CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION
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INTRODUCTION

Nationalism, a global political term, which is directly related to the heart and mind of a people, has inspired and encouraged various nationalities of the world to have their own separate, sovereign and independent political status among the international community. The idea and feeling of nationalism is rooted in ‘pagan-tribalism’ and in the name of nationalism "not only some of the greatest act of heroism has been committed, but also "cruelty and fanaticism" have been practiced. It was the feeling of nationalism, which broke up great Roman Empire and ruined the feudal system of Europe. Various communities of Europe like Polls, Czechs, Franks, Dens, Dutchers, Portages etc. formed their nation-state on the basis of racial unity. The habit and feeling of patriotism made these peoples proud of their race and enabled them to form their own nation-states. The feeling of nationalism kept them united and provided extraordinary courage and strength to fight successfully for political independence. It was feeling of racial superiority and love for racial feeling, which paved the way for growth of national feeling under the influence of the movements of Renaissance and Reformation. The nation-state was defined as a politically independent sovereign territory occupied by a people belonging to common race, faith, thoughts, behaviours and sharing common pains and pleasures. The French Revolution (1789) strongly pleaded that the people who are one, are free to choose their own form of Government and manage their affairs according to their own will. It was this idea, which spread all over the world by the 19th century encouraging the communities to come ahead with the demand of home rule or independence. Peoples who were under the yoke of Imperial forces began national or freedom movement applying various methods to achieve the goal, which ultimately ruined different Empires of the world.

Naga nationalism, which came in forefront soon after India's independence, is an issue that has remained in controversy causing direct-armed tussle between the Government of India and the Underground Naga Government. The advocates of Naga nationalism have been pleading that the territories occupied by the Nagas had never been the part of India.
These territories were independent and unadministered before the British forcibly occupied the Naga areas.

The feeling of Naga nationalism may be traced out in the patriotic behaviour and attitude of the Nagas towards their community life and their devotion to respective tribe from the time immemorial. The Nagas are tribal and one of the basic features of the tribal people has been to live independently without any outside interference in their life. Different Naga tribes, though living side by side, did hardly come together for centuries only because they preferred the life, social, cultural, economic and political which each of the Tribe had developed differently and independently. Though their world was small and limited, they had established the things, which are genuinely required for a nation. They had customary laws, social norms, cultural values and political set up. They knew how to rule and to be ruled. They experienced aristocratic, republican and democratic governments. What they lacked, in fact, was a will and determination to form a nation comprising of all the Naga tribes living nearby and following common culture, behaviours and faiths. That is why in the ancient Greco-sense each Naga village was a tiny sovereign state in itself. They lacked Machiavellian approach of the modern-nation state, no doubt, but their devotion and commitment to their tribal village national government cannot be doubted. It was such desire and feeling of the ancient Nagas towards their independent and uninterfered life, which developed in a broad national feeling under the influence of the British rule and Christian education, which not only integrated various disintegrated Naga tribes but also sharpened their mental horizon and national feeling. Though they accepted the British rule under compulsion, they never allowed themselves to merge their identity at any cost with any superior force or civilization.

The Naga intellectuals by submitting various petitions and memorandums did all to appraise the British authorities that the Nagas had never been under any foreign powers except the British. The memorandums and petitions placed before the British authorities by the Naga leaders reveals the truth that they did not like to be incorporated with the Indian people or to be left on “the mercy of the people who could have neither conquered us themselves and to whom we never subjugated, but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves”. Hence they have all the rights to follow the course of their independence,
which they had. If the British left India, the Nagas must obtain their earlier status. It is unfortunate that the British provided them with special autonomies, but did not grant the Nagas the right to self-determination before they left India handing over power to the Indian political leaders. This made the Naga intellectuals disappointed and disparate.

After India’s independence they continued the practice of submitting of petitions and memorandums to the Indian political rulers and having interviews with them with a request to grant the Naga people independent status, but their efforts remained futile. The Indian political leaders argued that it had assumed the responsibility to rule over the Naga people as a legacy of the British rule. The Indian rulers under the impression that the Nagas had neither the quality to maintain an independent state nor their existing poor and shabby economic condition was fit for having an independent and sovereign state, incorporated the Naga people in the Indian constitution against their will. Moreover, the Indian leaders were also under the impression that the Naga leaders who were raising the voice for an independent Nagaland were nothing, but stooge and misguided people. It is the point from where the Naga freedom movement took its birth. The Naga leaders decided to struggle for independence. In the beginning, the movement remained confined to peaceful methods such as boycott of Indian constitutional procedures for the Nagas, non-cooperation and unilateral plebiscite. When such methods failed to cut much ice, they resorted the course of violent method forming a constitution of their own declaring Nagaland as an Independent state. Unfurling Naga national flag and installing the Naga army etc. They also established link with foreign powers to obtain morale and material support. On the other hand, the Government of India left nothing to curb down the Naga rebellion and suppress the followers of the freedom fighters by promulgating different draconian Acts and deploying huge number of military, paramilitary and police forces into the Naga territories. Thus a battle line was drawn between the Naga freedom fighters and the Indian armed forces, which created a new Naga history full of blood, tears and sufferings of the Naga people.

The Naga National Council (NNC), a politically organised platform of the Naga people, became instrumental in creating the feeling of Naga nationalism on one hand, and to organise the Naga people to struggle for freedom, on the other. It is true that a little before
India's independence the Naga leaders had not clear vision about Nagas' future political status. Some of the leaders still like to maintain relations with India keeping in view their economic and political backwardness while some of them preferred sovereign status for the Nagas. The problem was unification of the various Naga tribes and strengthening of the feeling of nationalism. However, with the emergence of A.Z. Phizo, the charismatic Naga political leader and champion of Naga freedom, the whole political scenario of Nagaland changed. He and his followers made it ample clear that the Nagas would accept nothing less than an independent political state. Thereafter, the dynamics of Naga freedom movement which got pace under the charismatic leadership of Mr. Phizo, changed the whole political scenario of Nagaland.

The most unfortunate thing, which has remained as a big hurdle before the Naga leaders, is division of their opinions and views regarding future political status of Nagaland from the beginning. The elements that still prefer integration of Nagaland with India are of the view that the Nagas “neither have a definite and unified political structure” nor did they “exist as a nation.” According to them a nation needs a definite political structure, demarcated areas of land inhabited by the people having close contacts with each other and a Government having its uniform command over all. But reality is that the Naga people before the arrival of the British in their land had none of them. What people had at that time were ‘mutual suspicion and distrust,’ ‘insular and isolated life’ and ‘internecine warfare.’ The Naga nationalism, according to them, appeared soon after India’s independence only. When the movement for freedom began, the freedom fighters did all to exterminate the opponents by force, fear and terror. They “began to hunt, torture and kill fellow Nagas.” Thousands of the Nagas have lost their lives without any fault of their own in the hands of their own people besides loss of lives and properties as well as heart-breaking torture and harassment by the personnel of Indian security forces. Under such anarchic situation the peace loving Naga leaders made a deal with the Government of India and opted for the state of Nagaland. They still believe that in the present advanced world no nation can survive with dignity and viability without sound economic base and technical knowledge. On the other hand, the forces that are still determined to have an independent Nagaland advance the logic that what these leaders did was ‘a sell-out of Nagas’ right to Self-Determination.
The Naga freedom movement has passed into different phases right from its beginning till today. Under the prolonged fighting of freedom the Naga people have witnessed the unpleasant and discouraging scenario where disunity among the Naga political leaders, division among the leaders of the freedom fighters and the bloody factional fighting among the divided groups of the underground set up have not only undermined the Naga freedom movement but also maligned the prestige and honour of the freedom fighters among the general Naga people.

The politics of militancy and negotiations for peace are twins in Nagaland because the Naga leaders have been divided from the beginning of their freedom struggle. The extremist group maintains that “The Nagas were a nation, completely free from beginning of time” and “the Naga people have as much right for Self-Determination as any other people.” To achieve the goal they followed the militant path. The moderate group being worried about their poor economic conditions, preferred peace and solve the problem through peaceful negotiation only. Both the groups followed their own respective course with the result that militancy and peaceful negotiation continued together. It is true that freedom movement in Nagaland never ceased except casual pause for some times, the rift and division among the leaders of the extremists could never stop. As the years rolled down, the rift among the leaders of the freedom fighters took such a direction where the goal of independence became secondary and the feeling of tribalism, personality clashes, indulgence in money making affairs and factional fighting’s became primary. All the efforts hitherto applied by the public leaders, leaders of the Churches, authorities of various Non-Governmental organisations of Nagaland to unite the different groups and leaders of the freedom fighting have remained fruitless. Mass rally, demonstrations, fasting of common and public prayers against the factional fighting’s and in favour of peace has not yet yielded any expected result. However, it is interesting to note that cease-fire between the NSCN-IM and the Government of India is going on and the process of peace-talks has resumed, but the factional fighting between the rival groups is still on. It has provided the people some relief and created hope in their mind.
Naga nationalism and freedom movement have involved not only the Naga people but also the Government of India. Peace of the state and prosperity of the people are also involved here. The freedom movement is continued for more than half of the century where a number of people have lost their lives without any of their faults. Naga peace has received many injuries and its wounds are still bleeding. The Nagas by nature are simple, peace loving and carefree, but their peace and prosperity have suffered a lot. They have been living under the constant reign of fear and terror. Their political future is uncertain and their economic front has been jeopardised. Corruption among the political leaders, bureaucrats, Government servants, contractors etc. is rampant. The society has been divided into two halves- the haves and the have-nots. The affluent class, who have selfishly managed to accumulate wealth and property on large scale, hardly has concern to the poor and deprived sections of people. Growing interest in material prosperity and emerging lust for consumerist attitude have not spared even the freedom fighters. All these factors have badly influenced the freedom movement and commitment of the people to their long cherished goal.

A question which has been irritating every reasonable Naga mind is how to regain a wholesome permanent peace in the state of Nagaland and how to set the state in motion of progress and prosperity where every Naga may avail the fullest opportunity to enjoy the life and upgrade their personality. The problem of Naga peace is grave and complex. All the efforts hitherto applied to solve the Naga issue peacefully have failed. The leaders of the Naga freedom fighters, though they are divided, are not ready at all to give up the claim of independent Nagaland while the government of India does not agree to grant the Naga people an independent status. The state is suffering from backwardness, mass corruption, disunity, feeling of tribalism and factional fighting. To achieve the goal much blood has been shed so far, but neither goal has been achieved nor goal is at sight. A number of factors are involved

Today, keeping in view the factors mentioned above, it appears that all idealism seems to have been lost and the goals for which thousands suffered and sacrificed their lives appear to have been completely forgotten. The movement, today, has "degenerated into th..."
sheer terrorism with killing of innocents, extortion, looting, intimidation and treats ..."Gun culture has been mounting and people are afraid to speak the truth. No doubt, every one is the victim of such anarchic and vulgar circumstance, but hardly one has the dare to oppose it openly. The freedom movement is on, no doubt, but it has lost its earlier strength and vigour. Under emerging new trends in Naga politics and changing nature of the Naga freedom struggle today, the problem of Naga nationalism and freedom movement need close observation, verification and scientific analysis to find out the real present work has been taken to investigate into the Naga issue and the factors involved therein and to present a critical and analytical account of the Naga freedom movement. Uniqueness of the Naga politics demands special inquiry and deep and thorough investigation in the events which have taken place in Nagaland related to Naga freedom movement.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To trace out patriotic feeling and national devotion of the Nagas from ancient time.

2. To study the Nagas’ struggle against the British penetration into the Naga territories.

3. To study and analyse the emergence Nagas’ political platform and sharpening Nagas political consciousness.

4. To discuss and analyse the beginning of Naga freedom movement and its consequences.

5. To analyse the factors responsible for advent of cease-fire and peace talks.

6. To examine and investigate the factors responsible for disunity among various freedom fighting organisations and its impact upon the people.

7. To verify the achievements of Naga freedom movement and examine the prospects of the Naga’s right to Self-determination.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE WORK

The feeling of Naga nationalism and the desire of the Naga people to have an independent Nagaland state are rooted in the minds and hearts of every Naga, no doubt. To achieve the goal the Naga intellectuals have been applying their hard efforts even before India’s independence. They set the struggle for freedom in motion whereby they did not hesitate to resort even armed struggle against the Government of India sacrificing thousands of lives of the Nagas in the name of freedom movement. The greatest hurdle,
which has badly affected the Naga freedom movement, has been the disunity and division among the leaders of the freedom struggle on various accounts. Some of the leaders who are known as moderate never preferred violent methods to achieve the goal rather they liked slow, steady and peaceful method while the extremists wanted to use all available forces against the enemies to achieve the goal as early as possible. The former accepted the offer of statehood given by the Government of India, but the latter continued their freedom struggle despite all the troubles and miseries, which came on their way. Freedom struggle continued, no doubt, but division among the Naga leaders, factional killings between rival groups of the underground set up and involvement of the freedom fighters into making affairs have definitely undermined the Naga freedom movement on the one hand, and maligned the prestige of Naga freedom fighters, on the other.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The study is based on empirical and scientific method. Qualitative research methodology has been given more preference whereby the facts and data collected from various sources (primary and secondary) have been classified, observed, examined and analysed. After through investigation and analysis of facts and figures related to the study, facts have been presented in the documental form. Sampling method under the quantities research methodology has also been applied whereby one hundred people belonging to the Tribes such as Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha, Rengma, Chang and Sangtam have been consulted to obtain their viewpoints regarding the Naga nationalism and freedom fighting.

TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES TO COLLECT MATERIALS AND DATA

The following tools and techniques have been applied to collect relevant materials, facts and data:

i) Self-constructed questionnaires,

ii) Interview schedule to interview public leaders, Government officials and leaders of the freedom struggle.

iii) Survey of the records and documents, which have been published.

iv) Visits of libraries and other institutions to collect authentic relevant books, journals, magazines and newspapers.
CHAPTERIZATION

The work contains altogether ten chapters including introduction, conclusion and bibliography. Chapter one termed as Introduction talks of the meaning of nationalism and its rise and growth in general on the world level. Thereafter, it presents a short historical aspect of the Nagas' patriotic feelings towards their respective tribes and their feeling for independence. Chapter two- Social, Political and Cultural life of the ancient Nagas- investigates into the Nagas' ancient life and their social, political and cultural behaviours. This chapter presents the analytical account of the political system, which the ancient Naga people had and maintained. It also talks of the Naga's ancient social, cultural and moral values which they possessed from time immemorial and carried down from generation to generation.

The British integrated the various Naga tribes who were living an isolated life without having any integration with one another. The integration of Naga tribes and their close association with the British authorities sharpened their political consciousness and made them aware of their future political status. All these facts have been discussed in third chapter, namely, Integration of Naga tribes and Sharpening of Naga Political Consciousness. Chapter four termed as Emergence of Political Platform and Demand for Independence, presents a systematic as well as analytical account of appearance of Naga political platform such as the Naga Club and the Naga National Council which played notable role in uniting the Naga people and consolidating political viewpoints of the Naga intellectuals. Chapter five called as Beginning of Naga National Movement and Creation of Nagaland State critically deals with formation of Underground Naga government, declaration of their freedom, formation of Naga army and conduct of unilateral plebiscite to record the Nagas' opinion about Nagas' independence. This chapter also presents the story of armed tussle between the Indian armed forces and the Naga freedom fighters and advent of the state of Nagaland under the Indian Union. Creation of Nagaland state was the historical event, which brought a new turn in Naga politics giving hard blow to the Naga national movement. The Peace Mission applied the efforts to protect the Naga peace and solve the Naga issue through ceasefire talks. Chapter six investigates in all these political events and presents a critical account of the results of ceasefire and peace talks.
After signing the Shillong Accord (1975), it appeared that Naga insurgency had disappeared forever, but it proved nothing more than an illusion. Freedom movement and militancy once more appeared with greater might from 1980s challenging both the Indian Government and Government of Nagaland. Resurgence of freedom movement disturbed the whole peace of the state creating fear and terror among the people on the one hand and made the demand of independent Nagaland more popular on the other. Chapter seven discusses, verifies and analyses all these recent political happenings and talks of on going peace talks between the underground Nagaloudy and the Government of India. The Last chapter in the form of Conclusion, summarising the whole account of Naga freedom movement and its results and consequences concludes that the prolonged Naga fighting with the government of India for Naga’s freedom has not achieved the desired and prescribed goal due to emerging trends of tribalism, factionalism, groupism, and factional fighting among the freedom fighters despite a persistent request and appeal of the people to stop such unpleasant and harmful activities in greater interest of the Nagas.

Thus the hypothesis of the work that growing division, rivalries and fighting among the Naga freedom fighters and their inclinations towards wealth and prosperity relying upon terrorist methods have badly affected the Naga freedom movement. The work opens new dimension for new research in below mentioned areas:

1. Nagas’ right to Self-determination in present confused and defused Naga opinion.
2. Causes and factors involved in disunity and division among the leaders of the Naga freedom fighters.
3. Nagas’ freedom and economic reality.
4. Prospectus of Naga freedom movement.
5. Naga freedom movement and relevant issues like integration of the Naga tribes living in other states of India, Naga border issue with Assam Myanmar and Arunachal Pradesh, Naga peace etc.