CHAPTER-VII

CONCLUSION
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The discussion in the foregoing chapters warrants the conclusion that the tribal social formation of Khonoma and Kohima, like any other historical process was a succession of socio-economic formations, surpassing the old one in social, political, cultural and other spheres. However, what the analysis of the chosen aspects reflects in this study needs to be considered at greater length.

The waves of migration from western China and South East Asia to these hills were many and spread over a long period of time. These waves of migration were chiefly necessitated by the incompatibility that was rapidly developing due to shrinkage of resource potential and the population growth. These conditions were given further impetus by the aggressive rulers. But before these tribes could complete their march to settle down in these hills which came to be named after them, they cut across different politico-cultural regions but that should not be seen as an ascent from one socio-economic formation to the another. These Naga tribes passed through a complicated and protracted process of settlement. The Naga hills were not endowed with rich resources to attract the Angami tribe, particularly with such a geographical remoteness, but in this regard their history was determined by their own circumstances.
In fact the history of tribes all over the world has clearly revealed that wherever the tribes settled they preferred to remain isolated as far as they could from the relatively more developed societies. However, for all the mongoloid tribes who migrated to north east India, the climate which suited them so well seems to have played a significant role in their process of settlement in this region.

The Angami villages of Kohima and Khonoma in Naga hills had the similar factors in their entire process of formation. In this entire process the role of productive forces was of course the most crucial condition, but this fact need not be overstressed, for their spiritual, cultural and ethnic mechanism has also run ahead of the development of productive forces in the establishment of these villages. In the pre-colonial phase they continued to lag behind in most spheres of political, social and economic aspects of life in the entire Indian sub-continent. But that did not prevent them from producing great warriors, craftsmen, men to practise agriculture in such harsh and unsuitable terrain. Though the formation of these villages strengthened the Angami tribal organization and generated a cohesiveness and cooperation among its members to reproduce their relations of production with gradual improvements in hunting and
agriculture, animal husbandry and craft-making, the mode of appropriation continued to be communal in character and a dominant feature of Angami society. This did not usher in complete transformation of Angami society into a class society. Though the process of generating surplus was not completely absent, the channels through which it was extracted lay more on spiritual and cultural rather than on purely economic lines. The Zievo (priest) was the most important figure among the Angamis before the evolution of the institution of Angami Peyumia (chiefs) at the village level. The Zievos' demands, which was mostly on the pretext of pleasing tribal deities, sacrifices and other rituals, were satisfied by the share from hunting harvest and human labour. Since the Zievo's material tendencies were limited because ultimately he was a part and parcel of the same tribe or clan, the extraction did not take place solely for economic purpose. It was as a result of this that most of the Angami Zievo did not get transformed into a political group and instead legitimized the position of the village chiefs when the transitional forces penetrated. Possibly this would have been one of the factors in prolonging transition. Lack of material forces also contributed to this slow transformation of the Angami tribe but the simultaneous existence of institution of priesthood and chiefs did play a greater role in the entire picture and the village formation continued to rest on its laurels. The other factor responsible
for the slow transition were the slow growth of technology and other productive forces. The structural phenomenon of these villages revolved around the priesthood and village elders with a more democratic apparatus who alone possessed the political-judicial authority to settle the conflicts—though rarely. In the pre-colonial period it is historically inconceivable to think of the Angami villages as the form of state at any level. Though the Angamis of Kohima and Khonoma emerged powerful at times even to exercise their tribal authority not only on the entire Angami villages but stretched over to non-Angami Nagas as well. But this super-imposition cannot be translated into the existence of a full-fledged superstructural phenomenon. Though western scholars have formulated various theories with regard to state formation often widely testing the empirical situation of Africa, all these studies failed to persuade us in following any of them because the case of Angamis is a case of a purely non-state society with some elements necessarily involved in the tide of historical advance. These elements of cohesion etc. before reaching a stage and assuming new dimensions were disputed by the penetration of colonial forces. This suddenly arrested the developmental processes in that direction and super-imposed a new apparatus with two tendencies of persuasion and subjugation at the hands of Baptist missionaries and the British colonialists respectively.
This opened up an important and transitional phase in the entire history of Angami society. The Angamis fought all through to preserve their autonomy for almost half a century. The strength with which the Angamis countered the British has been recognised as unique by the British themselves in their entire history of their colonization of the Asian people. In this struggle, the Angamis derived immense strength from their singular ethnicity and exhausted their potential to stop the British from disrupting the rhythm of their tribal social formation. However, the tendency to subjugate the Angamis by force was much helped in its advance by the persuasive forces of the missionaries who sincerely carried out their programmes of economic welfare, medical care, education and religious activities. These developments appeared more tempting to the Angamis and were certainly not linked directly with the controlling of productive forces of the Angami country. They did not represent the British colonialism but were purely American Baptists who made centres in the Angami villages of Kohima and Khonoma. This process led to the uneveness in social and economic affairs of the peoples life, but did not delink the cultural values.
Since the advanced socio-economic formation always triumphed over the reactionary and doomed formation which clashes with the vital interests of people and which acts as a drag on the development of new social relations, the Angamis were no exception to this. The appearance of missionary culture imposition of the British political apparatus released the forces of detribalization. The priestly classes with new religious values did away with what was much unnecessarily attached to tribal religious traditions. Though it saved what was risked on the pretext of sacrificial ritual tendencies, it had its own limitations. It could not cut across cultural barriers completely and delink some of the traditional practices which continue even to this day as part of the tribal past.

The colonial political structure which was a temporary phase because it was short lived did initiate the destruction of tribal organization to the extent of leaving it utterly powerless in its affairs in the long run. The British appointed their own officers to settle the affairs concerning Nagas in general and Angamis in particular. The creation of new Angami village chiefs (Gaon Bura) by them curbed the tendency of revolt at the hands of Angamis. The succession of a chain of officials, the limitation of boundaries of the areas and other reform activities connected with the cultivable
and non-cultivable waste resulted in the destruction of singular ethnic and tribal strength. Thus began the gradual process of class formations which were ultimately fostered by the process at the hands of independent India's central structure. When finally the British colonialism came to an end their distinct ethnicity posed serious problems for the Indian government because the Angami voiced their feelings again with the rest of the Nagas for preservation of their independent political identity and for their past history. But they were left with little to back their cause and had to finally choose to co-exist as a part of Independent India. However, events did not run that smoothly and many temptations were offered to the newly created state under various developmental programmes. Unfortunately the development continued on more uneven lines bringing in easy money to transform a few into the nouveau riche and the rest dependent on them for their daily bread. The growth of population was a simultaneous process which helped to intensify the social stratification of Angami society on class lines if not on caste lines. Hence a non-state of Angamis got transformed and directly linked to the capitalism which gave room for much faster growth but what determined these social formations remain unsatisfactorily explained due to limited amount of source materials at this stage.