CHAPTER - VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Indo-Naga conflict has been discussed and analysed in the THESIS entitled 'State Model of Conflict Transformation: Critique from the Nagas Perspective' as one of the least known but oldest running conflicts in the world, and has suggested a model of 'nationality-based-conflict transformation and/or identity-based conflict transformation' by using various strands of conflict transformation theories as a workable-transformative-roadmap in the context of the Indo-Naga political conflict, especially the second phase of Indo-Naga peace process initiative between the conflictants that began since 1997. Though the negotiating parties have been reiterating their willingness to solve the problem since the peace process started in August 1997, it has been observed that a concrete political solution is yet to be found.

The peace process has not gained a substantial progress for the last ten years except when the Government of India recognized "the Unique History and Situation of the Nagas" on 11 July 2002 in Amsterdam during the BJP-led NDA Government under the dynamic leadership of the then Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpai, and certain reduction of physical confrontation and gun fighting between the Indian security forces and the Naga Armed resistance groups. It can easily be said that the peace process is not irreversible. This is evident by the stalemate during Muivah's arrest in Thailand till his release, the problems of opposition to the Nagas aspiration for integration of all Naga areas in Manipur and in other states, and the demand by some groups to participate in the peace process, fragility of the situation of ceasefire in all areas of the North-east states, split in the NSCN, the democratic political process and the questionable role of some Naga and other North eastern politicians, etc.
This long journey of Indo-Naga peace talks has prompted the Naga people in particular and the rest in general to think that the Indian Government is not sincere and honest in bringing about the real political conflict transformation and lasting peaceful political solution. And yet the political talks are still going on indefinitely. The question then is, how long will the two parties take to bring to a concrete political solution? Or, are the negotiating parties simply delaying the peace process just because political will is lacking on either side of the two parties? Though it is necessary for both parties to have long and/or short political engagements in finding a lasting solution to the deep-rooted political conflict, it is politically incorrect to prolong the peace process without certain concrete political roadmap especially for the Indo-Naga peace process.

Years of negotiations to find a political solution should not become a futile exercise in a vacuum. The political engagements should instead be turned into positive steps towards fulfilling the aspirations and desires of both the parties. In a nutshell, the political talks should transform the conflict situation into a positive political solution. It is a known fact that the conflict is all about issues of Nationality, Identity, Territorial Integration, Culture, Economy, Human Rights and Political aspects. Addressing these issues will have far reaching positive implications in South Asia, South East Asia in particular and the world in general.

The thesis focuses its attention on almost all the above-mentioned issues faced by both parties in their relations since 1947 intersperse with direct confrontations and political talks. It is understandable that dealing with a political issue is not a simple task for research scholars like the present endeavour. It is learnt that the Indo-Naga conflict arise due to the different aspirations of political identity in the South and South East Asian sub-continent.

Summary

The thesis begins with the theoretical framework of the conflict and conflict transformation. We have made use of the various definitions of what constitute conflict ranging from Liberal interpretations to Marxist interpretations and to Third World interpretations contextualizing the Indo-Naga situation. Definitions of Various strands of theories such as Conflict Management, conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation propounded by different experts and scholars have been included in the First Chapter. We have differentiated the
definitions of Conflict Management, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation. As the thesis is a critique of the traditional methods of conflict management and resolution as employed by the state, it has incorporated the ideas of the critical theories and the Third or Fourth World or the Indigenous perspectives.

It has been widely accepted that the Indo-Naga conflict is political in nature which needs political mechanism to transform it. The chapter categorized the conflict as what Rothman called "identity-based conflict" or what we may call 'inter-nations conflict' or 'inter-nations contestation'. It is found out that such conflict could not be merely termed as internal crisis or domestic violence in nature. Instead, it has been pointed out that external context of the conflict should not be neglected if the parties are serious to transform the problem.

The thesis made use of the Conflict Transformation Theory as a more appropriate and distinctive approach because of the nature of the conflict itself, the parties involved and the context of the conflict. The conflict transformation theory is being used in this thesis due to simple fact that the conflict management theory and conflict resolution theory are almost outdated in their methods and formulae. They belong to the old traditional methods applied mainly in the inter-states conflict which is confined mainly on the resource-based interest. The management theory is giving special emphasis on the management or containment of the conflict without going into the root causes of the problem. Whereas the conflict resolution theory gives special focus on resolving the conflict for once and all which hardly happens as the conflict usually recur due to various factors and reasons. In this sense, conflict transformation theory is more viable and appropriate especially when we deal with deep seated or protracted conflict.

In short, most of the theories on conflict and their way out hardly match the kind of the people's struggle for the right to self-determination or independence or sovereignty. This shortcoming of the theories has prompted us to suggest that more research works and deeper theorizing needs to be done by various theorists, scholars, experts and academicians especially in the context of conflicts related to identity issue, nationality question of peoples, territoriality, human rights, psycho-cultural aspects and self determination struggles of various nations in the world. The differences during the peace process also show up the vagueness in conceptualisation.
of international relations around states as units, on the one hand and the issue of Self-
determination or independence on the other hand.

The First Chapter is presenting a workable model by mixing or by combination of
various strands of theories and models, which can be called as “Workable-transformative-
roadmap” or (WTR) as a roadmap is a stepping stone for amicable conclusion of the peace
process and the conflict itself. This “Workable-transformative-roadmap” is like a bridge
connecting two mountain ranges or systems unlike adversarial severing of mutual relationship
between two entities, in particular between the Nagas and the Government of India. The roadmap
is being suggested after taking into special consideration of the unconditional political dialogue
which is underway between the Government of India and the National Socialist Council of
Nagalim (NSCN).

The Workable-transformative-roadmap is a combination of models and theories such as,
Rothman’s ARIA model, John Paul Lederach’s Transformative Practice’s Model, Hugh Miall’s
From a Theory of Conflict to a Theory of Conflict-in-Context, Azar’s Protracted Social Conflicts
Theory, Kevin Clements’ Approaches to Conflict Transformation Model, Martin J. Dent’s
Sovereign Land Model, Johan Galtung’s Non-violence Conflict Transformative Model, Critical
Social Theorists’ Model, Indigenous Perspective Model, Suša’s Proposal, “Crown Colony” or
“Trust Territory”\(^1\), NSCN’s “Special Federal Relationship” Model etc, as we noted earlier.

The Workable-transformative-roadmap is being suggested as a mechanism which is
capable of meeting the fundamental needs of human beings in its intrinsic values, such as
identity, distinctive nationality, human rights, dignity, security, existential survival, Psycho-
cultural dynamics, equality, liberty, positive peace etc. as propounded by the aforementioned
thinkers-and experts. The WTR aims at a solution in which both desires and aspirations of (the
Government of India and the Nagas) have found a place through integrative approach, such that
neither side has to sacrifice anything.

\(^1\) This Model was suggested in the 1940s and now it will be difficult to use as a model because of the changed
international political scenario.
The rest of the chapters deal with the entire body of information, data, history, arguments and process in that light.

The thesis in its Second Chapter has discussed about politico-geographical and territorial restructuring and restoring the contiguity of the Naga areas in the North East as an essential part of the Workable-transformative-roadmap. To substantiate the genuineness of aspiring for territorial integrity of the Naga people, the chapter has brought out historical sources to evidentialise the exact territorial location and the people settling in those areas. Though the Naga areas include those areas in Burma, for the purpose of this thesis, the chapter has given its focus only on the Naga territorial integration in the North East of India. Naga areas in the North East include Naga areas in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland states. There are more than 67 Naga tribes living in both India and Burma. It is very interesting for researchers to learn how the contiguous Naga ancestral domain has been divided across international and regional boundaries by the then British colonial policy of Divide and Rule.

It has been pointed out how the colonial power divided the native territory to perpetuate the colonial rule and policy. The post-colonial states are no better than the colonial powers in handling the territorial question and the peoples living in those lands. It is found out that all these territorial division and carving out of various states have been done purely for administrative convenient without much historical and cultural basis and grounds. The chapter has clearly pointed out that because of this old traditional methods of handling of the conflict impregnated with divide and rule policy by the post colonial states against the peoples in the peripheries, the resistance against the states have become stronger, while at the same time the struggling peoples especially the Nagas gained tremendous mass support in mobilizing for unification of their territory. As such, the Naga people launched a movement for the integration of Naga areas and people in the late 1940s.

After thorough and in-depth critical analysis of the territorial disintegration, it is learnt that without integrating the Naga areas in the North East any sort of solution will be a futile exercise and that such a solution will have less political meaning and content. The simple reason
behind this analysis is that there has been no lasting peace until today even after the creation of Nagaland state in 1963, against the wishes of the Naga people. Because the creation of Nagaland state as a model of conflict management was not comprehensive, and it was exclusive in nature. The birth of Nagaland state was like a kind of giving birth of a child without full nine months period of inception. Politically speaking, it was not the aspiration of the people to have such an abnormal child. The state contradicts the people's aspiration for self determination and complete unification. This is the main reason for out rightly rejecting the state package by the leaders in particular and the Naga people in general.

The Nagas are still stating their point in clear manner that integration of Naga areas is a must as they know the best for themselves that a family shall not be divided by the states' artificial boundaries. Instead, they shall reunite among themselves and live together in a single politico-geographical system. As it is well known a fact that the land and the people cannot be separated like the people and the politics cannot be kept separated from each other. The Naga people have a close and strong attachment with the land and at the same time the land gives them the meaning of their existence and identity. The land the Nagas occupy is their social, economic, cultural and political ethos which has been handed down from generation to generation.

Thus, all the three- the people, the land and the politics should coalesce in this social system. Therefore, the negotiating parties, it is being pointed out is that, should incorporate integration of Naga areas as a quintessential part of the political solution that is being sought. The negotiating parties have to cross the hurdles put up by some opposing states in the interest of transforming the conflict. The Workable-transformative-roadmap as a framework or model envisaged in the thesis will see the light of the day once the parties agreed to restructure and restore the contiguity of the Naga areas in the North East. What is to be done by both the parties is to take a concrete policy decision on the given issue. A seed of peace that has been sown should turn into a good tree which bears much fruits for the benefit of both the parties.

The Third Chapter has deliberated and discussed at length about the Indian state's constitutional provisions and their implications for the Naga people. This chapter also discusses and highlights such constitutional provisions and the corresponding implications in some of the
North-Eastern states. Constituent Assembly Sub-Committee's recommendations vis-à-vis the Nagas have also been briefly highlighted for vantage point of reference and perusal. The major constitutional provisions to the people of the North East includes such as, Article 371A in Nagaland state, Article 371C for hill peoples in Manipur, Autonomous District Councils in the states of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Tripura.

Three states Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya including the Hill Areas of Manipur are not covered by the purview of the 73rd Amendment. The Indian Constitution also made various special provisions for the protection of the interest of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SCs/STs). Some of the important measures are Articles 15(4) and 16(4), which provided for reservation for employment. Besides, there are temporary provisions for special representation of and reservation of seats for SCs and STs in the legislature [Art. 330, 332, 334].

The overall observation one could make out about the success or otherwise of all these constitutional provisions can be comparatively assessed between the Nagas and the other North East people. In the case of the Nagas, these constitutional provisions could not fulfill their aspirations and dreams whereas these constitutional provisions have found a place among the Mizos and other communities in the North east.

Some people may say that the most effective and successful achievement under the Constitution of India for the Nagas as a whole are Articles 15(4) and 16(4), 330 and 332. It is in fact true that many have benefited because of reservation in Services, educational institutions, Parliament and Legislative Assemblies. However, Lima Imchen is of the view that all these provisions have been made in contravention to the Hydari Agreement of 1947 and this provision was imposed against the Nagas wishes. To this we may add that aspiration of the Naga people is going much beyond these constitutional provisions. There is a mismatch

---


between these constitutional provisions and the nature of the Nagas' aspiration for their political identity in the comity of nations.

Besides, some people may say that a good solution has been brought through the creation of Nagaland state. On the contrary, Nagaland state as a good solution is a false propaganda by some few politicians and bureaucrats who were and are part of engineering the creation of the state. Indeed, creation of Nagaland state has perpetuated and aggravated the division of the Naga society. It has not only divided the Nagas on their polity, economy, and boundaries but has also brought inequality in the same Naga family of their identity. The Indian laws treat the Nagas of Nagaland state and the Nagas of Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh differently. The fact of the matter is, Article 371A of the Indian Constitution accommodated only 16 Naga tribes in creating the Nagaland state while 24 Naga tribes in Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur have been excluded from their family and made to live as a minority in these three states which is a deliberate divisive policy of the Indian government. It could be clearly observed that the law itself has become an instrument of creating inequality and division among the same people. To this we may add that the only Indian law that is applied equally to all the Nagas irrespective of boundaries and states is none other than the application of Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 and other draconian laws.

The inequality of laws for the same people has led to a kind of situation or unprecedented differential lifestyle. The Nagas of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur have been pushed to the peripheries. There are discrimination, exploitation, repression and oppression against the Nagas in these states in almost all the fields. Domination by the majority communities in every field such as, educational institutions, employment, media, state apparatuses etc. Culture, customs and practices of the Nagas in these peripheries have hardly been promoted and encouraged by the host-states. Instead, cultures, customs and practices of the majority communities have only been promoted and encouraged. The above statement does not mean to say that Nagas are demanding proper constitutional treatment to them. What has been said is that even in the present system where Nagas are in, they find it difficult to enjoy the rights provided in the Constitution. It means that their rights even in the present set up are being controlled and manipulated by the majority communities in all these three states, namely, Manipur, Assam and
Arunachal Pradesh. What is needed is the self-rule of the Nagas without interference from outsiders. This system of self rule can be effectuated as and when the aspiration of the Nagas to live together in one politico-administrative set up is politically acceptable both by the Government of India and the Nagas.

In this chapter, mentioned has been made of the political tensions in the states of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. However, special emphasis has been given to the states of Manipur and Nagaland where large population of Nagas is concentrated. The Indian constitutional provisions are differently applied to the Nagas of Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh from the state of Nagaland as we have mentioned earlier. This is due to the simple fact that the contiguous Naga areas comes under four North Eastern states where laws and rules are made by the dominant communities according to their will and interests. As such, the minority Nagas in terms of population have become the victims of the state systems. The important point to bring home from this chapter is that constitutional provisions as model for transforming the conflict has failed to ameliorate the conflict itself for which new models or mechanisms are needed as a new way taking into consideration the political nature of the conflict. Workable-transformative-roadmap could be an alternative mechanism to the present setting.

The Fourth Chapter deals with the emergence of the concept and philosophy of human rights from the antecedents in their historical context through the “middle ages” to the “classical liberalism” and “classical conservatism” and to the “group-oriented” human rights philosophy. Moreover, the chapter is discussing India and International Covenants on human rights. In contextualizing the human rights discourse to the Nagas situation, the chapter has brought out how the draconian laws in India and Burma have serious implications and violations on the human rights of the Nagas. We have tried to take the cue from Galtung's analysis on violence through direct violence, indirect or structural violence and cultural violence. In addition to these three forms of Galtung's analysis of violence, psychological violence has been included as part of violence perpetrated by the Indian and Burmese states against the Nagas.
It has been pointed out that all these forms of violence have not only gravely violated the Indian Constitution but have also seriously violated the International Human Rights Laws and Conventions. These human rights violations by the security forces in India and Burma have not helped in creating an environment for a positive peace in the context of the ongoing peace process between Indian Government and the Nagas. It has been shown that having just a ceasefire without bringing a political solution is only an indication of negative peace for which both the negotiating parties should be able to go beyond the negative peace to achieve a positive peace.

The chapter has made case studies of the human rights violations by the Indian security forces in the Naga areas. It has been amply cleared that those draconian laws such as Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 has not only violated the fundamental human rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution but also the various International human rights laws and conventions. The AFSPA empowered the security personnel the right to shoot to kill any person on mere suspicion. This particular Act and other draconian laws in India are responsible for raping, arson, torture, looting and the killing of more 2,50,000 Nagas (Naga civilians and Naga Army) in the past 60 years like the human rights situation in Indonesia, Palestinian, Kashmir, North East Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, Kosovo, Kurdish etc. For example, as mentioned in the foregoing pages, according to the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR in its Portuguese acronym), which took testimony from 7,000 witnesses and delivered its report in October 2005, some 1,02,800 Timorese lost their lives as a result. As was said of another great 20th century tragedy, in some cases "the lucky were those who died."

East Timorese women were especially singled out. According to the report, "members of the Indonesian security forces openly engaged in rape, sexual torture, sexual slavery and other forms of sexual violence." "Leading them to keeping lists of local women who could be routinely forced to come to the military post... so that soldiers could rape them." This was used as means of terror, to break the will of the East Timorese. The massive human rights violations committed in the last quarter of the past century have been approached in various ways, but the culprits have gone largely scot-free. Such human rights violations are being committed

---

4 The Hindu, Tuesday, March 13, 2008, p. 11
everywhere in the conflict zones across the international locations. The Nagas were and is still facing such blatant human rights violations without justice being done in favour of the victims.

As has mentioned in the chapter, the Supreme Court has upheld the AFSPA in 1997 in the case between Naga People’s Movement for Human Rights vs Union of India. Such laws hardly match the spirit of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."5

The chapter has strongly suggested for repeal of those draconian laws like AFSPA because they are not only contradictory to the above United Nations Declaration of Human Rights but has also become an instrument of exclusivity as these laws are only applied in the North East and Kashmir. This AFSPA does not apply in other Indian states. In deed, this law in itself reflects the inequality of dignity and rights conferred upon the peoples in India. It has been rightly pointed out that without repealing the draconian laws, positive peace and justice will have no place and the democratic credential of the country will be in serious doubt among the people. The chapter does not even encourage replacing of AFSPA with the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967. This is to emphasise that such laws should have no space in a democratic country like India in the interests of the people to live peacefully and humanely. The No War condition needs to be created by both sides, we note.

In short, the struggle of the peoples for their dignity, justice, liberty and fairness are part of the human rights which should not be demolished and buried. In essence, there is a growing need for various organisations, groups, individuals not only to strengthen the human rights discourse and values but also there is a need for expanding the scope of human rights concept and definitions. It is high time that people's human rights need rejuvenating and revitalization by all nations enforceable in the United Nations and other International bodies. The struggle for human rights should progress and achieve its targets. For, there is no justice in denying human rights to a person (s) or groups.

---

The **Fifth Chapter** has dealt in length about the ongoing peace process between the Government of India and the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN). The chapter is a critical analysis of the past peace processes as well as the present one. It not only brings out the problems and hurdles to the parties in negotiations. The agreements, accords and settlements reached in the past which have been failed to a large extent have always been a lesson for the new researchers. The chapter emphasise that if the parties have to get transform the conflict then, methods other than the past needs to be adopted. It is pointed out that if the parties are clinging on to the traditional methods of management and containment, then durable peace is hard to come by in inter-nations conflict like the one we are dealing with. The immediate question one is reminded as to why these ten long years of Ceasefire has not brought about any positive political solution? The answer to the above question can be answered if we thoroughly go through the processes and events that have taken place in the past 10 years of negotiations.

The past experiences with the agreements, peace process and accord are sufficient examples to show that traditional methods of conflict management and resolution have not worked vis-à-vis the Nagas. Indeed, the parties have not even tried the model of conflict resolution. What was mainly used to solve the Indo-Naga political issue was the most traditional method of conflict management models such as Agreements and Accord with certain sections of the Naga society. These agreements and accord were not supported by the Naga people as a whole. Moreover, some of those agreements were not sincerely implemented by the parties especially the Indian Government. The 9-Point Agreement of 1947 was not seriously taken up and considered by the Government of the days. The Sixteen-Point Agreement of 1960 was not reached with the Naga nationalist leaders and the people at large. The Agreement was reached with the Nagas who were mainly government servants and politicians ideologically inclined towards Indian political system and policy. As such, Naga nationalists outrightly rejected the creation of Nagaland state within India.

Moreover, the kind of thinking that creation of Nagaland state for certain sections of the Nagas will end the conflict proves wrong as the nationalists’ struggle did not wane even today. Instead, nationalists’ struggle becomes more dynamic and stronger by the ensuing years. The creation of Nagaland state has been an instrument of division and exclusivism. The conflict
managers through divide and exclusivist policy have tried their best to manage it but it does not hold much water by the end of the day. Even the Shillong Accord of 1975 which was signed under duress was another tactics of conflict management employed by the Indian state.

However, the Naga people rejected it and the struggle for the right to self determination become much more vibrant and creative. The Naga people go beyond their territory once again to reach out to the international community for support and intervention. The Naga people were successful in many occasions. The NSCN became a member of Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO) in 1993. Through this forum, the Naga leaders have aired their voice for the rights of the Nagas, and the human rights violation committed by the Indian and Burmese security forces against the Nagas.

It can be rightly observed from this chapter that the Government of India has been and is still trying its best to use the traditional method of conflict management even in the ongoing peace process. The Indian political leaderships have been airing the view that a solution can be found within the provision of the Indian Constitution. This means the Government of India would like to manage the conflict through constitutional means by transforming certain constitutional structures and improving the constitutional special provisions. Automatically, it means granting constitutional autonomy to the Nagas. However, it is not clear on the part of India whether this constitutional autonomy is to be given by integrating all Naga areas in the North East. However, the Naga leaders have rejected a solution within the Indian Constitution or the Union of India. We can see clearly two positions from the above discussion. Both the parties needs to be reminded that the failures in the past many occasions were due to mistakes of the past leaders who could not seek a solution beyond the four corners of the Constitution. The present leaderships could learn a lesson from the past and seek solution that could meet both the parties’ interests and aspirations.

However, instead of searching for such transformation, the Indian state is consciously shilly-shallying the peace process for its national security interest and development aspect of the people. For the sake of Indian national security interest, the Indian state is using the peace process as another way of the so called counter-insurgency. During this peace process, more than
100 Naga nationalists have been killed by the Indian security forces deployed in Nagaland state and in Naga areas outside Nagaland state. The ceasefire is going on while at the same time Armed forces are freely roaming and killing the Naga people in the pretext of this or that reason. This shows a clear lack of sincerity and seriousness on the part of Indian Government towards a more peaceful relationship. It is claimed that the Indian Government is also clandestinely armed other rival groups to fight against the NSCN. It also shows up the weakness of the rival groups that leads to the split of NSCN.

We have seen internal fighting on some occasions during this ceasefire among the Naga groups. In a way it is another way of divide and rule policy to weaken the position of the opponent in negotiations. Undoubtedly, this is a tactful way of delaying the peace process because every time when such incident happened in Naga areas, such problem will be taken up in the next round of talks, which means eating away the precious time of political talks. This has been happening on many occasions since the talk started in 1997. The chapter has pointed out that the infighting among the Nagas as one of the weaknesses of the Naga people as a whole. This infighting needs to be overcome peaceably through understanding and forgiveness. The chapter is not only critical of the way the Indian Government is maneuvering with the other rival groups but also critical of the way some Naga politicians and individuals have been trying to put stumbling blocks through some sinister designs to the peace process.

The chapter has pointed out that the Naga civil societies and some international civil society including some Indian civil societies have played a positive role since the beginning of the peace process. Some of the important civil societies which have played important role for the sustenance of the peace process includes Naga Hoho, Naga students’ Federation, Naga People’s Movement for Human Rights, Naga Women Association, United Naga Council, Manipur, All Naga Students’ Association, Manipur, Naga Women’s Union, Manipur and Naga Students’ Union, Delhi, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO), Kreddha etc. Some individuals such as Michael C. van Walt van Praag, Yash Ghai and Anthony Reagan have been lending their support in this peace process. In fact, Mr. Praag, a former General Secretary of UNPO, has been mediating unofficially in the Indo-Naga peace process since 2001 and visited Nagaland in 2002 and 2004.
The chapter has also highlighted the internationalizing policy of the NSCN by reaching out to various international civil societies and forming of its own support groups in different countries. Naga-American Council was formed in 2003 while Naga Support Group (UK) was formed in 2006 after becoming member of the Parliamentarian for National Self-Determination (PNSD) in the same year. The NSCN has also attended the meeting of UNPO and it has also visited Papua New Guinea to study their peace process.

In the final analysis, we have pointed out that the Indo-Naga conflict is not an insurgency movement or law and order problem or internal disturbance like some used to categorize in the past. It is a political issue in nature and content in the paradigm of 'war'. The WTR aims at taking it back from that point. The second peace process is an example of it. The chapter has categorically stated that different mechanisms need to be employed for different conflicts. Accordingly, the conflict between India and the Nagas which is political in nature needs political mechanism. Thus, it is suggested that to transform such a conflict the parties should apply a mechanism which match the political conflicting point unlike the past. It is argued that such political conflict needs to be transformed through political means and suggested that WTR is one of such mechanisms which is people-oriented in nature and democratic in content. It is a means to do the transformation. It may or may not succeed.

In the peacebuilding process, cooperation and consultative efforts of parties is very essential and necessary. The international community may help the parties in diplomacy. Nevertheless, even after ten years of political negotiations, a solution has not been achieved. It will not be a mistake to point out that the Government of India is not fully committed to bringing a solution if one has to go by the way it has been handling the peace process. Sincerity and honesty is yet to be seen from the Government of India. Political will is earnestly needed if a political solution has to be found in the near future. The parties in negotiations should not be clinging on to the old ideas and mechanisms. It will be politically correct to find new measures and formulas. Let there be peace with justice and freedom for all. Yet, informal third party participation is noticeable. The sides have not yet agreed to the demands of the official third party participation from within and outside India.
Concluding Remark

In conclusion, it can be said that the Indo-Naga politico-military conflict has taken a new meaning and shape with the peace process and political engagements. We are yet to see a concrete outcome of the long ten years of political talks. Leaving aside that for sometime, it may not be out of place to reflect back the research questions we have put up for the thesis. It is interesting to note that the thesis has drawn an attention not only to the conflictants but has also called upon the academicians, scholars, intellectuals, various civil societies, policy-makers and practitioners to engage in deeper theorizing and research about various types of conflicts.

The present endeavour has found a lot of lacuna in the existing theories and concepts with regard to the way various types of conflicts are categorized and defined. Most of the scholars and experts writing on various types of conflicts simply could not go beyond the parameter of nation-states. Their analyses and tools for conflicts and conflict transformation confines within the state system of a country. This is the reason why different types of conflicts are categorized and defined as internal conflicts or domestic crises or law and order problems or secessionist movements or insurgency movements etc. As such their mechanisms for conflict transformation ends up with suggesting or formulating for internal self determination or constitutional autonomy with a particular country or nation-state.

The roadmap is meant to apply only between the Government of India and the Nagas in the North East due to the simple fact that the political dialogue that is taking place is only on the Indian side. This does not mean that the Nagas in Burma are not part of the Nagas struggle and identity. This is the basic reason why we call it transformative in the sense that even if there may be certain agreement reach between Indian Government and the NSCN, the conflict on the other side need to be still transformed, peacebuilding is necessary, and overhauling of the whole political situation will have to be done.

In order to end completely of the conflict between Indian and Burmese Governments and the Nagas, the Burmese Government and the Nagas in Burma need to start political dialogue through peaceful means. It is important to note that the conflictants recognize each other as
potential parties for bringing peaceful and friendly relationship in the future by engaging themselves in dialogues. Interactive dialogue as suggested by Rothman will be very useful to both the parties. In the case of Indian Government and the NSCN, the parties started the political engagement in a very slow and steady manner. Actual formal political negotiations started much after the ceasefire was signed in 1997.

The Government of India had sent a lot of feelers to meet the Naga leaders to persuade for peaceful political talks. The ceasefire could be effective only after the Government of India realized and recognized the conflict as political issue in nature. This recognition of the conflict as a political issue has been a good starting point for the Nagas to engage with the Government of India. There has been series of interactive dialogue similar to the suggestion of Rothman between the Indian leadership and the Naga leadership at different countries. After series of interactions, both the parties developed certain trust and confidence that the conflict could be transformed through sincere efforts and thoughts. With that trust and confidence, the Nagas have been politically committed to transforming the conflict until today.

Nevertheless, there has been no positive outcome of the peace process until now. What causes the peace process to remain stagnant or slow progress even after more than 10 years of talks? There could be many factors hindering the peace process. The UPA-led Government is finding difficulty in smooth sailing of the coalition government. The Government is pulled in different directions by different constituent parties having different political ideologies. The other problem is the Indian Government has not got rid of the earlier models, that is, Constitutional mechanism, counter-insurgency and economic developmental mechanism. These models have been the mainstay of the Government policy-makers until today.

The Government of India has been maintaining that any solution has to be sought within the four walls of the Indian Constitution. The Government officials dealing with the peace process are not amenable to ideas which are out of the constitutional framework. This is basically due to the way they have been trained and instructed by the system. Instead, they propagated an idea of an economic development because in their opinions, the problem arises due to economic backwardness of the place and region. This proposition is purely a resource-based model which
is nothing but an outdated mechanism especially when one deals with inter-nations conflict or identity-based conflict. Such economic developmental proposition has been heightened after the deepening process of globalization, liberalization and privatization in the Indian economic system.

However, such economic neo-liberalism has in fact widened the gap between the rich and the poor. The rich has become richer day after day while the poor has become poorer day after day. With this economic perspective in line, several developmental projects such as dams, hyder-power stations etc. have been initiated in the North East and the rest of the country. The problems of such projects involved huge displacement of population especially the hill peoples and the consequent negative fall out in the future. In India, Narmada Bachao Andolan has been protesting against the displacement of the inhabitants of those areas for a long time. In the North East, several such dam projects in Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland, Assam etc. are in the pipeline. Once such projects get implemented, it’s a foregone conclusion that huge tribal populations will be displaced and the consequent violations of land rights of the tribal peoples.

There are lots of hydro-power stations in the North East, but the inhabitants do not become the beneficiaries of the power generation. The reason is that most of the states sold out the power to other states for revenue. The final beneficiary is the Government and not the peoples who are affected by such developmental projects and programmes. These constitutional and developmental models are always complimented by the so called counter-insurgency tactics. The Governments in different countries use this kind of policy to suppress the peoples’ resistance. In the case of the Naga situation, the same tactics is being employed even during this ceasefire by the Government of India. There is a certain amount of truth when we say that the Government is following double-standard policy in the time of peace process. One of the main strategic policies of the Government could be to try its best to defeat the people’s movements through prolonged peace talks without spelling out any concrete step and formula. This is exactly what is happening with the Government of India vis-à-vis the Nagas during this peace process. We can conclude by saying that the issue is not a law and order problem or insurgency or secessionist movements. But, it is a political issue. After proper understanding of the issue confronting the Government of India and the Nagas, the Peace Mission arrived at a conclusion
that the Naga movement cannot be regarded as 'rebellion or secession'; 6 because the Nagas struggle was certainly a struggle for national freedom, for the Naga leaders.

Even the Naga nationalists have always been quite vocal enough in stating that Naga cause is neither a question of 'separation or secession' from India. Separation or secession in their view comes only when there is a union. Nagaland neither was nor is a part of India and as such, Naga independence to them is neither a question of separation or secession from India. 7 The WTR is an attempt to look at the issue and transform the conflict through political means. The transformation has begun with the ceasefire. A lot still needs to be done in order to arrive at agreement and consensus. Greater sincerity and political will are required from both parties to arrive at the agreement and consensus.

Politically speaking, a future with Peace with Justice and Truth is possible. In the peacebuilding process, cooperation and consultative efforts of parties is very essential and necessary. Peacebuilding is a complex web of processes- a web that incorporates different roles, strategies and interventions employed by different people at different stages of conflict development. It includes a whole range of processes from crisis management (humanitarian assistance and ceasefire negotiations) to the more long-term efforts of conciliation, transformative mediation, relationship building, peace education, non-violence training, and restorative processes for justice and reconciliation.
