 68.53% in 1991, far above the other districts. This is probably due to the fact that the Aos were the first to receive the benefits of education and christianity and as a result had an added advantaged over the other tribes. Table-10 shows the district wise break up of literacy rate for the year 1991.

Table - 10

Literacy Rate (District wise break up).

Districts	% to total population in 1991.
Kohima	56.19
Phek	51.59
Zunheboto	52.84
Wokha	59.35
Mokokchung	68.53
Tuensang	40.53
Mon	29.88
Total	51.09

Source: Statistical handbook of Nagaland (provisional)

The rapid progress made in the spheres of modern educational institutes had an adverse effect on their traditional counterparts(morung), as it indirectly effected the indoctrination of cultural heritage.

In conclusion it can be inferred that both education and Christianity had its advantages as well as adverse repercussions. The new religion forbid dancing and drinking which were a way of life for the people. It also led to the

abandonment of several traditional ceremonies and festivals and other customary practices which were considered as symbols of Heathenism (Horam: 1975). As such, change of religion might have to some extent caused socio-cultural decay of the people. On the other hand, education provided a ready base for inter-tribal contact and awareness of their cultural affinities vis-a-vis the non-Naga culture. It was also instrumental in opening new avenues of social contact and mobility and provided opportunities for employment. This gave rise to the middle class and new elites who formed the educated highly respected, section of the society and had been instrumental in, initiating the cultural regeneration and Pan-Naga solidarity movement in the 1940's and 1950's and extreme regionalism that was articulated in the form of Insurgency.

CHAPTER - III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER - III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

Historical legacy, culture and tradition has a persistent permanent influence on the mind of the people, conditioning societies who have lived in isolation over a long period of time to develop a sense of exclusivéness and ethno centricism. This generates a sense of attachment of the people with interest of local significance, as change in the status quo would undoubtly be opposed for fear of the lose of identity and corresion of culture. A better appreciation of the resultant problem arising out of this situation could be arrived at,by the study of the culture and history of the region.

3.1 MIGRATION:

From the earliest contacts with the Nagas in the seventeenth century, the British struggled to make sense of the 'Ethnographic chaos' they encountered in the region. There were thousands of small villages that were somewhat similar to each other but also very different at the same time [illegible]. In order to understand the cultural diversity, folklores and legends etc. are used to construct the

the early history of the people. S.K. Chatterjee is of the view that the Nagas who were a Tibeto-Burman speaking Mongloid race came from Central Asia and later spread to China, Indonesia, Phillipines and Myanmar. It was from Myanmar that they migraged to the North-East in the 12th centuary.

It is believed that the various tribes did not arrive en bloc, rather they came in successive 'waves' after crossing the Irrawady and Chindwin rivers in Myanmar some through the Mao Gap, spread south while others went northwards. The first wave of migrants were the Angami, Sema, Rengma, Lotha, Chakhesang etc. who entered from the South through the mountain fringes touching the valley of Manipur. They then proceeded northward and reached Khezakenoma from where they radiated to different directions at different times. The Lothas were the first to leave, travelling north they arrived at Kohima where they halted for sometime and continued north arriving at Wokha their present territory. The Rengmas were the next to leave arriving at Tseminyu to which they remain confined, However, a group of this tribe broke away and went to the plains. The Angamis travelled northwards towards Kohima, from where they spread to the north, east and west.

The Chakhesangs spread to the north and east. Their name is an acronym of three allied tribes Cha - Chakru, Khe- Khesha, Sang- Sangtam. A hint of their migration is evident in their names as Chakru means separation, Khesha means ruler and Sangtam stands for united, suggesting the unity of three tribes. This tribe migrated via Angami area and occupied the south-eastern part of the region (Phek district) bordering Manipur. The Semas also took a north-east route and reached Sumi village but the pressure from the other tribes forced them to move north along the Doyang valley, and reach their present territory at Zunheboto. The Zeliangs took a south - west route from Mao area and occupied the south-western part of the state.

The second migration wave comprised of the Aos, Changs, Khiamungans, Sangtams, Yimchungers etc. They are believed to have come from an area near the river Chindwin in Burma. Travelling north, they reached Chungliyimti and stayed there for a considerable period of time, the Aos moved west to Soyim village. Finally from Soyim they are said to have spread to their present territories. The other tribes of this wave appear to have moved to their present occupied areas from the east. The Konyaks and the Phoms entered their territories from the north-east.

3.2 THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD NAGA

There is a difference of opinion as regards to the origin of the word 'Naga'. To some it was probably adopted from the Sanskrit word Nag meaning snake, or from the Assamese word 'Noga' meaning naked which was used to describe the hill men they came in contact with. Elwin Verrier suggests that the term probably came from 'Nok', meaning people in Tibeto-Burman language. Gradually this became a generic term for many tribes that inhabited the hills. Ever since it has come to signify the numerous tribes in parts of Assam, Arunachal, Manipur, Myanmar and Nagaland. Each tribe has its own name which gives a clue to their past history. The Aos call themselves 'Aor' which means going while the Semas call themselves 'Sumi', the Angamis are know as 'Tenyimi', and the Lothas as 'Kyon' it may be interesting to note that the Semas call the Aos 'Cholimi', while they call the Angamis 'Tsungumi'.

3.3 LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION.

In any study of a region, language and dialect become an important factor in identifying the various social groups inhabiting that given area. Such a study becomes more complex when the area is inhabited by very diversed dialectic groups.

Among cultural fordes, language has assumed a significant role in India today. Speakers of any regional language are emotionally attached to it and ascribe to it a superior halo (Satyabrata Rai Chowdhury: 1993). Rise in linguism has alarmed observers and sections of people who fear that linguistic-territorial fragmentation is strengthening the foundations of sub-Nationalism and encouraging regional loyalties and separatist tendencies. However, such a phenomena is nothing new as this trend can be traced to the nineteenth century European Nationalism.

In the study area, the conditioning geographical factors has resulted in the formation of distinct socio-cultural linguistic groups. In all there are fourteen officially recognised tribes, out of which twelve of them viz. the Ao, Angami,Sema, Lotha, Chang, Konyak, Khiamungan, Phom, and Sangtam represent different linguistic groups while the Pochury, Chakhesang, Yimchunger and Zeliangrong tribes constitutes of amalgamation of two or more tribes and as such their dialects evolved from these constituent tribes. The dialects are said to be offshoots of the Tibeto Burman family. B. B. Ghosh in his book'History of Nagaland' has suggested that Angami dialect is similar to those of Burma and China.

To add to the complexity of the dialects, some tribes such as the Ao speak two or more sub-dialects, viz. Mongsen, Chungli and Changki. The use of two sub-dialects in most villages is not uncommon, is evident in the case of Sangratsu, and Longkhum to name just a few. In addition accent variation exist, enabling village identification of the speaker. Another peculiarity seen in the villages of Anaki and Chakpa which lie in the borders of the Ao and Chang territories is the usage of both the dialects, within the same village. Such diversification and the absence of a common language in the past greatly reduce communication, however the development of Nagamese compensated this inadequacy. The Nagamese language probably evolved in the process of interaction with the people of Assam. The lack of a common script compelled the adoption of English as the state official language, by the state legislative assembly bill of 1964. The ao dialect is apparantly the most widely spoken. This could be attributed to the fact that the dialect is known to the eastern Naga tribes. Familiarity as a result of exposure to the Ao dialect was due to two factors, Lack of educational institution compelled them to go to Impur and Mokokchung in pursuit of their studies. Secondly most Naga missionaries in those areas were Aos.

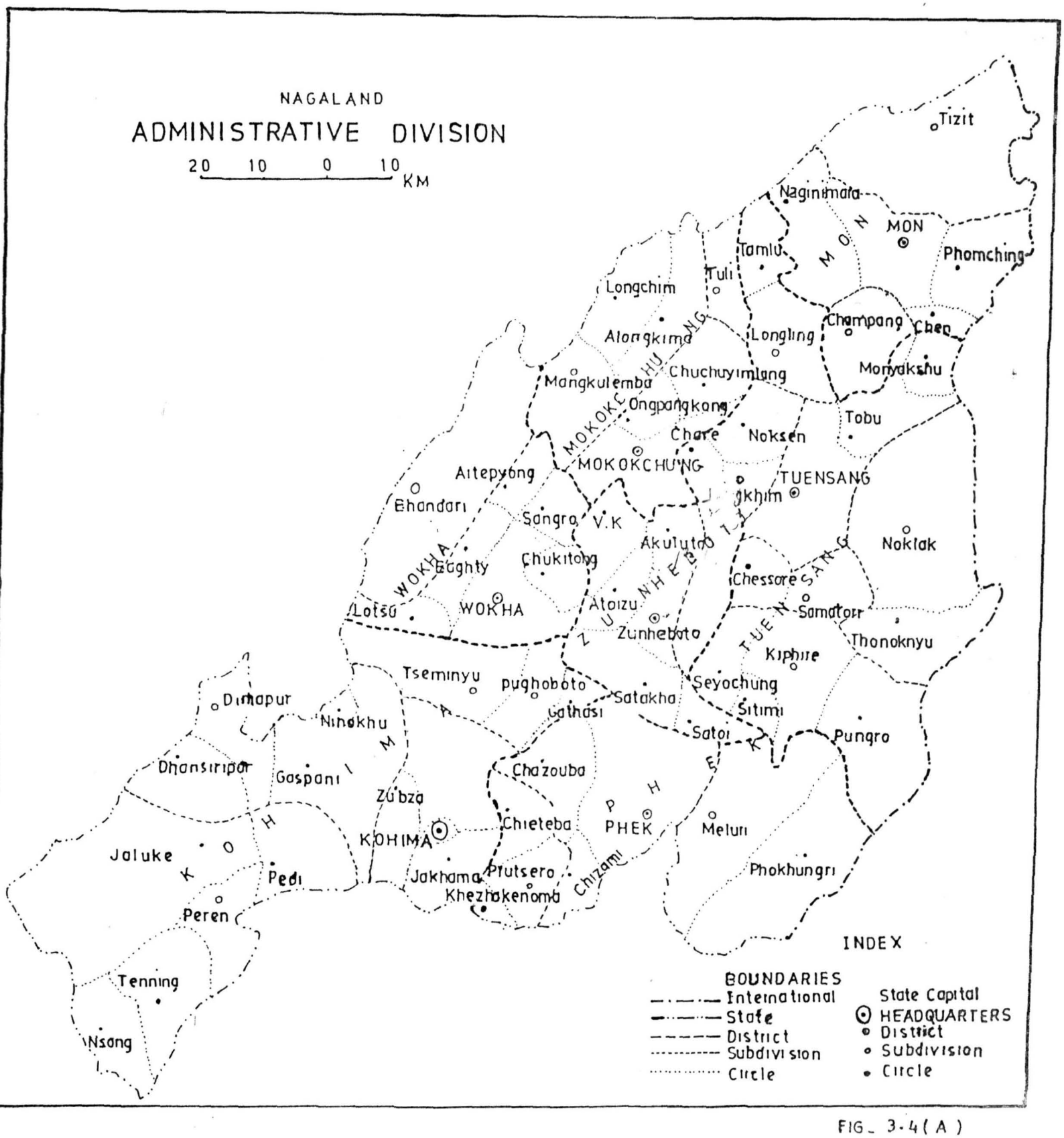

NAGALAND
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION
20 10 0 10 KM
Tizit
Naginimora
MON
Phomching
Tamlu
Tuli
Longchim
Alongkima
Longling
Champang
Chen
Mon
Mon
Mongkulemba
Chuchuyimlang
Mokokchung
Ongpangkong
Tobu
Chare
Noksen
MOKOKCHUNG
Aitepyong
TUENSANG
Ghandari
Sangro
V.K
Akuluto
Noklak
Wokha
Eghty
Chukitong
Chessore
Lotsu
WOKHA
Atoizu
Zunheboto
Samatori
Thonoknyu
Kiphire
Tseminyu
Pughoboto
Seyochung
Satakha
Sitimi
Dimapur
Ninokhu
Gathasi
Satoi
Pungro
Dhansiripar
Gospani
Chazouba
Zubza
Chieteba
PHEK
Meluri
Jaluke
KOHIMA
Pedi
Jakhama
Plutsero
Khezhakenoma
Chizami
Phokhungri
Peren
Tenning
Nsang
INDEX
BOUNDARIES
International
State
District
Subdivision
Circle
State Capital
HEADQUARTERS
District
Subdivision
Circle

FIG. 3-4 (A)

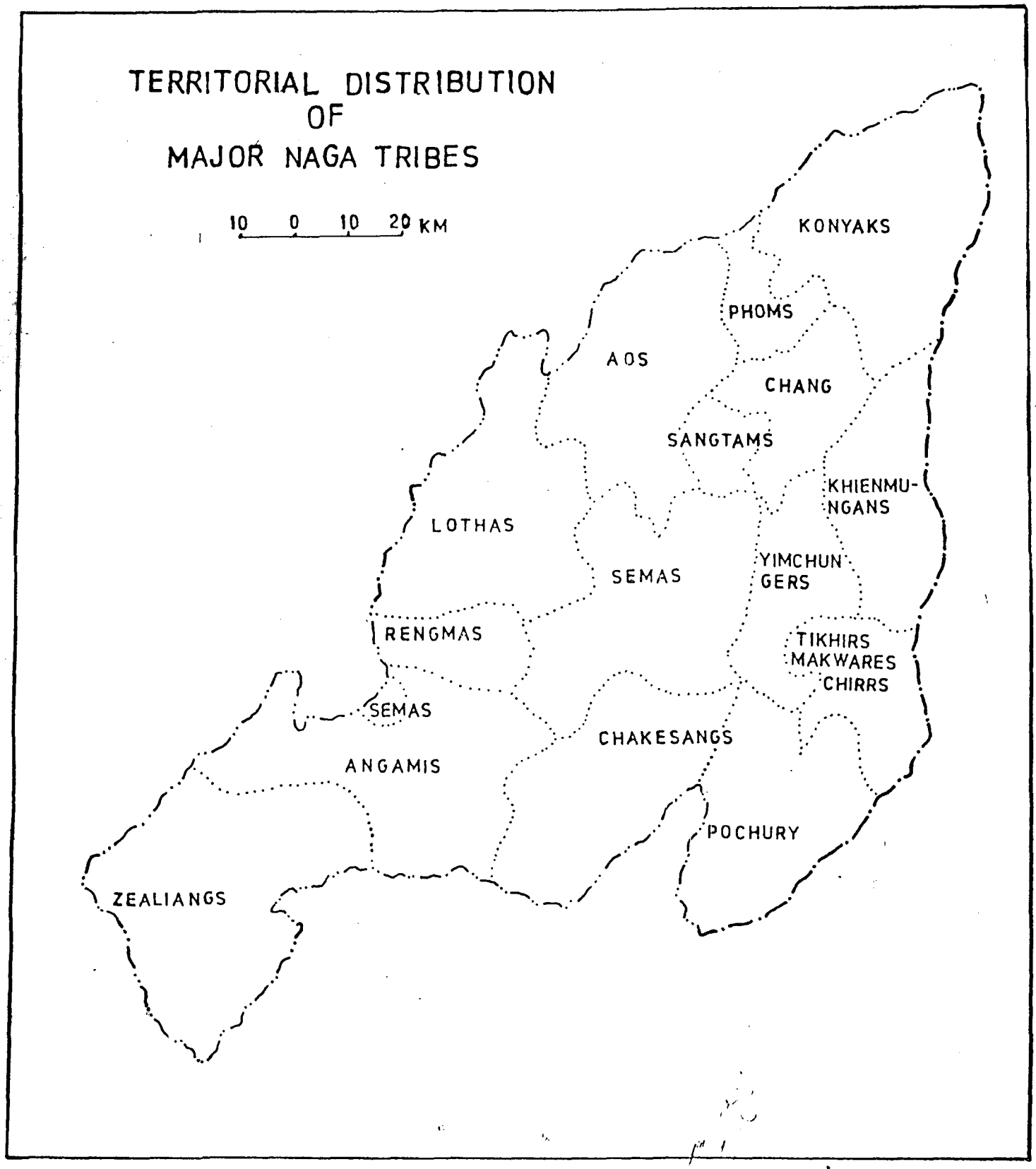

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION
OF
MAJOR NAGA TRIBES
10 0 10 20 KM
KONYAKS
PHOMS
AOS
CHANG
SANGTAMS
KHIENMU-
NGANS
LOTHAS
SEMAS
YIMCHUN
GERS
RENGMAS
TIKHIRS
MAKWARES
CHIRRS
SEMAS
CHAKESANGS
ANGAMIS
POCHURY
ZEALIANGS

FIG. 3.4 (B)

As in the case of most multi-lingual societies, linguistic allegiences have a tendency to supercede all other allegiences which become more prominant in the course of ethnic-conflict.

3.4 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION.

The numerous Naga tribes are spread over an area of 16,579.00 sq.km. There are fourteen officially recognised tribes in the state, that constitute 84% of the tribal population of the total population.

Table-11 shows the population distribution of the various tribes inhabiting the region.

Table - 11

Population of Different Naga Tribes in the State(1981).

Tribes	Population	Percentage to total population.
Angami	62555	9.91
Ao	104578	16.57
Chakhesang	68736	10.89
Chang	22375	3.54
Chirr	1560	0.24
Makware	612	0.09
Tikhir	3488	0.55
Yimchunger	22054	3.49

Table -11 (contd...)

Tribes	Population	Percentage to total population
Khiamungan	18080	2.86
Konyak	83651	13.25
Lotha	58030	9.19
Phom	24427	3.87
Rengma	15313	2.42
Sangtam	29016	4.59
Sema	95315	15.10
Zeliang	950	0.5
Others	950	0.15

Source: Census Department, Kohima.

Numerically the Ao tribe forms the dominant population and Makware followed by the Konyaks while the minor groups such as the Chirr(within Khiamungan) comprise of the smallest group numerically.

The rivers have long served as traditional boundaries, demarcating the specific territories within which the various tribes remained confined to this day.

The Aos are separated from the eastern Nagas by the river Dikhu. Legends has it that the Ao tribe who lived

in the adjoining areas of the eastern tribes crossed the Dikhu river to the other side and it has ever since served as a boundary between the two. Similarly the spread of Sema tribe as checked by the Rengmas and Lothas on the west, henceforth the river Doyang forms the boundary line between them. It can be inferred that rivers have played a significant role in the spatial distribution of the population.

The state of Nagaland comprises of seven districts with its respective headquarter that serve as administrative centres for one or more tribes.

Initially there had been only three districts viz. Kohima,Tuensang and Mokokchung but it failed to ensure proper representation of the various tribes as a result the districts of Wokha, Zunheboto and Mon were created in 1973.

Spatial distribution of the various tribes can be determined on the basis of administrative units such district and circles. The reason being, such units serve as administrative centres for one or more tribes.

Southern Nagaland is occupied by the Angamis, Rengma and Zeliangrong tribes, while mid-eastern part of the state is

inhabited by the Aos and Lothas. Central Nagaland is inhabited by the Semas while the east and north-eastern regions are occupied by the Sangtams, Phoms, Konyaks and Khiamungans. The Sema tribe are migratory in nature as a result there are scattered over several parts of the state. The reason lies in their social structure which is based on land ownership. It is not uncommon for them to leave their ancestral home and set up new ones and in this respect they differ from most of other tribes.

Kohima District.

The district of Kohima lies at an altitude of 1444 metres above sea level and it covers an area of 4,041.00 sq.km. It lies in the south-east part of the state and is bordered by the districts of Wokha and Zunheboto on the north. Kohima had been the administrative headquarter of the Naga Hill after it had been shifted from Samaguting in 1878. It is inhabited by the Angami, Zeliangrong and Rengmas. The circles of Zubza, Jakhama and Chiephobozou are dominated by the Angamis, while Tening Pedi, Jaluke circles are inhabited by the Zeliangrong tribe. Tseminyu falls within the Rengma area. The area bordering Zunheboto district is the circle of Pughoboto which has a few Sema villages. The Zeliangrong tribe is a composite of three tribes viz. the Zemi, Liangmei and Rongmai. The first two tribes live within the territory of Nagaland and the latter in Manipur.

Phek District.

This district lies at an altitude of 1,524 metres above sea level and covers an area of 2,026.00 sq.km. It lies to the east of Kohima and south of Tuensang and Zunheboto districts. In 1923 this district was consolidated with Kohima but was separated from the latter in 1973 and upgraded to the status of a district. Initially this district was inhabited by the Chakhesang tribe and they had been known as the eastern Angamis during the British occupation of the hills. In 1946, the Chakre, Kheza combined with the Eastern Rengma and Southern Sangtams to form the Chakhesang tribe. Not all sections of the Eastern Rengmas supported this amalgamation although the initial objective was to separate themselves from the dominant Angami tribe. As resentment grew the minor groups demanded to be recognised as a separate tribe known as Pochury. These minor groups claimed to have originated from three brothers, Sapo,Kuchury and Khury. Finally on 19th April 1990 this tribe which was an amalgamation of seven groups came into existence and the name of the tribe was derived from the names of the three clans Sapo (po), Kuchury(Chu) and Khury (ry). The circle of Meluri and Phukhungri are inhabitated by this tribe.

Wokha District.

This district lies at an altitude of 1314 metres above sea level and it covers an area of 1628.00 sq.km. It is bordered by Mokokchung on the north and Zunheboto on the east. In 1876 the British established a sub-division in Wokha and in 1889 it was merged with Mokokchung sub-division but in 1973 it became a district headquarter. The district is inhabited by the Lotha tribe.

Zunheboto District.

This district lies at an altitude of 1874 metres above sea level and it covers an area of 1255.00 sq.km. It is bounded by Mokokchung on the north and Tuensang on the east. The district came under British administration in 1906. It was a sub-division under Mokokchung till 1973 and it was only on December that this sub-division was upgraded to a full fledged district. This district is inhabited by the Sema tribe.

Mokokchung District.

The district of Mokokchung lies at an altitude of 1326 metres above sea level and it covers an area of 1615.00 sq.km. It is bounded by the districts of Tuensang, Zunheboto and Kokha. It was made a sub-division in 1889 and continued to so so till 1957 when it was made a district headquarter with the sub-divisions of Wokha and Zunheboto, but the two sub divisions

were separated in 1973 while Mokokchung continued to be district headquarters of the Ao tribes.

Tuensang District.

This district is located at an elevation of 1372 metres covering a geographical area of 4288.00 sq.km. accounting for the second largest area in the state. It shares an international boundary with Myanmar and is bounded by the district of Mon and was brought under administration in 1914 when the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880 was extended to this area. It was known as North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA till 1957. After that it was consolidated with the Naga Hills to form the Naga Hills Tuensang Area, and in 1973 the district of Mon was carved out of this district. The district is populated by numerous tribes viz. Changs, Yimchunger, Khiamungan, Phom, Sangtam, Konyak, Chirr, Tikhir and Makware.

The Sangtam tribes are concentrated around Pungro, Kiphere, Longkhim circles, while the Yimchungers occupy the Shamator circle. The minor tribes such as the Tikhir, Chirr and Makware had been incorporated with the Yimchunger Tribe although they claim to be independent tribes.

The Khiamungan tribe occupy the circles of Noklak and Thonoknyu. The Phom tribe have been divided into two groups they are the Upper and Lower Phoms. The former has its territories bordering the Konyak area henceforth they have affinities with the Konyaks. Similarly the Lower phoms whose territory adjoins the Aos share affinities with the latter. The chang tribe is another important tribe of this district and has been engaged in a fued with the Konyaks over the disputed area of Tobu circle.

Mon District.

This district lies at an altitude of 898 metres above sea level and it covers an area of 1,786.00 sq.km. It was included in the North-East Frontier Zone (N.E.F.A.) in 1951 but was merged with Naga Hills on first december 1957. In 1973 it was upgraded to the status of a district headquarter after it was separated from the district of Tuensang the same year. As a result some of the upper Konyak dominated areas have been placed under the district of Tuensang for administrative convenience. The Tobu circle is one such area which has been a bone of contention between the two, as skirmishes and conflict have been reported as recent as 1992.

Thus, the above discussion suggests that inherent socio-cultural traits gives a society its identity, while its homogenity strengthen its solidarity base. The Naga society is a result of the the amalgamation of numerous tribes and has been forged on the basis of assumed common cultural origin. The village had been a self-sontained socio-economic unit and a political sovereign state. The clans formed the smallest political unit. However there existed a loosely knit leagues of villages, which was based on their assumed common origin, shared history and cultural commonality. This presumably formed the basis for subsequent movement towards the formation of Tribal identity.

Exposure to the extra-mural processes in due course of time initiated by the British intervention; shared experiences of the labour corp veterans, christianity and education, all cummulatively aided the process of growing awareness of cultural affinities and hence the development of Pan-Naga Solidarity vis-a-vis the culture of the mainstream. On the other hand such an integration might have been the outcome of an attempt to magnify or interpret certain parochial, political or traditional symbols, interacting beyond the limits of individual tribes which makes them more viable politically. In the process

of assimilation, there had been an inability to obliterate the individualistic traits of the component groups. As a result cleavages becomes apparent in the course of ethnic conflicts. Inspite of the commonalities, varieties in the culture is evident by way of differences in the political set up and the dialect.

Fissions within the amalgamated tribes as in the case of the Chakhesang and the Yimchunger was due to the indiscriminate demarcation of boundaries by the British on the basis of cultural similarities. In the process, several linguistically different tribes was clubbed together.

Chakhesang tribe which comprised of the Chakre, Kheza and sangtam, who were earlier called as the Eastern Angamis, during the British annexation of the Hills. However, resenting this they tried to disassociate themselves from the dominant Angami tribe.

In 1946, these tribes merged to form the Chakhesang tribe, but the introduction of the Chakre dialect, posed a problem of communication for the Kheza and sangtam who did not understand the dialect. Ultimately in 1990, a section separated from the Chakhesang tribe to form the tribe of Pochury.

Thus one can suggest that there exists two levels of interaction among the inhabitants of the state -

(i) Within the territory of the state,

(ii) Outside the state

It was the latter that encouraged large scale mobilisation towards insurgency while the former has been largely responsible for the instability and struggle for supremacy in the state activity, giving rise to inter-regionalism.

CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES:

Tylor defines culture as "the complex whole which include knowledge, belief, art, moral, law and customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".

An attempt is made to present an ethnographical account of the Nagas within the state in this chapter. The objective of such an exercise is to highlight the socio-cultural commonalities and affinities, as well as the differences among the various tribes as a basis for the growth of regionalist forces and also the development processess in the state.

3.5.1 SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

Naga villages were self-contained socio-economic and political sovereign units, thereby forming the highest political organisation. Isolation as a result of the difficult terrain as well as the fear of head hunting limited social interaction to warfare and a limited form of trade. However, instances of 'loosely knit leagues' did exist, but such relationships were temporary and rarely lasted long. The villages were sited on hill tops and were defence oriented as a result of the constant state of warfare the tribes were engaged in.

A central feature of the village was the dormitory for unmarried men, commonly called morungs or 'Arju' in the Ao dialect. The morung served as both a recreation and educational centre where informal instructions were imparted under strict supervision. It instilled discipline and served as a training ground in preparation for life. The importance of the Morung varied from tribe to tribe. To an Ao it was a microcosm of the village, while the Angami, Chakhesang and Semas attached less importance and membership to it was of nominal.

The family is the fundamental unit in the society and is based along patrilineal and Patriarchal lines. The structure of the society is complexed. A clan comprises of a group of consanguineous families descended from a common ancestor, a number of such clans constituted a village, while numerous villages constituted a tribe. The clans functions as a unit of collective responsibility and provides a criterian of identification. Clan membership determine the choice of marriage partners. The phratry is strictly exogamous and it is considered a taboo to marry within one's own clan or even a clan of another village corresponding to one's own; the broach of this rule is punishable.

The Ao clan is divided into two main moities viz. Chongli and Mongsen, which are further divided into three phratries and are subsequently sub-divided into several exogamous clans. In short, it is a multi-clan organisation. Angamis distinguish the clans on the basis of their descent

from two brothers Kepefuma and Kepezoma. These are divided into two phratries called 'Kelhu', which are further divided into or 'Thino'. The clans comprise of several units called 'Putsa'. The Konyak clans are organised on the basis of class distinctions viz. the chief, the inter-mediate group and commoners. The nobility or the Ang clan are called Wangham (great Ang) and the Wangsa (small Ang), while the intermediate class are called Wangsu and the lowest ranking class are called 'Ben' meaning commoners.

3.5.2 INHERITANCE.

Inheritance of property among the Angamis, Chakhesang and Zeliangrengs greatly favours the youngest son who inherits the lion share of the property unlike the Ao, Lotha, Sema and Phoms where the benificiary of the lion's share of the property is the eldest son. Women as a rule may not inherit any property and in case there is no male heir the property will be passed on to the nearest male relation on the paternal side.

3.5.3 Marriage.

Marriage as mentioned before is strictly exogamous and in the case of the great Angs there is rigid stratification as their purity is maintained by the rule to marry within one's own class. The importance of bride price vary from tribe to tribe.

Among the Semas and the Konyaks the practice of bride price is more rigidly followed than the other tribes, for whom it was nominal.

3.5.4 STATUS OF WOMEN.

Women in Naga society do not assert themselves in matters pertaining to decision making in the village administration. They were however, respected and allowed almost as much freedom as their menfolk, and were in short the dejure mistress in the house.

3.5.5 POLITICAL SET UP.

There appears to be some level of diversity in the political institutions and organisation among the various groups. The Konyaks and the Semas had a system of chieftainship. In the case of the former, the office of the Ang was heriditary. The chief and his family formed the traditional elites and aristocracy in the village. All matters pertaining to disputes and decision making laid in the hands of the chief.

The Ao and Angami tribes have a democratic set up, in the case of the former a well organised village council exists. The members are the clan elders and representatives

who constitute the highest body of authority. The council is a three tier system headed by the 'Unger' (Chongli phratry) and its Mongsen (Phratry) counter part known as the 'Tsungba'. The tenure of office is thirty years.Among the Chongli group while the Mongsen phratry do not have a fixed period.

3.5.6 Ceremonies, Religion and Festivals:

Nagas were formally animist. Nirmal Nibedon is of the opinion that tribes such as the Nagas, Mizos, etc. who where living in the isolated mountains were mysteriously by passed by the great 'Ochre-clad monks' of the plains of India when they carried the gospel of Buddha across the south-East Asian wilderness and henceforth these tribes were fated to continue with their ancient doctrine of Animism, having been untouched by the "the rushing torrents of history". J.P. Mills had observed that religion particularly among the Ao tribe was not an issue of moral codes, rather it was a system of cremonies. It was believed that all attempts to prosper, inspite of striving at all acts lawful and right within the moral sheres, was doomed if the sacrifices due to the delities were omitted. "Although the fears of malignant spirits around him existed, sacrifices would be 'cheerfully performed' and

should a day when the offerings no longer come to any avail, the end would be met with resignation but at the same time unafraid to join his forefather". (J.P.Mills: 1926).

It was not surprising that many of the ceremonies and rituals centred around the appeasement of the spirits. Festivals among the Nagas are celebrated with pageantry and much enthusiasm. The festivals centre around agriculture, the mainstay of the society. They are related to the seeking or acknowledgement of bountiful harvest. Some of the important festivals are Moatsu (Ao), Sekrenyi (Angami), Ngada(Rengma), Meleyingi (Zeliang), Naknyulum (Changs), Monyu (Phom). Tsokum (Khiamungan) Aeling monyu (Konyak), Amongmong (Sangtam) Metemneo(Yimchunger), Tuluni (Sema) and Tokhu among the Lotha tribe. An important feature is the feast of merit in which a rich man may establish his status by giving a feast and the whole village.

3.7 THE ECONOMY.-

A balanced economic development is necessary in an area which provides a wide range of physical and cultural diversity. These are not only in terms of economic growth but also from a political stability pemspective. The region is strategically located and characterised by political instability. It has a low level of economic development and

and it therefore requres special efforts to accelerate the rate of growth to overcome this problem.

Inaccessibility due to the difficult terrain resulted in geographical isolation of the area for a long period of time. This restricted interaction to a minimum and as a result the extra-mural processes of absorption and influences, encouraged the entrenched tradition, socio-political values and way of life to dominate. Another major cause of the slow process can be attributed to the century old neglect during the British rule, resulting in the prevelance of tribal economy till 1947.

3.8 AGRICULTURE.

The traditional economy centered around agriculture, while the use of land underlined all aspects of the social life (Anungla Aier: 1993). Today agriculture continues to dominate the economy while two types of systems prevail in the state.

Jhumming clearly dominates the Sema, Ao and Konyak areas of the state, while terrace or wet rice cultivation is confined to limited areas, such as the Angami, Zeliangrong and Rengma areas.

Contrary to the general assumption that in the past inter-action between the various groups had been restricted to warfare alone could not be more untrue. Although each village was self-sufficient, trade constituted an important feature of their economic life. Such trades existed between the various villages, tribes and to some extent with the people of Assam, Burma and Manipur.

It is said that the Konyaks traded salt from their salt wells with the Assamese for brass, iron and metal sheets, while the Aos and Lothas traded in live animals such as cattle (vital for sacrifices and ceremonial feast), which they procurred from Assam. These cattles were once again bartered with the eastern Nagas and in this process a symbolic relationship between the various groups existed, at least at a minimum level.

The post-state hood period witnessed the greatest level of economic development as well as the participation of the people in the developmental processes of the state. The state has a dominant agrarian economy, as approximately 82% of the population is dependent on agriculture (1991 census) while rice is the staple crop of the region. Out of the total area of 16,488 sq.km., about 80309 acres was under

utilization in 1961, which rose to 175,000 hectares in 1989. One fourth of this is under Jhumming (Table shows the different land uses in the state).

As a part of the 4th and 5th Five Year Plan, emphasis was laid on land reclaimation programmes, and schemes which subsidised the supply of agricultural implements, machineries fertilizers and seeds in keeping with the agricultural development policies. The total cultivated area with irrigation increased from 30,000 hectares in 1960 to about 54,000 hectares in 1987 and 56,000 hectares in 1989. The government has allotted an outlay of Rs.322 lakhs in 1990-91 for irrigational purposes. There has been an increase in food production due to use of high yielding variety of seeds, In 1961-62 food grain production was only 63.53 (000 tonnes) in 1985 and 197.4(000 tonnes) in 1989-90.

Apparently there has been a drop in the mid 1960's which was presumably due to intense insurgent activities. The security forces, resorted to the methods of grouping which restricted movement outside the village, while curfews which were enforced over a long period of time had an adverse effect on food production. The objective of the counter-insurgents was to prevent the intermingling of the villagers and the insurgents, thereby cutting off the food supply that had sustained them for so long.

3.9 INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

The achievements in the secondary sector has not been as satisfactory as in the other two. The labour force employed in the various sectors in 1991 are given below indicates the percentages of workers employed in varimus activities. Table 12 indicates the percentage of distribution of the main workers and other workers in the various districts (1991).

Table - 12

Distribution of workforce in the various Sectors

Districts total	Percentage of main workers			
	Cultivators.	Agricultural labourers	Household Industrial workers	Other workers
Zunheboto	67.88	0.98	0.48	30.65
Kohima	49.48	9.86	2.95	38.59
Mon	86.87	1.91	0.40	10.90
Tuensang	79.40	3.62	0.03	15.05
Phek	75.79	0.44	0.56	23.21
Wokha	72.09	2.59	1.05	24.21
Mokokchung	62.46	4.72	2.77	30.00
Total	68.22	4.72	2.00	25.53

Source: Census of India- 1992-93. Provisional population tables.

The above table reveals that percentage of workers in the industrial sectors is far below the other two as it stands at only 2% as compared to the agricultural, which is 68,22%. This suggests a low level of industrial development. Some of the major industrial projects of the state are the sugar mill at Dimapur, the paper and pulp mill at Tuli and the Plywood factory at Tizit in Mon district. Several smaller scale industrial units such as the cottage match factory, splinter venner unit, Kandsari mill at Jaluki etc. have been established lately. Handloom and serriculture are important cottage industries of the area, and are promoted by the government to ensure larger employment opportunities, thereby reducing the pressure on land. Table 13 shows the number of industries districtwise.

Table - 13

Number of Industries in Nagaland : Districtwise Break up (1990).

Type of Industry	Kohima	Phek	Mokok-chung	Wokha	Zun-hobo to	Tuen-sang	Mon
Industrial Estate	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Weaving training - cum-production centre.	1	-	1	-	1	1	1
Distillery Project	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cottage Industries	-	-	1		1	1	1

Table 13 (Contd....)

Type of Industry	Kohima	Phek	Mokok-chung	Wokha	Zun-hoboto	Tuen-sang	Mon
Serriculture farms	6	3	5	2	1	5	1
Handicrafts pro-duction Centre.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Small scale Indus-stries service Institute.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sugar Mill	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Paper Mill	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Plywood factory	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Bee Keeping farm	2	-	-	-	1	1	-
Handmade paper unit	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pineapple fiber unit	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Citronella distilla-tion Unit.	5	1	5	1	1	3	2

Source: Statistical handbook of Nagaland, 1990.

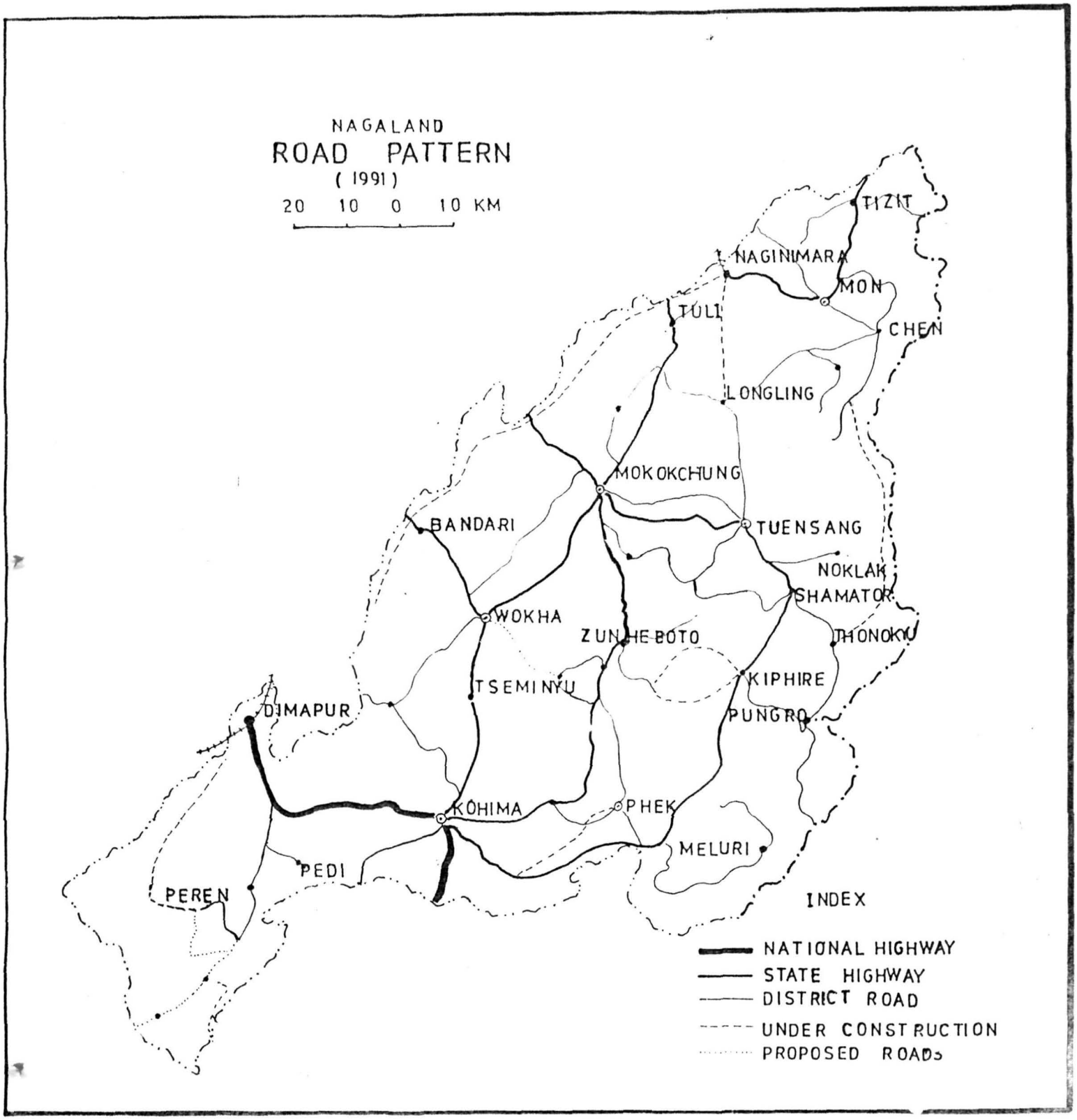

NAGALAND
ROAD PATTERN
(1991)
20 10 0 10 KM
TIZIT
NAGINIMARA
MON
TULI
CHEN
LONGLING
MOKOKCHUNG
BANDARI
TUENSANG
NOKLAK
SHAMATOR
WOKHA
ZUNHEBOTO
THONOKU
KIPHIRE
TSEMINYU
DIMAPUR
PUNGRO
KOHIMA
PHEK
MELURI
PEDI
PEREN
INDEX
NATIONAL HIGHWAY
STATE HIGHWAY
DISTRICT ROAD
UNDER CONSTRUCTION
PROPOSED ROADS

FIG. 3.10

The total number of industries are 119, which are mainly of the small scale types. It is apparent that the more accessible areas with better transport and communication network, as well as areas bordering Assam have the large scale industries such as the paper and pulp mill at Tuli, the sugar mill in Dimapur. Areas such as Mon accounts for most of the small forest-based industries.

3.10 ROAD NET.WORK.

An important criteria for progress is the transport and communication linkages development . Before independence, whatever communication lines were developed in the area was to mainly cater to the administrative needs of the British. In 1875 a briddle path from Samaguting to Wokha via. Kohima was opened and with the advent of the world War II the road linkages were extended upto Kohima. However, a greater acceleration in its growth was evident only after the formation of the state in 1963. Nevertheless the existing linkages still fall short of requirement.

The state has only 10.45 K.M.of railway lines, with its stations at Dimapur and Naginimara. The scope for extention is limited due to the rugged terrain. At present the state has one airport which started operating in 1971, but

as it does not cater to the mass transportation within the state, its impact on transportation is limited. In the light of these constraints the government has attempted to develop the road network which is the most viable means of communication in the area. Table 14 shows the length of roads in the state.

Table - 14

Length of Roads Under the P.W.D. (1990).

Sl No.	District	Village Road		Road under Border Road		Total
		Surfaced.	Unsurfaced.	Surfaced	Unsurfaced	
1.	Kohima	41	663	29	2	1021
2.	Mokokchung	48	665	101	-	835
3.	Tuensang	33	1090	212	-	1176
4.	Phek	21	500	272	-	568
5.	Mon	20	656	-	-	821
6.	Wokha	24	452	-	-	487
7.	Zunheboto	20	478	102	-	650
Total		207	4504	716	-	5558

Source: Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1990.

3.11 LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT.

It is said that the tribal dominated areas are some of the most under developed regions of the country, consequently the constraints on the financial and developmental institutions are emmense. This has been further aggravated by the geographical inaccessibility and ineffective implementation of relevant programmes which could have had tremendous impact in the developmental processes.

Population is relatively high in this region and of late experienced one of the fastgrowth rate which is 58.86%, as compared to the country's total which is 23.23% 1981-1991. This has naturally placed tremendous pressure on the agricultural land and has subsequently accelerated the rate of depletion of forest cover, resulting in soil erosion and hazardous landslides, frequently disrupting the communication linkages and thereby incurring expensive road repairs. The forest cover over the last decade has declined from 8,62,532 hectares in 1981 to 5,536 hectares in 1991.

Inadequate attempts at economic diversification has resulted in the over emphasis on certain sectors. This has clearly been responsible for the 'unbalanced' on 'Lopsided'

economic development, while unbalanced regional development, while unbalanced regional development has resulted in intra-regional disparities. The causes for this can be identified as-

1) Lack of spatial and temporal integration of the economy.
2) Greater degree of dependence on one aspect of the economy and lack of diversification of economic activities.
3) Absence of growth impulses and lack of dispersion.
4) Inadequate transportation and communication facilities (Gopalakrishnan;)

To make the study more precise, available information and data has been categorised on sectoral basic to find out the levels of development of the different districts of Nagaland. Sixteen indicators were used to measure the levels of development. These have been divided into four groups each to measure the sector - wise level of development. Figure. A shows the list of indices that have been divided into the various sectors.

Figure A. Indicators of the levels of development sets and subsets.

1. Resource Base:

a. Average road length per 100 sq. km.

b. Population density.

c. Percentage of work force to the total population.

d. Literacy rate per 1000 persons.

e. Percentages of forest area to total geographical area.

2. Agricultural development:

a. Percentage of net sown area to total geographical area.

b. Percentage of irrigated area to total net sown area.

c. Percentage of agricultural labourers to total main workers.

3. Industrial development:

a. Number of agricultural enterprises

b. Number of non-agricultural enterprises.

c. Percentages of workers in house-hold industries to total workforce.

4. Social amenities:

a. Number of vehicles per 1000 persons

b. Number of beds " " "

c. Number of Post office per 1000 persons.

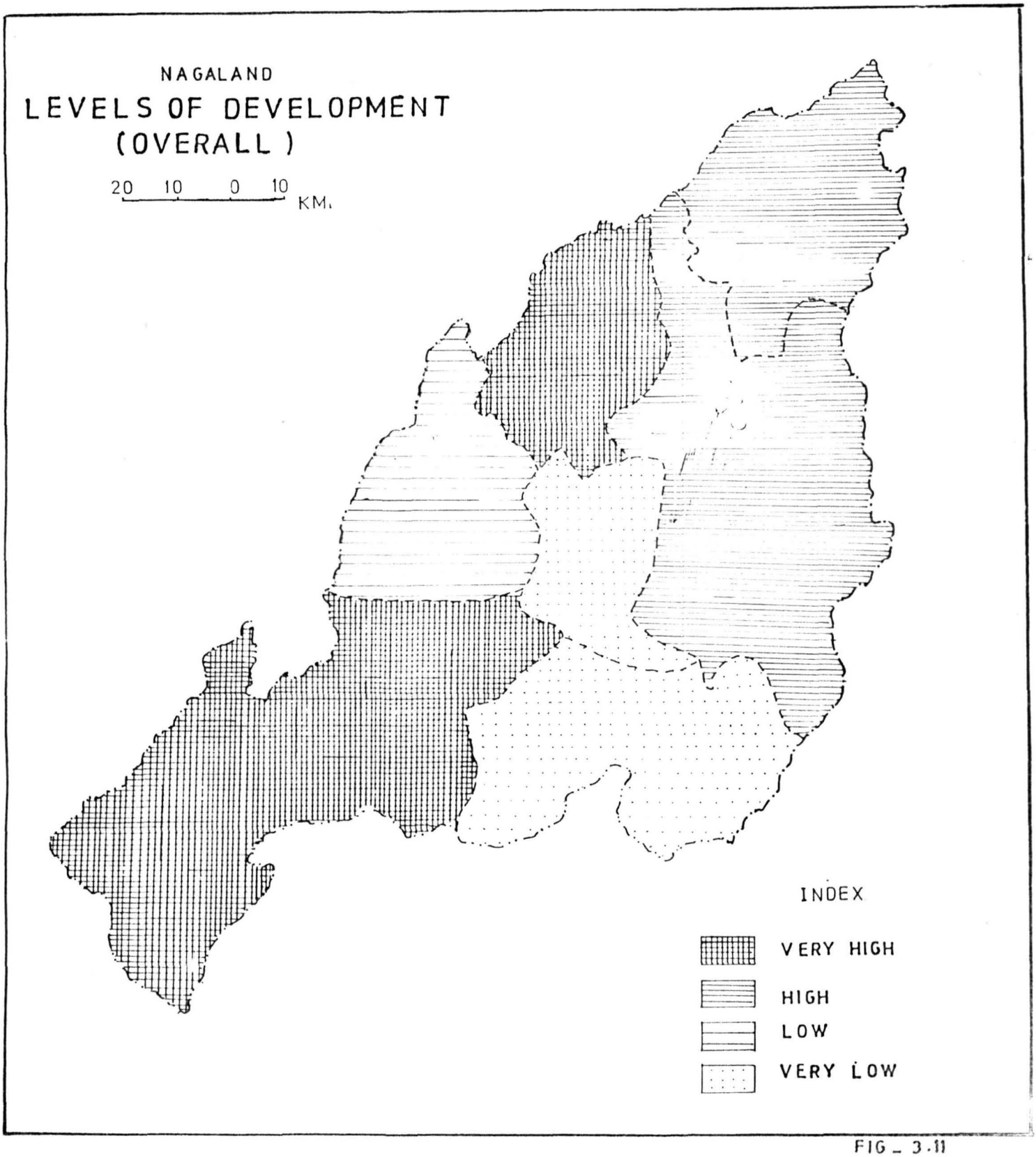

NAGALAND
LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT
(OVERALL)
20 10 0 10
KM.
INDEX
VERY HIGH
HIGH
LOW
VERY LOW

FIG _ 3.11

d. Number of banks per 1000 persons

e. Percentage of electrified villages per 1000 persons.

Resource which is one of the basic criteria for economic development subsumes indices such as natural resources, manpower, transportation etc. If transport and communication network projects the accessibility factor as an impetus for growth, then social amenities, which basically caters to the well being of the public would help accertain the government's response and perception to the needs of the people.

To measure the level of development and assess the probable intra-state disparities, sixteen indicators were selected which were further divided into four groups to measure the development sector-sise and a composite index was tabulated, combining all the sectors at the end, to arrive at an overall assessment. Table 15 shows the overall development for the year 1990 districtwise.

Table - 15

Overall Levels of Development

Districts	Resource	Agriculture	Industry	Social Amenities.	Overall level
Kohima	1.42	2.76	3.06	-1.8	5.44
Phek	1.08	0.23	-2.72	-3.37	-3.78

Table 15 (continued ....)

Districts	Resource	Agriculture	Industry	Social amenities	Overall level
Wokha	-0.89	-1.19	-0.03	1.32	-0.79
Zunheboto	-1.62	-1.62	-3.7	-1.87	-8.78
Mokokchung	-1.96	1.48	3.08	-1.84	4.68
Tuensang	-0.23	0.87	1.61	-0.21	2.04
Mon	0.55	-0.72	4.06	-0.95	2.94

3.12 ANALYSIS OF THE DATA.

Resource wise the district of Mokokchung ranks first (1.96), while Zunheboto accounts for the lowest level (-1.62). This is probably due to the fact that the former has the highest density of population, literacy rate and average road length per 100 sq.km.

The district of Kohima accounts for the highest level of agricultural development (2.76), the highest percentage of agricultural labourers and area under irrigation.

The districts of Mon and Tuensang have the lowest level of agricultural development but this is substantiated by a relatively well developed secondary sector particularly the forest-based industries.

Setting aside the substantial road network on extension of railway lines upto Naginimara(Mon District) serves as another outlet, for that district.

Based on the levels of the overall development of the state, the seven districts can be categorised into very high(Kohima and Mokokchung), high (Tuensang and Mon), low (Wokha). Naginmara(Mon District) appear to be more developed than Tizit, which shows that disparities exist even at Micro levels. Zubza circles in Kohima district could be considered one of the most well developed, within the said district as well as the state. This could be attributed to the fact that this area lies in close proximity to Modal points such as Dimapur and Kohima and has an extremely well developed transport and communication infrastructure.

District such as Tuensang and Mon had been relatively under-developed upto the early 1970's, but has of late achieves great levels of development, due to several factors. In the early 1960's much of the intense insurgent activities centered around Tuensang district as its inaccessibility made the area an ideal base for the insurgents.

In an attempt to extend better administrative control and curb insurgency the government extended transport and communication facilities to the erstwhile inaccessible areas. Another possible reason for the progress could be attributed to the equal all occation of funds and share in the developmental processes of the various tribes whereby multi-tribal inhabited districts such as Tuensang would receive maximum benefits.

No doubt the slow growth rate in the industrial sector has largely been due to the inherent geographical factors, nevertheless inconsistencies arising out of a steady increase in population and a poorly developed secondary sector has placed the tertiary sector under tremendous constraints, in an effort by the latter to absorb the non-primary work force, the less developed tribes are placed in a socio-economically disadvantaged position, as the power wielding governmental institution and bureaucracy is comprised of mainly the educationally more advanced and politically more articulate tribes (22.861 persons are employed in this sector in Kohima-1990). While the less developed tribes have not only a low level of literacy (29.87% in mon- 1991), but they also have a poor representation in these sectors (4,221 persons employed in Mon- 1990). (Table 16 shows districtwise distribution of government employees - 1989).

Table - 16

District-wise Distribution of Government Employees 1989

District	Class-I	Class-II	Class-III	Class-IV	Total
Kohima	909	571	11,208	10,173	22861
Phek	78	56	2,342	2,362	4,838
Wokha	188	88	4,665	3,337	8,278
Zunhoboto	80	54	1,829	1,028	2,991
Mokokchung	126	74	4,355	3,399	7,954
Tuensang	81	77	2,248	2,026	4,432
Mon	76	49	1,987	2,109	4,221
Total	1,538	969	28,634	24,434	55,576

Source: Statistical atlas of Nagaland - 1990.

In an effort to assist the less developed tribes of the state, the government formulated certain strategies by way of policies, giving them top priorities under the 'Backward Tribe' category.

Apart from the allocation of special funds for the backward area Development, the state government has tried to increase their representation in the government services by

reserving 33% of the total number of government employment under the article 16(4) of the consitution vide department of personnal and Administrative Reforms (16.8.70). The tribes under this category are the Khiamungan, Konyak, Changs, Yimchunger, Chakhesang and Zaliang. This reservation later included seats in educational institutions as well. The protectionist policies of the government generated resentment which was further aggravated by the rise in the rate of unemployment in the state. Although there has been an increase in the rate of employment from a 1.67% increase between 1985-86 to 3.83% increase between 1988-89, apparently the growth in employment did not match the increase in population. In addition the massive displacement of or agricultural workforce increased the competition for the scarce resources. It was not surprising that minor groups like the Chirr, Makware and the Tikhirs found themselves marginalised, while the dominant Yimchunger group was placed in a more advantageous position. This is examplified by the fact that the three circles viz. Thonoknyu, Shamatorr and Pongro, occupied by these minor groups are some of the least developed circles in the district.

Deprivation and unequal participation in the economy as a result of monopolisation has given rise to intra tribal fissions and cleavages providing an impetus for change.

CHAPTER - IV

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION.

CHAPTER-IV

TRADITIONAL SETUP

4.1 ADMINISTRATIVE SETUP.

Naga communities are organised very strongly around the principle of the village as a unit. They have been likened to the Greek city states, establishing a "Sovereign village state" status as each village is politically and economically a distinct unit. These villages failed to establish an integrated political structure due to geographical isolation of villages (Asoso: 1975).

Villages were generally politically, autonomous fighting units. However under certain circumstances, they adopted a vague form of allignce between two or more villages contrived purely as a political tactic and strategy which rarely lasted long. Their objective being, to fight a common enemy(6000 Angami warriors formed a confederacy to beseige the English at Kohima in 1879), or seek protection from powerful villages in return of payment of tributes. On the other hand a supra village existed, where a 'Great Ang'held sway over numerous villages governed by lesser or 'small Angs'.

Nagas were unable to permanently establish tribal linkages above the village organisation which Mishra attributes to political, economic and social character which was

in a "state of equilibrium opposed to change" . He said tribal societies breakup in the process of inter-tribal rivalry and wars and contending tribes and tribal leagues merge into kingdoms controlled by one chief or ruler but this presumably failed due to the timely arrival of the British in the Hills and their occupation thereafter.

The traditional political organisation of the Nagas represent roughly two polarities. They are the Autocratic. Konyaks and Semas with their hereditary institutions and chieftainship and the democratic or egalitarian Aos and Angamis with their rule of the people. Oscillating between these two extremties were the other Naga tribes.

4.2.1 AUTOCRATIC CHIEFTAINSHIP.

The Great Angs (chief) among the Konyaks were considered not only political leaders but their persons were also 'sacred' assuming an autocratic to sometimes tyrannical attitude. (Furer Haimendorf: 1969). The Konyak society was basically stratified into three groups, the Great Angs, the smaller Angs and finally the commoners or 'Ben' People. The rigidity of the distinction between the two Angs were maintained by matrimony. The Great Angs were to marry within their own class and the male offspring of such a marriage would automatically become the heir, while

the sons from his common wife would assume the rank of the small Angs. The powers and geographical extent of domination varied between the two. The villages run on autocratic chiefly principles were distinguished as 'Thendu' while those under the small Angs that were based on democratic principles were known as 'Thenboh' (Haimendorf: 1969). The great Angs held sway over several villages administered by the small Angs, often imposing autocratic rule, while the latter had limited powers as they along with the Morung representatives formed the village council and as a result their powers were nominal.

The Semas did not recognise any such rigid distinctions between the chief and the commoners. Their system is based on the principles of land ownership. The founding member is recognised as the 'Akekao' (chief). He and his family formed the nobility (Kekami). His powers were limited by the presence of the 'Chochomi' or councillors nominated by him and commoners were dependent on his generosity.

4.2.2 DEMOCRATIC SETUP.

In contrast the Ao and Angami tribes have a more democratic setup. The Ao political system is distinguished by the systematic organisation of the village council called 'putumenden'. The council members known as 'Tatars' are clan representatives, nominated from individual Khels councils

called 'Mupu Menden'. Their tenure in office is thirty years among the Chongli moities while its Mongsen counterpart do not have a fixed period. The council is a three tier system of unequal status headed by a chief of council normally elected from a Pongen or Imchen phratry (senior most among the Ao clans). The chief of council is called an 'Unger'(Chongli) or 'Tsungba' (Mongsen). The other clan members move up and new members are selected to the lowest grade. The village council is the highest body of authority and all matters pertaining to administrative and agricultural importance are dealt by them. The status of the chief of council is more of a prestige issue than actual powers.

The Angamis on the other hand do not have an organised council. The whole Khel participates in the meetings where the view of the majority or an influential clan is accepted as general consensus. Their polity with no well defined secular leadership has been defined as 'Ultra - Republican' (Kumar : 1976). The head of the khel is called a Pehuma and he has no authority so to speak except during war.

4.3.1 GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.

British colonialization had little impact on the existent administrative and political setup. The introduction of new offices such as that of the Gaonbura and the Dobashi did not

alter the functional utility of the traditional political system. The role of the Dobashi was that of an interpreter and translator, often aiding in the settlement of disputes which were tried in the traditional manner by the headman and traditional judges. The intervention of the British was limited to cases of henieous crimes, repugnant in their eyes (Mills: 1962). This office continues to function to the present day in the form of Dobashi courts at the district levels, located at the headquarters. The Gaonbura on the other hand was adjudicator and peace maker at the village level.

Decolonialization and modernization led to the emergence of a new class of people within the modern polity. Their influences gradually became more prominent. Professor Chaube is of the opinion that the greatest contribution of the world War two, was the creation of the middle class in the Naga society. If initially the political elites posed no threat to the traditional setup as they worked in consensus with the tribal and village council, the passage of time saw to the gradual usurpage of their position and influences.

The inroads made by christianity and education created the middle class which represented a cross section of the Naga tribes unlike certain societies, where this class comprised of the landed gentry. There appeared to be

a marked increase in literacy rate which incidentally coincided with the spread of christianity in the Hills. This phenomena could be attributed to two or more possibilities. The first being the ample opportunities of government employment suddenly made available to the educated. Secondly education became imperative for scripture reading which assisted in the attempts of christianizing the erstwhile illiterate, animists.

The educated middle class assumed the role of the protector of the new found identity, filling in the gaps created by the maladjustments of traditional elites in a changing world. Being literate, they drew their inspirations from western doctrines, modelling their organisation after them. This probably explains the usage of alien terms such as 'Clubs' etc. They effectively used the 'common' consiousness as a weapon to disseminate their ideology amongst the people in pursuit of their own interest. It promulgated the crystalization of the 'Pan Naga solidarity' in the erstwhile independent individualistic Naga tribes.

4.3.2. FROM NAGA CLUB TO NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL:

The Naga club was formed in 1918 and it consisted of several former members of the labour crops stationed in France during the World War Two. The club was essentially

a socio-cultural institution which gradually assumed a political tone to represent the political aspirations of the Nagas in the early twentieth century. This is evident from their submission of a memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929, in protest against the inclusion in the Reformed Scheme. The formation of the Naga Club triggered off the emergence of several tribal councils, the first being the Lotha Council (1923) followed by the Ao council (1928) and ultimately the Naga Hills District Council in 1945. The latter served as an umbrella over the various tribal councils but it failed due to unequal representation of all the Naga tribes and was henceforth replaced by the Naga National Council (N.N.C).

Initially the N.N.C. adopted a social stand which aimed at festering welfare and social aspirations but later became a political forum thereby becoming the first Pan Naga political organisation. It aimed at uniting all the various tribes, reducing inter-tribal rivalry and promoting its ideology which was, Naga consciousness loosely defined as Naga way of life.

The strength of the council laid in its mass support and appeal that was endorsed by the support of village councils and chiefs without whose consensuss no plan of action was promulgated. Table 4.3.2 shows the various councils under the jurisdiction of the N.N.C. in February, 1948.

The council initiated its political activities in 1946 when it first presented a memorandum requesting the creation of an Interim government for a period of ten years, but the controversy created by the nineth clause of the nineth point agreement regarding the transfer of power, led to its non-implementation. In protest the N.N.C. also initiated a civil disobedience movement proving beyond a doubt that the council enjoyed the support of the masses. Fissions within the N.N.C. became apparent and it ultimately led to the establishment of a parallel government known as the Federal government of Nagaland in 1956. The government had a parliament with a strength of hundred members called Tatars and a president who was assisted by a cabinet which consisted of fifteen ministers or Kilonsers. In addition there were Angs (governors) and Renapeyu (chairman)at the village level. Table shows the administrative setup of the Federal government.

The period that followed the establishment of the parallel government was marked by Turmoil. Ultimately the moderates within the N.N.C. negotiation and peace processes as a result of which the state of Nagaland came into being on first December, 1963. After the Second World War the N.N.C made attempts to bring uniformity into the administration. The institution of village council which existed in some areas was introduced in all the remaining villages (Sema:1986).

The village council elects one member to represent them at the Area Council which was formerly known as Range Council. The next unit in the hierarchy is the Regional Council and its members are elected from the Area Council. At the appex of the hierarchy exist the State Assembly.

The powers of the council are limited and are related primarily to developmental work in their area. Their financial powers are even less however the Naga National Democratic party (N.N.D.P.) government introduced a new scheme whereby the village development funds were created by raising funds from individual families within the village. The government then sanction a matching fund, which was deposited in the bank.(Sema: 1986). The priorities of the development projects are decided by these council, while the government gives technical assistance.

Autonomous forums and organisation such as the Naga Students Federation(N.S.F.) has outlined its objectives which is to safeguard common interest, ameliorate social, moral activities, preserve cultural heritage and promote and cooperation amongst the various tribes. Although the morung as an institution appears to be declining it is possible that these associations perform similar functions. Such organisations have in recent years assumed political tones.

4.4 ELECTORAL PATTERNS.

Elections in the traditional democratic setup was based on the consensus of the various clans. Generally a clan elder would represent his entire clan, at the village council as was the case among the Ao tribe, while the Angamis nominated the head of a Khel.

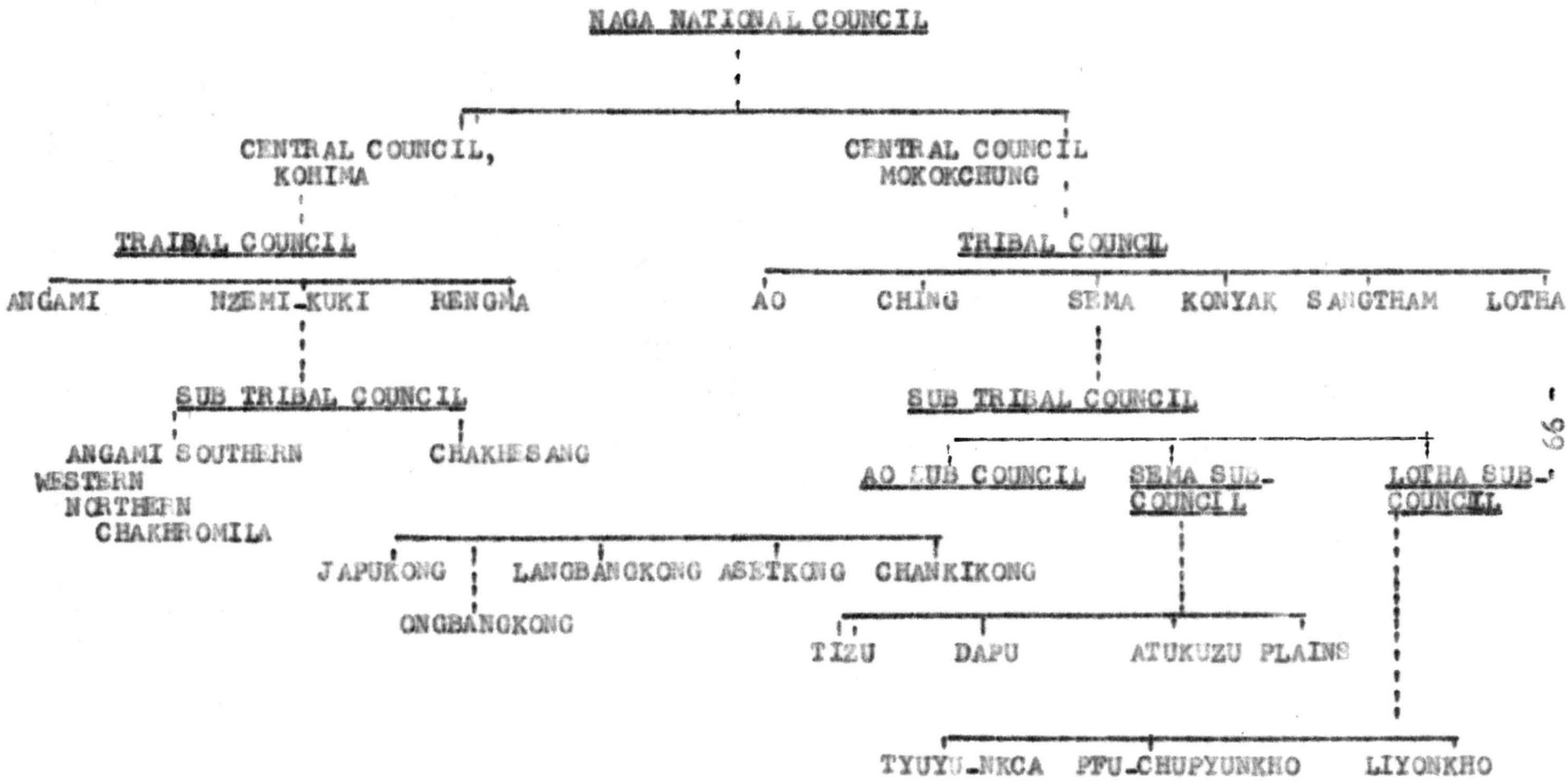
Chieftainship was hereditary among the Lothas, Konyaks and Rengmas. The Sema tribe had a system that was based on the principles of land ownership whereby the founding member under whose leadership the village was established would become the chief. The position of the chief was not secure, as loss of public confidence could deprive him the right to rule.

If nomination within the traditional setup was direct and simple, then modern societies on the other hand were too large numerically and the matters of the state too complex, to allow direct democracy (Hill: 1974).

A more feasible alternative was the institutionalisation of representative democracy, the basis of which is the entrusting of the tasks of governing to the elites popularly elected through the ballot box.

Societal conflicts generated by structural contradictions could be done away either by radical restructuring of the society (revolution) or by integrative

4.3.2. NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL (COUNCILS, ITS JURISDICTION IN FEB.1948)



process. Often these conflicts manifest itself through the mediation of political parties.

Traditionally as opposed to the centralist parties which aspire to project National interest at large, the regional parties have long been associated with marginalisation and alienation thereby promoting regional interest. Most autonomous parties of the North Eastern states typify the marginalised and alienated peripheries (Balveer Ärora: 1989).

The history of modern political process in Nagaland could be attributed to the differences in ideology among the educated elites. Among the moderates were a section who had been directly instrumental in bringing about statehood while the other comprised of those who harboured sympathy for the secessionists. The latter formed the Democratic Front (D.F.) party under the leadership of Kevichusa (Thakkar : 1972) while the former, in response formed a counter political party which came to be known as the Nagaland Nationalist organisation. Subsequently two contending parties emerged in the political arena, they were the N.N.C which was regarded as an 'Indianised' party by the extremist and the other was the D.F.Party which epitomised an autonomous regional party with parochial

tendency. The former merged with the congress in 1982, while the latter came to be known as United Democratic Front in 1974. The total strength of the state legislative assembly is sixty of which twenty was to be reserved for the district of Tuensang. There are two representatives to the parliament. Table 17 shows the electoral results of the eight general elections held between 1964-1993.

Table - 17

Results of the General Elections of Nagaland (1964 - 1993) to the State Legislative Assembly.

Years	Electorates	Total votes polled	% to Electorates	Party contesting	Results: Parties	Seats won
1964	1,24,166	62,720	50.51	N.P. D.P.	N.N.O.	25
1969	1,76,931	1,39,328	78.75	N.N.O. U.F.	N.N.O.	22
1974	3,95,070	2,97,648	75.34	N.N.O. U.D.F.	U.D.F.	26
1977	3,98,035	3,31,461	83.27	U.D.F. N.P.CC.	U.D.F.	35
1982	5,96,453	4,43,972	74.44	NN.DP Congress	N.N.D.P.	24
1987	5,82,301	4,91,924	84.48	Congress N.N.D.P. A.P.P B.J.P.	Congress I	34
1989	5,82,426	4,98,822	85.65	I.N.C;NPC N.P.P.	Congress I	34
1993	8,13,362	7,34,799	90.34	I.N.C.; N.P.C.;BJP D.LP;I.N.D.	Congress I	35

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Govt.of Nagaland.

Analisis of the above table shows that the Congress emerged as a formidable force after 1987 as a result of a fragmented and weak opposition, the laterappeared to be on the decline. It is evident that the perception of the electorate was influenced by the prevailing political situation. This was reflected in the poll results.

Apparently the assurances of the restoration of peace and stability by the N.N.O in the turbulent sixties saw the party through two successive victories, in 1964 and 1969.

In 1966 a no confidence motion deprived P. Shilu Ao of his chieforministership. Apparently the suspicion of an Ao chief minister shifting the capital to Mokokchung in the light of a talk of a possible shift of the capital to either Wokha,Dimapur or Mokokchung caused much resentment. He was replaced by T.N. Angami who remained in office till the next elections in 1969.

By 1974 a resurgent opposition called the United Democratic Front came to power under the leadership of Vizol Angami, defeating the N.N.O in the elections. The N.N.O suffered a set back after the parliamentary election

in 1971when four minister resigned. In 1975 President rule was declared when the U.D.Fgovernment was ousted from office on ground of mishandling the insurgency issue. They were accused of 'Pussy Footing' the underground and not taking a firm stance.

The Congress party won the elections in 1987, and consolidated its position by wining the elections consecutively in 1989 and 1993. The decline of the U.D.F was presumably due to its inability to solve the insurgency problems despite its claim to have had a better relationship with the underground. On the other hand the Congress were fortunate as the period of their tenure in office was relatively peaceful as a result of the decrease in insurgent activities.

4.5. CONCLUSION.

As a result of the independent and sovereign nature of the villages and their inability of establish an integrated structure above the village unit, annexation of the Naga Hills was carried out on an individual village basis. This may have prevented 'en-masse' subjucation but on the other hand the limited interaction led to the development of individualistic tendencies and parochialism. These traits did not get obliterated in the process of

integration, consequently it had a tendency to manifest itself in the course of tribal conflict.

Such differences had been rare within the village units as the system of nominating clan elders assured equal representation and participation in the powers and wealth of the village. The role of the traditional elites were functionary in nature without actual powers, nevertheless their position bestowed prestige and honour on the individual. Their influence withstood the test of British intervention and their relationship with the new elites (Educated middle class) remained amicable as the latter worked accordance with their traditional counterparts.

The formation of the state ushered in an era of standardised political and centralised system. The system of representative electoral process based on the ballot box widened the scope of candidateship, enabling even the monied to participate in the electoral processes that had previously been based on a system of nomination and general consensus and had been regarded as an exclusive domain of the clan elders.

In the past the villages councils had been the highest decision making body. But under the new political setup, policies and decision regarding the general village

development was transfered from the village to the administrative centres and state capital. Consequently, the influence and authority of the traditional elites declined and as such the traditional cores and its elites were marginalised. Secondly the distancing of the decisions has givem rise to mobilisation and integration of the discrete tribes into viable political entities in an effort to increase participation. This also emphasized the need for an access to the resources and developmental processes.

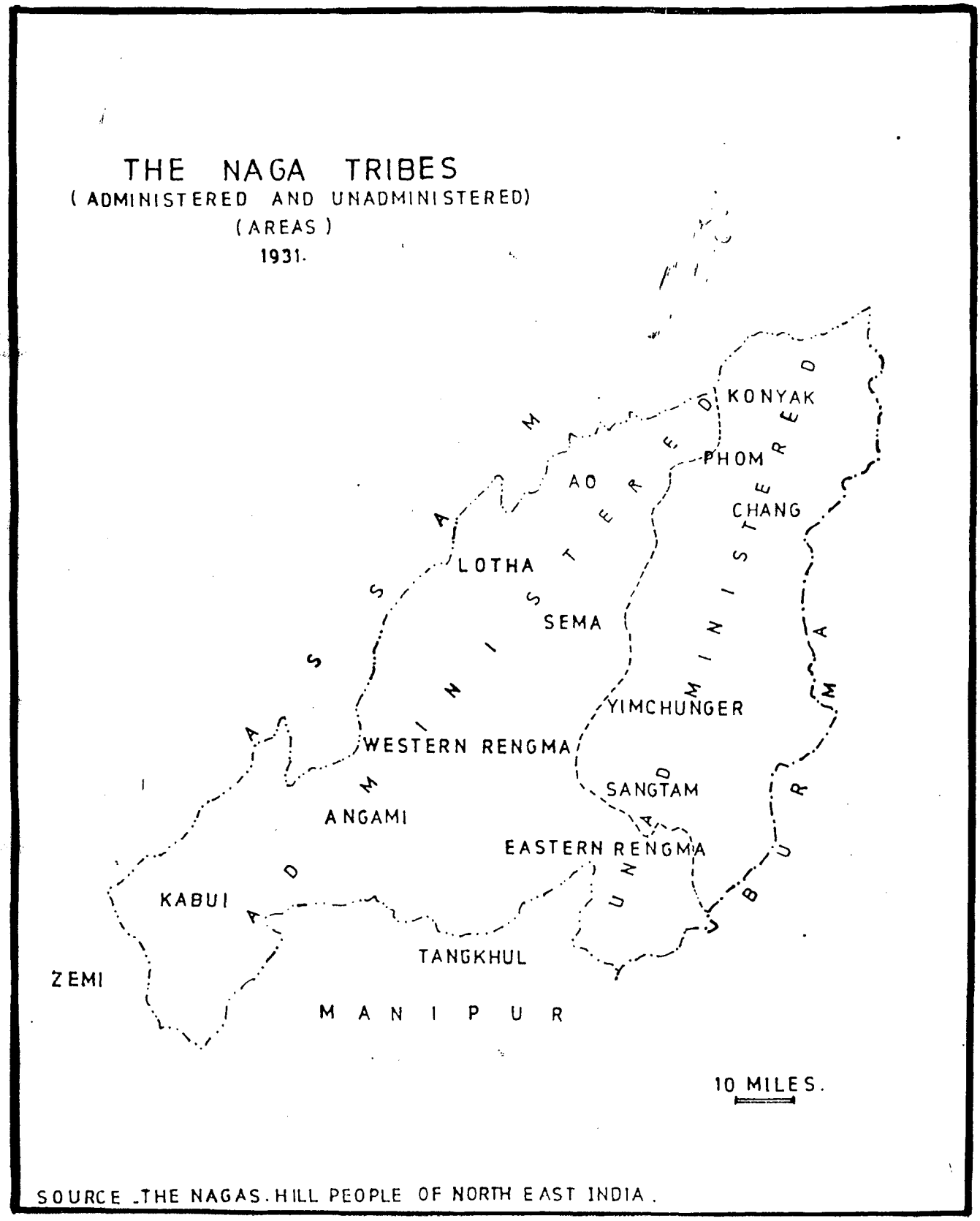
Despite the reduced powers of the traditional elites, they had not relinquished their control in certain aspects such as control of clan and ward land, clan courts and the village council which is protected and guaranteed by the constitution. The traditional elites mobilise the people into maintaining their identity by keeping alive traditional laws and customs.

Tribal solidarity have strong clan base, while the new solidarities such as the Pan Naga Movement were forged by various groups facing similar problems of adaptation to the changing social, economic and political situations (Anungla: 1993). In the past there appeared to be some level of interdependence as a result

of trade, but in the process of development they found themselves competing for the same scarce resources. In the process, socio-cultural differences that had remained dormant during the process of integration surfaced.

CHAPTER - V

INSURGENCY, ITS CONTINUATION AND IMPACT.



SOURCE :THE NAGAS. HILL PEOPLE OF NORTH EAST INDIA.

FIG 5.1

CHAPTER - V

INSURGENCY, ITS CONTINUATION AND IMPACT

5.1 Regionalism in the country today, has become such a serious problem that it literally threatens to balkanise the country. As a phenomena, it epitomises an extreme desire of a group to retain its territorial identity and exclusiveness. If separatism or secessionism is indeed an extreme form of regionalism, it becomes imperative to examine the cause and impact it has on the area it operates in, as well as in its adjoining terriotories.

Secessionist movements are differemtiated from rebellion by its sheer magnitude and level of participation. For if the former is restricted by the limited space it operates in, then the latter encompasses the involvement of the entire population whose sole objective is to literally break away. No doubt, no two insurgencies are identical. However, the common objective is caputring the centre of territorial base within a state. The success of such an endeavour is directly dependent on its pre-requiste conditions such as historial background, favourable terrain, self sufficiency of economy and its sustainability (which is the untiring and unfaltering support of sympathetic masses).

The role of a favourable terrain cannot be under-estimated as it is directly linked with the entire operation. Time and again impenetrable jungles have sustained insurgents who have survived the relentless counter insurgent offensive of a numerically stronger opponent even under the most trying circumstances.

The movement took its roots in the crystallization of a common identity and bonding of the various tribes. The greatest impact of the British intervention in the early 1830's was the spread of Christianity and education that resulted in the emergence of an educated middle class who not only initiated the identification of commonalities and Pan Naga conciousness but also spearheaded the autonomous movement which took an extreme insurgent course under the charismatic leadership of Zapu Phizo. The strategic location of the Naga hills was what had initially caught the attention of the British imperialist. On a lookout for an alternative trade route to Manipur and Burma, the hills appeared as an ideal choice as it served two purposes which were, an alternative trade route and secondly it would enable the British to check the problems of raids perpetuated in the plains by the hill people.

Administration of the hills were easier said than done as the British soon found out. Numerous punitive expeditions were carried out between 1835 to 1851 but such retailatory actions paid little divident as raids continued. Ultimately after some deliberation the British established a police out post in Samaguting (Chumukedima). With the expansion of the tea estates, British administration extended their territories upto the Naga Hills and in retailiation the Nagas raided the plains. In an effort to safeguard their interest as well as protect the hill people against the exploitation by the outsiders, the British introduction the Inner Line Regulation in 1873 which restricted movement across the borders and this was revised several times, the last being in 1958 under the Indian government. It entailed the requirement of special permits to enter the hills.

The administrators adopted a policy of demarcation of boundaries as yet another measure to check the raids plunder of the plains. In 1881 and 1891, the boundaries between the Naga Hills and Upper Burma and Assam were demarcated.

In 1878 the headquarter was shifted from Samaguting to Kohima, while the sub-division of Wokha and Mokokchung were setup in 1875 and 1890 respectively. In 1919 the Naga Hills was declared backward tracts within the province of Assam.

As part of the recruitment policy during the First World War, it was made compulsory to provide a fixed number of young men for services in the labour corps. It was here, far from home that a comaradlere developed between the various tribes and as a result a Naga Identity was forged. On their return the veterans formed the Naga Club in 1918. In 1929 the Club submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission expressing their apprehensions and fears of socio-cultural engulfment and requested the restoration of Naga independence after the British pulled out of India. They expressed their hopes that the British government would continue to safeguard their rights against all encroachments from people who were more advanced than them."If the British government however, want to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have conquered us themselves, and to whom we never subjected, but leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times" (Aliba Imti:1988).

In 1936, by the promulgation of the excluded and partially included areas act, the Hills were declared an excluded zone within the province of Assam.

On the eve of the partition of the country, the Naga National Council (N.N.C.) which by then had assumed

the role as a protector of the Naga rights submitted a memorandum on 20th February 1947, expressing their insecurities of their destiny in any future political arrangement. They appealed for the setup of an interim government for a period of ten years at the end of which they were to be in a position to freely choose any form of government they wanted.

On June 1947, Sir Akbar Hydari the Governor of Assam was instructed by the government to initiate talks so as to arrive at a satisfactory agreement with N.N.C with regards to their demands. However, misunderstanding over the nineth clause of the nine point agreement (regarding the transfer of power, at the end of the ten year of the Interim government) led to its failure and non-implementation.

The return of Zapfu Phizo to the Naga Hills in 1946 marked a turning point in the Naga politics as the extremist within the N.N.C grew in strength and gradually dominated the council. Their ability to whip up sentiments and their propensity to succeed was evident from the adoption of more aggressive policies. The initial response was overwhelming as thousands of signatures and thumb impressions were collected during the plebiscite

of 1951 which was followed by the agitations in the form of civil disobedience and boycott of elections in 1952 and 1957.

Unable to arrive at an amicable solution and impatient with the stalemate, the extremist within the N.N.C. declared independence setting up a parallel Naga Federal Government. Its flag was hoisted in Phensinyu a Rengma village on 22 March 1956.

The new government clearly outlined its objective in its constitution which entailed the setting up of a parliament constituting of hundred members(Tatars) headed by a president (Kedahge), governors (Angs) and Ministers (Kilonsers) (Sema: 1986).

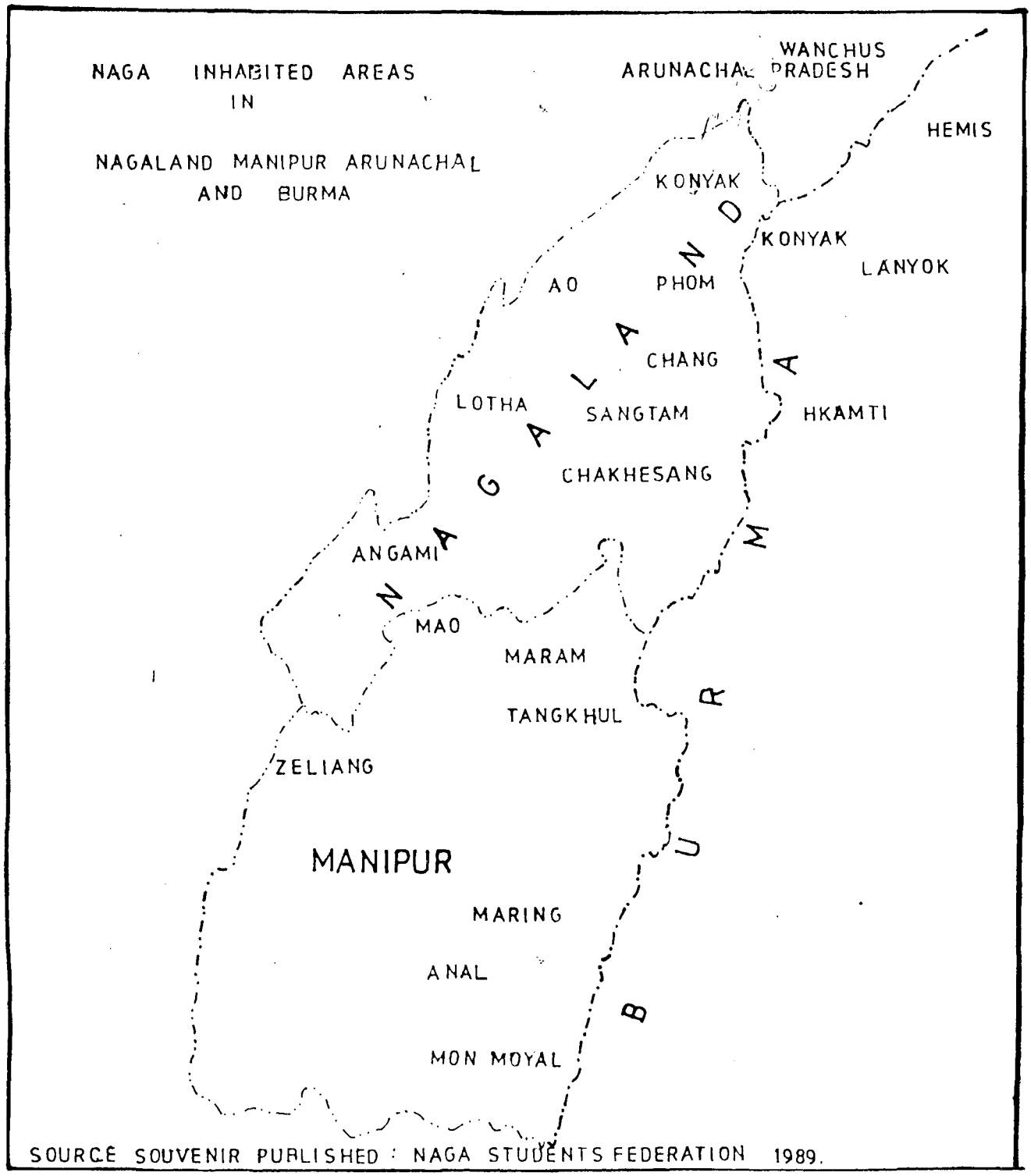
It also endorsed the administration of the Republic whose sovereignty they emphasised had been unquestionably valid from time immemorial.

On 23 September 1964 the peace talks began at Chedema near Kohima. It was in the second meeting that Issac Swu asserted that India and Nagaland were two separate nations and as such the meeting between the

two groups was to establish a friendly relationship between two neighbouring territories, while the government delegates reassured the former of safeguarding their identity by preserving their custom and laws as envisaged in the Nine point agreement and in addition their tribal lands would be protected as non-tribal would not be allowed to purchased their property. It was evident that the integrity of the Union would not be compromised under, any circumstances. The peace mission ultimately dissolved after the expulsion of Rev. M.Scott in 1966, for allegedly adopting a partisan role and attempting to internationalise the Naga issue.

Inspite of six rounds of peace talks and at least sixty extensions of ceasefires over a period of eight years, the issue remained unresolved and on 1st September,1972, the N.N.C.,the Naga Federal government and the Naga Federal army were banned.

In 1975 the signing of the Shillong Accord ushered in a new era of understanding and peace efforts. Several insurgents who surrendered and came overground, were given assurances of rehabilitation by the government of Nagaland. For those who did not accept the terms of the accord continued with their struggles and as such, under such circumstances the problems of insurgency still exist at large.



SOURCE SOUVENIR PUBLISHED : NAGA STUDENTS FEDERATION 1989.

FIG 5.2

Insurgency in the present decade has assumed magnified dimensions by virtue of the apparent web or "nexus" that it has established within and outside the union.

The insurgents appear to be operating closer home, presumably as a result of the destruction of their basis by the security forces and stepped up counter insurgent operations of the Burmese government in an effort to check the activities of the Kachin rebels, thereby depriving the Naga insurgents of their permanent camps.

5.2 IMPACT OF INSURGENCY ON NEIGHBOURING TERRITORIES:

The structuring of territorial boundaries during the colonial rule such as to lead to flexible boundaries with ethnic groups and communities overlapping has shown tremendous potentialities for intra-regional dissonance particularly for India which has common boundaries with several countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh. Consequently the imperatives of nationhood had tremendous implications in the event of interethnic relationship taking on a conflictual nature. It can evoke tensions in bilateral terms. Regarding intra-regional implications, the socio-cultural contiguities in many cases spill over the territorial confines of the adjacent states complicating processes of linkages of neighbourhood, so ethnic

violence in one state may bring in its neighbourhood refugees as well as political activities, making it a sanctuary for secessionist (Phadnis : 1989).

Interested parties having hostile relations the country concerned may even offer assistance to promulgate instability. In the light of these circumstances it becomes imperative to study the problem of insurgency and analyse its impact on adjacent territories.

The notion of Naga solidarity came into prominence after the two world Wars, particularly the second. Colonialist had demarcated boundaries based on administrative convenience and the consequence of these arrangements played an important role in ethnic problems in years to come.

In the course of the insurgent movement, the activities were not contained within the state, rather it had a tendency to spill over to the Naga inhabited areas in the adjoining states and territories.

From about 1815 the Burmese army was mounting pressure on Assam and Manipur which forced the intervention of the British. The signing of the Yandaboo treaty in 1826 between king Aya and the British compelled the former to renounce all claims upon Assam and Manipur and although no formal treaty was established between the two with regards to the boundary, apparently the British

claimed that the Burmese acquiesced in the watershed of the Pâtkai range, thereby demarcating the territory between the two. Today several Naga tribes live in Burma.

The menace of raids by Angami tribes on Manipur compelled the British government to demarcate the boundary between the two in 1872. As a measure of friendly gesture to the Burmese after the Yandaboo treaty the British conceeded the Kabaw valley to them in 1833 and in return gave the Manipur maharaja the task of controlling the western Nagas in 1845. Subsequent administrative arrangements transferred more Naga areas to Manipur there after.(Sarin:).

In 1891 the revolt led by Senapati Tikendrajit Singh resulted in the British taking over control of the administration in 1907. A durbar headed by a British civilian was installed to advice the Raja. The head of the durbar was also made the de-facto administrator of the hill areas and the latter was declared merely a dependent and henceforth administered by the durbar. As a result of this policy the hill areas politics were virtually cut off from the plains and the hill people affiliated themselves with the Naga tribes rather than the plains people. Moreover this was endorsed by the cultural affinities they shared with the Nagas of Nagaland.

In the wake of the state reorganisation committee's visit, the Manipur Naga National Council was formed. Although

the M.N.N.C repudiated violence their sympathy for the N.N.C. was obvious as they demanded for integration of all Naga areas. Consequently the hill politics (Manipur) took the same course as those in the erstwhile Naga Hills. In 1956 the Naga people inhabiting the hill region of Manipur, contagious to Nagaland took to armed insurgency to press their demand for secession. It was reported that the period between 1960-67 saw to the innumerous visits paid by underground leaders to the hill areas of Manipur. These areas served as corridors for Naga insurgents trekking to erstwhile East Pakistan.(Bangladesh) and Kachin (Burma) from Somra tracts via.Ukhrul sub-division.

External connections of the Naga insurgents such as China and Pakistan could be described as a case of"looking for a friend in the enemy" in the light of the prevailing antagonistic bilateral relationships.(Padnis:1960). In view of the apparent nexus (Indo Burma Revolutionary Front), the state governments of the North East states have resolved to initiate an integrated approach whereby simultaneous counter insurgent operations would be carried out preventing, inter state movements of the insurgents across the porous boundaries.

The progress made by the insurgents in the initial phases by way of human and material mobilization was immensurable. Counter insurgent activities were easily repulsed by the highly organised fedral army with its enormous recruitment potantialities and a well developed intelligence cell. They were sustained by the food procured from the villages and their ability to mingle

easily with the villagers made the task for the armed forces twice as difficult. In response, the latter resorted to the 'Grouping' system which had been effectively used by the British to combat communitst guerillas in Malaya. This tactic proved successful as it isolated the villagers from the rebels, cutting off the supply of food that had sustained the insurgents for so long. It also alienated the masses from the former and eventually from the movement.

The year 1956 was eventful. The districts of Mokokchung and Tuensang declared disturbed areas due to the unabated insurgent activities, It was followed by the execution of T. N. Sakhrie a former associate of Phizo by extremist. This served as a turning point in the movement. The euphoria of independence and freedom did not last long. Mounting economic pressures coupled with the aggressive tactics and retaliatory measures taken against suspected government collaborators appalled the public. A disillusioned section of the community comprising mainly of church leaders and moderates sought to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Naga problems through peaceful negotiations. As a result the All tribes Naga people's convention (that constituted of the delegates and representatives of the Naga tribes of the erstwhile Naga Hills and the Tuensang area) was established in 1956.

After the first convention at Kohima on 26th August a delegation led by Dr. Imkongliba Ao met the prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru on 27th September 1957. Following the Prime minister's acceptance of the Kohima convention resolutions the authorities restored full freedom of movement and speech in the region and undertook degrouping proceedures. At the third meeting the committee resolved to negotiate for an autonomous state within the union in lieu of peace and stability in the hills. During this meeting a 16 point agreement memorandum was drawn up. It envisaged the constitution of a separate state called Nagaland, that would be under the ministry of external affairs. There was to be a three year transitional period before the formation of state, during which various tribal representatives would form an interim body.

The movement suffered a serious set back with the exile of Phizo to London in 1961. Following his departure, a tussle over leadership led to division within the Naga Federal government. A section of the community which had been sympathetic to the cause of the movement initiated a peaceful settlement to the problem. It was at the third Nagaland Baptist Convention in 1964, that a resolution regarding the establishment of a peace mission was adopted.

(Sema : 1986). Ultimately a three member mission comprising of Reverand Michael Scott, Shri. B.P. Chaliha and Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was set up to act as an impartial mediating body which would bring the contending parties together around the conference table. On 25th May 1964, after about one and half month of negotiations, it was agreed upon that there would be no import of weapons from other countries by the insurgents during the peace talks and the government was to suspend its jungle operations, discontinue the search operations in the villages and imposition of political fines, further a cease fire was maintained during the period of negotiations.

5.3 ASSESSMENT:

The Pan Naga Solidarity Movement was an outcome of the growing awareness of the commonalities among the various tribes vis-a-vis the cultures of the mainstream and the need to distinguish themselves as a distinct identity. The feelings of insecurities and discontent which was growing since the imposition of the British rule, reached a climax in the post-state hood period as the Nagas protested against the forceful occupation of their land by the British and later incorporation with India.

They obviously considered the extension of central authority as an intrusion into their personal space and as a result, they actively defended their territories and unchanging tribal boundaries, as they came under pressure. In an attempt to preserve their identity the various groups are seen closing their ranks subsuming differences and advocating for independence, but in the process of integration they were not able to establish strong solidarity base and clear-cut ideology to withstand the divisive pressures that developed later. The diverging external influences of Maoism on one hand and the western bourgeois ideology on the other resulted in a split within the N.N.C. with the extremist resorting to militancy under the influence of maoist ideology which endorses the use of force "All political power must flow from the barrel of the gun".

At the initial phases of the movement the insurgents had enormous support by way of human and material mobilisation but as cleavages within the leadership became more apparent disillusionment set in and this was further aggravated by the Maoist tendencies and Chinese connection which alarmed church leaders. Ultimately the execution of T.K. Sakrie galvanised the moderates and church leaders to initiate negotiations to restore peace and stability within the region.

The insurgents under estimated the strength of the opponent and the ability of the central government to gain lost grounds with the public, in the light of ideological differences and hence an absence of clear cut ideology, the barrel of the gun policy could not hold the people together for long and as such its decline was inevitable. However, resurgence of the movement in the recent years prowes that the issues cannot be resolved unless a genuine appreciation of the problems is attempted and every possible ways and means are explored to solve this crucial problem that threatens the stability of the region.

CHAPTER - VI

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Human interaction within a diverse geographical and socio-cultural setting generates awareness of distinctiveness and creates a situation wherein regional forces assert their identity. Such tendencies gives rise to regionalism which can be examined at two levels of interaction.

The first level of interaction examines the growing contact between the formerly isolated tribes and the outsiders initiated during the colonial rule. It highlights Naga ethnicity vis-a-vis the mainstream and has been responsible for the large scale mobilisation towards insurgency.

The second level of interaction deals with the inter-Naga tribal relationship that has been responsible for the instability and struggle for supremacy and ethnocentrism within the state.

1. The peripheral location coupled with the hilly rugged terrain and environmental factors made the area inaccessible imposing restrictions on movement and social contact as a result of which distinct culture and multiplicity of dialects evolved.

2. Limited interaction gave rise to emergence of sovereign self - contained villages that formed the largest political structure, while the clans formed the smallest unit. The independent nature of their villages prevented

en-masse subjucation which compelled the colonialist to annext the Naga Hills on individual village basis.

3. An ethnographic study of the numerous Naga tribes reveal variations in the social and political organisation. However these variations appear to be based on the same social principles as examplified by the similarities in the social organisation such as the morung system,division of villages into Khels, the autonomy of the village states add the strong clan ties. Differences are evident in the political set up as a sharp contrast is seen between the democratic Ao and Angami tribes with their rule of the people and the Konyaks with the hereditary office of the autocratic chief.

4. The advent of the British and the spread of christianity and education acted as a unifying factor in two ways. By bringing all the tribes under a common political control and abolishing the practice of head hunting, a congenial atmosphere for interaction was created which was further endorsed by the educational centres which served as ready base for inter tribal contacts. The introduction of a common religion aided in minimising differences among the discrete tribes projecting a notion of being distinct from the largely Hindu and muslim Indian society.

5. The onset of the modern political set up in the post-statehood era led to the emergence of a standardised and centralised administrative system. The system of representative electoral process based on the ballot box, widened the scope for candidateship, allowing even the monied to participate in a system that had previously been based on a system of nomination and general consensus and considered the exclusive domain of the clan elders.

6. Under the new politico-administrative set up decisions and policies regarding the general village development were transfered from the council elders to the state capitals while economic activities now centered around the poly-ethnic centres. Consequently the traditional cores and elites were marginalised and as a result of the distancing of the decisions from the people, discrete tribes mobilised and integrated into viable political entities contending to secure their share in the state developmental processes.

7. Despite their greatly reduced powers, the traditional elites have not relinquished their control in certain spheres that have been safeguarded by the constitution. By maintaining their traditional village councils, they are position to mobilise their people into preserving their identity by keeping alive their traditions and customs.

8. An outcome of the indiscriminate naming and clubbing o of the tribes by the British based on presumed similarities was the grouping of linguistically diverse tribes. Fissions within such amalgamated groups emerged when dominant sub group sought to repress the minor subgroup politically, economically and culturally, generating a sense of intense insecurity and notion of deprivation, that ultimately led to the break away and formation of independent tribes as in the case of the Pochury tribe in 1990.

9. The Pan-Naga solidarity movement was an outcome of the growing awareness of the commonalities among the various tribes vis-a-vis the cultures of the National mainstream and the need to identify themselves as a distinct integrated tribe.

Feelings of insecurity which had been growing since the imposition of the British rule, reached a climax in the post-state period. Apparently, they considered the extension of the central authority as an intrusion into their personal space and unchanging tribal boundaries as they came under pressure. Compelled by a urge to preserve their identity the various groups are seen closing their ranks, subsuming differences and advocating independence and political prominence for the Nagas as a Nation.

10. The movement failed to sustain its initial momentum and in the absence of a clear cut ideology, it could not withstand the test of time and divissive pressures within its leadership ranks, nor did the insurgents forsee the capability of the government, to win the confidence of the people in the face of the growing dissillusionment of the masses, eventually the movement declined.

11. The overall development of the state is relatively low and this is compounded by the inter-state disparities as only four out of the total seven districts appear comparatively developed. Apart from the limitations posed by inherent geographical factors such as the rugged terrain, inadequate economic diversification has led to a unbalanced or lopsided economic development. While a poorly developed industrial sector places tremendous constraints on the tertiary sector, further aggravting the imbalance.

Developmental processes after the formation of the state attracted a large influx of migrants, consequent to which competition for the opportunities emerged giving rise to ethnic conflict as the tribals sought to safeguard their common interest projecting a unified Naga identity and common front vis-a-vis the outsiders. On the other hand the increasing rate of unemployment and marginalisation of the weaker sections in the ensuing competition among the indigenous population, prompted the government into adopting protective measures

such as the reservation for backward tribes that aggravated the existing problem of parochialism. Consequently in the light of the highly developed sense of deprivation, ethnocentrism emerged to dominate all forms of transaction and relationship..

The various tribes lived in relative isolation evolving diverse socio-cultural traits and established independent self-contained villages to which its members owed ultimate allegiance. Nothwithstanding this, loosely knit leagues of villages within ones own tribe were recognised based on assumed common origin, shared history, linguistic affinities and cultural practices on which was presumably founded their tribal identity.

The diverse socio-cultural traits appear to be based on the same social principles and as such the variations could be the outcome of manifestations of individualistic expressions. However, the leagues were mostly temporary arrangements and did not necessarily involve political domination thus individual villages retained their sovereignty.

In a bid to safeguard their interest in the plains and help preserve the unique Naga culture and protect them against the exploitation by outsiders, the Inner Line Regulation

was introduced in 1873. This policy restricted movement into the hills and by limiting social interaction, it alienated the Nagas from the mainstream politics such as the participation in the freedom struggle and impeded absorption into the National mainstream. Ultimately it led to the marginalisation, hence the entrenched notions of exclusiveness.

Notwithstanding the socio-cultural diversity, the discrete tribes were colectively known as Nagas to their neighbours in the plains and this notion was popularised among the outsiders and even the Nagas themselves by the British outsiders. Subsequently the discrete tribes who had never ascribed themselves to a common tag of identification later adopted the generic term that provided them a common badge of identification.

By bringing all the tribes under a common political control and abolishing the practice of head hunting, an atmosphere congenial for promoting peace and increased interaction replaced one, that was formerly characterised by fear and suspicion. The introduction of a common religion and spread of education minimised the differences, providing a strong solidarity base and projecting them as distinct from the mainstream cultures.

Protesting against the intrusion of the personal space and the imposition of alien control since the British rule, the discontentment was manifested in the form of insurgency in the post independence period.

Propelled by the insecurities and apprehension of their position in the future political arrangement after the withdrawal of the British and compounded by fears of socio-cultural engulfment, the educated middle class initiated the Pan-Naga Solidarity Movement. In an attempt to safeguard their culture, the various groups are seen closing their ranks and subsuming differences and advocating for independence.

Apparently the process of integration was not accompanied by a strong solidarity base or a clear cut ideology that was able to withstanding the divissive pressures among the elites and their contrasting ideologies influenced by Maeisa on one hand that advocated the usage of force and the western bourgeoise idea on the other.

Unable to sustain the initial momentum the movement gradually began losing appeal of the masses and in the absence of a clear cut ideology and fissions within the leadership ranks the 'Barrel of gun' ideology could forge the bond only on a temporary basis.

In compliance with the integrative policies of the state in the Post Independent era, all peripheral and minority groups were assimilated into the National mainstream through the process of socio-economic development.

After the emergence of the state rapid developmental processes transformed the economic and social landscape wherein the emergence of a centralised power and bureaucracy led to the creation of a class of neo elites or "power elites". Monopolisation of the state resources by a select few, particularly the upper stratum of the population and the advanced tribes who are in a better position to bargain due to their representation in the policy formulating agencies, consequently stratefying the society and promoting parochialism.

In the past, the village was a socio-economic foci, wherein all its members were assured equal representation and participation in the developmental benefits. In the context of the centralisation of power that accompanied the developmental processes, the various tribes mobilised and integrated into viable socio-political entities, giving a new dimension to the electoral process. Under these circumstances, the residues of the older social formation appear to be reactivated consequently the differences that were minimised and subsumed in the process of integration re-emerged.

The formation of the state was a compramise of the process of the Naga solidarity movement and the resultant confrontation between the former and the central government. Subsequently the government made a conscious effort to initiate socio-economic development processes to assimiliate this peripheral state into the national mainstream, at the same time it sought to dampen and de-intensify the separatist movement. Despite the considerable amount of capital input for economic development, inherent geographical factors coupled with the mismanagement of the development created a condition of unbalanced and low level of economic development, dependency and new inequalities.

Consequently, changes in the economic scenario set into motion a process of social transformation from a marginally differentiated traditional to a stratified contemporary society. The modern political and administrative setup has made the powers and wealth of the state available to a select few creating a class of neo-elites, stratifying the society horizontally along socio-economic lines and vertically along tribal lines.

In view of the uneven distribution of wealth and increasing unemployment problem there has been an increase in the competition for a share in the developmental benefits. Consequently mobilisation of people along the lines of their ascriptive(tribal) identities has transformed the formerly group - symbiotic relationship to one of group competitiveness, while the increasing discontentment of the deprived sections of society gives a new economic dimension to the ongoing insurgent activities.

Considering the implications of political instability in a border state such as Nagaland, the boundaries of the country become extremely vulnerable, particularly in view of the antagonistic bilateral relationship and trans-border affinities (Myanmar). It becomes imperative to resolve the persistant insurgent problems., however such efforts must be preceded by attempts at minimising divisive tendencies (within the state) that appears to compound to the existing problems of instability. Considering the problem partaining to the latter, concretisation of developmental plans are essential to ensure a greater level of economic development within the state.

The changes as a result of insurgency that have been indicated here, may be major or minor. Further studies could be taken up in this respect to assertain the magnitude of such changes.

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APPENDIX - I

THE SIXTEEN POINT AGREEMENT

1. The Name.

The territories that were hitherto known as the Naga Hills Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills - Tuensang Area Act. 1957, and any other Naga Area, which might hereafter come under it shall form a state within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as the state of Nagaland.

2. The Ministry In-Charge.

Nagaland shall be under the ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India.

3. The Governor of Nagaland.

(1)The president shall appoint a Governor of Nagaland and he will be vested with the Executive Powers of the Government of Nagaland and he will function from the Headquarters of the Nagaland.

(2) His administrative secretariat will be headed by a Chief Secretary stationed at the Headquarters with other secretariate staff as necessary.

(3) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regards to Law, order and police during Transitional period only.

4. Council of Ministers.

(1) There shall be a Council of Ministers (Viz. Six Ministers and three Deputy ministers) with a chief minister as the head to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions.

(2) The council of ministers shall be responsible to the Naga Legislative Assembly.

5. The Legislative.

There shall be a constituted Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary representing different tribes. (further, a duly constituted body of experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis).

6. Representation in the Parliament.

Three elected members shall represent the Nagaland in the Union Parliament, i.e. two in the Lok Sabha and one in the Rajya Sabha.

7. Acts of the Parliament.

No acts of law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the Following Provisions shall have legal force in Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Nagas Legislative Assembly.

(1) The Religious or Social practices of the Nagas.

(2) Naga customary laws and procedure.

(3) Civil and Criminal Justice so far as these concern decisions according to Naga Customary Laws.

(4) The ownership and transfer of land and its resources.

8. Local Self Government.

Each tribe shall have the following units of law-making Administrative Local Bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas.

(1) The Village Council.

(2) The Range Council.

9. Administration of Justice.

(a) Each tribe shall have the following courts of justice:

(1) The village court.

(2) The Range Court.

(3) The tribal courts.

(4) Appelate courts.

(1) The District Court cum-sessions (for each district) and Supremencourt of India.

(2) The Naga Tribunal (for the whole of the Nagaland) in respect of these cases decided according to customary law.

10. Administration of Tuensang District.

(1) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of ten years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibilities of the advance system of administration. The commencement of ten year period of administration will start simultaneously with the enforcement of detailed workings of the constitution in the other parts of the Nagaland.

(2) Provided further that a Regional Council shall be formed for Tuensang District by the elected representatives from all the tribes in the Tuensang district, and the Governor may nominate representatives to the Ex-officio Chairman of the Council. This Regional Council, will elect members to the Naga Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District.

(3) Provided further that on the advice of the Regional Council, steps will be taken to start various councils and

courts, in those areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institution.

(4) Provided further that no act or laws passed by the Naga Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specifically recommended by the Regional Council.

(5) Provided further that the Regional Council shall supervise and guide the working of the various Council and courts within Tuensang district, and wherever deemed necessary depute the local officers to act as chairman thereof.

(6) Provided further that councils of such areas inhabited by mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific-Tribal Council to be affiliated to, shall be directly under the Regional Council or the time being, and at the end, of ten years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desire the period be further extended.

11. <u>Financial Assistance from the Government of India</u>.

To supplement the revenues of the Nagaland, there will be a need for the government of India to pay out of the consolidated fund of India as Grants-on aid as follows:

(1) Lump-sum as may be necessary each year for the development programme in the Nagaland.

(2) A fixed recurring sum (annual subvention) for meeting the cost of the administration of Nagaland.

12. Re-transfer of reserved forests.

All the reserved forests and other Naga area that were transferred of Naga area will be returned to the Nagaland with a clearly defined boundary under the present settlement.

13. Consolidation of Contigeous Naga Area.

The other Naga tribes inhabiting the areas contigeuous to the present Nagaland be allowed to join the Nagaland if they so desire.

14. Formation of Separate Naga Regiment.

In order that the Naga people can fulfil their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of India, the question of rising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.

15. Transitional Period.

(a) On reaching the political settlement with government of India, the Naga people's convention for the Nagaland on the basis of the settlement.

(b) There shall be constituted an Interim Body with elected representatives from everyt tribe, to assist and advise the governor in the administration of Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the members of the Interim body will be three years subject to re-election.

16. Inner Line Regulation.

The rules embodied in the protected Area Act 1958, shall remain in force in Nagaland.

The following special resolutions were also appended to the 16 point memorandum.

(1) The Naga Peoples convention records its deep appreciation to the Administartion for the various welfare activities and the progress made in the administration of the area.

(2) The Naga peoples convention further requests the Administration to extend the following amnesty in order to expenite restoration of peace in the Nagaland and to effectively implement then provisions of the political settlement arrived at with the governor of India:

(i) To consider favourably the release of the Naga political prisoners.

(ii) To extend further, general pardon to the underground people coming overground.

(iii) To relax military patrolling, operations and other restrictions to enable free contact between overground and underground people during the Amnesty period.

3 (3) The Naga peoples convention further appeals to the Naga people in general, and the aggrieved families in particular, to extend the same general pardon to the underground people coming overground and also we appeal to all underground Nagas to stop all sorts of violent activities from now on.

(4) The convention further requests the co-operations of every tribe to take effective steps to bring normalcy in the country.

(5) The Naga peoples convention once again invites the underground to come overground and to participate fully in the running of the new Government of Nagaland.
