INTRODUCTION
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Analysis of (and studies on) insurgency is a part of Political Geography and very little has been done so far. The study takes into account the changing pattern of political and ideological factors that not only threaten the status quo but also induce significant geographical changes. These changes, then, as the author contends, have direct bearing on the landscape; and any change in the landscape brings forth new sets of spatial relationships (that depend upon the degree of preceding relationships).

Insurgency in Nagaland indicates a relationship between natural environment and political responses (for example, the pre-determined frame of reference among the insurgents). Author feels that through Political Geography, the role of factors and forces can be evaluated including that of the insurgency.

Whatever action that has taken place within the Naga environment, does not fall under any known

instance. The Naga insurgency, in the study, has been considered as unique and has been treated as such. The nature and pattern of insurgent activity in Nagaland has been reflected in number of books and articles, that have described at length the origin and development of armed insurgency in Nagaland as well as other associated events in this strategic part of the country. These books and articles have suggested the approaches to the Naga problem and have attempted to describe subjective and objective conditions. These studies also included the role of the people of Nagaland in the armed struggle. But these books and articles though of quality may need not be necessarily taken as an indicator to the spatio-temporal pattern of the Naga insurgency and the people who promoted them.

Some of the most protracted and bloody guerilla war was such as in Vietnam, Cambodia etc. have not shown any definite theoretical framework. But they are reflection of strategy to a particular time and place, for example after the World War II, Kurds have continuously fought and experienced the theme of guerilla warfare, eventhough they have not read a book on the subject.
The ultimate result is not due to their lack of knowledge of reading guerrilla literature or any doctrinal shortcomings. This is in contrast to some of the armed insurgent movements that had very strong ideological background but had failed miserably due to the lack of geographical base, (for example the continuing struggle in Upper Burma or in the Golden triangle).

Perhaps what is happening in Manipur and Tripura (though having ideological basis) has perhaps no validity in the Naga situation, but as these states are territorially contiguous, the geographical implication are significant. During the training period, however, the insurgents lacked resources and which have compelled quite a few Naga insurgents leaders to adopt a particular ideological front (as the case of Muviah group calling themselves as Naga socialists or the NSCN).

The doctrine of guerrilla activity in Nagaland has to be studied in the context of time and space. It has to be subjected to a critical analysis, for by no means, it provides a true reflection of guerrilla
experience and reaction of the central government.
Many of the insurgents have joined the movement with
the definite perceived commitments (as the insurgent
leaders interpreted and indoctrinated the raw
recruits). But with the due process of time, they found
that there goal was not in sight, and saw the relevan-
cy of the fact that the prosperity of Nagaland lay in
their union with India (1975 Shillong Accord clearly
illustrates this. See also Appendix - Z).

The propagators of the Naga insurgent movement
(though vacillated by their perceived and ambiguous
ideology) were in fact lured, as the author feels, by
the politico-economic advantages that would have accrued
from the creation of independent Nagaland. Their con-
ception, therefore, geographically, politically and econo-
mically is not viable. The only advantage which the
propagators of the Naga movement could have(?) achieved
with some success was to have been a constant irritant
in the India-China relations in this strategic location.
Further, the author feels that even socially and cultur-
ally, the entire concepts that lay behind the insurgent
movement could not have been plausible. For,

1) The Naga as an ethnic group are dispersed
in parts of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Burma besides, Nagaland proper. The inter and intra-tribal differences within themselves have, to a substantial degree, given them a static outlook;

ii) the presence of insurgent groups in Burma like that of the Kachins, Karens, Shans, Burmese Communist Party, etc. have a very dominant presence. The Naga movement, in comparison, is in minority and so far the Nagas insurgents have never been assimilated in this broader regional insurgent movement, nor they have been able to influence them adequately. In fact, it can be said with substantial clarity that the Naga movement is localised phenomenon in a broader international perspective. This, however does not rule out their sanctuaries in Burma or whatever material aid they have received from other external forces. As a result whatever the movement that is taking place is merely an expression of dissidents who have discarded all avenues except the organizational change within the Naga society and within the Indian Union.

As far as the question of identity is concerned the opponents of the union or the insurgent's view, is
largely biased and misinterpreted, (in this way they were often encouraged by the British administrators on the eve of independence). For the Sixth Schedule of the constitution of India and the existence of Nagaland as autonomous state is in itself a defending point against the insurgents' advocacy. In this respect the role and operation of government and private agencies have been questioned. For it was stated that they have persistently acted as a disruptive element, a case in point was the stand taken by Rev. Michel Scott. The present analysis is part of wider study, which the author believes has not been attempted before - a critical interpretation of Naga problem from the geographical (an environmental) view point. The present analysis deals with the insurgency and the insurgents. It does not aim at presenting a solution - for such a solution would be either exceedingly vague or unacceptable to all concerned. Although many such studies have their own uniqueness, they often formed a part of historical and sociological enquiries (but they eschew generalisation). There are still common pattern to be discovered and analysed. It is to the search for these patterns from the geographical perspective
that this study is devoted. Hence the comparative approach (politico-geographical) which has been used by the author in this study is aware of its limitations).

The analysis of the insurgent activity is not very complicated nor is it full of mystery. For they have been more or less the same with slight variation all over the world. The Naga intransigence (from early times) have been one of preserving their identity and territorial independence, while harassing any power that had intention of forcing a political dominance. Their tactics were based on common sense and imagination, varying from tribe to another and from location to another, to take advantage of those reforms that were beneficial to them particularly, while opposing those which did not meet their approval. These are primarily effected by the geographical conditions as well as the social and political process and matrices. These were in the background of new techniques and innovations taking peace from time to time in the broader regional, national and international environments. These developments along with geographical influences are examined in detail in the present study.
It is in the analysis from the environmental point of view to the Naga insurgency that most of the difficulty were encountered.

The present study in which modest attempt has been made to integrate the physical, social and economic variables will lead to a clear picture of the present problem of insurgency in Nagaland.

An attempt has also been made to find out how much importance should be attributed to the environmental background and political orientation of the insurgent movement (this is in the general framework of the situation prevailing in the North-East India). Or to put it differently, to identify the basic nationalistic impulses underlying the tribal (Naga) responses. Further, the present study also seeks a possible explanation of the decision-making process/apparatus that ultimate shaped the spatio-temporal pattern of the movement.

**Literature Survey:**

The study of insurgency is as old as geographer's interest in the man-environmental relationships. Originating from the humble beginnings of the earliest man,
it has been cross-bred again and again with different ideologies and strengthened with technological innovations through the ages. The development of man's mind and his innovations of tools and traps were the precursors of his offensive and defensive measure against natural and man made hazards or opposition. By gradually exploiting mobility, surprise and deception, he further developed the technique of chase and hunting to offset superiority of a stronger adversary. Such tactics were known to have been adopted on a broad-scale as early as 360 B.C. against Emperor Hunang in China. Isolated guerilla operation motivated by fanatic zeal were launched during the crusades and the Hundred year war. Though in India, in their fight against Mughal Emperors, Rajputs and later sikhs employed the tactics of guerilla warfare. The real credit for successfully mobilising large masses for the first time for guerilla warfare must go to the Marathas. From the contemporary concepts, Shivaji can be rightly acclaimed as the world's first modern insurgent. Guerilla operations of some significance also came to be witnessed during the American War of Independence and

the civil war in America. In Spain similar operations were conducted against the Napoleon's armies and later during the civil war. The German, Italian, and the Japanese forces followed by the British, French, Dutch and Portugese also faced guerilla opposition in their conquered territories. The Red Indians, Negroes, Aborigins and a variety of Asian tribesman still resort to guerilla warfare to a great advantage (see also appendix -II).

Realising the use and importance of geographical factors in the insurgency, McColl noted that virtually every aspect of the insurgency processes has undergone intense study. There remains one element however, that has not received adequate attention. This is the geographic aspect in the evolution as well as definition of revolutionary movements. He tried to co-relate the geographical factors responsible for the insurgency in the different parts of the world i.e. Cuba (1958) China, (1927-34) Central Luzon (1946-50) Greece (1948) Java (1948) South Vietnam (1960). He found that for contemporary national revolutions, the capture and control

of territory has virtually become a territorial imperative. Control of a geographic part of the state is essential for initiating the guerilla movement. Each stage of a guerilla war has its basis in geographic as well as political circumstances. If a system of guerilla base areas evolves, than a parallel state (Insurgent state) is formed. It is the continuance effort to create an insurgent state, complete with the elements of power, core areas and administrative units that from the manifestation of the insurgent's territorial imperative.

The Naga landscape at the very outset (as well as seen in the subsequent analysis) reveals following inherent or explicit features, which to a greater extent, have influenced the course of events that had taken place. These are:-

1) The accessibility for Nagaland (as the insurgents believes) lies not via Burma but through Brahmaputra Valley.

11) Despite the long period of co-existence a basic minimum intercourse between the plain and
hill people had taken place that has along with (i) have encouraged few to advance the necessity for safeguarding their identity and strengthening the concept of racialism.

iii) The nature of the geographical dispersion of the tribal communities in the strategically sensitive frontier suggests extra mural relationship and influences.

iv) The difference that existed within the Naga tribes to merge with India or to separate did not require a political action that changed itself to active armed opposition. The continuance of this opposition led intensification of conflict situation that brought ideological, political and economic goals within the overall environmental frame work that were incompatible.

v) The prevalence of tension in limited geographical area-Nagaland - in which the tendency of confrontation resulted in continuous action and counter action directed towards co-operation and developments, as against isolation and economic backwardness.
vi) The Naga insurgency is primarily ideological and political with economic factors tended to look closely inter-related. Leaving aside all other factors, ideological factor became paramount (Racism and extreme tribal nationalism). This was transformed as major politico-social force directed towards definite goal.

In order to bring out the salient features of the problem, following postulations are made:-

1) That geographical position and historical development, are to a large extent, determining factors that has, regardless of the kaleidoscopic changes of contemporary events and despite the form of Government instituted or political party in power, the situation (or the problem of insurgency) in Nagaland has a tendency to return again and again to the general and fundamental alignment-i.e. status quo.

11) That there may be exist a causal relationship which may asserts itself between some environmental factors or sets of factors on the one hand and some attitude, action or state of affairs on the other (particularly their interpretation and application).
iii) That the incidence of insurgency so far has made it imperative to identify the distinction between the political attitudes and policy decisions on the one hand and on the other by layout in space or other state of affairs operational.

These assumptions, then enable the author to seek probable interpretations of solution to the following questions that are inherent in the analysis of such themes.

(1) How far the environmental factors have become related to the perception and decisions. For this essentially entails the policy of integration being apperceived and taken into account by those who participate in the process (the Central Government, the State Government and the insurgent leaders)

(2) How far the postulations that have been, made, can provide fruitful linkages between the various approaches to the study.

(3) How far the factors have been significantly related to the final solution (as it is today in Nagaland) even though the role of such factors are not apperceived and taken into account in the final solution?
(4) How far the opportunities and limitations latent or implicit in the milieu of the state (in relation to the problem) can be calculated?

(5) How far the environmental situations and topical explanatory premises can be useful for the analysis of the problem under consideration.

Data Base:

The present study is based on the field survey (which the author was able to make, he was able to collect some aspects of material pertaining to his study. It was however, limited) and secondary data in some cases. The first few chapters are primarily based on the secondary sources. In addition to these, the author was able to interview few in the study area to obtain observations and information that helped to clarify few points significantly. These were regarding the attitude of the people and insurgents towards state and central Government, their socio-economic background and standard of living who joined the movement. The village headman and other elder persons were able to provide some information about the problem.
Plan of Work and Methodology:

The study is divided into 8 chapters (including introduction and conclusion). The study is planned and designed within an environmental cum socio-economic framework, begins with an assessment of the physiographic background of the region.

In chapter I an analysis has been made on the geographical background as well as the analysis of related but complex problems. The insurgent operations is an implicit phenomenon within the geographical framework of Nagaland. Various geographical indices have been prepared for a better understanding of the area in terms of environmental conditions. In this chapter discussion has been made to emphasize the different aspects which have a direct bearing on the insurgency. The basic logic of this chapter is also to find out how far the environmental factors are responsible for high intensity of insurgency in one region and low intensity in another region.

In chapter II an attempt has been made on factors which form the background of the problem. It also analysis the impact of earlier political organization on the Nagas. This chapter concludes with the discussion,
the impact of colonial ruler and their role in the development of insurgency in the Nagaland.

In chapter III an analysis has been made to find out the economy and level of development of Nagaland. In the first part of this chapter a detailed investigation is made to find out the economy by taking into consideration some variables such as Agriculture, Industries, road and communication development. Secondly the existing pattern of level of development have been examined to identify the area which is much developed, and its impact on the insurgency. In this study Kendall technique has been adopted. In this exercise the approach has been made the elimination of bias of the scale of 13 selected indicators and also of their 4 sets separately by dividing them by their respective means and therefore, making them scale free. The value of each division of variable by respective means are added horizontally to form the composite score for each set. These index values for each observation are subsequently grouped on the basis of range differences to put each observation i.e. circles into a certain rank which represents its level of development.
Chapter IV deals with socio-political setup of Naga tribes. The present situation of political awareness among the Nagas and their traditions bound laws and customs are analysed in this chapter. The awareness of being one people which was understandably absent among the Nagas till very recently. The impact of their customs and traditions on the present problem also discussed in this chapter.

In the V chapter which deals with the Naga insurgency entirely based on field survey. This chapter embodies the existing pattern of Naga insurgency, the area of high intensity and low intensity. The development process and manifestation of the problem is also discussed in detail. The pre-requisites to start an insurgency and the impact of geographical, economical, socio-political conditions to help in sustaining the insurgency for such a long time is also discussed in this chapter.

In the last chapter (VI) an attempt has been made to highlight the level of understanding of the problem at regional, national and international levels. The central Government approach to solve the problem and the attitude of the Naga insurgents also discussed in detail.