INTRODUCTION

1. PROBLEM

(a) The problem before me is to construct ideal-type Naga socio-political systems, primarily from field-work data, and try to reconstruct the mythic based kinship structures. The central features of these typologies are locally considered as intra-segment rivalries, based on rigidly structured kinship systems, and social behaviour and organization conforms to such codes. The discussion on the ideal-type raises questions about causal variables, and symbolic articulations of their socio-cultural attributes vis-a-vis encapsulating systems.

I consider it important to develop an argument designed for deciphering traditional social formation and modern day state and nation building processes; and by putting them in a single analytical category, while retaining a methodological consistency — the ideal-type typologies emerges. Because these two problems are coterminous: one is an evolutionary process, but 'frozen' by a Colonial politico-administrative category as non-dynamic tribal entities. The other, is of a colonial capitalist phenomena, which created nation-state characteristics of the quasi-European
kind. Therefore, I wish to establish that Naga socio-political systems as the rock-bed of conflicts between encapsulating systems and native assertions, and determines the legitimacy status of these contradicting systems. Furthermore, an attempt is made to bring out that a similarity between the ideological model and the empirically observed model exists. Here, their typologies, though subjected to stimulations of the Buddhist and Hindu State systems, remained largely outside their orbits. Therefore, total encapsulation within modern day state systems is minimal, in other words; they still retain their ideological charters. Also, the christian proselytism efforts could not give them an ideological alternative in respect of their socio-political systems especially their kinship based political systems.

Then my attempt is to establish that their 'original' ideal models continues to be an essential framework inspite of the rigours of an encapsulating situation, which is more marked today, than during the times of hinduization process in the valleys. This implies various forms of jural sanctions and administrative promulgations but, by and large does not make for a total disintegration of their polity.

(b) This study will analyse Naga segments and their changing internal and external relations with reference
to exogenous economic and political situations. The thesis shows that their polity survives a total politico-ritual and administrative encapsulation. The Naga segments will be examined to test this thesis, mainly pertaining to four typologies, i.e. Anghdom, Akekaodom, Mevohood and largely conical clan structured political systems. They remain unencapsulated due to special administrative arrangements and partially due to their geo-political environment, and partly attributed to their retention of pristine forms organised largely to approximate their original models. This logically, follows that unencapsulated social organization presupposes a politico-economic situation which in turn antecedes its form.

Encapsulation in the anthropological sense would mean, either the absorption of smaller systems by the larger system or a total transfer of value system from the latter. In my case, the former may also be considered as evolving archaic entities (Naga tribes) to be subsumed under more organizationally sophisticated civilizations (Hindu and Buddhist) of the past. Again it refer also to smaller systems in the process of being integrated within a nation state in contemporary times.
A hypothesis may be advanced that even while being integrated, the 'original' Naga socio-political system is constantly activated and institutionalised by the nation-state apparatus for reasons of its own legitimacy over the former. Therefore, total encapsulation cannot be considered as an absolute end in itself, and furthermore, does not preclude survival of smaller entities over a longer period of time. Total encapsulation process in our sense would mean also the use of naked force — which leaves the smaller systems with bankrupt strategies as defensive mechanisms. Nonetheless, the existence of an asymmetrically recognised local self determination movement has given room for survival of Naga polity to an extent.

Anthropologists, (i.e. comparative sociology) whose obsession with 'homogenous tribes' brought about a view that such 'archaic tribes' deserve a super-imposed developmental processes. Therefore, even today, they are seen as passive recipients of exogenous conditions rationalised by the politico-academic milieu. I am arguing that much of these exogenous conditions are implemented perforce. In the Naga areas attempts at military means for encapsulation was a forerunner to economic penetration, that began during the colonial period. Political concessions in the form of not tampering with their polity in return for economic
penetration in lowlands of Naga areas for tea cultivation was the hallmark of British policy. This may be identical to what is being followed by the present encapsulating system. But it has a major distinction. In the present scheme, the "modernizing elites may wade in regardless of the consequences and the cost" (Bailey 1970: 177). Along with elites of the greater system, the Naga middle-class considers their system as archaic and various concessions wrested from the greater system (i.e. keeping the Nagas under external affairs or unadministered or partially administered territories) as palpably a temporary, transitional and invariably only a strategic phenomena. Then instead of working along the other line as basis for 'upgrading' their unencapsulated situation, they would rather acknowledge politico-administrative forms of the penetrators as the model. This runs counter to the extreme view of Naga up-surgents, (NNC, NSCN) whose assertion is based on a historical unencapsulated political situation of Nagas. However, the decisive factor is to accord legitimacy to such entities from the native point of view. The whole scenario was brought in within a secessionist frame when the NNC/NSCN could not hold on to traditionally embedded polity of the Nagas. And the end result would possibly mean a total encapsulation in the long run. I am conjecturing this as a likely trajectory
of its potential developments. But, given the tacitly approved ethnic basis of Nagaland's political status, (pending further socially conditioned territorial amalgamation) it might take a longer time for full encapsulation. But the 'passive' response given to transition from External Affairs Ministry to the Home Ministry indicates the underlying principles of Naga ('overground') middle class mentality — therefore, this conjecturing is inevitable.

Then what are the fundamental basis of Naga social organization? Despite variations in their politico-jural forms, a common principle emerges, that is, a certain degree of 'classless' character is evident. Even the Anghdoms could not approximate the socio-economic distance as was available in feudal polities. This in turn crudely ensures that their middle class elements should remain, only as cultural brokers vis-a-vis the greater system, without a polarization in an extreme sense of term. The Naga middle class emerged along with formation of Naga club (1918) and exposed Pan-Nagaiism which transcended tribal rivalries. This was articulated by a conglomeration: Dobashis, petty traders and junior government officials. Again variegated forms of their socio-political typologies in its chauvinistic self surfaces now and then to ensure that none of their segments (or 'Tribes' in
popular literature) dominates over their modern body politics. This means that symbolic charters of individual segment's identity is asserted conveniently over time and space.

The central issue in Naga society involves the pursuit of power, status and honour for its members as reflected by its kinship based political structure in its pristine form, which brings about a perpetual oscillation of such pursuits between the segments. That is, their model presupposes a form where politics becomes a mainstay and a method of acquiring power and status in society. Then, these articulations assumes a behavioural and an ideological basis. This is entrenched in their kinship structures which means that Nagas have yet to reject their idiosyncratic nature of native codes. This works efficiently when confronted with encapsulating systems: while using modern models inconsistently, their original code operates at the higher levels, i.e. in their state assemblies and political activities. This implies a re-tribalised articulation of modern politics.

Essentially a diachronic study of their typologies brings out the nature of reproduction, process of alteration and dissemination of these models. The native structure itself can be then, considered as reproducing in modern forms. This thesis seeks to establish this point.
II. METHODOLOGY

The thesis is worked out within a framework of Naga socio-political life which include the tribal structure predominantly, and built up on interconnected myths of origin not only of their lineages but also of dominant settlement's charters. This gives them ritually conditioned segmentary identities. Then I go on to show the dominant villages that invariably brings about confederacies, satellites, and subsidiaris which arbitrates politico-social issues. Again the politico-administrative set up of Naga segments are considered in their changing forms. I am pointing out the survival of earlier forms of social formation, which evolved within their own cosmological basis, without an intrinsic legitimations accorded by Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic models. An interesting aspect could have been the trajectory of this type of tribal model, before the Anglo-Saxon world brought in a sub-nationality consciousness among the Nagas. I am not able to present the imponderabilia of everyday life in the Malinoskian sense, but I shall order the data in such a manner as to illustrate clearly the underlying principles of Naga socio-political structure, assuming that social reality is subsumed explicitly therein.
But, first of all my field-work area needs an introduction: Nagaland which is an upgraded colonial administrative district, along with the erstwhile unadministered area of Tuensang, now forms a state in the union of India. This may be considered as the core of Naga socio-political culture. The erstwhile tribal area of Lakhimpur district now falls under Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh. The Naga areas of Manipur got merged along with the Manipur state's accession to the Union in 1949 without the formalities of seeking consent from the hill dwellers, since Manipur was considered a 'fiefdom' of a Meitei Hindu kingdom. While in Burma, the predominant Buddhist Burmans has been unsuccessfully trying to encapsulate the Nagas. However, this area lies outside my preview at this stage. The Nagas have their own brands of social 'safeguards', or concession accorded by the Union government, their amalgamation is based on house-tax a form of political control which exists only in Manipur Naga area and Nagaoland's segment, i.e. the former Naga Hills area. There is however no land revenue except in the peripheral areas i.e. the Dimapur mauza etc. The administrative arrangement under 'Pax Britannica' was partially honoured by the union in respect of their local level politico-economic and cultural aspects. This was on the assumption that till such a time Nagas are able to run a modern politico-administrative
apparatus, they would be 'specially administered'. This interpretation reflects the nature of their politico-administrative status and future developments. But by native reckoning, leaving them to their 'own devices' seems to be what real autonomy means to the Nagas. i.e. a status quo-ante is preferred to a rapid encapsulation process.

The main thrust of the thesis is to find out how the Nagas maintain and perpetuate their social organizations based on its own normative standards and code. Naga history is replete with dissidence implying rejections of the larger systems as discussed subsequently.

I am defining the Naga universe restricted to those segments living in India. The Nagas of Burma, forming a sizable chunk of their population, fall outside the scope of my study.

I should also like to introduce my field-work schedule. After obtaining my M.Phil degree on 'Ao Naga social control in transition' in 1979, I was advised by my supervisor to expand my universe. For almost two years, I struggled to identify the problem, field work conditions etc. My teaching assignments in North Eastern Hill
university as lecturer from August 1979 though academically stimulating, was a hinderance to serious research. However, Prof R.K. Jain opened up all his collections of anthropological literature, i.e. books, Journals, MSS during my short stays in Jawaharlal Nehru University in the winter holidays. This gave me a solid grounding in comparative sociology. In 1982, I took leave from NEHU to rejoin and work for my Ph.D. in J.N.U. And under a short term fellowship of ICSSR, I could begin almost a year of field work in Naga areas, beginning from January 1983. The field work took me to all the Tribes covered in this thesis. As this was the first study of its-or-any in Tuensang and Mon areas, especially Chang, Sangtam, Yimchunger, Khiamungam, and Phom and it was not only academically stimulating but an arduous task. I also had come under enquiries from the Assam Rifles stationed at Lungling. They have an inclination to think that a field worker (if not a government official) is up to something, possibly an underground activist. In fact in Hakpang village they surrounded the Head-gaonburah's house and enquired of my antecedents. It was only later, in Tuensang that I learned from a Lotha DSP that a group of NNC activists had presumably left for Burma, led by Mr. Tobu Kevichusa. This made me seek certain safety measures, and sought for a permit from the D.C., Tuensang
for unrestricted movements within the district. I believe it cannot be possible to do field work in Mon at the moment, as NSCN has begun intense activities, which also means that Indian Army is in full force there. It was in Tengnoupal district, near Komlathabi where my bus was stopped by an army patrol and started frisking all except me. I have told the young Lieutenant of my JNU research connected field work. It happened again on my way to Ukhrul, it was to my mind almost a military district that time, perhaps, even now. My friend N.K. Das of Anthropological survey of India, told me of facing an identical problem in his study of Tuensang tribes, (1986). His experience was of a different nature. The Khiamungans would not respond because he had sought help of the army for mobility. The most interesting part of my field work was in Maring area, there is no motorable road worth its name. So most of the field area was covered on foot, at times walking for a whole day, then it suddenly dawned on me that the social forms here was almost untouched by 'civilization'. Here, I could observe the house building ceremony, village worship and other traditional activities. Christianity is yet to saturate them fully. In Nagaland, in Tuensang and Mon districts almost everyone has a working knowledge of the Ao dialect, hence communication was not much of a
problem. In Phek and Kohima districts and in others, 'Nagamese' is the lingua franca. In Manipur Naga areas, English is a second language, but it poses a problem in the very interior areas, luckily two Naga graduates, one a Maring and another a Moyon accompanied me to the Maring area. It was stimulating also to probe deeper in our own discussions.

My data was collected from structured informal questions, and as an insider could (with a certain degree of ethnocentricism) cross check my own tribal groups. The main repositories of tribal culture and socio-political information is with three distinct elements viz, the tribal Christian mission workers, village school teachers and Dobashis, apart from the elders and political party activists. I also came in contact with the demobilised Naga underground workers. If the same set of questions is thrown at them, the answers would emerge from all conceivable angles. This makes for an authentic verifications of an oral tradition and with this, I could 'marginally' avoid an 'ethnocentric' bias of this exercise in self study. Again certain data I consider inconvenient for a native like myself and to the interest of individuals and groups has been omitted without tampering with the main thrust of this thesis. This, I presume, becomes an irritating
element to field workers studying their own and not 'other cultures'.

After the completion of field-work, JNU was closed sine die in 1983 due to student's agitation. And as my extra-ordinary academic leave from NEHU expired, I had to report for duty at Shillong in January 1984. This temporarily stopped my work. However, two seminar papers gave me an added impetus to write the thesis. Among the papers, one was entitled "Naga politics: Regionalism or Non-State Nation?" Which I read in a UGC sponsored National Seminar on Regionalism in the North-East at NEHU, Shillong. The other was on "Nagas and Tribal Development" read during the Indian Association for Study of Population and NEHU sponsored Seminar on Tribal Development. Both were presented in 1985. Again, P.C. Joshi Institute, New Delhi, and NEHU sponsored another seminar on agrarian relations, in which a paper was read by me in March 1986 entitled "the changing agrarian relations among the Aos". This gave me the necessary theoretical insights that has emerged from my previous pre-field work readings, with this my field-work data came out in a better light.

Methodologically, Cohen's contention is quite relevant to my thesis that "we begin to realise that the ideal model
of the small-scale isolated primitive community is a myth. The Nagas as conceived in anthropological literature does not belong to isolated tribes moreover, they straddle the International boundary and inter-state borders as a compact group of people and interacts with the encapsulators to their own advantage. I am in full agreement with Leach's that it is "axiomatic that the group which speaks a distinct language or dialect is by definition, a separate tribe and separate continuity in time". (Leach, 1979). It became more glaring when I started to intensify my field work, and actually began to see the interwoven network of Naga segments in its various forms. This made me understand how both exogenous factors as well as local politics reinforces a kind of separateness of these "administrative Tribes."

Therefore, my study extends beyond the spatial universe of the village or isolated (?) Nagas tribes as a social unit and link it to a region and wider networks of socio-cultural interactions. (Asad, 1970; Barth, 1972; Cohen, 1969). Which also involves a study both over time and space, and order social history in a series of on-going social events that gives meaning to Naga socio-political articulations within, as also with the external situations. However, at the moment there exists a general inaccessibility of literature on the Naga areas, i.e. archival retrieval, because the government
considers everything beginning with 1915 as 'sensitive' materials. Therefore, cross examinations of political leaders, administrators and 'underground' documents comes in handy for reconstruction of the political dimension of this thesis.

Again, a diachronic analysis entails the piecing together of such diverse sources as to reconstruct historical data to place in context the synchronic field study of 1983-84. It is also essential to deviate from standard anthropological feats, which precludes such diachronic analysis. This alone can explain the wider socio-historical dimensions. Therefore, it does not become a sterile 'before' and 'after' study, rather a simultaneous blending of ongoing social forms of the natives and of the 'higher' civilizations and their interactions are revealed.

This would involve a synthetic understanding of Naga society; but a determinism of sorts, albeit in simplified form, could be basically conditioned or contained (?), if self-study is given a wider margin as against apologists of an ever encompassing legalistic polity.

(c) The model is a dynamic one possessing socio-political components that reacts to exogenous stimuli as will be shown in case-studies and shows how their cosmology
itself legitimises and perpetuates Naga activities. This study will be diachronic and incorporate Naga history over a few hundred years of their interactions with other polities. The model involves diverse factors: micro level field work data based on village studies and macro-level data gathered from secondary sources. Although it is synchronic and based on the ethnographic present, I am simultaneously blending a diachronic study with reference to ongoing history of the Nagas, a synthetic analysis notwithstanding.

This thesis is worked out in six chapters: chapter 1 introduces the problem, theoretical frame and methodology involved in the thesis. Chapter II describes the geopolitical and historical sequences which helps to define the very basis of their segmentary social organizations. This chapter is partly concerned with myth of origin and migration. Chapter III attempts to conceptualise the cosmological basis of their socio-political organizations. Which in turn perpetuates their pristine forms at present, despite proselytism of christianity. Chapter IV is concerned with construction of ideal-types of Naga socio-political systems; which is still retained to a great extent. Again the normative demographical, social and economic organizations are also shown. The main aim of Chapter IV is to establish the parameters of the typologies and to distinguish
the permanent and underlying principles of social organization and also to elaborate major features of structures that constitutes it. Chapter V tries to identify a discernable legal system of the Nagas, and its institutionalization under the encapsulating system, i.e. legitimitation of their politico-administrative organs which incidentally helps in retention of archaic polities. Then Chapter VI presupposes two aspects: how their economic activities persists as a native category and the nature of adjustments to changing administrative and politico-economic developments.

The model tries to give an accurate microcosm of Naga life. It might enable generalization about other ethnic groups living in similar situations elsewhere. From a practical point of view, this study should give knowledge of tribal areas with its hard data, especially to the politico-economic planners.

III. THEORY

I have attempted to place this study within a relevant theoretical framework, by briefly pointing out three theoretical points as under:

(i) This study is attempted at a time when social anthropology can provide comparative theoretical perspectives derived from a spate of Afro-Asiatic studies. At this stage,
one could present interim accounts of the Naga's with less effort and greater speed by making use of the advances in studies already achieved by social anthropologist who studied similar situations in Africa and South-East Asia. Yet strict adherence to such theoretical straight-jacket would give disastrous results. It has become clear that Asiatic societies fit awkwardly into African models (Barnes: 1962; Epstein: 1967). This might be so in the Naga situation, it is no doubt an advantage to be able to refer to analytical works already available on Afro-Asiatic studies. But it may be a disadvantage if this orientation prevents me from analysing the distinctly non-Afro-Asiatic characteristics of the Naga's. Deviations from such models, therefore, cannot be anomalous. The classical African models have emphasised descent, segmentation and internal mechanisms of socio-political control. One of the major shortcomings of these models as applicable to the dynamic situations in North-East India is the premise of equilibrium and an almost mechanical and exclusively internal process of fission and fusion. My own experiences in that area as well as the published works on the milieu I am studying, have convinced me of the need to interpret change and dynamics both internal and external. This is the prime reason why the African models lose their direct applicability in my universe.
I am in complete agreement with Leach when he says that British social anthropology has given an overbearing role to the "oversimplified set of equilibrium assumptions derived from the use of organic analogies for the structure of social systems" (Leach, 1977: IX) Again, such theoretical models do not fully account for the process of social relationships, for instance, the segmentary model of the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard: 1940) reveals a politico-kinship ideology but not patterns of interaction. Here, again Leach offers an alternative that "Social structures are sometimes best regarded as statistical outcome of multiple individual choice rather than reflection of local rules" (Leach 1960: 124).

Serious allegations are implied in what Nadel has said that the "Anthropologists have tended to become the biographer of single societies; often they chose small groups, where the intensive could be made more adequately applied" (Nadel, 1974). This was a necessary condition to establish the idea of 'functional integration', 'structural equilibrium' and 'organic solidarity'. Thereby an assumption emerges that the Nagas are an acephalous and egalitarian tribal society as compared to evolving systems.

Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes (1970) have also shown that the lineage system is the morphological framework of
stateless societies, and that this system interlinks many categories of social relations. While Max Gluckman believes that "... The students of segmentary stateless polities have posed more fruitful problems of political structure than the far more numerous works on highly organised states"; definition of "tribe" in anthropological literature has however, remained complex and controversial. The contribution of Freid, (1971) Sahlins (1968) and Service (1962) in this matter are of great significance. Their studies, more particularly, Fried, have been concerned with the problem of tribe as a necessary stage of political evolution and its relevance to the modern world. Fried remarks that in which ever way a tribe is defined, it should be in terms of an aggregate and not of a group although rare cases may be found in which 'true' groups exists. To treat a tribe as a social group implies that all its members would have to interact in a theoretically interacting system. Fried also following Morgan's original thought identifies the tribe as a "necessary and logical" stage "in the growth of the idea of government". Fried gives critical assesments of the views of Hogbin and wedgewood on the question of political unit in defining a tribe, in which the authors do not seriously examine this aspect. They seem to find relevance in the definition of tribe given in Notes and Queries in Anthropology (1951), thus:

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"A tribe may be defined as a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory" ... Again... "there may be no supreme tribal authority; and the political unity of the tribe emerges only in co-ordinated or collective action, by the more or less independent sub-divisions of the group each under its own elder on special ceremonial occasions or in apposition to enemies".

Fried does not accept all that has been proposed by Sahlins and Service. He contents that the same binding mechanism exists for tribe and band, and most of the so-called tribes seen at close range seem to be curious melanges rather than homogeneous units. Thus, tribal names are proteanly flexible through time and space and varied situationally also. His definitional comment is relevant in this thesis, it runs, thus:

"...most tribes seem to be secondary phenomena in a very specific sense; they may well be the product of processes stimulated by the appearance of relatively highly organised societies amidst other societies which are organised much more simply. If this can be demonstrated, tribalism can be viewed as a reaction to that formation of complex political structure rather than a necessary preliminary stage in its evolution, it is abundantly clear that there are important social aggregates usually called tribes. ... these are "the tribes", so called, which sprang up in colonial situations."
Then 'true groups' from an anthropological perspective do not tally with the colonial power's creation of Naga 'tribes'. It suggests that no attempts were made to properly classify the true ethnic groups. Nor there were any attempts to identify the existence of Anghdoms, which had already crossed the process of redistribution at least a few hundred years ago. Again, most of the tribal names were accepted by the people on politico-administrative grounds. I wish to present also an extreme case of the Tarao Naga segment which is seeking recognition by the government; a precedence created by the latter, implying a super-imposed development process which can be made available only to 'recognised tribes'. Such value loaded developmental schemes, does not allow for a fusion process of native social segments, i.e. the Pakan, Mon and Mao identities, nor recognise the fission process of administratively notified tribes i.e., pocuris from the Chakesang tribe, and also of Timachir from Yimchunger and Sangtam tribes.

(ii) I would also like to postulate that the counter line given to Imperial anthropology by the Marxist has its own shortcomings — as regards study of tribes. To them, tribal society is considered different from others for the absence of private property. Therefore, communality of kinship cannot be an in-product but as imperative means
for appropriation of and use of the soil (Marx and Engles, 1979) then the community does not cater to the individual ideosyncracies which imply a negative unity. Godelier, however, considers kinship in tribal society as both superstructure and base, since man is helpless before nature, collective forms of labour emerge and egalitarian voluntarism ensues. (Godelier; 1977: 186) Meillassous goes a little further, by indicating the relationship of man and land to understand pre-capitalist societies. Here, for a lineage society based on kinship ideology, land is considered an "instrument of labour". Further, demographic expansion being a pre-condition to maintenance of social security, kinship relations cease to play an overbearing role in the scheme of things. In other words, the tribal world view is formalised into an authority structure, buttressed by myths of origin to emphasise the separate nature of its elites; while heterogenous kin in-or/out-groups oscillate around the elites with this territorial sovereignty or strict delineation of boundary becomes peripheral. (Meillassous 1972: 93-105) Within this evolutionary scheme, Nagas have been considered as still existing at the rock-bottom of development.

The generalised Marxist anthropologists' concern with the asiatic mode of production on the study of state
formation led to a concern to proving the importance of republics, democratic forms and constitutional monarchies or unitary state virtually from its inception. Therefore, analysis of the pre-modern civilizations of the sub-continent is the change from clan system to the society characterised by despotic state. (Claessen and Skalnik, 1978).

Thus the state is considered different from the lineage system, the former denotes a political authority within a territorial limit with powers allocated to functionaries. Moreover, social segments are identified not only through ritual roles but also by economic activities. It is also marked as a specialised stratification system, and monopoly of the use of force within a fixed territory. Then, it is a convenient framework to rationalise and discount the natives' assertions over their land base by the nation - states through a right of legal inheritance from Anglo-Saxons; provided such lineage groups are still considered archaic in their socio-economic forms. Marxist scholar again, too easily translated such societies within the evolving Asiatic mode of production, and the ritual hegemony of 'great tradition' was also stressed. For it is not dissimilar to formulations like 'great nationalism' and 'little nationalism', in which the latter is considered an appendage of the former.
It is misleading to approximate Naga segments with these theoretical frames in the present context. It is true that boundaries drawn by the colonial power disrupted the unity of the ethnic organism, which also acted as a bottleneck to historical evolution of their polities. This cannot be assumed as relevant today. As far as Nagas are concerned, a re-tribalization process was simultaneously projected by emergent elites, as a distinct dominant class. When colonial capitalism began a partial encapsulation, the 'Tribe' ceased to be an archaic entity in its socio-economic as well as political forms. It became rather a reference point by which socio-economic unity was organised into creating an emergent parallel nationalism (Roy Burman, 1980). But these fourth world entities, as elsewhere observed could never attain legitimacy as nation-states.

Again, this has relations with viewing the tribes simply as economic categories, and not as political entities. The issue of a nation evolving from the death bed of a tribal base or super-imposed has never been a nodal point in popular literature. Roy Burman is an exception to the rule. I shall quote at length which reflects his view, point that:
"There is a singular lack of awareness among the ethnographers of the global upsurge of ethnicity among the historical tribal societies. Though the anthropologists swear by comparative method, there is little evidence of the same in the treatment of tribal societies vis-a-vis nation societies... (so also)... the historians and economic historians... in perceiving the epochal dimensions of the tribal situations... are guided by insights derived from the non-tribal societies... there is a danger of tribal studies moving into another blind alley... one of the barren frames of analysis is the transformation of tribes into peasants. Certainly this happened in the archaic civilization or in the feudal politics of Europe. At the same time, the only advanced technique of production available to the tribals was settled agriculture, and the market relationship that ensued telescoped into a relationship of subjugation to the centres of political power. But is it true today? Even in an incompletely industrializing country like India, agriculture is inextricably linked up with world industrial network... Besides, the welfare state operates to diversity livelihood pattern of the population.

The tribes therefore, do not become just peasants. They become multinucleated social entities, without losing their distinct identities. They become proto-nations... without sensitizing themselves about these historical realities, the ethnographers of tribal societies are writing about the impact of industrialization and urbanization..."

(iii) Nation building is closely linked with radical ethnic processes and can be taken as growing sub-national consciousness. Nation is considered a historically evolved stable community with a culture, common territory, language and economic life (Stalin 1907-13). By taking Roy Burman's contention of tribal societies as emerging from their archaic conditions, the Nagas have now entered the Indo-Burmese politics with non-state nation characteristics. Here, their tribal forms are retribalised while confronting the encapsulating systems (see chapter II). The persistence of manifestations of 'Tribal forms' constitutes an important social process and a positive counterpart of de-tribalization. I am attempting to rectify certain inconvincing indiarist scholars' ideological imperatives. They witnessed the process of capitalist expansion both in colonial and post-colonial periods, but they did so in their own fashion by parcelling and reducing the phenomena through the recognition of socio-cultural groups which suffered the effect of capitalism, while rejecting the broader explanatory levels of social dynamics and political articulations of the natives, especially of the tribal groups. This conceptual reductivism gave rise to what Roy Burman has rightly pointed out in Vidyarthi's treatment of Indian Tribal Studies, as quoted earlier.
Again, the concept nation state although firmly established in the vocabulary of international relations, the majority of nation-states are certainly not "united nations" and political boundaries do not always duplicate cultural frontiers (I.M. Lewis, 1976). Then in default of adequate resource materials most social scientists assume that the states dealt with were nation-states, fact accompli, occupied by named people and separated from one another by pre-conditioned frontiers that is, the frontier of nation-states acted as precise border zones. (E.R. Leach 1960: 317). Here, I am trying to understand the degree of recognition accorded by the nation-states of composite ethnic groups straddling their frontiers and to what extent they distinguish it from the modern political geography; and how 'legal' formalities are a convenient way of encapsulating them. In other words, this politico-legal situation is a basic principle to claim legitimacy of control over the 'frontier' ethnic groups.

Here, I would like to consider the Nagas as falling within the theoretical framework of non-state-nations, which means that: "The NSN is an entity that operates in a manner normally associated with nation-states, may desire sovereignty and enter international politics with actions
associated with nation-states, or bargain not as special interest group, but directly dealing with a degree of international norm for negotiation or prepare for conflict, and may get communal control over specific jurisdiction within the Federal government after a protracted struggle or may get sovereign status (Judy Bertelsen, 1977). Then, the point of sociological interest is the picture of social reality as it exists today. Nagas are longer archaic entities with their re-tribalised articulations revolving around a communality of kinship, tribal segments and symbolically ordered social organizations. And political actions are determined by these attributes. Therefore, there are frequently many different levels of Naga political alignments and legal identity, some of which overlap and interact, perhaps without exactly matching. But ethnic base is still considered important for political activities. That is, they often 'maximise' or "strategize" their common symbolic identity.