CHAPTER III
THE NAGA RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

The Naga resistance movement has become a professional military effort, which is targeted effectively. It has also generated much intellectual activity with professional points of view of Naga religious leaders, educators, and social workers generating action ideas which strengthened resistance to Indian rule. The Naga elite behaviour and Naga underground's strategic culture has not seen the "war" as an all out war. The theory and practice of the Resistance both call out for adjustment. The Resistance does no operate in an isolationist intellectual environment; it has room to manoeuvre both in relations with the authorities in India and in the international sphere. It can pursue its overall interests on the basis of real politics as well as the idealistic trends which support the preservation of traditional cultures and advancement of human rights and democratic principles. The real source of anxiety in the Resistance Movement is the fear that the right balance between individual freedom and social and tribal harmony may not be preserved as the larger forces of global economy permeate the Naga soil and economic life. Moreover even if the negotiations are successful it will take many years for the scars of this protracted
A. EMERGENCE OF NAGA NATIONALISM:
The genesis of the Naga Nationalism could be traced from the first World-War. On the eve of this historic war, nearly 2000 strong Naga tribal men had been recruited by the Britishers to serve as the labour corps in the French front in 1917. The separation of this large number of young Naga men from their tribal land had been an unique experience. For the first time in Naga history the Nagas got an opportunity to intermingle with the outside world which they have not experienced before.¹

However, from the experiences they gained in the war and from their contact with the totally different civilised men, the Naga soldiers came to realise their own ethnic, linguistic, social and cultural uniqueness. This differentiation of Nagas themselves from others have cleared the way to organise themselves into a small ethnic units called the Naga Club in 1918. The formation of this exclusive ethnic club by the Naga tribe was a significant landmark, which brought the unity and oneness among the various Naga tribes. Thus, the Nagas association with the first World War had enlightened the

spirit of the Nagas which spearheaded an upsurge leading to the Naga National Movement.²

The Naga National Movement entered into a crucial phase during World-War II. The war helped in bringing about a greater degree of unity and solidarity among the various Naga tribes. Circumstances in the war created situations for few British administrators to lend credence to the growth of Naga National Movement. Sir Charles Pawsey the then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga hills district had displayed an influencing concern over the Nagas. An interesting episode during the British resistance against the Japanese bolstered Pawsey to lend support to the Nagas. The marauding Japanese were pursuing Pawsey in the deadly battle of Kohima in 1944. The Naga villagers relentlessly supported and protected him from the Japanese. Field Marshall Sir William Slim in his book: Defeat into victory, writes:

The gallant Nagas whose loyalty even in the most depressing times of the invasion has never faltered. Despite floggings, torture, execution and the burning of their villages, they (Nagas) refused to aid the Japanese in any way or to betray our troops. Their active help to us was beyond value or praise. Under the leadership of devoted British political officers, some of the finest types of the Indian civil services, in whom they

have complete confidence, they guided our columns, collected information's, ambushed enemy patrols, carried our supplies, and brought in our wounded under the heaviest fire, and then, being the gentleman they were, often all payments. Many a British and Indian soldiers, owe his life to the naked head-hunting Nagas, and no soldiers of the fourteenth army who met them will ever think of them but with admiration and affection.⁴

And further the Japanese defeat was made possible only through the help of the Nagas who "rendered valuable services obsequiously to the allied forces".⁴ Sir Andrew Clow, the then Governor of Assam wrote to Governor General of India, Lord Wavell, that "they wanted to help the Nagas who did magnificent work in helping them during the war."⁵ As a token of gratitude to the Nagas, Sir Charles Pawsey established an organisation called the Naga Hills District Tribal Council in April 1945. The major objective of the council was to bring together and unite all the Nagas tribes, to help in repairing the damages done during the World War II. However, the Council got transformed into almost potent political organisation known as the Naga National Council (NNC), at the Wokha conference on 2nd February, 1946. Initially, the NNC was confined to catering to the welfare and social aspirations of the Nagas but later extended its field

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⁵ Ibid., n.2.p.160.
⁶ Huska Sumi, n.1.p.2.
to political activities to achieve the Naga independence from the foreign yoke. Since then the NNC has been active as the main political organ of the Nagas.

The formation of the NNC was a major step towards the consolidation of disparate nationalistic force was initiated. The NNC elected T. Aliba Imti as President and T.Sakhrie as the General Secretary, to run the NNC office. At its inception the NNC was comprised of only 29 members representing few tribes. Later on the membership was made compulsory for all the Naga citizens in general and a voluntary contribution of rupee one to hundred or more was collected from each and every family towards the NNC fund. They also enjoyed the patronage of the British administrators, educated Nagas and the salariats. Under the auspicious of the NNC, the leadership had brought out a regular monthly journal called, the Naga Nation, was published from Kohima....The 'Naga Nation' as the propaganda organ of the NNC, created immense political consciousness and identity. Further it played vital role by educating the Naga tribes about not only their socio-economic problems but also their culture and rich traditions.

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7 Ibid., n.6. p.7.
8 Y. Asoso, n.2. p.61.
The first political move by the NNC was in October 1946. They passed a resolution demanding the Deputy Commissioner of Naga hills district, to restrict the entry of member of any political party, the rest of India, into the Naga hills without the consent of the NNC.  

The most drastic step of the NNC was its call for the Naga self-determination. But the predicaments were: (1) whether the Naga Hills would be able to constitute an Independent Sovereign State after the British left India; and, (2) whether the Nagas would be able to attain independence and run a Sovereign State. 

Over the issue of the Nagas independence, the extremist group led by A.Z. Phizo demanded complete independence, while the moderate group (mostly government servants) favoured the continuance of the relations with the Government of India till the Nagas are in a position to run a modern state. The third group came with the idea of Nagaland as a mandatory state under the British Government (direct control from Britain) for a specific period of time. But majority of the NNC opposed this proposal and feared that the Britishers were bent on colonising their country. 

The different opinions were accommodated within the NNC, and as a consequence, the NNC resolved to pass a four-point

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9 M. Rammuny, "The world of the Nagas" Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, 1988, p.18.

resolution on 19th June, 1946 at the Wokha conference. These resolutions were submitted to the representative of His Majesty Government (Cabinet Mission).

It reads:-

1. At NNC stands for the solidarity of Naga tribes including those in the unadministered areas.
2. This Council strongly protest against the grouping of Assam with Bengal.
3. The Naga hills should be included in Autonomous Assam in free India with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interest of the Nagas.
4. The Naga tribes should have a separate electorate.\(^{11}\)

But the Cabinet Mission could not take any further decision as demanded by the NNC for the future course of the Nagas. This resolution was sent to Pandit Nehru by two Naga students (T. Sakhrie, NNC Secretary and Sashimeren Aier). Nehru responded to their letter in August 1946, which was not in favour of an independent Nagaland.

He wrote:-

"It is obvious that the Naga territory in eastern Assam is much too small to stand by itself politically or economically. It lies between the two countries India and China and part of it

consists of rather backward people who require considerable help. When India is independent as it is bound to be soon it will not be possible for the British government to hold on the Nagas territory or any part of it. They could be isolated between India and China. Inevitably, therefore, this Naga territory must be part of India and Assam with which it has developed such close association." 12

An Indian scholar has argued with insight that as "India was yet to make its claim over the land of the Naga Hills, and Nehru clearly stating that the Naga territory was too small to exist an independent nation and for strategic reasons it must joint the Indian Union." 13 Nehru contended that the Naga Hills though not a part of India, it was too small to exist as a sovereign state. And as it has not matured both politically and economically, he suggested for its inclusion within Indian territory for its development. Besides, Nehru also saw strategic importance of the Naga Hills.

**Interim Demand:**

When the departure of the British from India was imminent, the NNC, after series of discussions over the issue of Nagas complete independence, resolved to request for an Interim Government to look after the Naga Hills for a specific period of time. According to NNC

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request "the Government of India" was to act as the guardian power for a period of ten years at the end of which the Nagas would be free to determine their political future." Then to that effect, they submitted a memorandum to the last Viceroy of India, Lord Louis Mounbatten on 9th April, 1946. The terms proposed for the ten year Interim Government were:

1. "The Interim Government of the Naga people will be a government by the Naga people over all the people of Nagaland, having full power in respect of legislation, executive and judiciary.

2. Nagaland belongs to the Naga people and will be inalienable.

3. The Interim Government of the Naga people will have full power in the matter of raising and expenditure to revenue, and annual subvention to cover the deficit being given by the guardian power.

4. For defence and for aiding civil power in case of emergency a force considered necessary by the NNC will be maintained in Nagaland by the Guardian power. That force will be responsible to the NNC who will in turn be responsible to the guardian power."  

However, the British Indian Government could not respond to this appeal except for some vague expression given to the NNC. They were asked to discuss their wishes to the Advisory Committee on the

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14 Ibid., n.6. p.8.
15 Alemchiba, n.10. p.170.
Aboriginal Tribes which would visit Kohima. Perhaps, "Sir Prime Minister Winston Churchill's Conservative party was voted out of power, and the Labour Government did not want any further confrontation in the sub-continent." They lost interest and remained silent on the NNC memorandum.

The ultimate visit of the sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on 20th May, 1947 could not favour for any constitutional arrangements, whereas the Nagas demanded independence, without any outside interference after the end of ten year guardianship. The Advisory Committee wanted the Naga hills be included within the Indian Union. This led to another stalemate of uncertainty for the vexed Naga national question.

In an attempt to break the impasse, Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam, a "henchman" of Jawaharlal Nehru was sent to Kohima on 27th June, 1947 to impress the Nagas and to understand the realities of the situation. A memorandum submitted to Sir Akbar Hydari by NNC on 26th June 1947 at Kohima, reads: "The Naga National Council stand for solidarity of all the Naga region. The present Naga Hills district had arbitrarily been carved out for administrative convenience." In the presence of Sir Charles Pawsey

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18 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.171.
19 NNC Memorandum, Kohima, 26 June, 1947.
the discussion was carried on for three days (27 to 29, June 1947) with the NNC; on the issue of Ten Years Interim Demand, after a series of hectic discussions it ended up in the Nine-Point Agreement known as Hydari Agreement.

**Hydari Agreement:**

The Hydari Agreement had been made when the consent of Jawaharlal Nehru. The preamble of the agreement recommended that the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their free expressed wishes is recognised. In other words it was equal to ranging from prevalent tribal laws to the ownership of land and taxation. But clause 9 of the agreement turned controversial between the NNC and the Government of India. The clause 9 of the article runs:

"The government of Assam as the agent of the government of Indian Union will have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure the due observance of this agreement; and at the end of this period the Naga National Council will be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period, or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people would be arrived at." 22

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21 Udayan, Mishra; n.6 p.18.

22 The Nine-Point Hydari Agreement, 1947.
This agreement as the Nagas understand was that after ten years, they would have their sovereign state, whereas the Government of India asserted that it would mean Nagaland remaining a protected state of India even after the expiry of ten years.

The clause 9 of the agreement, however, implanted seeds of discord within the NNC, resulting in their division into the extremists and the moderates. In order to resolve their differencesSir Charles Pawsey persuaded them to put the issue to vote. The moderates (who were mostly government servants) \(^{23}\) won by a slight majority to accept the agreement. But the extremist group led by A.Z. Phizo strongly protested against the agreement; it does not state that the Nagas would be independent after the end of the ten year period. \(^{24}\) They thus declared the agreement null and void.

In the middle of their discussions on the agreement, Sir Akbar Hydari warned the Nagas, in the presence of Pawsey and others, that if the Nagas refused to join the Indian Union, India would use force against the Nagas. \(^{25}\) His policy was to win over the Nagas by threats, but it was considered a big challenge and it only enraged the

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\(^{23}\) NNC, n.17, p.35.

\(^{24}\) L.Wati, n.11, p.28.

\(^{25}\) NNC, n.17 p.35; Y.Asoso, n.2, p.182.
aspiration of the Nagas.\textsuperscript{26} The possibility of Sir Charles Pawsey and P F Adams, Secretary of the government of Assam misleading the moderates with the contents of the agreement has also been raised by some sections. The Secretary and Advisor to the Government of Assam, P F Adams told "the Nagas to remain with India saying that India would go into pieces within five years. So that the Nagas can get out any time as we would like to be glorified through some downfall."\textsuperscript{27} It is argued that the moderates knowledge of language was very limited and they were not politically mature to understand the wording of the controversial clause 9 of the agreement, they hope, would meet the full aspirations of the Nagas for independence.\textsuperscript{28} Over the disagreement, the extremist Naga delegation consisting of nine members led by A Z Phizo and Kughato Sukhai went to Delhi.

The Naga delegates met Mahatma Gandhi at Bhangi Colony on 19\textsuperscript{th} July, 1947 to plead for the demand of the Nagas. They told him that Nagas are not Indians; from time immemorial Nagaland was a free nation and not an Indian territory, "the Nagas are resolved to declare their independence a day before India would do so on 14th August 1947".\textsuperscript{29} The Naga delegates asked for his help to save the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{26} NNC, n.17, p.35.
\item \textsuperscript{27} n.17, p.35.
\item \textsuperscript{28} M. Ramuny, n.9, p.23.
\item \textsuperscript{29} NSF Seminar Paper, n.16, p.8.
\end{itemize}
Naga hills from India's occupation. Then Mahatma Gandhi told the delegates,

"Nagas have every right to be independent. We did not want to live under the domination of the British and they are now leaving us. I want you to feel that India is yours. I feel that Naga hills are mine, the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I don't believe in forced union. If you do not wish to join the Union of India, nobody forces you to do that." The Naga delegates pointed out that Sir Akbar Hydari was threatening them with the use of force in the event of their refusal to join the Indian Union. Gandhi exclaimed "Sir Akbar is wrong: He can not do that .... I will come to the Naga Hills, I will ask them to shoot me first before one Naga is shot."

The father of the Indian nation had great sympathy and understanding towards the Nagas. He also inspired the Nagas to follow the way of non-violence to decide their future. The Naga delegates returned with great hope given by Gandhi. They hoisted the sovereign "Naga flag" on the 14th of August 1947 and declared Nagaland an independent country. (This date has been observed till today). A telegrams regarding the declaration of independence were sent to the Government of India, foreign Diplomatic Missions in Delhi and a message was sent to the United Nations Secretary General. But

the Government of India did not recognise the Nagas independence. The assassination of Gandhi proved a great loss to the Nagas. Had he lived longer the Nagas could possibly have gained independence at that stage. This led the extremist nationalist Nagas resolve to fight till the last for the Nagas self-determination.

In the midst of the Naga political imbroglio, the NNC leadership was divided again. The moderate NNC unanimously decided to modify the controversial clause 9 of the Hydari Agreement and submitted an ultimatum to the Government of India on 4th November, 1947. The new modification of the article reads: "The Governor of Assam as the agent of the Government of Indian union will have a special responsibility for a period of ten years to ensure due observance of this agreement. At the end of this period Nagas will be free to decide their own future."  

The NNC firmly stood for the modification of the clause 9 of the agreement. That is, if the Government of India did not implement the new modification, the Naga people shall cease to be a part of India Union from 6th December, 1947.  

This ultimatum was forwarded by Sir Charles Pawsey who did not fully favour the Nagas claim for independence due to the Naga

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31 L.Wati, n.11, p.30, see also; M.Ramunny, n.9,p.27.  
32 M.Ramunny, n.9,p.27; see also Asoso, n.2, p.197.
rejection of earlier "crown colony scheme." Instead he recommended over the NNC memoranda that, "at the end of this period the NNC will be free to decide what arrangements will be made for the future administration of the Naga country must remain in the Indian union."33 He could foresee the shortcomings of the Government of India policy and predicted that the Nagas would not achieve their independence.

The extremist group led by A.Z. Phizo rejected any new arrangement except complete independence. They rejected the modification of the agreement clause 9 which was not fully an aspiration of Naga independence.

The Hydari Agreement remained in abeyance for nearly a year as the Government of India was not serious with the Agreement. Therefore, the NNC delegation called on the Governor Sir Akbar Hydari at Shillong on 22nd July, 1948 to get assurance for the implementation of the agreement. The Governor and Premier of Assam G.N. Bordoloi met the Naga delegates and gave a written assurance that, "there was absolutely no cause for nursing unfounded fears and doubts".34 But with the sudden death of Sir Akbar Hydari on 28th December, 1948, the 9-point agreement was a discarded paper and it was no longer considered by New Delhi.35

33 M. Ramunny, n.9, p.27.
34 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.177.
It may be pointed out that at the time of the departure of Britishers from India, the Nagas strongly demanded that they should be left alone as they were before to decide their future. But ruefully, the British left the fate of the Nagas in the hands of India and Burma. The argument was that the British colonialists did not have any right to hand over the Naga Hills to any country, either Burma or India. British colonialists occupied only some part of the Naga Hills for their administrative convenience. From time immemorial, the Naga Hills were never a part of India and were not subjugated by any alien rulers. So that the question of secession from Indian Union did not arise. The Nagas struggle for Independence is purely a resistance movement.

Meanwhile, when Governor-General of India, Shri C. Rajagopalachari's visited Shillong on 28th November, 1949, the Naga delegates appraised him of their demand for independence. He realised the ethnic differences of Nagas from the other tribal people and assured the delegates that "Nagas were at full liberty to do as they like either to become part of India or to separate, if they felt it, it would be best in their interest to be isolated." Similar opinion was given by Shri Pilkash, the then Governor of Assam on 14th

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January, 1950. He also acknowledge that the Nagas were at full liberty to remain outside the Indian Union.\textsuperscript{37}

Ethnically, Nagas are of the Mongoloid race. The Nagas' demand for sovereignty was considered as genuine demand by many great Indian leaders. It was the Nehru government that forced the Nagas to join the Indian Union against their wishes in deciding their own future.

The Nagas nationalist movement entered into a more militant phase when A.Z. Phizo joined the movement in 1946. On his release from Rangoon jail and return to Kohima, the movement became more intensive. Shortly, he withdrew from the NNC due to ideological differences with the NNC moderates in 1948. Then he pursued more a forceful policy and formed 'People Independent League for Sovereign Nagaland' comprising the Naga Hills Tuensang Frontier Division and contiguous Naga Hills in Assam, Manipur and Burma.\textsuperscript{38} But he was arrested in 9th July 1948 on the pretext of his pro-Pakistani's and the anti-Indian propaganda\textsuperscript{39} to liberate the Naga Hills from India's occupation. Under the Regulation Act of 1818 he was sent to Presidency Jail in Calcutta but was released unconditionally on 18 December, 1948 after his family met a tragic accident.

\textsuperscript{37} L.Wati, n.11, p.32.
\textsuperscript{38} Y. Asoso, n.2, p.
\textsuperscript{39} M. Ramunny, n.9, pp.32-33.
Phizo's Personality, Values and Attitudes:

Individual political personalities play an important role in the inculcation of attitudes which focus on ethno-nationalism as a vehicle of revolutionary progress. Phizo's personality created a "personal operational code and a value structure" which filled the vacuum left by the British when they withdrew from the Naga Areas. Phizo could transcend the narrow views of local tribal interest and also provide a wide ranging analysis of geopolitical, political, economic and military developments in the region and articulate how the Nagas as an indigenous people perceived the modernisation process in their home region. He served "ethnic, cultural and national-instrumental" interests of the Nagas by providing a sense of common political destiny. If the option of substantial and real autonomy had been given, it is doubtful if he would have rejected it. He reluctantly evolved cogent ideology with the significant dimension of separatist struggle against the Indian Union in reaction to the Indian state machinery's "propaganda and ideological indoctrination" towards which the Naga intelligentsia was no prepared to be submissive or docile. Phizo therefore undertook his important political mission as a "reluctant revolutionary" when he found his way blocked by the framework of the modern territorial state. A ironical angle of this scenario is that the initiation of violence came from a Government
which claimed a passionate interest in the project of Gandhian values of non-violence. This paved the way for the role of violence in the Naga ethnic and separatist struggle and peaceful compromise became less and less likely. Nevertheless Phizo remained at all times prepared for reduction of tensions and promotion of peaceful change. He did not allow prestige and self-righteousness to come in the way of mutually acceptable solutions based on enlightened humanist ideals.

The return of A.Z. Phizo became very significant in the Naga National Movement. He was elected as President of NNC in 1950. This laid the foundation of a Naga National movement dominated by radical Nagas corollary to the idea of sovereign and independent state of Nagaland. The NNC rejected the inclusion of "the Naga hills and the Naga inhabited areas were kept under Sixth Scheduled of the Indian Constitution on par with other hill tribes of Assam" which was much against the wishes of the Nagas. This led to the rapid deterioration of the Nagas relations with the government of India.

In defiance of the above arrangement, the NNC issued a Declaration which was reported in the international press as follows:

"The Nagas will become a free nation. The Indian Constitution cannot bind the Nagas. An appeal to the world on Republic day (January 26) that the Nagas will be given freedom of choice to become independent." 41

40 B. Baboo, n.29, p.44.
41 N. Maxwell, n.36, p.5.
Then the NNC passed a resolution on 16th-18th February, 1958 at Kohima for the further policy thus:

1. No Naga should join the Assam Legislative Assembly or Indian Parliament representing the Nagas.

2. Resolved that anything that is autonomous in character will not be accepted by the Nagas.

3. The aspiration and inspiration of the Nagas to "fight for freedom is through bloodshed. The Nagas are strongly determined to fight constitutionally for the liberation of their motherland."  

**Nagas Plebiscite:**

To explore the views and to ascertain the conviction of the people for an independent sovereign Nagaland a plebiscite was conducted on 16th May, 1951 throughout Nagaland. The result of the plebiscite was tabulated and published on 16th March, 1952 under the aegis of A.Z.Phizo, on two basic issues: "(1) Whether they wanted to remain in India or to be a separate independent state, and (2) To repudiate the charge of the Indian Government that the NNC was supported by only a minority of the people." It was in fact a forgone

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42 L. Wati, n.11, p.32.
conclusion favouring a sovereign independent state of Nagaland, with 99% opting for Naga independence. Seven thousand men and women were reported to have given their thumbprint. All the villages in the entire Naga hills were visited, signatures and thumbprint were taken and oath were administered in the Naga traditional manner to fight for Naga independence.  

The Eastern Nagas could not, however, be brought into the plebiscite owing to the opposition of the Rangoon Government. But morally they supported the stand of NNC which convinced them that Naga people as a whole had opted for independence and it is an "unalterable mandate." The plebiscite-forms which contained the details of the voters (two volumes of thumb impression) were sent to the then President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. He considered the demand of independence as absurd on the ground that it was made by just a handful of Naga people. He refused to see it as a mandate that the 'ethnic Nagas' love for freedom, which still has its ferments even today. There has also been a negative assumption among some writers that the plebiscite was conducted only in some areas.

When Jawaharlal Nehru visited Assam in December 1951, a five man delegation of NNC led by A.Z. Phizo met him at Sylhet (Tezpur).

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44 M. Alemchiba, n.10, p.175.
46 B. Baboo, n.20, p.45.
They put forward their desire for liberation and presented the result of the plebiscite.\textsuperscript{47} Nehru further said, "I consider freedom very precious. I am sure that the Nagas are as free as I am, in fact more free in a number of ways. For, while I am bound down by all sort of laws, the Nagas are not to some extend bound by such laws and they are governed by their customary laws and usages. In the present context of affairs both in India and in the world it is impossible to consider for a moment, such an absurd demand for independence of the Nagas. It is doubtful whether the Nagas realise the consequences of what they are asking for. For their present demand would lead them to ruin."\textsuperscript{48} Hence the Nagas' demand for independence was projected by Nehru as distant from the near future. While Nehru was favouring to workout the issues within the parameters of the Indian constitution; the Nagas were not willing for any adjustment short of independence.

Thereafter the Government of India, without consulting the Nagas, formulated a policy, affecting the transfer of power, (of the "excluded areas" under the 1935 Government of India Act), to the Government of Assam.\textsuperscript{49} This subjugative policy adopted by the Government of India complicated the matters for the Nagas.\textsuperscript{49}
retaliation, the Nagas boycotted the first General Election of India in 1952.\textsuperscript{50} It was a successful demonstration of unity by the Nagas.

On 11th March, 1952, three delegates led by NNC President A.Z. Phizo met the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi. It turned out to be a stormy meeting. Nehru "while hammering his table with clenched fist said, whether heaven falls or India goes into pieces and blood runs red in the country, whether I am here or anyone else comes, Nagas will not be allowed to be independent."\textsuperscript{51} Nehru was extremely irritated with the demand of the Nagas for independence. The Nagas were shocked and depressed by Nehru's attitude. They returned and immediately sought for outside intervention to settle the Naga issue with India. At Mokokchung in April 1952 "The NNC resolved to appeal to the U.N to take the Nagas under a trusteeship for an interim period prior to their assuming full independence."\textsuperscript{52}

In December 1952 A.Z. Phizo left for Burma to internationalise the Naga issue and to raise voice to the rest of the world. But the mission was not successful as he was intercepted by the Burmese Police, being found with several documents and sent back to Nagaland. Thus although the NNC was pursuing their struggle for

\textsuperscript{50} Y. Asoso, n.2, p.203.
\textsuperscript{51} N. Maxwell, n.36, p.5.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., n.36, p.14.
Naga independence through the Gandhian policy of non-violence, their aspirations for independence still remained as elusive as before. Thus Nehru, speaking in the Lok Sabha on 11th July 1952 dismissed the Nagas demand as completely unwise, impracticable and unacceptable,\(^{53}\) and rejected any suggestion to visit the Naga hills to see the reality of this situation for himself. Later on however Jawaharlal Nehru and the Burmese Prime Minister U.Nu jointly visited Kohima the capital of Nagaland, accompanied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and B.N.Mulliqk on 30th March, 1953. The NNC were very keen to submit a memorandum and to speak openly in front of the Naga public with Nehru on the desire of the Nagas for independence.\(^{54}\) But it happened to be an unfortunate incident for both Nehru, U.Nu and the Nagas. The then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, Barkokati, turned down the NNC request and could not allow either any memorandum submitted or to talk personally with Nehru at that particular public meeting. The Naga leaders protested against the Deputy Commissioner and said "if the Prime Minister would not hear us, then we would not hear him either."\(^{55}\) There the thousand of Nagas who came stage a "walkout from the public meeting when Nehru was about to make his address, except for a few Government

\(^{54}\) Y. Asoso, n.2, p.204.  
\(^{55}\) L. Wati, n.11, p.59.
servants mostly non-Nagas. The Prime Minister was shocked, and so was U.Nu. This was probably the first time Nehru, "the darling of the crowds," was effectively being boycotted in a public meeting. The Deputy Commissioner Barkokati through his insensitive observations poured fuel into the minds of the Nagas.

This demonstration led by A.Z. Phizo once again showed the Nagas’ unity in demanding Independence. Nehru later accused that the Nagas’ demand for Independence was the handiwork of British administrators and the American Baptist Missionaries. The Chief Minister of Assam Shri B. Medhi also held that the Naga movement for separation from India was an instigation by foreign hands.

Eventually the Government of India ordered the foreign missionaries to leave the Naga Hills. They also banned the monthly newspaper of the NNC, "Naga Nations" in the same year as an anti-India propaganda paper. There Nehru put the blame on the Assam Government for the episode, but the "wrath of Assam Government fell on the NNC" and ordered the arrest of the Naga leaders.

As soon as the foreigners left, the situation became very tense. Rumours widely spread out. The police made a list of suspected NNC...
leaders to be arrested for the maintenance of law and order. Shortly on the night of 4th April, 1953, Assam police raided the house of T. Sakhri, the then Secretary of NNC. Thereafter Viswema, Jakhama, Kighema, Phesama and Khonoma villages were raided, guns were seized and a number of innocent people were arrested as a follow up. Unable to live peacefully, the apprehensive policy adopted by the Government led the Naga leaders to evade arrest and compelled them to go underground, which sowed the seeds of the Insurgency Movement.

B. THE NAGA INSURGENCY MOVEMENT AND THE ARMED CONFLICTS:

The beginning of Naga National movement was the mooting of the ideas to adopt non-violent means to achieve the Naga Independence. Ideologically, armed confrontation was not the NNC policy for the attainment of their aspiration. Till 1952, the movement was a peaceful and intended for an amicable settlement. But after Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Kohima in 1953, the situation deteriorated, where the Assam government resorted to crack down on the Nagas. This was the turning point of the insurgency movement.

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61 Ibid., n.60, p.33.
never submitted themselves to the authority. The Naga leaders' campaign to launch a non co-operation movement resulted into non-payment of taxes, withdrawal of teachers and students from school, and in the resignation of Dobashis, Gaonburas and a wide scale boycotts of all government functions.\(^{63}\) The radical philosophy of A.Z.Phizo, which mooted the idea of right of "Nations to Self-determination"\(^{64}\) was intensifying the Naga National movement to become more forceful, particularly in the light of the people's verdict favouring home rule.

By now any prospect of negotiations with the Government of India was completely belied with the decision of Government to refuse any further discussions on Naga Independence issue. The Congress party president refused to see the Naga leaders. The then president of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad declined to receive a Naga delegation in December 1953 in New Delhi.\(^{65}\) That was the last straw to avoid violence.

In 1953, Bimala Challiha, President of the Assam Pradesh Congress visited Naga hills to observe the situation. He made a sincere attempt to find a solution by a political settlement through peaceful means. To break the impasse, he suggested, "since the

\(^{63}\) Udayan, Mishra; n.6, p.9.
\(^{65}\) Y. Asoso, n.2, p.205.
constitution is changeable, any defect in it could be removed," to fulfil the aspiration of the Nagas. But the Chief Minister of Assam, Bishnuram Methi's attitude shattered the chances for restoring normalcy. His attitudes supposed to be bias on the Naga issue aroused "deeper passion and fierce indignation of the Nagas against the Assamese."  

The goodwill Mission of Praja Socialist Party (PSP) led by Hareswar Goswami, Bipinlal Das and B. K Bhattacharjee was sent to the Naga Hills in November 1953. After touring the interiors of Nagaland, they wrote in their report, "whether we like or not, it is a fact that the idea of Independence had became popular with the people of the Nagas." They expressed that the Naga issue could be solved through a peaceful means. The Speaker of Lok Sabha Mr. G.V Mavalankar also visited Naga Hills in January 1954. Though he could not support the demand of the Naga, he, however, appreciated the aspiration of the Naga people and wished for talks and a better understanding between the Nagas and the Government of India to be established.

In an exchange of 'Goodwill Mission', the Naga people visited Assam to eliminate suspicions and misunderstandings to avoid

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Ibid., p.209.
L. Wati, n.11, p.62.
Ibid., p.62.
violence and bloodshed and to build bridges for Assamese-Naga relationship. But the situation remained tense in the Naga hills. The Naga Nationalists firmly stood for nothing short of Independent Nagaland. The more the Nagas were suppressed and oppressed the more they joined underground. Despite of the deliberate policy on the Nagas by the Assam Government, multitude of dedicated young Nagas went underground and "pledged to fight till the last drop of blood to liberate their fatherland."  

Within a short period of time, the Naga underground activities extended to the Tuensang Frontier Areas. It was a free Naga Hills unadministered territory during the British rule in India. The first Hongking or People Sovereign Republic of Nagaland was formed by A.Z. Phizo in September 1954 with the support of Thungti Chang (Chief of the Chang tribe). Then the Naga underground organised the Youth Wing, Women Wing and Armed Wing to confront any eventuality.

Herewith a major step was initiated by the Government of India. To bring those frontier areas under the direct Indian administrative control, a political officer with a unit of Assam Rifle

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71 Honking means 'get out' in Chang tribal language. It implied to force the Government of India out from Naga Hills.
72 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.211; B. Baboo, n.2q, p.45; M. Ramunny, n.9, p.36.
was posted in Tuensang. They replaced administrators by non-locals, strengthened the police force, set up nine police posts, and declared the problem to be one of 'just law and order.' This policy was against the wishes of the Nagas. It is argued that that was a continuation of 'internal colonialism' by the government of India in the free Naga Hills. Owing to such a policy the NNC revolted against the Government of India for intruding into Naga territory.

Thereafter, Assam Rifles launched a large-scale armed operation in Tuensang Frontier Areas (Free Nagaland). They burnt down villages, Churches, granaries and standing crop to bring the Nagas to submission. In that situation, some incidents took place. A Government dak runner who happened to be the son of a Pangsha Warrior was killed by Yimpang Villagers. The Government accused NNC, but they denied any involvement. In that unadministered areas, the war-like Naga tribes were still practising head-hunting. Keeping in mind their tribal old feud, also added to stir-up the situation.

On account of that incident the Pangsha Villagers took revenge with the help of the Indian Government. They equipped 60 Pangsha warrior with arms, in collaboration with the Assam Rifle troops, they wiped out the whole village, killed 60 men, women and children

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73 NSCN Publication, A Brief Political Account of Nagaland" (Manuscript), 1993, pp.18-20.
74 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.211.
including three NNC activists on 15th November 1954. 75 It was reported that the "killing lasted for two hours". 76 The Government of India denied any involvement and Prime Minister Nehru presented a report in the parliament which was restricted to the military version, falling short of reality. And so far no impartial enquiry has been conducted. It was reported that an Indian Intelligence Bureau agent instigated the Pangsha Warrior where he was trailing the president of Naga Youth Movement "who happened to be there" 77

After that episode, again on 27th November 1954, a "battalion of Armed Forces destroyed the Chingmei Village by bombardment, causing an unknown total of death". 78 They suspected the presence of NNC activists, but the victims were only innocent citizens. Here too, the government never came out with any report other than the military version.

By the beginning of 1955, "lawlessness and violence were flared up in Tuensang Frontier Areas". 79 The joint forces of Assam Rifles and Armed Forces went on rampant operations 80 to subdue the Nagas. In reprisal to that, the 'Naga Home-Guard' under the 'Hongking Government' took up arms to defend their country. They

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75 Huska Sumi, Seminar paper, n.1, p.7.
76 A.Z.Phizo, n.30, p.4.
77 M.Ramunny, n.9,p.44.
78 A.Z.Phizo, n.30, p.4.
80 N. Maxwell, n.36, p.6.
started confronting and attacking police out posts, looting of arms
and kidnapping the Assam Rifles. This led to full-scale Indo-Naga
armed conflicts.

The first fierce-fighting started from Tuensang Frontier Areas
(Free Nagaland) on 25 March 1955. In a short period, it spread to the
neighbouring areas. The government of India was unable to contain
the force of Naga resistance. Subsequently, they declared Tuensang
and Mokokchung to be 'disturbed area' in the name of law and order
disturbances.

The two Acts were introduced by Assam Government between
1953-55 to suppress the Naga insurgency:

(1) The Assam Maintenance of Public Order (Autonomous

(2) Assam Disturb Area Act 1955.81

But this could not bring any desired changes. Instead the
situation went from bad to worse, day by day, violence only begetting
violence, committed by Assam Rifle and the Naga rebels. Innocent
citizens caught at the cross fire were unable to live peacefully.

Even in such a critical stage, most of the NNC leaders were
overground.82 An NNC delegation led by A.Z. Phizo and four members
appealed to the Assam Government on 15th August 1955 to take up

81 L. Wati, n.11, p.65.
82 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.213.
the Naga issue. To avoid any violence, they offered their services as a mediator between the Indian Army and the Nagas brothers.\textsuperscript{83} Hence, the Chief Minister of Assam Shri Bishnuram Medhi and the NNC delegation signed a pact to restrain violence by both sides. But it was not honoured by Medhi, where he published 'leaflets' in which he puts all blame on the NNC for the disturbances.\textsuperscript{84} Thus chances of negotiation receded\textsuperscript{85} due to the government injustice to the Nagas.

Meanwhile, NNC was passing through a period of internal 'dissension'. Soon a rift developed between the extremists and moderates. The moderates NNC - T. Sakhrie, Jasokie and others - came out openly protesting violence in the Naga Hills. They held a series of secret meetings to remove Phizo from the NNC Presidentship. They also attempted to re-organise the NNC, to work out the Naga problem in a peaceful way. But such plan failed to materialise.\textsuperscript{86}

The division of the NNC leaders became a major set-back to the Naga Nationalist Movement. This division within the party enabled an Indian Intelligent Officer S.M. Dutt to came into intimate contact with the moderate NNC leaders. According to B.N Mullik "their

\textsuperscript{83} A.Z.Phizo, n.30, p.4.  
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid p.4.  
\textsuperscript{85} U. Mishra, n.6, p.10.  
\textsuperscript{86} Y. Asoso, n.2, p.213.
association with S M Dutt was extremely valuable from India's point of view".  

The rivalries within the NNC had caused the life of T.S. Sakhrie, a brilliant spokesman for the NNC. He was kidnapped by the members of extremist Nagas on 18th January 1956, and murdered brutally in the jungle. It was reported that he was murdered for siding with the Indian Government. This led to the extremists and moderates split for a no-return. Consequent to that, "A.Z Phizo was charged on treason" by the government of India. Hence he went underground and organised a strong military Armed Wing to revolt against the Indian hegemony. The undeclared war went on extensively throughout the Naga Hills. The growing strength of the Naga rebels could not be contained by the Assam Rifle and the Armed Forces. Therefore the Government of India declared the Naga Hills as a whole to be 'disturbed area' on 31st January 1956. Henceforth the Indian Armed Forces replaced the Assam Police since then "atrocities and rapes increase hideously". Mass arrest, beating, tortured, forced labour and burning of villages, became very frequent.

88 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.214; M. Ramunny, n.9, p.52; Bower, n.60, p.41.
89 B. Baboo, n.20, p.44.
91 A.Z. Phizo, n.30, p.4.
In the midst of the armed confrontation, the NNC set up a Government called the Federal Government of Nagaland' on 22nd March 1956 at Phensinyu Village in the Rengma Area. They hoisted the Naga National Flag and promulgated a constitution (Yehzabo). The preamble of which began-'Nagaland is a people Sovereign Republic', this has been so from time immemorial. Simultaneously, a military armed wing was formed, known as the 'Naga Home Guard' to defend the country.

The first weapons came from the dumped stock left in the area by the Japanese and the British forces during the Second World War. Some arms were captured from the Indian Security forces. The other indigenous guns made by the Konyak Nagas, Naga, Dao and strong short range of spear's were also used by the Naga rebels.

During the intermittent war, the 'Naga Home Guard' were very 'swift and effective'. Indiscriminate killings were carried out by the Indian army on the Nagas. But the "actual casualties inflicted by Indian armies on Naga guerrillas was very slight". It was only the civilians who suffered heavily. The indulgence of orgy of rape, tortured and murder by Indian armies and security forces were

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debated in the Lok Sabha on 23rd August 1956. The late Dr. Lohia, an Indian Socialist M.P after visiting the areas reported that "rape by Indian troops and police was widespread, he was arrested and expelled". But Nehru denied the allegation and charge of Indian armies involvement, where "he decline the suggestion of a parliamentary delegation to visit the Naga areas as impractical". It is fact that any press correspondents been 'forbidden' to enter the Naga area.

Sir Pawsey, after visit to the Naga Hills said that the "Indian army behaviour will never be forgiven". The hardship and suffering received from the Naga guerrillas were retaliated to the innocent villagers by the Indian armies. They arrested the "suspected underground or overground and tortured in diverse manner, kept hanging upside down for several hours, kicked with boots, hit with guns butts and subjected to electric shocks, with the intent of taking revenge." And at the same time, the Naga guerrillas also tortured

97 N. Maxwell, n.36, p.6.
100 Charles Pawsey, n.95, confidential paper, p.6.
and brutally murdered the Nagas, whom they suspected of helping the Indian Government.  

In process, A Z Phizo conceived a bold idea to siege Kohima to make the headquarter of Federal Government. He marched with the "Naga Home Guard" under the command of Tungti chang. At the time, a young Sema Naga called Kaito, a dynamic leader had already organised the 'Naga Safe Guard'. This two combined armed wing planned to attack Kohima from three different direction on 10th June, 1956. They cut off all telephone lines, electricity, water supply and destroyed bridges and roads. They captured most parts of Kohima and "besieged it for three weeks". The Indian armies almost 'suffered defeat' at the hands of the Naga underground. But the situation was not favourable to the Nagas. The final occupation of Kohima on 22nd July 1956, their arms and ammunition had run low, where as "massive Indian reinforcements" had gathered forced to withdraw the Nagas. Another factors was tussle of leadership between Tungti Chang and Kaito Sema weaken their efforts. Kaito Sema wanted to become commander-in chief but Phizo supported Tungti Chang as his commander in chief. However, this act precipitated in the form of

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102 Charles Pawsey, n.95, p.6.  
103 B. N. Mullik, n.56, p.311.  
104 M. Ramunny, n.9, p.52.  
105 U.G. Gooner, n.60, pp 41-44.  

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Kaito withdrawing himself as the main striking force from the field.\textsuperscript{106} This withdrawal of Kaito troops provided the Indian armies and the Assam Rifles a favourable situation to manage a break through towards occupying Kohima. From there the Naga guerrillas were forced to withdraw.

After the debacle of Kohima, the Indian Government more seriously took up to tackle the Naga guerrillas. The Government deployed "more troops and many more Assam Rifles and Armed Battalions in the Naga Hills and Tuensang Frontier Areas".\textsuperscript{107} The presence in full strength of the army and security forces was not sufficient to make the Naga rebels to surrender. It was General Thimayya who was the first Indian leader to acknowledge the Naga problem as a political one after meeting with the Kughato Sukhai, the Prime Minister of Naga Federal Government in October 1956. He pointed out that it needs a political solution.\textsuperscript{108}

Henceforth, the Nagas Independence issue was not favoured by the Government of India. So the NNC resolved to send Phizo to London to seek foreign help. In December 1956, he slipped out via East Pakistan (Bangladesh) to London to internationalise the Naga issue.

\textsuperscript{106} B.N.Mullik, n.56, p.311.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., p.312.
\textsuperscript{108} Huska Sumi, n.1, p.7.
By now the Government of India deliberately adopted a plan to regroup villages to cut off the Naga rebels from the civilians. It was a similar idea of the Britisher against Malaya Communist Guerrillas. The purpose of the regrouping of villages has to break the supplies and intelligent system of Naga underground.

By March 1957, "Villages were herded into groups under dreadful condition". After burning down the villages and granaries they were regrouped into one particular village, called concentration camp fenced round and kept under army protection. They were allowed to go and cultivate their fields within limited homes, and had to come back before the nightfall. It was reported that at that 'concentration camp' because of lack of food, water supply, sanitation and medical care many citizens died of starvation. This was continued for a year.

Then another major step was initiated by raising a force of local militia or village guard to fight against the Naga underground. But this policy forced the Naga rebels to become more defensive. According to B.N. Mullik" There was nearly one security troop to every adult male in the Naga Hills Tuensang area". As a

109 B.N. Mullik, n.56, p.312; see Ramunny, n.9, p.71.  
110 Charles Pawsey, n.95, p.6.  
111 L. Wati, n.11, pp-68-71.  
112 B.N. Mullik, n.56, pp-313-14.
consequence, the Naga Guerrillas also suffered heavily, but did not give up their struggle for freedom.

In the midst of the turbulent atmosphere, S.M. Dutt the Indian Intelligence officer realised that "solution to the Naga problem did not lie only in fighting"113 with the Naga guerrillas. He conceived a brilliant idea to "separate the Naga Hill District from Assam to form a separate unit. Again he encouraged the so called educated moderate Nagas to settle the Naga issue with the Government of India. By the year ending of 1956, the moderate Nagas (break away group from Phizo) formed the Naga Peace Organising Committee.114 In the meanwhile, the Church leaders also openly came forward and condemned the violence "an appeal to the Christian Nagas to work for peace".115 As a result of these efforts Naga People Convention (NPC) was formed in August 1957, and began a new era of Naga National Movement.

C. PEACE INITIATIVE AND THE CREATION OF STATEHOOD:

Peace is the ultimate goal of violence. The undeclared war, since early 1955 between the Naga underground and the Indian army, throughout the Naga Hills- led to loss of lives, devastated property,
villages, untold suffering and misery, the innocent citizens, 116

Concerned over the misery to the Church leaders called upon the Naga underground leaders to settle the on going Naga problem in a peaceful way. By then, the common people sick of blood-shed yearned for peace and order in the Naga Hills.

In the early part of 1957, a church leaders meeting at Kohima, another at Impur, sent out appeal for peace. 117 Meanwhile, the so-called moderate Nagas came forward. Its aim is to oppose violence and to restore peace and order and to win over the Naga rebels. This group formed a "Reforming Committee" of Naga National Council 118 without the knowledge of underground 'Naga Federal Government' to negotiate with the government of India. The committee elected three candidates to fill the three Assam Legislative Assembly seats, it was uncontested. That was the first time the Nagas participated in the second general election of India in 1957. (But they left after the creation of Naga Hills as separate unit in 1957).

From the middle of 1956, the break away group of NNC - the moderate Nagas - "rallied themselves and wrote to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to settle the Naga problem within the Indian

116 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.221.
118 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.221.
Constitution.119 At the outset, the Intelligent Bureau S M Dutt also conceived the idea of encouraging the educated and the moderates Nagas to convene all tribal conference. His motives was to divide the Nagas underground and overground. It was a difficult tasks, restricted by the Naga underground, but he however managed to convince the moderates Nagas to held the tribal conference on 27th July 1957. represented by Eight tribes.120 This meeting resolved to call all tribal Naga people convention (NPC) in 1957.

Accordingly, the first all tribal Naga People Convention (NPC) was called at Kohima on 22nd to 26th August 1957, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Imkongliba Ao. It was attended by 1,765 people of different Naga tribes from Naga Hills and Tuensang area of NEFA and 2,000 observers from the other Naga areas.121 The underground Nagas did not take part, inspite of their initial support. It was not a political party. The objectives of the conference was to act as an 'intermediary' between the underground Federal Government of Nagaland and the Government of India to settle the Naga political problem.122

120 M.Ramunny, n.9, p.72.
121 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.222; see Ramunny, n.9, p.73.
122 N.Maxwell, n.36, p.6; see also Horam, n.20, p.81.
After five days of discussion, the Conference advocated to resolve; (a) "settlement of the Naga issue through negotiation and pending a final political solution"; and (b) "the then Naga hills District of Assam and Tuensang Division of NEFA be constituted into a single Administrative unit under the External Affairs Ministry".\(^\text{123}\)

This resolution was considered only as an 'Interim arrangement'. The final political settlement were carried out through the Naga underground leaders who joined hand with the NPC to negotiate with the government of India.\(^\text{124}\) But the issue of the settlement 'within the Indian Union' was strongly objected to the Naga Federal Government.

However, the Convention resolved to send a nine man delegation headed by Dr. Imkongliba Ao on 27th September 1957 to meet the Governor of Assam, as well as the Prime Minister of India to present their resolution. The Prime Minister Nehru accepted the NPC resolution. On 1st December 1957 as the NPC desired the Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) was formed and placed directly under the Ministry of External Affairs. Thereafter the degrouping of villages was undertaken and general amnesty was also granted.\(^\text{125}\)

\(^{123}\) Alemchiba, n.10, p.186.

\(^{124}\) Ibid p.186.

\(^{125}\) Horam, n.20, p.84.
To the moderate Nagas, this was a great step forward for consolidation of the Naga nationalism, but it was not acceptable to the Naga Federal Government. Though instead of acting as a mediator the NPC betrayed the Naga Federal Government. Therefore, the Naga Federal Government charged the "NPC leaders as being puppet of the Indian Government." In defiance of the convention resolution, the underground Nagas, instead of giving up their stance, they "rather chose to continue to fight, adopted a guerrilla war tactic 'hit and run' prowling in small groups".

Despite the threat and protest from the underground Nagas, the second NPC Conference was able to held from 21st to 23rd May 1958 at Ungma Village, attended by 2,705 delegates from various Naga tribes. The Convention endorsed the first NPC resolution and appointed a Liaison Committee consisting of Eight members to contact the Naga Underground leaders for bringing a peaceful solution to the Naga political problem. Herewith, the underground leaders came forward insisting that "Government of India should recognise the Federal Government of Nagaland and accept the demand

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127 Horam, n.20, p.84.
129 Ibid., p.228.
130 Huska, n.1, p.8.
for Independence as a basis of negotiation".131 Keeping aside the Naga underground request, the NPC leaders went ahead with their own plan for a solution of the Naga problem.132 They appointed a 'drafting committee' which "thrashed out 16-point of demand culminating in the decision to establishe a Nagaland state within the Indian Union".133 This was put forward to discuss on the third Naga People Convention which was held at Mokokchung from 22nd to 26th October 1959, attended by 3000 delegates.134 After much deliberation at the conference the draft was formally approved. But the Federal Government of Nagaland opposed the NPC resolution terming it as a compromise. In pursuance of the NPC resolution the draft was formally presented to the Governor of Assam in April 1960 at Shillong. Then later, a delegation comprising of 15 Naga leaders headed by the president of NPC Dr. Imkongliba Ao went to New Delhi on 26th July 1960. The talks were carried out with the senior official of the External Affairs Ministry and with the Prime Minister Nehru from 27th to 28th July 1960 for the establishment of the separate Nagaland state within the Indian Union. Except a few

132 Huska, n.1, p.7.
133 B. Baboo, n.20, p.46.
134 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.230; see Ramunny, n.9, p.78.
modification, the 16-point demand were accepted by the Government of India.\textsuperscript{135} In the light of the discussion with the Prime Minister Nehru, the NPC president Dr. Imkongliba Ao pointed out that "the mass of the Nagas favoured complete separation from India, but in view of the practicalities of the solution they were prepared to accept less."\textsuperscript{136} True, it was due to pressure from the NPC leader that "the Government of India finally forced to concede statehood for Nagaland within the Indian Union under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of External Affairs".\textsuperscript{137} On 1st August 1960, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha" a new state to be called 'Nagaland' comprising the territory of the existing Naga Hills and the Tuensang Area- the Governor of Assam was to be the Governor of Nagaland".\textsuperscript{138} Then a transitional period was arranged during which as 'Interim body' for these years to be constituted consisted of 45 elected members with representative from various tribes in Nagaland.

Meanwhile, the NNC President A. Z. Phizo arrived in London from Zurich (Switzerland) in 1960 to present the Naga case to the West. From 1958 the Nagas had approached Reverend Michael Scott, hero of South West Africa, hoping that he could help the Nagas

\textsuperscript{135} Alemchiba, n.10, p.197
\textsuperscript{136} N. Maxwell, n.36, p.7.
\textsuperscript{137} George N, Patterson, n.99, p.333.

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problem, whom the Nagas saw as a champion of the oppressed."  \(^{139}\) His sympathetic and interest on the Naga issue helped Phizo to get into London, "providing him with office space and services at the African bureau in London." \(^{140}\) On 30th July 1960 A. Z. Phizo denounced the New Delhi-NPC Pact from London saying that,

"The Naga struggle was for a complete Sovereign Independent Naga State having international recognition and which at best could have treaty relations with India on the basis of equality and reciprocity and added that the leaders of the NPC who signed for the Naga State in India was a puppet assembly and no agreement could be recognised regarding the future of Nagaland except with those people who were fighting and were the true representatives of the Naga Nation". \(^{141}\)

Henceforth, the Naga guerrillas re-organised again into a stronger and more efficient force, funds were raised, more people recruited both in the army and the civil wings and they began to seek arm aid and support from the neighbouring countries. \(^{142}\) That was the

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\(^{139}\) U.G. Bower, n.60, p.51.
\(^{140}\) N. Maxwell, n.36, p.7.
\(^{141}\) Y. Asoso, n.2, p.236.
\(^{142}\) M. Ramunny, n.9, p.94.
beginning of the Nagas' political movement entered into the international alignment.

During this time the Indian government refused to allow any foreign correspondent into Naga hills. However, Phizo presence in London had widely focused the press attention on the Naga problem. It was only by December 1960, the Indian government organised a press visit to Nagaland, "consisting of six Indian and five foreign correspondents under an official escort."\(^{143}\) Although the visit was described as "ludicrous," the "foreign correspondents were carefully shepherded on an arranged tour".\(^{144}\) They were largely limited to Kohima and could not move freely nor talk as they liked to the people \(^{145}\) to keep out of touch with the nationalist Nagas which were fighting for Independence.

The foreign correspondent Nevellie Maxwell after a brief tour in Nagaland reported to the London newspaper, 'The Times' that:

"Inspite of this frustration i.e. the limitation placed on the correspondents enquiries one conclusion can be drawn: the Naga people desire the greatest possible degree of Independence from India or from anyone else. Some people

\(^{143}\) Y. Asoso, n.2, p.237  
\(^{144}\) N. Maxwell, n.36, p.7.  
\(^{145}\) U.G.Bowler, n.60, p.59.
have now been convinced that sovereignty for this little is simply not feasible, quite apart from the destructive effects its secession would have on the Indian Union and with varying enthusiasm are working to establish Nagaland as a State within India; others-and many more than there are actually under arms-have still not been conceived and remained determined to obtain sovereignty. The difference between the two groups is essentially one of degree and of means, but it has been widened by the savageries of guerrilla campaign...."\textsuperscript{146}

In early part of 1961, the English journalist Gavin Young had entered from the back door into the Naga Federal Government territory, arranged by Phizo from London.\textsuperscript{147} He was entirely undetected by the Indian army and moved freely among the Nagas. Later London newspaper 'The Observer', published four series of his articles about the Indian armies' activities in the Naga hills.\textsuperscript{148} He was the first foreign journalist who was able to contact with the underground Naga Federal Government. After his brief visit he concluded that the Naga underground were strongly supported by the masses favouring Independent Nagaland.

\textsuperscript{146} N. Maxwell, n.36, p.60.
\textsuperscript{147} U.G. Bower, n.60, p.51.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p.77.
Despite the disagreement with the 16-point agreement, the NFG was forced to launch a more offensive force against the Indian armies. As their activities stepped up, attack on military posts multiplied. The NFG activities were extended to the Naga inhabited areas of Assam, Manipur and Burma in order to seek shelter against the increasing Indian military operations.\textsuperscript{149} Till 1961 the Indian army continued the military operation throughout the Naga hills. During this period many NPC leaders were living under the threat of the NFG guerrillas. On 26th August 1961, the main architect of the NPC Dr Imkongliba Ao was assassinated by the Naga underground who rejected the New Delhi-NPC pact and termed the NPC members involving in the said pact as a traitor to Naga Nation.

Indeed, it generated the "division" and animosity in the rank and file of the Naga political movement."\textsuperscript{150} Henceforth, the Government of India which had accepted the NPC proposal 'on principle' over reacted itself \textsuperscript{151} in favour to the creation of Nagaland state under the Indian constitution. By September 1962, the State of Nagaland Act was passed by the Parliament which provided for the formation of the 16th State of Indian Union.

\textsuperscript{149} Y. Aosos, n.2, p.239.
\textsuperscript{150} Horam, n.20, p.87.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., p.88.
At this time A. Z, Phizo initiated a peaceful dialogue with the Government of India through Reverend Michael Scott. He made a proposal for cease-fire by both sides. But it was rejected by Nehru. The Government of India maintained that "it was dealing with a handful of armed 'miscreants'-- almost dacoits-- legitimizing the violence". The NPC leaders also held the same attitude and opposed any 'cease-fire' proposal by Phizo. Thus the Government of India replied to Phizo that in order to consider the cease-fire proposal the Naga rebels should "cease hostilities and surrender their weapons." However resenting to the Government of India's demand, Phizo, "stated in London on 8th May 1963 that the demand for "unconditional surrender" "was unacceptable".

On 1st December 1963, the President of India Dr. Radhakrishnan officially inaugurated the State of Nagaland as the 16th State of Indian Union. But this state of Nagaland constituted only a part of Naga hills. A major portion of the population and the areas are outside the Nagaland state. It can be said that the policy of divide and rule was applied by the Government of India which was succeeded to the Nagas and it was succeeded in splitting the contiguous Naga territory into five administrative units. This created

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152 N. Maxwell, n.36, p.7.
153 Ibid., p.7.
154 Y. Asoso, n.2, p.249.
155 Ibid., p. 249.
a situation, in which Nagas live in four different States in India, viz, Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal and Assam and one unit in Burma. At present there are 36 Naga tribes in India, out of which 14 tribes are in Nagaland, 17 tribes in Manipur, 3 tribes in Arunachal Pradesh and 2 tribes in Assam. It was a victory over the Naga underground. However, on the other hand, it also invited more complication to the Government of India as well as to the Nagas. Thus the Naga political movement was not for creation of a separate state within India but for total independent country for the Nagas. By the creation of a new state for the Nagas, it has implicated both for India and Burma geographically and politically as well.

The Naga resistance movement can be assessed and evaluated in terms of four distinct themes for developing conflict-resolution approaches:

1. **Security choices and Naga responses:**

   There is a compelling case for developing responsible and realistic security policies which can turn into real negotiations. The perceived need to consider alternatives is based on the idea that there is need to achieve results which cannot be achieved without a qualitatively new approach. Security patterns are undergoing a change and it is difficult to see how the security logic can remain indefinitely divorced from cross pressures in favour of revival of civil society. As
in many other parts of the world the "conflict constellation" is being modified in favour of questions on the political and cultural agenda.

2. Threat images within the Naga Resistance:

There is ample evidence that the Naga resistance movement also faces the question of maintaining a strong sense of collective identity in the face of fragmentation and competition for political power. New political policy options have to be developed to deal with rivalries between antagonistic Naga formations. What seems evident is that Naga disunity has added to current confusion produced by a collision of political egoisms. Misunderstandings and conflicting interpretation of the Phizo legacy can be serious. Only political dialogue between various Naga groups can provide reasonable expectation for lasting solution.

3. Balance of constraints:

A pertinent question is whether political instability and endemic violence does not impede socio-economic development and also lead to fissiparous tendencies. A balance of constraint in the Naga resistance movement is essential to gain credibility and adaptational ability.

Different interpretations are possible with the same data
stemming from different realms of interest. To obtain an operational consensus care should be taken not to destroy fledgling democratic institutions by falling a prey to self defeating pathologies. The Naga resistance movement should define its core values and central roles to educate the Naga public and not to manipulate it.

4. Cultural paradigms and political structures:

The Naga resistance movement has gone through a sequence of stages and it is necessary to draw attention to different dimensions of the conflict. As the case of South Africa showed that the prerequisite for a successful outcome was that strategies were considered on a “contingency basis, each connected to a specific contextual imperative”.

There are far reaching changes occurring in the international system which effect South Asia decision makers. The attainment of realistic goals by the Naga resistance movement requires that Naga leaders to act synergistically to pursue Naga interests. The resistance has demonstrated that Naga cultural institutions are adaptive. The dynamics of conflict and conflict resolution will require “search for innovative cultural paradigm” which can foster new political and economic structures.

The next chapter will discuss the core of the Thesis, 'The Naga
Problems Across The International Border. How it became an international concern, and how the bifurcation of Naga hills has had an impact on the Naga political movement and has posed a threat to India's security and its implication for International politics: are amongst other some important issues deal in the following chapter.