PREFACE

The study is an attempt to explore why the Nagas ethnopolitical movement has endured over the last five decades after India's Independence. It will examine what are the dynamics of Naga ethnopolitical movement. What role does the leadership play and what are the possibilities of internationalisation of Naga issue, its external implications and prospects for management of the problem. Eventually a solution is discussed in the following chapters, based on the theoretical premises laid by various experts, analyst in their respective fields.

This Thesis deals with Naga and the Naga ethnopolitical movement with its national and international dimensions. The study is a contribution to the fields of security/strategic and peace studies apart from touching on problems of modernisation and stabilisation in the developing countries. It has involved a selective use of historical materials some of which are only available in London (UK). It was necessary to condense a large amount of material which included unpublished source material. The research design adopted also makes it relevant to contemporary problems faced by Naga political society and policy questions facing the underground Nagas and the Government of India.
The study grew out of my experience as a Naga who is deeply concerned with the reality around us and is constantly looking for various alternative strategies to reverse the trends of war and violence. My M.Phil work on the Israelis and Palestinians introduced me to the innovative perspectives of peace research and conflict resolution, and to the task of investigating and proposing options for solutions to the issues in conflict between the Jews and the Arabs.

My research strategy for the Naga problems involved a mixture of theoretical and empirical approaches. To cover both the historical development of the Naga Ethnic movement and the later Naga Resistance Movement. In addition I have concentrated on analysis at the individual level on Phizo as an ideologue and policy maker. It is important to understand Phizo's world view and value system and especially his "peace ideas". Those studies which have ignored Phizo or underestimated the importance of his legacy, can only produce a distorted image of Naga reality. An individual's personality can be a source of perception for misperception depending upon how functional the individual's cognitive map is in a given situation.

The central argument of this study is that the Indo-Naga conflict with its bloodshed, military patrols and encounters and human rights violations can give way to an era of peace and prosperity if the discourse of domination and militarisation is replaced by the creation and projection of images of peace and differences are dealt with "by
designing a problem solving process that promotes new thinking of long standing problems. I list below the currently perceived choices that flow from the central argument.

1. The uniqueness of the historical situation of the Nagas in relation to India: Nagaland was part of the British Empire but not, strictly speaking, of India.

2. Developments around the independence of India: Naga declaration of Independence the day before India declaration, Mahatma Gandhi said the Nagas should only join the Union if they wished to do so voluntarily.

3. The armed conflict which no side could win.

4. Need to abandon old stands from both sides: creative solutions must be sought that satisfy the needs and aspirations of the Naga people and the vital interests of India, especially its security needs.

5. Emphasise that the situation is a unique one, not comparable to other insurgency conflicts faced by India. There should be no implication that any agreement which may be reached with Naga leaders would have repercussions for negotiations with other insurgency movement.
6. I believe at this stage no particular solution should be presented (as this could prejudice the negotiations themselves).

7. Everywhere in the world statemen/women are being praised for their willingness to negotiate with movement with whom their Governments have been at war. In many cases decades' old conflicts have been resolved around the negotiating table. Making peace, for which making important concessions is imperative, is today seen as an act of great statesmanship. It strengthens the position of a government: the fear making concessions, even major one, weaken the position of a government has been proved wrong again and again.

8. The government has the strength to negotiate a mutually acceptable dealt; let it have the foresigt to fully utilise the opportunity that is now presented to talk to the NSCN with an open mind, fairness, and a sincere commitment to achieve a lasting and just peace which will strengthen India and strengthen the Nagas.

The thesis is composed of five chapters. The first chapter briefly reviews the literature on ethnic conflict in general though the focus is on South Asia. The second chapter describes the historical perspectives of the Nagas and the evolution of Naga ethnic
movement. The third chapter discusses the Naga resistance movement, the leadership structure patterns of interactions with the centre and “ethnopolitical entrepreneurs”. The fourth chapter analyses the factors which can make the Nagas demand an international one, considering the ‘irridentist’ claims, which would necessarily invite Myanmar’s attention. Besides various forum where the Nagas have been trying to internationalise their cause is dealt with. The fifth chapter reviews the problems and prospects, and suggests some theoretical model for resolving the conflicts.