PREFACE

The thesis entitled "State Model of Conflict Transformation: Critique from the Nagas Perspective" is a theoretical and critical analysis of the Indo-Naga Political Conflict and the methods and models employed to manage the same since the military conflict started in the 1950s.

Though, the final decades of the twentieth century saw the collapse of communism, the end of Cold War, the emergence of global economy, a technological revolution in production and communications etc., the Nationality-based conflicts or Identity-based conflicts across the globe refuse to wane even in the 21st century. Indeed, we appear to be living in a kind of 'post-world'; ideas such as postmodernism, postmaterialism, post-Fordism, postindustrialism vie with one another to demonstrate how much and which bits of the familiar world have now disappeared. Though, the pace of change may have increased and many conflicts at different conflict zones may have resolved or transformed, it is a matter of fact that many more conflicts in the world are yet to be transformed or resolved. The case in point in particular is the Indo-Naga Conflict. The conflict is yet to transform even after ten years of political negotiations between the Government of India and the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN).

Identity and Conflict are passionate forces indeed. They are two of the most engaging features of human life. When they are combined, the result is a combustible mixture that can either destroy or create, depending upon whether and how the mixture is handled. Identity-based conflict or Nationality-based conflict has the potential to lead to war and destruction; it also has the potential to generate great creativity and positive transformation. In this thesis we have suggested how such conflict may be guided towards its creative potential.

One of the reasons Nationality-based conflict is so engaging is that it is so dear and awe-inspiring. It comes from the minds and hearts of the people. Our emotions,
sentiments and bodies are on the line. Deep conflict requires a tremendous exertion of psychological and physical energy. So many commentators have talked about the conflicts and telling the people to wage peace. But they did not tell us concretely how to do so. It's about between art of war and violence and art of peace and cooperation to address the deep conflict. Shooting and killing the adversaries may be initially satisfying exercise in the deep conflict. But finding ways to foster imperative cause, to think together and solve problems for mutual benefit, to make peace pay - all take painstaking and heroic effort. A constructive cycle of cooperation may be powerful and certainly more creative, than the unfortunately more common cycle of violence. The hero of such situation of conflict would be obviously the one who changes an enemy into an ally.

However, transforming the identity-based conflict is not about being nice or making pleasantries with an adversary. Nor is it about forging feelings of fellowship or necessarily enhancing trust. Transforming conflict is about finding that even the bitterest of adversaries could work together to find a way out to achieve the human fundamental needs and aspirations. Identity-based conflict is about who we really are and what we care about most deeply. Such conflict may be creatively transformed when adversaries come to learn, ironically perhaps, that they may fulfill their deepest aspirations and desires only with the cooperation of those who most vigorously oppose them. Through in-depth encounters, even the angriest of enemies may come to learn that just as their needs for expression and fulfillment of identity, human rights, safety, dignity, justice and meaning are like a thirst that must be quenched, the other side’s identity needs and aspirations are equally compelling.

When we push forward and engage identity conflict in nations music can result. In the process of engagements, our identities, which may be threatened or frustrated by such conflicts, may be refined like gold in a melting furnace. The dross falls away and burns up as the precious core remains. War is more prevalent than peace, and violent conflict is more common than cooperation, but the battle for peace is on.
The thesis is a case study of Identity-based conflict or Nationality-based conflict—Indo-Naga Political Conflict. Several attempts have been made to manage and resolve the conflict but the conflict is still persisting and continuing without transformation. Something might have gone wrong with the way parties handled the conflict. Therefore, the thesis is a critical analysis and examination of the past methods and models of conflict management and conflict resolution employed by the states in the international community in general and the Indian state in particular. While doing this the thesis is being critical of those Agreements, Accords etc. reached in the past between the Government of India and the Nagas.

Definitions of Identity-based conflict and Nationality-based conflict

Many conflicts contain elements that are relatively obvious, observable, and tangible. A landlord and tenant struggle over value, that is, the tenant wants more services, for which the landlord wants more rent. Several nations compete for a single economic market. Interest-based disputes are usually concrete and clearly defined, and the outcomes each side seeks are bounded by the resources at stake: more or less land, wages and benefits, or military and economic power. However, many other conflicts are relatively intangible and deeply rooted in the more abstract and interpretative dynamics of history, psychology, culture, values, and beliefs of identity groups. The conflict between the Government of India and the Nagas is also rooted on issues of distinctiveness of their identity, history, psychology, culture, values and beliefs. Labour and management battle over issues of organisational survival and participation. Communities battle over issues of tradition and change. These are identity conflicts because they derive from existential and underlying psychological concerns that are perceived as threatened or frustrated as a result of, or resulting in, intransigent conflict.\(^1\) Ross’s suggestion that intransigent conflict results from a complex interplay between psychocultural dynamics and interpretations and substantive “interest” is relevant as far

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as identity-based conflict is differentiated from resource-based or interest-based conflicts.

These disputes are usually, at their source, very complex, relatively intangible, and often hard to define clearly. Rooted as they are in complex and multidimensional psychological, historical, and cultural factors, identity conflicts are marked by a difficulty in clear determination of their parameters and boundaries. In fact such conflicts are so intangible and hard to define because they arise from the depths of the human heart rather than the material world.²

Intractable conflicts within and between states often revolve around issues of identity and threats to identity in the form of enemy images and ethnic security dilemmas.³ Identity theory traces its roots to the writings of George Herbert Mead (especially 1934) which present a framework underwriting the analyses of numerous sociological and social psychological issues. In highly simplified form, Mead’s framework asserted a formula: “Society shapes self social behaviour.”⁴

Individuals and groups have a social psychological “need to belong,” and they express this need through their social identities (or categories such as ethnic group, nationality, or political identification.⁵ According to Tajfel’s social identity theory⁶, individuals and groups have social identities that enhance their self esteem and cohesiveness through the comparison of their own group with the out-group.⁷ These

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social identities are descriptive (what the attributes of the group's members are). Prescriptive (how the members should behave and think), and evaluative (how the group compares to other groups). As Ted Hopf noted, identities have three functions: tell you who you are, tell others who you are, and tell you who others are. The function of telling you who you are-your identity-indicates interests or preferences. In building on social identity theory, Marilyn Brewer's theory of "optimal distinctiveness" further explains the process of social identification. Individuals have two important yet opposing needs: (1) the need for assimilation and inclusion (need to belong leads individuals to become members of groups), and (2) the need for differentiation from others (acting in opposition to the need for assimilation in a group). These opposing individual needs are assuaged through membership in a social identity group (need for inclusion and belonging) that distinguishes itself from other groups (need for differentiation from outgroups). In the case of nationalist groups, individuals' need for inclusion leads to socialization into perceiving themselves as belonging to a particular nationalist group, in contrast (differentiation) to another group or nationality. For example, the Israelis and the Palestinians.

Social identity theory further posits that the need for a positive ingroup evaluation and perception can lead to comparisons with the outgroup as negative. This ingroup favoritism can lead to conflictual relations with other groups, particularly if there is a perception of threat to group identity. From the perception of threat to one's group identity, enemy images of the other group emerge, based on exaggerated differences, historical antagonisms, past experience, and collective memories. As long as the ingroup views the outgroup in negative terms (enemy image) and perceives a threat to its own identity, a lack of trust between the groups is likely. Mistrust reinforces the negative

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perceptions each group has of the other, especially hostile intentions, and thus each
group may be inclined to threaten the other, leading to counterthreats and a spiral of
escalation of the conflict. The cycle of mistrust and perception of hostile intentions
results in the security dilemma, a concept found in the international relations literature.

The security dilemma can also apply to ethnic and nationalist groups. When one
group threatens another, the competition fuels the mutual mistrust that further aggravates
the tense relationship. Rather than backing down in the face of threats, the other group
may react with counterthreats, thereby leading to a spiral of conflict. Trying to overcome
the security dilemma is crucial to resolving conflicts, including nationalist and ethnic
ones. The need to reduce the security dilemma involves establishing trust, credible
commitments, and a changed image of the enemy. If groups maintain mistrust resulting
from the security dilemma, they are unlikely to be able to reach agreement in order to
resolve their differences. Alternatively, mutual trust enables groups and states to
negotiate agreements and increase cooperation. To demonstrate trust, groups (and
individuals) can make costly concessions. According to Deborah Larson, costly
concessions are those that have an effect "on a state's [or group's] bargaining reputation,
image, or tactical advantage" and are believed to be irrevocable, such as formal
recognition.

What, then, connects social identity, changing enemy images, and reducing the
security dilemma so as to resolve such conflicts? A key to solving the puzzle is the
agreement among many scholars that identities are socially constructed: Through social
interactions, the values and beliefs that define one's identity are shaped and molded (i.e.,
constructed). In the case of national identities, leaders can mobilize people by
appealing to the primordial attachment that individuals have toward their nation, thereby

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13 R. J. Fisher, 1990, p. 159
14 R. Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics: Princeton University Press, Princeton,
NJ, 1976 cited in Kristan P. Williams and Neal G. Jesse, Ibid. p. 574
15 B. F. Walter, and J. Snyder, (eds.) (Civil wars, Insecurity, and Intervention. Columbia University Press,
New York, 1999, Ibid. 574
16 D. W. Larson, Trust and Missed Opportunities in International Relations. Political Psychology, No. 18,
1997, pp. 701-734, Ibid. 574
socially constructing national identity. Symbols of the nation, such as parades, holidays, flags, national anthems, and ties to the family and community (e.g., "the sons of the soils" and "defending the homeland"), are means by which leaders can promote national identity and nationalism. In turn, appeals to national identity and nationalism can explain why individuals are willing to engage in conflict with others. Additionally, when leaders are successful in appealing to nationalism and national identity, other identities are attenuated.

In summary, the academic consensus about the common Naga identity is that the 'Nagas' are "a conglomeration of a number of distinct tribes belonging to the Mongoloid racial group that share a set of physical and cultural traits." The Nagas live mostly in hilly mountains, pierced lobes, have strong attachment to land, village based polity and tradition and practiced traditional animism in the past. They belong to the Tibetan-Chinese family of language (Grierson). The Nagas are bound together by common language rather than a particular dialect. The search for the paradigm of the proper term of the Nagas in the present context encompasses larger distinct meaning. Until the British established some form of control over the Naga Hill area in early 1900s, almost nothing was known about the Naga people. W.C. Smith, a British anthropologist provided a common characteristic of the Nagas which includes head-hunting, village dormitories for unmarried men called Morung, sexual promiscuity and the slash-and-burn method of agriculture or jhum. It is debatable that these characteristics (of Smith) ever actually defined the Naga identity, it is certain that they do not apply in the modern context. In the modern era, the characteristic of the Naga identity is defined in the context of common traditions, customs, practices, attitudes, homogeneous religion (Christianity), nationalism and a common political aspiration for Naga homeland. The

19 P. C. Stern, 1995, Ibid. p 575
22 Ibid, JP. Mills.
modern Naga identity is greatly strengthened by the political movement for independence. The independence movement of the Nagas has greatly increased the consciousness of the rights of their own existence. It not only creates political awareness of the people but has also helped other neighbouring communities to articulate their historical and political rights. There are around 67 Naga tribes both in India and Burma. In the context of the Nagas Movement for Sovereignty, it would be pertinent to discuss the definitions of nations and nationalism.

Nations and Nationalism

In the light of the Nagas political movement for independence and their search for political recognition is an inseparable part of Naga nationalism. It means, "even if we accept nationality as basically a cultural phenomena we must concede that in the modern world all nationalities perceive some national rights and view themselves as political groups." Likewise, the Nagas perceive themselves as a political group aspiring for political freedom. In this sense, we are dealing with a political question or political issue. Immense controversy surrounds the political character of nationalism. On the one hand, nationalism can appear to be a progressive and liberating force, offering the prospect of national unity or independence. On the other, it can be an irrational and reactionary creed that allows political leaders to conduct policies of military expansionism and war in the name of the nation. Indeed, nationalism shows every sign of suffering from the political equivalent of multiple-personality syndrome. At various times, nationalism has been progressive and reactionary, democratic and authoritarian, liberating and oppressive, and left-wing and right-wing.

For this reason, it is perhaps better to view nationalism not as a single or coherent political phenomena, but as a series of ‘nationalisms’: as a complex of traditions that share but one characteristic – each, in its own particular way, acknowledges the central

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political importance of the nation. 25 There are controversies about how the concept of a nation should be understood, and about whether cultural or political criteria are decisive in defining the nation. However, the character of nationalism is also moulded by circumstances in which nationalists aspirations arise, and by the political causes to which it is attached. Thus, when nationalism is a reaction against the experience of foreign domination or colonial rule, it tends to be a liberating force linked to the goals of liberty, justice and democracy. When nationalism is a product of social dislocation and demographic change, it often has an insular and exclusive character, and can become a vehicle for racism and xenophobia. Finally, nationalism is shaped by the political ideals of those who espouse it. In their different ways, liberals, conservatives, socialists, fascists and even communists have been attracted to nationalism (of the major ideologies, perhaps only anarchism is entirely at odds with nationalism). In this sense, nationalism is a cross-cutting ideology. 26

Many of the controversies surrounding the phenomena of nationalism can be traced back to rival views about what constitutes a nation. So widely accepted is the idea of the nation that its distinctive features are seldom examined or questioned; the nation is simply taken for granted. Nevertheless, confusion abounds. The term ‘nation’ tends to be used with little precision, and is often used interchangeably with terms such as state, country, ethnic group and race. 27 The United Nations, for instance, is clearly misnamed, as it is an organisation of states, not one of national populations. What, then, are the characteristic features of the nation? What distinguishes a nation from any other social group or other sources of collective identity?

The difficulty of defining the term ‘nation’ springs from the fact that all nations comprise a mixture of objective and subjective features, a blend of cultural and political characteristics. 28 In objective terms, nations are cultural entities: groups of people, who speak the same language, have the same religion, are bound by a shared past, and so on.

26 Ibid., p.111
27 Ibid., p. 106
28 Ibid., p. 106
Such factors undoubtedly shape the politics of nationalism. The nationalism of the Quebecois in Canada, for instance, is based largely on language differences between French-speaking Quebec and the predominantly English-speaking rest of Canada. Nevertheless, it is impossible to define a nation using objective factors alone. All nations encompass a measure of cultural, ethnic and racial diversity. The Swiss nation has proved to be enduring and viable despite the use of three major languages (French, German and Italian), as well as a variety of local dialects. Divisions between Catholics and Protestants that have given rise to rival nationalisms in Northern Ireland have been largely irrelevant in mainland UK, and of only marginal significance in countries such as Germany.

This emphasise the fact that, ultimately, nations can only be defined subjectively by their members. In the final analysis, the nation is a psycho-political construct. What sets a nation apart from any other group or collectivity is that its members regard themselves as a nation. What does this mean? A nation, in this sense, perceives itself to be a distinctive political community. This is what distinguishes a nation from an ethnic group. An ethnic group undoubtedly possesses a communal identity and a sense of cultural pride, but, unlike a nation, it lacks collective political aspirations. These aspirations have traditionally taken the form of the quest for, or the desire to maintain, political independence or statehood.

The quest for political independence has led many nations achieved their freedom from the colonial rules. Developing world states have encountered particular problems in their struggle to achieve a national identity. Such nations can be described as 'political' in two senses. First, in many cases, they have achieved statehood only after a struggle against colonial rule. Second, these nations have often been shaped by territorial boundaries inherited from their former colonial rulers. This has particularly been the case in Asia and Africa. African 'nations' often encompass a wide range of ethnic, religious and regional groups that are bound together by little more than a shared

29 Ibid., p. 106
30 Ibid., p. 106
colonial past. In contrast to the creation of classic European cultural nations, which sought statehood on the basis of a pre-existing national identity, an attempt has been made in Africa to build nations on the foundations of existing states.

However, the resulting mismatch of political and ethnic identities has bred recurrent tensions, as has been seen in Nigeria, Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi, for example. In the case of Asia, there were and are mismatch of political aspirations of different nationalities and communities. For example, the Nagas, Kashmiris, Meiteis, Assamese, East Timorese before independence, Tamilians etc. have not accepted and agreed to belonging to the identities as being Indians, Sri Lankans, Indonesians etc. And these conflicts are by no means simply manifestations of ancient ‘tribalism’. To a large extent they are a consequence of the divide-and-rule policies used in the colonial past, and the post-colonial states continued neglect and mishandling of the conflicts and problems.

The fate of so many nations and emerging nations were left neglected and undecided by the colonial powers in different continents particularly in Asian continent. The result of this is that various resistance movements sprang up in course of the movement of history as we are witnessing today. Though many of the conflicts have been resolved and transformed, many more are yet to get transformed as mentioned above. In particular, the Indo-Naga conflict had taken 60 years and it is yet to transform. As has mentioned elsewhere, the conflict between the Indian state and the Nagas is of political in nature than law and order problem or internal disturbances or insurgency movement. Though different communities of the Nagas were living independently in their respective villages and area in the ancient time, it is not the case in the modern time. Taking the cue from Andrew Heywood's definition of groups of people having political aspiration as constituting a nation, it cannot be untrue to say that the Nagas is a Nation. The Nagas as a whole is a single identity having a common political aspiration for Freedom.
This democratic political aspiration has expressed long time with the British and also to the Governments of India and Burma. However, for the past several decades, both the Governments of India and Burma have not been able to consider the conflict as a political problem which has led to prolonging the conflict and problem. These Governments have been insisting that the conflict is not of political in meaning but of law and order problem inspired by handful of people. This line of understanding of the conflict has a serious definitional deficit, flaw of clarity in conceptualisation, narrow and chauvinistic. This could be termed as politically motivated and psychologically manipulative. Moreover, this line of understanding and defining of the conflict is not only out-of-dated but also colonially minded in orientation.

The problem of this 'zero definition' of the conflict has been compounded or aggravated by the bias assessments and analyses of the academicians, intellectuals, civil societies, journalists, strategists and analysts. This shortcoming on the part of the Governments and others is due to their confinement of analyses and discernment only within the parameter of the nation-state systems. Their yardsticks to solve the conflict will be none other than resorting to the mechanisms and provisions of the Constitution. They seemed to have failed to accept fact that the resistance movements such as the Naga Movement has been refuting and refusing to be a part of the Indian and the Burmese nation-states. The governments and its allies will, it is certain that, maintain the same position as in the past if there is no change in the attitudes, conceptions, perceptions and analysis of the conflict. If it is so then, the likelihood of lingering the conflict is easily predictable. And the political conflict between the parties will continue to remain as a thorn in the flesh. The question of addressing the identity issue, human rights, human dignity, security, existential survival, psycho-cultural dynamic, justice, fairness, liberty, equality, etc. will be a distant dream.

But, the researchers may not always follows the line drawn by the governments, academicians, military strategists and analysts, policy-makers, civil societies, journalists, etc. The researchers must show the new way of understanding and analyzing the problem in a more authentic fashion and better articulation about the conflict. Proper
conceptualisation, comprehensive analysis, correct definition, real perception, knowing the ground situation of the conflict is the need of the hour. The concluding chapter is an attempt to lift up to such studies and principles. It will be a new vista towards approaching various conflicts such as the Indo-Naga conflict.

Instead of Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution, the thesis has made use of the newer approach, that is, Conflict Transformation as a more viable and appropriate approach in the context of the conflict under study. Most of the theories and models of transformation have been formulated to suit the internal crisis or domestic issues within the nation-state paradigm. These theories and models could seldom match the genuine aspirations of the struggling peoples to find a solution which is not totally within-the-box framework. Therefore, the thesis has suggested a model which can be called “Workable-transformative-roadmap” (WTR) as an alternative framework to various theories and models.

The WTR is a combination of various strands of theories and models of various experts, scholars, academicians, researchers, practitioners, organisations and individuals. This model is being suggested as a meeting point for both parties. It’s not strictly based on a single formula but it is a model based on interdependence which is resilient and not rigid. It is people-oriented in design and democratic in content. The WTR has been suggested as a political mechanism to transform the political issue faced by the Government of India and the Nagas. The past and the present peace processes between the Indian Government and the Nagas are approaches towards establishing a mutual and friendly relationship unlike violent relationship. The Workable-transformative-roadmap or WTR envisioned a future relationship which is different from the present centre-state federal relations in India. As the Second Indo-Naga Peace Process is based on the principle of unconditional dialogue, both the parties have been restrained from taking rigid positions i.e. the Indian Government will not insist on transforming the conflict within the framework of Indian Constitution while at the same time the Nagas will also not insist for a solution which is based on absolute Sovereignty.
The proposed Workable-transformative-roadmap or WTR can be said as a meeting point between the two absolutist or rigid positions between India and the Nagas. It needs to be pointed out that the past peace process of 1964 failed because there was no meeting point as the two entities could not come down from the rigid or absolutist positions. The WTR in this sense is politically workable as a solution because it had not suggested for a rigid or absolutist formula. The WTR can not be worked out without inclusion of certain crucial elements of Sovereignty, national identity, various constitutional principles, territoriality, federalism, democracy, socialism, human rights, freedom, liberty, equality and psycho-politics and also psychocultural dynamics. The idea behind this model to be politically speaking is that, peace with justice and truth is possible as long as the parties have the political will and sincerity to transform the conflict.

The thesis features discussion and analyses of a number of topics and issues. These topics and issues includes theories on conflict, Conflict Management, Conflict Resolution, Conflict Transformation, discussion of the essentiality of integration of all Naga areas in the North east, Indian constitutional provisions and their implications on the Nagas and North-east people, principles and philosophy of human rights, various international and Indian human rights laws and conventions and their violations as well as the remedies for these human rights violations, critical observation and examination of the ongoing peace process between the Government of India and the NSCN, highlight on the East Timorese Independence, definition of a nation and observation on a political issue that needs a transformation through a politically transformative mechanism in which Workable-transformative-roadmap fits as one of such political mechanism.

The thesis is organized around six central themes including the introduction and conclusion. The First Chapter on the theories of conflicts and their transformation examines various strands of concepts and theories such as Conflict Management, Conflict Resolution and Conflict Transformation. This chapter has made use of the new method, that is, Conflict Transformation as a more viable, appropriate and distinctive in the context of the Identity-based conflict or nationality-based conflict such as the Naga
case. However, all the three face shortcomings in dealing with such conflict as their mechanisms or models could not really match the aspirations and desires of the struggle for the right to self determination of the people. In deed, most of the models and mechanisms suggested by these theorists are statist in nature and traditional in methods. Due to these shortcomings, the thesis has suggested a framework which can be called as Workable-transformative-roadmap or WTR as an alternative framework and argued that the WTR is a politically transformative method and mechanism which could be employed in the Naga situation if both parties have mutual understanding and consent among them.

Chapter Two deals at length with the Nagas aspiration for integrating their areas in the North east. We have discussed in this chapter the evolution of the international and regional boundaries while at the same time we have discussed the boundary tensions in the North eastern states especially in Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland states because boundary disputes have not been settled as yet. In this chapter, we have argued that integration of all Naga areas in the North east is an important element in transforming the conflict.

In the Third Chapter we discuss and examine the Indian constitutional provisions and their implications on the Nagas as well as to other North eastern people. It is found out that so far as the Nagas are concerned, the constitutional provisions have failed to work while they work with other North eastern people say for example the Mizos. It is being suggested that in transforming the conflict the parties should be able to find a middle way where a solution is not strictly based on any rigid idea or mechanism.

In the Fourth Chapter, we discuss and quintessentially examine the principles and philosophy of the human rights since the classical to middle ages to 20th century and up till now. We have also highlighted various international and Indian human rights laws and conventions and their violations as well as the remedies for these human rights violations. The chapter has also highlighted some cases of human rights violations of the Nagas in the North eastern states. It is argued that continuing with such violations of
human rights do not contribute to peace-positive peace. It is suggested that if parties are really willing to transform the conflict, then, it is argued that human rights violations have to be stopped, and draconian laws needs to be repealed for the cause of peace, justice and fairness and human rights itself.

In the Chapter Five, we deal at length about the ongoing Indo-Naga peace process that was started in 1997. It is observed that not much progress has been made because of the dilly-dallying tactics of the Government of India. The chapter acknowledged the difficulties faced by both parties but at the same time sincerity is lacking on the part of the Government of India. We have highlighted various threats to the peace process and how the Nagas would like to get the international community intervened in the peace process. Though, the peace process has crossed 10 years the peace process is still going on indefinitely without much progress. It is suggested that the ongoing peace process is an opportune time for both parties to find a creative and positive transformation of the conflict. It is suggested that both parties needs more political will and sincerity to come up to that stage where a peaceful political solution is possible and practicable.

The Sixth Chapter is the conclusion. It gives a summary preceding the conclusion. It is learnt that though many conflicts have transformed and resolved in the past including the latest independence declarations of East Timor in 2002, Montenegro in 2006 and Kosovo in 2008, it is contented that there are many struggling peoples and nations which are still fighting for independence like the Nagas and others etc.

In the final analysis, we have pointed out that the Indo-Naga conflict as a political issue unlike an insurgency movement or law and order problem or internal disturbance as some use to categorize in the past need political solution. 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.
The chapter acknowledged the importance of initiating an interactive dialogue among Indian and Burmese states and the Nagas so that complete conflict transformation could take place. It is argued that such step could follow as and when the Indo-Naga conflict is amicably and mutually transformed in the ongoing peace process. The chapter has highlighted optimism that if parties try to find ways of possibility of transforming the deep conflict, then, peace with justice and truth will certainly prevail upon violence and bloodshed. The chapter concluded by stating that in the peacebuilding process, cooperation and consultative efforts of parties is very essential and necessary. The parties may seek the assistance and help from the international community especially in the fields of humanitarian activities, in empowering the civil societies, local population, and civic and economic spheres.

Some Relevant Research Questions

Let us briefly discuss some of the important relevant research questions below.
1. Why has the conflict not been transformed after more than 50 years? 2. Is the unresolved conflict/question due to mishandling by the GoI? 3. Is it because of the changed international political situation and context vis-à-vis the strategic location of the Naga areas 4. Or, is it because there are multifarious movements in the Northeast that the Government of India (GoI) find hard to give serious thought to transform the imbroglio? Or, is it due to the long isolationist policies of the Government of India?

All the above questions are relevant and form parts of the continuing untransformed conflict. It can be rightly stated that the conflict has crossed 50 years due to adhoc measures employed to transform the conflict. Most of the past conflict transformation were based on the traditional methods of management through constitutional model which were acceptable to only few sections of the Naga society. The rejection of the constitutional model was followed by stronger assertion of the right to self determination by the Naga Nationalists. This democratic assertion for the rights of the Naga people were responded with militarization of the Naga areas which have led to grave human rights violations committed by the Indian security forces. Since military
crackdown started, more than 2, 50, 000 Nagas have been killed until today. The ensuing situation has to be blamed on the administrators- civil and military- for blatant mishandling of the affairs in Naga areas.

In the past two decades, there has been a sea change in the international political situation and context. Most of the countries have shifted their policy towards economic development and economic integration. The Government of India in its economic policy towards other countries has been strongly propagating for “Look East” policy since early 90s. In the age of high competition, Naga areas and other North East states have become very strategic location for the success of this policy. One of the major strategies of the Government of India towards making “Look East” policy a successful adventure was heightened military campaign against various people’s movements in the North east and Burma. Operations after operation have been carrying out to crush these movements for unhindered trade and investment among South East Asian countries.

Besides, the Indian state has been following certain policy of isolationism vis-à-vis the people of North East. For a long time, the Indian state has been ignoring the North East states in various aspects be it political, economic or other aspects. Proper attention has not been given especially with regards to the problems faced by the people of the North East. The non serious approach of the Indian state towards the varied political problems in the North East can be still observed from the fact of the prevailing political situation and imbroglio. One clear example can be drawn from the peace process between Indian Government and the NSCN since 1997.

After September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in the U.S.A., most of the Governments in South and South East Asia have been also following the similar policy of the U.S.A. Many people’s movements were branded as terrorist organisations. Unfortunately, there is no universally acceptable definition of the term ‘terrorist’ or ‘terrorism’. In the name of national security interest, many more civilians have become victims of torture and harassments in the hands of police, armed forces security forces, army etc. There is a one-sided definition and concept of security on the part of policy-
makers. However, the fact of the matter now is that, when we talk of security, it does not only necessarily mean national security per se.

Most of the conflicts have not been transformed due to the lack of genuine applicable models and methods with the Government of India. The reason for ongoing snail-pace peace process between the Government of India and the NSCN is due to the Government’s inability to move beyond the traditional methods of solving the issue. What is crucial to both the parties is that each has to respect the history, culture, identity and political reality of the other if a viable political solution has to be found. For, without such endeavours and efforts, any sort of solution will have no political meaning and content.

The bibliographical details of the references in the text are given in the Bibliography at the end of the thesis. We have also made use of the important Websites relating to the case study. The Primary sources, Secondary sources and the Websites are the main methodology used in this thesis.