CHAPTER EIGHT- CONCLUSION

The Naga freedom movement, which began fifty years back with the goal to achieve a sovereign and independent Nagaland, has passed through its share of victories and battles, winning some, suffering losses. The Naga people have seen atrocities committed by the British, who left a legacy of fear and mistrust in the heart of the Naga people. The British had divided the Naga people into separate communities, creating a sense of enmity and mistrust among them. This division was further exploited by the Naga people on the mountain, where the British army often used its own people as agents for their purpose. This division created a sense of separatism and mistrust among the Naga people. The British aimed to destroy the spirit of unity and national feeling among the Naga people. The struggle for a united and sovereign Nagaland has been a constant battle, as the Indian constitution even now struggles with the question of the Naga people's autonomy. The Indian political system cannot yet be applied to the Naga people. But the Naga people continue to work towards achieving independence. The Naga people remain united in their desire for a united and sovereign Nagaland, where the Naga people can govern themselves and have control over their land. But the Naga people continue to struggle against the policy of divide and rule. The leaders who had worked to achieve sovereignty for the Naga people continue to fight, and they together in the name of Naga sovereignty can never be divided.
The Naga freedom movement, which began fifty years back with the marked objective to achieve sovereign and independent Nagaland, has passed through chequered history witnessing numerous ups and downs. The people have seen emergence of the Naga National council, its activities for obtaining separate political identity of the Nagas, its bifurcation into extremist and moderate factions and formation of various revolutionary Governments and also their disappearance without achieving the desired goal. There was a time when the Naga freedom movement had united strength and undivided zeal to fight for the cause of the Nagas. The efforts, which the Naga intellectuals applied to convince the British authorities and the Indian political leaders that the Naga people having their own earmarked territories had never been a part of India, and they deserved all the rights to become a sovereign independent Nation, had broadened the political concept of the Naga people on the one hand, and created hope and aspirations among them about an independent status, on the other. Since the days of India’s independence the Naga freedom lovers have been talking a lot about Naga’s sovereignty indulging themselves in various sorts of freedom movement. Right from the movement of boycott and non-cooperation to armed fighting the Naga freedom fighters have never given up the claim of independent Nagaland. During peace-talks and cease-fire, though they agreed to suspend the freedom struggle for a while, they never accepted to accept the Indian citizenship and the Indian constitution even with special autonomies. That is why the constitutional provisions which were made for the Naga people by the Constituent Assembly of India could not be given trial in Nagaland till the Naga leaders were united. All the efforts of the Indian leaders to convince the Naga leaders that future of the Nagas would be safe and secured under the Indian political system could not change the mind of the Naga intellectuals. They remained firm like rock to their viewpoints and applied all possible efforts to achieve the goal. But scenario changed when the Naga leaders differed in their approach and method to achieve independence. The NNC got splintered and the leaders fell victim to the India’s policy of divide and rule. The leaders who had taken oath to work together, fight together and die together in the name of Naga nationalism could hardly remain together when
political situation in Nagaland began to take dynamic turn. The moderate decided to be within the framework of Indian nationalism and accepted the new Naga political unit within the Indian Republic while the extremists took up arms to fight against the Indian armed forces till the Naga were liberated from the Indian rule. As a result Nagaland became a strife-torn state where peace has never been stable.

Before entry of Phizo, the father of Naga nationalism, in Naga political affairs the Naga leaders lacked determination to go for independent Nagaland, though they reiterated that the Nagas were not Indians and they had a history of their own which had no any concern with the people of India. They persistently demanded a separate political status for the Nagas after the departure of the British from India. It was Mr Phizo and his close associates who made the point clear that what the Naga people needed was to return back to their earlier political status which they maintained before the occupation of the Naga territories by the British. It meant the Nagas were independent and after the departure of the British they must be independent. However, it does not mean that Phizo created national feeling among the Naga people and he was first to talk of Naga nationalism. The leaders of the Naga Club and the founders of the Naga National Council had already sharpened political consciousness of the Naga people. It were these leaders who did a lot to unit and, organise the Nagas, and prepare their mind to stand unwieldy and think for future political status of the Naga people. Credit goes to phizo for summering the views and ideas expressed by different Naga leaders in regard to future political status of the Nagas were reflected through various memorandums and petitions placed before the British authorities and the Indian political leaders. By consolidating such ideas in a concrete form came ahead with a clear demand that what the Nagas wanted was not a political unit or political autonomies within the Indian Union, but to regain their past political status maintained by their ancestors. Through the NNC he expressed the view that the Nagas would accept nothing less than a sovereign and independent Nagaland. After the departure of the British from India the Nagas had full right to become independence. On the other hand, the Indian political leaders who claimed to be the legal inheritors of the British rule argued that since the Nagas were under the British rule and India inherited Naga territories from the British, India had the legal authority to rule over the Nagas. Thus
such divergent viewpoints become the bone of contention since the day of India’s independence paving the way for direct-armed clashes between the Naga freedom fighters and the Indian armed forces.

In the beginning the leaders of the NNC under the guidance of Phizo applied peaceful methods and propaganda tactics to liberate Nagaland from India’s occupation. When unilateral plebiscite, movement of non-cooperation and boycott tactics failed to achieve the desired goal armed struggle was resorted. The Government of India with a view to nib the trouble in bud deployed security forces all over the hills of Nagaland, but such tactics of the Government of India could hardly deter the firm determination of the Naga freedom fighters. Rather they became more firm and obstinate. They faced the Indian armed personnel with zeal and courage. They fought the battles not for weeks and months, but for years.

The Naga freedom fighters formed a Government of their own, namely, the Naga Federal government (NFG) with its own constitution, legislative Body and executive., national flag and national song. They hoisted the Naga national flag compressing horizontal stripes of red, yellow and green with a red star on the right hand corner, on 14th August, 1947 to observe the Naga Independence Day. Many of them, for want of flags, "hoisted the traditional Naga showls." They installed Naga army and set up battalions under four commands- Northern, Eastern, Western and Southern. There provided different rank and file in the battalions. There was provision for a Commander-in-Chief. By 1956, there were not less than 15000 soldiers in the Naga army equipped with modern and sophisticated arms, which were collected from different sources. The recruits were given military training. The Naga leaders also established link with Political leaders of China and Pakistan to obtain material and moral support. All efforts were applied to internationalise the Naga issue.

A direct battle line was drawn between the soldiers of the Naga army and the Indian jawans where both the sides faced loss of several lives and properties. Despite the Government’s (Indian) counter measures under Major-General Kochar, "the Naga proved

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1 Nirmal Nibedon, Nagaland: The Night of the Guerrillas, Delhi, 1973, p.73.
So long as Phizo was taking active part in Naga politics living on the Naga soil every thing was manageable and commendable despite the fact that some of the Naga leaders disliked his way of thinking and action both. It was all because his personality was like a great 'banyan tree' under whose shadow nothing could grow.\(^3\) The leaders like Mhassieu and Chubema Murry came on forefront of the Naga politics only after disappearance of Phizo from Naga political scene. So long as Phizo was active politician no one could dare to supersede him. Those who came on his way opposing his viewpoints were either exterminated or separated from his organisation. He could not compromise even with his

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2 B.N Mallick, My Years with Nehru (1948-64) Delhi, 1973, p.60
closest associates at the cost of Naga nationalism. For instance, T. Sakhrie, the General Secretary of the NNC, who had induced Phizo personally into the realm of Naga politics by incorporating him in the NNC, and who was ‘lips and mind’ of Phizo, was assassinated when he began to differ with him. The only fault of Mr Sakhrie was that he wanted to withdraw himself from the line of bloody revolution. Phizo could not tolerate another closest associate of Phizo who was nonetheless but Kughato Sukhai Sema, only because Kughato had begun to realise the futility of armed struggle against the Government of India. His brother, Kaito Sema, the General of the Naga army, lost his life in a broad day light after his disassociation from the line of Phizoistes.

The history of Naga freedom movement bears the testimony that several of Naga leaders like Scato Sema, Isak Swu, Khrisania, Kevichusa etc., who were fighting soldier to soldier for the Naga Federal Government, installed by Phizo leadership separated their way from the FGN and followed different course of line. But Phizo could hardly mind the revolt of his own colleagues. He, being “desperate to attain his goal” applied tactics like “appeals, agreements, negotiations, plebiscite, mass agitation, civil disobedience movements, boycotts, subversion, terrorism, uprisings and finally guerrilla warfare.” He was not ready to listen to and consider the viewpoints of other provided that differed from his line of thinking. That is why his associates withdrew themselves from the line of Phizo with the result that the NNC became a divided house by 1956.

Mysterious assassination of T. Sakhrie and exist of Phizo from India in 1956 affected the unity of the NNC and questioned the usefulness and viability of bloody revolution for achieving Naga’s independence. Murder of Skharrie, in fact was a turning point in political history of Nagaland. His murder was a sort of warning to those Naga leaders who wanted to deviate from the line of Phizo and follow a moderate policy. However, it did not dampen the spirit of the moderates. Rather they became more determined to avoid the path of militancy. Exist of Phizo enabled them to regain their lost position and establish their hold on Naga politics. By separating their way from the line of Phizoistes the moderates began to convince the Naga people that armed struggle with the Government of India was not

1 Ibid.
only futile but also harmful to the Naga people and the Naga issue must be resolved through peaceful negotiations with the Indian political leaders. Thus by mid of 1956 the freedom struggle continued, no doubt, but its strength had declined. On the other hand, the Government of India had also got convinced that the policy of armed twisting in Nagaland would not solve the problem, but would complicate it more and more. Under such realisation the Government of India soon agreed to grant the Nagas a separate political unit, namely the Naga Hills Tuensang area (NHTA) to please the moderates. It was creation of the NHTA, which ultimately culminated in a full-fledged state of Nagaland under the Union Republic of India with certain marked internal autonomies on the basis of Sixteen-Point Proposal. It was sixteen Point Proposal approved by the Naga People’s Convention, which clearly divided the Naga political leaders into two separate groups—the Extremists and the Moderate. The former continued their struggle against both the Indian Government and the Moderate Naga leaders while the latter indulged themselves in democratic processes under the Indian constitution declaring themselves as Indian citizens despite direct threat and troubles exerted to them by the extremists. Even the merciless killing of Imkongliba Ao, the leader of the Moderate did not deviate them from the path of non-violence and peaceful solution to the Naga problem. The Government of India provided extended all moral and material assistance to the Moderate Naga leaders on the one hand, and adopted all suppressive measures to crush down the freedom movement carried on by the extremists. 

Creation of Nagaland state under the Indian Union and working of democratic processes in Nagaland involved the people in active participation of party politics on hand, and diverted attention of people from national movement to democratic politics, on the other. Political Parties with party’s principles and objectives began to emerge inviting Naga leaders to take part in Naga politics. All these served as a severe blow to the Naga national movement. People being fade up with anarchic and chaotic situation began to demand for preservation of peace and policy of progresses in their state. Under such circumstance with the efforts of the Baptist Church leaders of Nagaland Peace Mission was formed which managed for cease-fire and peace-talks between the Underground Naga

\[1\] M. Horam, Naga Insurgency, New Delhi, 1983, p.97.
government and the Government of India. Despite hard efforts and several rounds of peace-talks even at the level of Prime Minister the Naga issue could not be resolved. The leaders of the Naga freedom fighters remained firm to their demand of sovereign Nagaland while the government of India was not ready at all to grant them independent status. The peace talks failed and cease-fire remained inactive. On the other hand, the interest of the Naga people developed more and more in democratic processes under the constitution of India. Whenever peace-talks failed in Nagaland, the Government of India fully devoted its efforts to work for progress and prosperity of the Naga people with a view to proving that the Government of India was their well-wisher and friend, not enemy. On the other hand, the failure of peace-talks caused division in the rank and file of underground organisations creating bitter enmity and developing tribal politics among them.

Despite the continuance of freedom struggle democratically installed Naga Government with the financial support of the Central government did a lot for economic development of the state. Growth in administrative infrastructure and installation of new Ministries and Departments opened wide scope for people’s employment and development in various aspects of life. New avenue for new life was on which attracted maximum people. The habits and style of the Nags people began to change. Their wants increased and life became sophisticated which needed money. Thus all these factors attracted more and more Naga people towards active participation in party politics and also in various kinds of jobs and professions, which were available at their door now. Thus the changing pattern of Naga society enchanted not only the general Nagas but also created its impact on the freedom fighters. As a result the Naga freedom began to lose its strength and spirit both. That is why Most of them availing the opportunity of surrender and rehabilitation under the provisions of the Shillong Accord (1975), came over ground by deposing their arms to the Peace Camp and accepting the Indian citizenship on ‘their own volition.’ This was the severest blow to Naga freedom movement.

Differences of opinions and clashes for dominance of personality have remained a permanent feature among the Naga leaders either over ground or underground. Such trend has badly affected Naga freedom struggle from the beginning. Disunity among the leaders of the Naga freedom fighters has been found nor for ideological differences, but for
dominance of personality. First dissent among them took place with the revolt of moderates and formation of a separate group of their own, namely Reforming Committee, which, in due course of time, emerged as political party called the Naga National Organisation (NNO). It was the NNO, which organised the Naga people for peaceful solution of the Naga issue and persuaded the Indian Government for Creation of Nagaland state. The Naga Federal Government was once more shattered when its prime Minister, Kughato Sukhai was expelled out on the allegation that he had accepted bribe from the government of India. Revolt of General Kaito, the brother of Kughato against the NFG and his mysterious murder brought more troubles for the NFG. Thereafter, “Sema hegemony in Naga politics (underground) was destroyed and power passed on to the Angami tribe.” Tribalism appeared as a hard rock on the way of Naga freedom movement. The Angami leaders were under the impression that Kaito “had sold out the Indians and had accepted the huge sum of money from the Government of India” while the Sema group doubted the hands of Angamis in the murder of Kaito. Such conflicts between Semas and Angamis divided them forever. The underground Naga leaders in the name of the people they “frequently expected, even demanded that the people should follow wherever they lead, right or wrong,” Once some one oppose their leadership they are either expelled or finished. The rivalry among the Naga leaders never allowed the followers of the freedom struggle to remain united.

U, Misra has rightly observed that the long struggle of the Naga freedom fighters despite their disunity on various accounts “has given the Nagas a cohesiveness and sense of national unity to which very few nationalities of the Indian sub-continent can lay claim.”

No one can deny that the Nagas have sacrificed a lot for achievement of their freedom. Their courage and spirit must be appreciated to fight for Naga freedom. Their devotion to their goal of independence cannot be questioned. The survey of Naga’s freedom struggle reveals the truth that there was a time when freedom to the Naga people was dearer to any other things. That is why their leaders refused to accept any office from the government of India other than sovereign independent status. But such spirit and cohesiveness of the Naga people began to decline when personality clash among the Naga leaders appeared and

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1 Udoyn Misra, Question for Naga Identity, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, 1988, pp.2-3.
tribalism began to play divisive role. Freedom struggle continued even after signing of the Shillong Accord, but personality clash among the leaders of the freedom fighters once more weakened the strength of freedom struggle.

It were T. Muivah, Isak Swu and Khaplang who revived freedom struggle in 1980 by forming a new organisation, namely, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) with firm determination to liberate the Nagas from the Indian rule. Though most of the underground Nagas had surrendered following the Shillong Accord, these leaders were not yet ready to forgo the claim of Naga’s independence. They took the Shillong Accord as a trick of the Indian leaders to strangle the Naga freedom struggle. The NSCN stood for Naga’s independence and also for a Naga society based on egalitarian trend where there could not be any place for capitalism. The newly set up underground Government adopted the method of guerrilla warfare to achieve the goal. These leaders left no stone-unturned to strengthen the strength and position of the NSCN and to make the Naga people aware of their right to self-determination which was sold out by the leaders of the NNC to the government of India by accepting the Shillong Accord. They took swore on to “drive out Buddhism and Hinduism from Nagaland “ and to enable Nagaland to “stand for Christ.” Their fight against the Government of India and also against the Government of Nagaland continued. Thus the Naga freedom movement once more came on fore front creating hope and aspiration among the general Naga mass that they would be a free nation. The Nagas extended their support to these forces directly or indirectly because the desire of the Naga people to be independent had not yet died. But such unity and strength of freedom struggle could not prolong and all enthusiasm and hope of the Naga people were shattered and dashed down when the leaders of the NSCN began to quarrel among themselves, which ultimately resulted in division of the NSCN in 1984.

Personality clash among the underground Naga leaders never allowed the Naga freedom movement to be effective and meaningful. Vashum has rightly observed, “The Nagas have been badly divided on factional political parties cutting across trial solidarities and allegiances.” Unlimited aspirations of the Naga leaders have also remain a viable factor to ruin of their unity. Generally they are power mongers. Rivalry and squirrel among the
militant Naga leaders began for power. In the words of Charles Challsie “Naga history has only too frequently been reduced to personal clash of leaders, whether the underground or over ground.” The basic reason of the rift in the NSCN in April 1988 was the personality clash between Muivah and Khaplang. Khaplang separating his way from Muivah and Isak formed a new group called the NSCN (K) while the group led by Muivah and Isak was called the NSCN (IM) None of them is ready to follow a compromise formula at the cost of their superiority. T. Mivah, Isak Swu and Khaplang were the leaders who had revived freedom movement in Nagaland after signing of the Shillong Accord. These leaders could hardly remain united even for a decade. The leaders, who were fighting soldier to soldier for the cause of the Nagas, became bitter enemies to each other when personality clash took place appeared before them. Allegations and counter-allegations began in bitter as well as provocative language. Their quarrelling brought tribalism on the forefront. Factional killings created mass terror and fear among the people. Once the enmity took place between these two rival groups, it continued despite the requests of the people to stop it. Freedom fighting became secondary while factional clashes got prominence everywhere in Nagaland. The underground factions totally ignored the voice of the people by killing their own brothers and sisters. The Naga HoHo, the Naga Mothers’ Association, the Students’ Federation and all other NGO’s protest against such factional killings and request to stop it immediately could not be paid any heed causing utmost resentment, utter disappointment, frustration and mass fear in the mind of the common Nagas.

The Naga freedom fighters and their leaders both became more interested in money and material gains. Extortion drives at the gunpoint became common affairs of the Naga freedom fighters. Terrorist tactics became a common means to terrorise the people and collect money from them. No section of the people remained untouched from such affairs. All these activities not only sidetracked the main objectives of freedom fighting but also maligned the prestige of freedom fighters. People began to express doubt and suspicion in the sanctity and sagacity of freedom movement.

Today, questions are raised as to “How and why the Naga struggle has become so fearful, terrible, destructive and complex?” Voices appeared from the people that “The Naga nation is torn by internal dissension into several factions, anti-social elements, angry factional killings, undue demands, formidable extortion, illegal taxes, rapacious
The investigator conducted a sampling survey selecting some chosen people from Nagaland belonging to different sections and tribes to obtain their views about the position of the current freedom movement and its future perspective. Some important questions related to Naga freedom struggle and its future perspective were served to them. The answers received from them in percentage are mentioned below which illustrate the viewpoints of the Naga people in this regard.

2 Daily Review, November 4, 1997 Kohima, p.3.
3 Kaka D. Iralu, “For Peace Yes, But not for Piece”, Nagaland Post, October 22, 2002.
The answers collected from selected Naga people, which have been mentioned above clearly illustrate that the Naga people have developed apathy towards the method of militancy to achieve the goal of independence, though most of them are desirous of having independent Nagaland. Hundred per cent of the Nagas prefer peace, not violence because they have suffered a lot due to violent struggle. They are also of the view that the trend of money collection drive, which has recently emerged among the different factions of the underground Naga government has pushed back the main objective of the Naga people that is independent and sovereign state while it has brought involvement of the freedom fighters in money making affairs on the forefront. Moreover majority of the Naga people prefer economic development. To them economically backward independent Naga state would hardly serve the interest of the people. 82% of the respondents have expressed their view that the division among the leaders of the freedom fighters is the major factor

<table>
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<tr>
<th>S/L No.</th>
<th>Questions referred to the people</th>
<th>Answers Yes in %</th>
<th>Answers No in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nagas must be given right to Self-Determination</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Militancy is the appropriate way to achieve Naga freedom</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The Naga people like peace, not violence</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Among the freedom fighters money extortion drive has become primary</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Freedom struggle has become secondary due to involvement of the freedom fighters in factional fighting and money collection</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Militancy has weakened the strength of Naga freedom movement</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Militancy has strengthened the national feeling among the Nagas.</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>'The Nagas' first priority should be a sovereign and independent Nagaland, not economic development</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>For the Nagas first priority should be economic development, not independent Nagaland</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Division among the leaders of the freedom fighters is one of the major factors for declining the strength of freedom movement</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Joint meeting of the NSCN (IM) and the Naga NGOs held on 5th December 1997 was held with the marked objective to prepare the ground for peace in Nagaland by obtaining people’s support. Various delegates from various sections confirmed the spirit of Naga nation and resolved, “All the Hohos and the NGOs extend the fullest support and cooperation to the on-going political dialogue between the Government of India and the

with the appearance of the NSCN, the NNC, the oldest political organisation led by Phizo lost its strength and after death of Phizo in London on April 30, 1990 it was divided into two factions because of the question of new leadership. The faction led by Phizo’s daughter, Adeno, claimed the real inheritor of the NNC while the dissatisfied leaders formed a new group under the leadership of Khodao Yanthan who had been the Vice President of the NNC till the spilt occurred. Thus the Naga freedom movement became a subject of division and internal feuds and quarrelling.

At this very juncture people got confused, and remained divided. The question once more became prominent whether the Naga people should go for independence where several factions and groups are quarrelling among themselves clamming their superiority and dominance. The Naga people became vocal for peace. The walls of each town witnessed posters with slogans that what the Nagas first is peace. People witnessed demonstration, conferences, mass prayer rally etc. which all unequivocally began to demand peace, not war and fighting. Under such circumstance peace talks and ceasefire occurred between the representatives of the Indian government and the NSCN (IM), which provided relief, through temporary to the people. The peace talks and ceasefire both are in action from 1997, no doubt, but solution of the Naga problem has not yet been achieved.

which, in fact, has damaged their prestige on the one hand, and jeopardised the spirit and strength of freedom movement, on the other. At the moment what the Naga people need urgently is economic development of the state and people’s economic prosperity. People want the right to Self-determination, no doubt, but not through violent method, but through table talks and peaceful negotiations with the Government of India. That is why they all are hopeful about the on-going peace talks between the NSCN and the Government of India.
NSCN.”¹ Almost all the representatives of the NGOs expressed their will freely and frankly to preserve peace in Nagaland. Rev. V.K. Nuh, a veteran religious Naga leader appealed to all the delegates for a “united effort through reconciliation and forgive and forget.” Mr M. Vero, Convenor Naga Hoho Summit, stressed on the unity of the Nagas and recognising one another”. He said, “Killing and extortion has brought us nothing.”² Mr Huskha, the President of the Sumi Hoho, appealed for a total commitment among the leaders”. Mr Vihuto, the secretary of the Naga Hoho expressing deep concern over factional clashed appealed that the “Nagas have to reconcile among themselves and with God if they want to liberate ourselves.”³ Neingulo Krome, the Convenor, Naga People Movement for Human Rights also asked the Naga freedom fighters “to shun from killing each other and to stop extortion which will only bring defeat before the enemies.”⁴ Miss Dr Jina, the President of the Naga Women Association, Manipur put emphasis on wiping away the idea of tribalism and factionalism among the Nagas. The President of the Naga Students’ Federation, Mr Chuba, demanded extension of present ceasefire to all Naga inhabited areas and to boycott all elections till peace talks were going on. Mrs Neidonuo, the chairperson of the Naga Mothers’ Association, asked people to “shed no more blood”.

The Naga Consultation Meeting with a view to strengthening the peace strategy was called at Bangkok in January 2002 and also in May 2002 where a number of Naga delegations attended the Meet. They all appreciated the peace process taken by the leaders of the NSCN (IM). The Consultation reaffirmed fullest support of the present ceasefire and the talks between the Government of India and the NSCN under the leadership of Isak Chishi Swu, Khodao Yanthan and Th. Muivah recognising them “as significant achievements for all Nagas.”⁵ The Consultation also expressed appreciation of the Indian Government for “trying to understand the uniqueness of the Naga Political Issue.” The Consultation Meet urged to peruse the policy “to facilitate a reconciliation based on the

¹ Report of the Joint Meeting between the NSCN and the NGOs, a Booklet published by Ministry of Information & Publicity, GPRN, Nagaland, P.22.
² Ibid. P.24.
³ Ibid,
⁴ Ibid. p.25.
true spirit of national principles and to avoid “past historical blunders so that the Naga society may emerge renewed for the challenges of growth with other peoples and nations in the modern world.”

The aforesaid statements of various Naga leaders belonging to different associations and unions clearly indicate that they are fed up with bloodshed and factional killings. Peace talks are on. The question is who is the final authority to negotiate the Naga issue with the Government of India. The solution of the Naga issue, if comes out of the present talks being held between the leaders of the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India, would be acceptable to other factions who have not yet been included in peace talks? Mr S.C. Jamir, the ex-chief-Minister of Nagaland is of the view that “Any agreement must be acceptable to all sections of the Naga society, if it is to be final and successful.” He further said, that a dialogue confined to only “idealism” or “emotions” could not resolve the issue, “A war of words or paper war maligning and criticising others is not going to help us.”

Mr S.C. Jamir has been following a different trend relating to the Naga problem. He and his followers put much more emphasis on economic development of the state and increase in economic prosperity of the Naga people keeping in view the changes, which have taken place in the world in different directions. In the words of Jamir “The world is no longer concerned about political sovereignty military factor... Determining factor today is the economic strength of a nation... Without economic muscle, no country or state can run smoothly. Beggars cannot be choosers.” Mr Jamir is of the view that the Nags’ prosperity is directly related to India. By citing the examples of various agreements such as Nine-Point Agreement 1947 (Hydari Agreement), Sixteen Point Agreement of 1960, Ceasefire agreement 1964, Political talks between the Government of India and the Naga Federal government till 1968, Shillong Agreement 1975, Ceasefire agreement between Government of India and the NSCN (IM) in 1997 and ceasefire Agreement between the Government of India and the NSCN (K), Mr Jamir indicates that for last fifty years Nagas

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1 Ibid. p.3.  
2 Realities of the Naga Political Problem, a Booklet, Issued by Press Secretary to the Chief Minister, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, June 2002, p. 5.  
3 Ibid. p.6.  
4 Ibid.
are directly related to India. According to him “We have to reconcile to the political reality of all these facts.”

The Sixteen-Point Agreement of 1960 was the result of the views of the moderate Naga leaders who unanimously resolved to constitute the Nagaland state under the Union Republic of India. Now opinion is being expressed that the emergence of this agreement was the result of the armed pressure of the Indian government and the Sixteen-Point Proposal is called as ‘unscruplus’. The booklet, namely, the ‘Bed-rock of the Naga society’, issued by the Nagaland Congress Office under the direction of Mr S.C. Jamir raises the question whether the Nagas had an independent nation before the arrival of the British. The booklet reads” The stark and inescapable truth is that neither did we have a definite and unified political structure and nor did we exist as a nation.” According to the Booklet the Nagas were actually” a group of heterogeneous, primitive and diverse tribes living in far-flung villages that had very little in common and negligible contact with each other.” On the other hand, the leaders of the freedom fighters has the Booklet, the Bedrock of the Naga society as ‘sell-out the Sixteen Point Agreement and Mr Jamir’s attempt to sell Naga history and ingratiate himself to his bosses at Delhi in a last ditch effort to perpetuate his rule.’ This view is being reflected by the leaders of the NSCN (IM) who maintain that “a section of Naga intellectuals have fallen for the enemy’s propaganda and have been calling for peace and unity at any cost.” Expressing their views about Indo-Naga accords and agreements they say, “Each time the Indian state was able to get a section of the Nagas to fall into their trap. And yet the past accord did not succeed in bringing peace.” No doubt, the statements mentioned above carry the element of truth because whenever an accord or an agreement was signed by the Naga leaders with the government of India related to the Naga issue, it was done either under pressure from the Indian Government or to avoid anarchic and aquatic situation and preserve peace in Nagaland. This is also a fact that while accepting such accords and agreements the negotiators lacked unanimous will of the Nagas. It all happened because of division of the Naga’s opinions and views regarding final settlement of the Naga issue.

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1 Ibid, pp.7-8.
2 Bedrock of Naga society, published by the Naga Pradesh Congress committee (I), Heraland Publications, Kohima,2002, p.6
4 Ibid.
from the beginning. The moderates whenever conducted deals with the Indian government, agreed to live under the Indian constitution while the extremists while dealing with the Indian government to find out solution of the Naga problem never accepted any thing other than the Naga’s right to self-determination. That is why neither peace talks nor ceasefire made by the underground Naga leaders with the Indian government remained effective. The moderate Nagaland leaders prefer Nagas’ peace and prosperity first and the leaders of the freedom fighters want independence first. This divergent viewpoint has always been a hurdle to solve the Naga issue forever. So far the concern of the Government of India is concerned, it has been getting undue benefits of division of the Nagas’ opinions.

Denying the allegation that the moderate Naga leaders sold out Naga’s right to Self-determination to the Indians, J.B. Jasokie, the previous Chief Minister of Nagaland maintains that the Sixteen-Point Proposal was prepared with the consent of the Naga people who attended the Naga People’s Conventions and permitted the leaders to create the Nagaland state “as to set the records straight.” Hence in his opinion the Sixteen-Point Agreement is a historical document and “historical facts never be distorted because once facts are distorted, they become non-facts.” According to Mr Jasokie the distortion of such historical facts would be ‘most unfortunate’ and it is unjustified to “brand the founding fathers of the state of Nagaland as ‘unscrupulous’. The Nagaland state under the Union Republic of India emerged with the efforts of the Naga leaders as a device to protect the Naga people from abduction, torture, killing, harassment, rape and burning of their villages and granaries. According to the view of moderate Naga leaders acceptance of statehood for the Nagas was a hard choice to choose between the merger of the Naga hills with Assam for ever or to have a state of their own with special autonomies. The decision to accept the statehood was taken not by a handful of the Naga leaders in haste, but “they consulted and discussed all these issues in minute details with all the different tribes and even with those living outside Nagaland” doing this “Their sole intention was to ameliorate and alleviate the sufferings of the people” and “their efforts would be better appreciated…”

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1 Nagaland Post, February 8,2000,p.5.
2 Ibid.
3 The Bedrock of Naga society, op, cit., p.12.
4 Ibid.
The uniqueness of the Naga politics has been the differences of opinions among the leaders and levelling allegations against each other without any effort to bring unanimous viewpoint. The non-political Naga leaders have been trying their best to bring the various factions together for better and lasting result, but success has not yet been achieved. Converging viewpoints of the Naga leaders and their confusing statements have put every common Naga in dilemma today. In the words of Chasie “No one is sure about who stands where. They cannot deny sympathy towards the undergrounds and at the same time they are not ready to break up their link with the over ground Naga leaders. They are fed up with the unbearable extortion drive followed by the Naga freedom fighters, but they have no courage to deny it and condemn it openly. Chasie has rightly observed that the Nagas are “fed up with the extortions and high-handed ways of the various underground factions...This is the melting-point that Naga society is today and all sides have become mutual props in keeping the ‘militant’ situation alive and going without any path-breaking initiatives that would change the situation.”

Time has come for retrospection and self-analysis of the Naga society, roles of the Naga leaders and attitude of the Naga people without any fear and prejudice. They shall have to rise above the confinement of tribalism, parochialism and chauvinism. All factions must join their hands together for Naga nation forgetting their past differences. They must be ready to forget and forgive. Before they go for an independent Nagaland, they shall have to be ready for a broader national view and sincere to the national interests. Experience reveals the truth that piece-milling solution of the Naga issue has complicated the problem more and more. Chasie has rightly observed that “provocative statements and actions, on all sides, specially among various Naga factions, must stop at all costs.” Freedom movement needs unity, strength, sacrifices and broadened outlook.

It is good that the leaders of both the factions of the NSCN and also the conscious and intellectual Nagas have begun to realise the significance of unity of the Nagas and of peace. They all feel that unless unity of the Nagas is maintained and a collective viewpoint is developed, there may not be permanent solution to the complex Naga issue. A consensus is perhaps, emerging in this regard. This is evident from the statement of Mr

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2 Ibid. p. 82.
Isak, the prominent leader of the NSCN. While expressing his view in the 3rd Naga Consultative Meeting in May 2002 at Bankok told the Naga delegates “Past mistakes have sufficiently taught us that no political settlement can be reached without the will and consent of the Naga people.” He assured the delegates that “We will enter into political settlement with the Indian State only after seeking the expressed opinion and consent of the people.” Regarding the Naga unity he further stated, “The present division among us is only a temporary phenomenon. Unification of all Nagas is an inevitable and natural necessity.”

It is encouraging to note that despite failure of efforts hitherto applied for resolving the Naga issue through various rounds of peace talks and ceasefire, the efforts are still on. The continuation of ceasefire with both the Factions of the NSCN and the Government of India have given the Naga people mental relief and lifting of the ban on the NSCN and allow their leaders to come to New Delhi and have a meaningful dialogues with the Indian political leaders have made the people hopeful. Such moves have widely been accepted and appreciated from all sections of the Naga people. The immediate need is to realise the significance of ceasefire and peace talks on the one hand, and put an end to the ongoing clashes between the two factions. The different sections of the people must form a common platform forgetting their past rivalries and differences in the general and broader interest of the Naga people. In the fast changing world the belief is emerging that solution of a problem however and complicated is, must be found on table talks, not in a battlefield. The question whether the Nagas should go for complete independence should be decided by the Nagas’ consensus, not by any alien forces. Once a consensus emerged, the people belonging to all sections and groups must stand united to achieve the goal remembering that ‘united we stand and divided we fall.’ If the Nagas continue fighting among themselves, “There would be no question of Naga nation within or outside India.”

Every Naga must understand that “The cry for peace in Nagaland is quite laud...Unity of the Naga people, over ground and under ground, must... precede a permanent settlement out of the imbroglio that has caused enough sufferings and miseries”. Nationalism is not:

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3 Ibid. p.140.
the monopoly of one or two groups, but it is the property of all. The success of any national movement is based on unity, strength, brotherhood for all and broadmindedness where there is no place for factional clashes, personality rivalry and terrorist acts against the people in whose name the movement is initiated and for which the movement continues. Within a nation every one has a share, every one has to contribute and every one has to sacrifice. A nation may have different sections and groups of the people, no doubt, but they are all in the name of nationalism because the national sentiment and feeling has no place for any groupism and factionalism. Again a nation without a right to freedom of expression is dumb and deaf. Terrorism and that also against the own people can hardly allow the freedom movement to be a success specially where people are democratic by character and spirit. The worst phase of Naga national movement has been the use of force by the Nagas against the Nagas to force the opponents to follow the course once decided even by a few. There is no denying the fact that the Naga freedom fighters have suffered the most and have shed enough blood for the cause of Naga freedom struggle, but very little efforts have been applied to prepare national background, create national feeling and preserve Naga unity. The fifty years of Naga freedom movement reveals the truth that the Naga people are very much conscious of their independence and they have enough courage to fight for it, no doubt, but their efforts and strength have remained victim of disunity and disintegration. That is why so prolonged struggles have not yet produced desired result. Question is not whether the Nagas are able for having a free nation or not, but the most prominent question has emerged whether the disunited Nagas would hold free nation if it is given to them under such circumstance. Hence every one who is in fact, conscious and desirous of Naga freedom must work hard for Naga unity and fraternity. If they are united; there is no force, which may deprive them of their aspirations and historical position.