CONCLUSION

From the present study it has been found that whenever in India any separatist movement have put forward their demands the policy of the Indian Union government has always been brutal and violent in order to subside as well as suppress their movement. Thus it is an irony that the union government always adopts violence instead of negotiating peacefully as a tool to curb violence in any part of the nation. In case of Naga insurgency any kind of violent interference by the government has further provoked the violent and rebel kind of attitude among the separatists. Gain with imposing of cats like Armed Force Special Power Act a common belief among the people that army brutal wing of the government to suppress them is promoted and they start supporting the separatist groups prevalent in their areas. Naga before the entry of British in their territory in 1832 were sovereign in the manner that they were not ruled by any of the state, kingdom or government. British entered with a purpose of tea plantation in Assam. The region of Naga fell way mid way to Manipur and Assam. British had to face lots of resistant force from the Angami Naga Tribes, the tribe which is quite nocturnal for its violent activities and aggressive behaviour. After the intrusion the first thing the British did was providing the land with a nomenclature i.e. Naga. Thus it could be said that the name Naga itself was given by the British. As earlier they were referred to as Ao, Angami, Lotha, Sema and Koniac etc as a part of their tribal language. As a reaction to the violent attacks by the tribes the British adopted a mixed policy to support their being the region. According to the policy the firstly the establishing of an outpost at Kohima was implemented. Secondly the policy also directed the British to maintain a distance from such tribal people who could prove to be dangerous for
them. Further in 1874 the Naga Hill came under Assam as the region of Assam was bifurcate from Bengal. This was the first appearance of Scheduled District Act under which Governor of Assam would have direct control over Naga Hills in 1874. According to this act only the Governor of Assam could decide about the any act pertaining to extension of Assam. With a purpose of establishing amicable relations with the Angami tribes the British imposed a house tax of Rs. 2 per annum on the Angami tribes which was Rs.3 on the Non Angami people. Under the Government of India Act 1919 Naga Hill District were declared as backward tract under the province of Assam. The government of India Act 1935 excluded Naga Hills but were kept within the province of Assam. Here this elimination was presented by the Naga National Council in a sense that Naga was not a part of British India. Thus it promoted a feeling of alienation among the people of Naga.

I addition to these political actions British simultaneously allowed the Christian missionaries to preach the faith of Christianity. Thus the Naga people being animists earlier did not have any religious scriptures and mutual religious languages among the tribes hence were easily targeted by the Christian missionaries. Gradually the Bible was introduced which was later on translated in local tribal languages in order to target the tribal people.

With the outbreak of World War 1 the Naga people were sent to France as labour corp which resulted into two major enlightenments among these people. First was that these people realized the definitions of state r a country about which they were totally ignorant earlier. Secondly this exposure inculcated a feeling of mutual love and co-operation among them in contrast to their previous behavior which was out rightly aggressive.
Another development in the year 1920 was establishing of Naga Club within the territory which proved to be common platform for the people to discuss various issues related to all the tribes in the region. The club was supervised by the then Deputy Commissioner Charles Passway. This club became a hotspot to promote Naga consciousness among the people of Naga.

Later the World War 2 proved to be a tremendous exposure of Naga consciousness where Angami Zapu Phizo appeared in the picture who later came to be known as the Father of the Nation of Naga. He joined the Indian National Army not only with a purpose of India’s freedom movement but primarily for Naga independence. General Secretary of Naga National Council T. Sakhri and Phizo who mastered in conceptualization of Naga issues like demand of independent nation travelled village to village in order to spread a message of alienation towards India. They inculcated among the people of Naga a notion that they were not a part of Indian Territory and may be included within India after British quit which would be a setback for the Naga people. They intoxicated people with issues like construction of a Hindu nation in which beef eating would be prohibited even for people like them who preach Christianity and they would be forced to convert to Hindus. They added that they were minorities which would further be a threat to their socio-cultural heritage. These preaching reached the people of Naga like bullets and they extended their support to Naga National Council. This was further strengthened by a strong promise of construction of an independent sovereign state which would privilege the people with the same state of nature as before the British Imperialism.

After independence the Indian political elite were occupied in the process of nation building as there were 562 princely states which required to be merged in the Indian union. During the framing of Constitution of India the backward tracts of Naga, Garo, Mizo and other ethnic groups
from the north east were welcomed to participate in the debate of construction of the constitution. Here Naga were the people who outrightly rejected the invitation as they declared themselves that they were not a part of India so they have no role to play in the construction of the Constitution of India. At this point of time the denial of the Naga people was not given due importance by the political elite at that time. Thus it could be derived that had there been a proper attention paid to such gestures of resentment of Naga by the Indian constituent assembly the problem of insurgency would not have reached to its present form.

The Naga National Council declared Naga independence on August 14, 1947 exactly before the date of Indian independence in order to strengthen their notion of being separate from India. After this declaration the Government of India appointed first governor of Assam. The government was trying to carve out the best possible ways to negotiate with the Naga. Akbar Hydari made a 9 point agreement Naga National Council and Union Government of India. 9th point of which proved to be very critical according to which an interim government would be set up for a period of 10 years after that period Naga would be free to choose either to be a part of India or have their own way. This period of ten years was taken differently by both the sides where on one hand the government thought it to be enough time for peaceful negotiations in solving the issue whereas on the other hand the idea of declaration of Naga as a separate state was promoted from the Naga side.

After the enforcement of the Constitution of India with no provision of 9 Point Agreement Naga felt laid down and realized the indifferent attitude of the government.

In the year 1951 Phizo conducted a plebiscite for Independent Sovereign Nagaland in which he claimed that 99.9% Naga people voted for
Independent Naga. The present study claims that area under this plebiscite only covered Kohima and Mockachang. It has also been found that women of these places did not participate in the whole process. During an interaction with the researcher the people of Naga claimed that all the Naga people were in the favour of Independent Sovereign state.

When Phizo on the basis of this referendum claimed that People of Naga wanted a separate state the Government of India showed an indifferent attitude. This in turn provoked Phizo to adapt to violent methods. He along with many members of Naga National Council went underground. In response to this the Government of India reverted back with implication of Armed Force Special Power Act in Naga Hills. This AFSPA resulted in triggering bloodshed in the region where villages were set ablaze, common people were tortured and women were raped. Within the first two years of such atrocious situation many members of the NNC switched over to that thought that the violence was not a solution to their issue. Pertinently T. Sakhiere also expressed his views that army should move out of the Naga. Here many Naga people felt the need of negotiation with the Indian Army as well as the government. This state of affairs affected Phizo so much so that he went against T. Sakhiere. Later T. Sakhiere was found murdered under mysterious circumstances. This proved to be a turning point in the history of Naga as T. Sakhiere was as popular as Phizo among the Naga people. Many government Naga officials came up demanding a separate Hill District from Assam or forming a Union Territory or centrally administered within the Indian Union. Many meetings in this context were held between Union Government and the Chief Minister of Assam in the period of 1957 to 59. Half of the Naga people turn against the creation of separate state. Reverting to this then Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru said that separate statehood cannot be granted to Naga with such small population. He added that such
a move may also ignite same kind of demands among various other ethnic minorities in the North-East. Nehru put this demand under the foreign secretary which in turn at the international level gave an impression of a conflict between two separate nations rather than a state and the union.

In 1960 a new 16 point agreement was made according to which Naga Hill was transferred from the Ministry of External Affairs to Ministry of Home Affairs. Also District of Tunsang was placed under Naga Hill which was earlier a part of North East Frontier Agency. Later was convinced by the Government Officials who claimed that they could solve all the issues if a status of separate statehood is given to Naga within the Indian Union. Here the Government came out with two solutions of either a separate statehood of forming a Union territory. From the above way outs the Government chose to create a separate state. Hence Naga as a separate state was established in 1963. Ironically the political solution turned out to complicated predicament. The belief of the Government of India that the separate statehood would solve the Naga issue turned out to be a fallacy as many Naga people turned against the Government and went underground to support Phizo. Phizo established a Federal Government of Nagaland with a main agenda of creating an Independent Sovereign State. Thus many separatists Naga went to China, Myanmar and Pakistan to get arms training.

With another development in the course of action Indira Gandhi who became Prime Minister of India after Nehru negotiated with Phizo. Indira Gandhi agreed to all of their demands except sovereignty. This was a golden opportunity of the people of Naga where they could get enough autonomy. But Phizo was adamant about the demand of Sovereign State and declined the offer of Indira Gandhi. A glance into the political history of India says that no Government has offered the people of Naga with such promising proposal as by Indira Gandhi.
As NNC was supported by China in the form of arms as well as financial assistance many members of NNC went against Phizo. Thus factionalism started appearing within the NNC. After which Sema, Chakesang, Ao and Lotha Nagas who were dominant within the NNC came over ground. They signed a Shillong Accord with the Indian Union Government. According to the Accord they accepted the Constitution of India and surrendered their powers. The status quo proved to be a root cause of factionalism and the NNC split into extremist and moderate groups. In 1980 T.H Muviah an extremist leader formed his own group with the support of S.S Khapla. Thus he appeared to be a new charismatic leader after Phizo was exiled. Simultaneously Naga Mother Association, Church Association, Naga Civil Society and Naga Student Association were emerged who advocated non violence and condemned the bloodshed. A ceasefire agreement was made between NSCN (IM) in 1997. They exerted a constant pressure on NSCN (IM) to stop the violent activities and work for peace. But Muviah being adamant enough to the demand of Sovereign Nagaland put away all the demands of non violence. Muviah group emerged out as one of the dominant and powerful extremist groups in the region. T.H Muviah being a Tankul Naga of Manipur and the tribes is a representative of just 2 Lac people who do not belong to Nagaland.

The agreement of ceasefire was signed between the Union Government of India and NSCN (IM) but not with the Naga Civil Society or any other separatist group. At this point of time Muviah realized the importance of democratic working of Government.

In a recent development on August 3, 2015 by Union Government led by Prime Minister Narender Modi a peace accord was signed between NSCN (IM) supported by Naga Civil Society, Naga Youth, Naga Mother Association and Government of Nagaland. The accord has not been made public yet which has raised a question mark on the contents as well as the
authenticity of the accord. Unless and until the details of the accord are revealed it would be difficult to derive any conclusions. Another important aspect of the accord is that to what extent a single group i.e. NSCN (IM) can represent the whole community of Naga. in yet another incidence NSCN (IM) in a statement given at New Delhi claimed that they have given up the idea of the demand of a Sovereign State and greater Nagaland. Thus if NSCN (IM) surrenders the idea of Sovereign State it would set an example for other separatist groups active in North-East India.

After the recent peace accord the major issue which has emerged out is the opinion of Naga people towards it. Also the Naga State Assembly has passed a resolution that nothing less than a greater Nagaland would be acceptable.

This could also be called as the greatest irony of the state where peace negotiations are being talked about with a swift pace but still on the other hand violence and extortions in the region prevails.

Also in the recent peace talks the sidelining of NSCN (K) i.e. S.S Khaplang (a hemi Naga of Burma) has resulted into yet another crisis. The Konyak tribe of Nagaland provides enough support to Khaplang and also the Burmese Government has provided semi-autonomous status to Khaplang who has evoked a strong influence in the Eastern Nagaland. It is also quite relatable that he would take part in the forthcoming elections in Burma so it is not possible to ignore him.

**SUGGESTIONS**

1. The Government of India should not adopt violent methods in response to the demands of any separatist groups prevalent in any part of the state.
2. The Government of India should not consider it as a victory in the point that they could suppress such separatist movements for the time being which become dormant with passage of time itself.

3. Violence should be not adopted as tool in order mend or curb any type of violent movement in the state.

4. While negotiating for such problems all the representative groups, extremists groups and other separatist people should be taken into account which would increase the authenticity of the deal. Otherwise the left out groups disagree to such deals and the efforts go in vain.

5. The dealings of the Government with the leaders of such movements among the people of Naga should be respectable as these leaders usually hold a very charismatic and popular position among the people of that region.

6. In order to moderate the issue a Pan Naga Council for the people of Naga living neighbouring states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Assam could be established instead of creating a greater Naga.

7. The Government should also make efforts in order to explore the natural resources like oil in Naga so that the economic status of the Naga people is improved.

8. The Government should also work in the direction of providing better employment opportunities to the youth of Naga so that they could be led towards the cause of development.

9. The separatist groups should also realize that peace is the only prerequisite of any kind of social, political and economic development. Thus they should adopt the policies of negotiations in order to put forward their demands.

10. A sense of integrity should be inculcated among the youth of the state as they are the four runners of the future of the nation.