CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
Introduction

After World War II many changes in the former colonies of Asia and Africa have occurred. India's independence from the British colonialist has influenced the geopolitical dynamism of the Asian continent. India being a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious state, attempts to unite disparate nationalities with varying regional aspirations. Inspite of the several attempts by successive regimes and through various state machineries, social and cultural associations, and the intelligentsia, the persistence of separatism and secessionism in Indian peripheries that of Kashmir, Punjab and North-Eastern India (NEI) are realities, without any tangible solution in the near future.

The problem of North-East India becomes significant in the national scene only when the demands for secessionism are manifested through widespread violence against the Indian Armed forces and ethnic conflicts which in turn generate interest about North-East India and studies are carried out which had hitherto remained neglected and isolated from the mainstream. Paradoxically, the geopolitical importance of North-East India notwithstanding most of the works and contributions are made from the socio-anthropological and political perspectives and a few are on historical accounts.

Political geography which provides abundant materials for theoretical as well as empirical investigation covers a wide range of studies in understanding North-East India and its people. A territorial approach to politics, which seemed to have vanished from the academic lexicon after 1945 with a seeming discrediting of
geopolitics acquired a new respectability in academic studies after 1960s. Within the span of a decade the twin concepts of 'Centre and periphery' have indeed, become a part of the common vocabulary of political science and other related subjects. In recent years the concepts of 'core' and 'periphery' have been extensively used by the political geographers.

The concept of core and periphery are not only different entity but their characteristics and process also varies from each other. They are responsive to the changes in man, environment, state and the international system. Yet, there has been conceptual confusion as the term 'core' and 'periphery' has been taken to denote relations of various aspects between a number of different spatial or territorial units and of social groups. Sometimes the term core and periphery is also used as an alternative term as 'urban' and 'rural': First World countries and Third World countries: North and South.

Core and periphery are closely interrelated and interdependent. Due to their differences in character and unequal development there exists disparate and discriminating relationship between the two.

The increasing inequalities between different areas have led to concentration of economic and political activities in one or few centres which ultimately become economically, politically, socially and culturally powerful and dominate over the peripheries. While focussing on the varying relationship between core and periphery, one is led inevitably to the question about the involvement of imperialism.

colonialism, underdevelopment and acculturation.

Friedmann discerned an autonomy/dependency pattern of development, the core dominating the periphery in most of the economic and social respects. Therefore, the core control led itself and the periphery in a kind of colonial relationship.2

The continuation of the colonial mechanism in the contemporary period is still prevalent in different global and regional levels. In the global context, the decision making process that govern the international market is controlled and dictated by a few First World countries thereby leaving the rest of the peripheral world under their control. In the new world system there is continuous exploitation and manipulation of the Third World countries by a few rich countries, thus there is persistence of economic and political crisis in peripheries of the world. As a consequence of all these there is underdevelopment and dependence of the larger world peripheries on the few core countries.

Under the present system of unequal development there is perpetual crisis of North-South relationship. Further, the widening gulf between the rich and the poor nations which are an ample indication of the unequal relation between the core and the periphery. This system is prevalent not only in the global context, but also within countries, at the regional level, and at the micro level within the state. Similarly, core-periphery relationship exists between the mainland India and the North-East India as well as within the region of North-East India.

In this context a study of core-periphery relationships in North-East India with a focus on Nagaland is taken up for the following purposes. Firstly, this study can shed a new light on core-periphery relationship and may provide an appropriate and relevant materials for analysis of this subject. Secondly, this may help in adding new tools of analysis for the study of core-periphery relationships that exist between the far-flung North-Eastern Region and the mainland India. Thirdly, by taking conventional core-periphery model this study also attempts to understand the dynamic evolution affecting many of the spatial pattern with which political process is concerned. The focus on the study of Nagaland is due to the underlying presumption that such an attempt contributes a deeper understanding of the core-periphery relationship beyond the conventional sense and enriches us in grasping political geography of North-East India, pertaining to contemporary geopolitical problem of the region.

A. An Overview of Geopolitical Situation in North-East India

The emerging personality of the North-East India is extremely complex, and it is true that it is not an easy task to attempt a prescriptive solution on a mosaic which contains multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious characteristic superimposed on the complex geographical setting of the region.

The North-East India is the abode of various ethnic nationalities and cultural groups. As of today the region is divided into seven separate administrative states.

* North-East India (NEI) and North-East region (NER) are interchangeable used as they both represent the same 'geopolitical Region'.
viz. Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh. "With the total geographical area of 2,55,037 Sq Kms, the region has 4,200 Kms long international boundary with Bhutan, China, Burma and Bangladesh". The region is connected with the rest of India through the 'chicken neck' at Siliguri a mere strip of 20 Kms.

The North-East India is not only a peripheral region of the country, but is also the meeting point of the peripheries, of South, East and South-East Asia. The common character of the region lies, atleast, in its strategic vulnerability and economic backwardness.

In spite of the variation in culture, language, anthropology and history, most of the ethnic group belongs to the Mongoloid stock. They are also known to have coexisted in the same region for centuries, this indicate unity in diversity in the North-East India. In brief, the region can be described as 'Asia in miniature'.

Considering the contemporary geopolitical scenario, North-East India offers an interesting model for process of integration and resistance within the larger scale territorial system of control. The common problem of political unrest, economic backwardness aggravated by the adversities of terrain and geographical remoteness have all contributed in making the region an 'isolated island'. However, taking a holistic approach, it is certainly the long period of colonial rule and the apathetic attitude of the successive regime in the post independent India has aggravated the situation in the North-East Region.

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LOCATION OF NORTH EAST INDIA
AND THE
AREA INHABITED BY THE NAGAS

Map i

Imperial British was the first colonial power to penetrate North-Eastern Region in 1826 through the treaty of 'Yandaboo'. And the British rule prevailed throughout the present North-East India until 1949. During the British reign, barring Assam plain and Imphal valley, the entire North-Eastern Region had very little and limited interaction with the mainland India and there was very little work done for the development of these regions. This legacy could be the determinant for the slow pace of change in North-East Region even in the post independent India.

Even before the departure of the colonialist this part of the region had witnessed rebellion and political movements (non-violence) especially among the hill tribals regarding their destiny. The Nagas who started its political movement against the British strongly resisted joining the union of India, and so as the Mizos. Hmars Tripuris. The tribals who were alien to Indian ethos found it hard to integrate to the mainstream basically Aryan polity. As a consequence, separatist political movements started in the entire hills soon after the independence and slowly percolated down the plains. However, the problem of the plain, particularly in the case of Assam was not necessarily that of integration but of ensuring a mechanism of distribution of the fruits of integration both at the micro and macro level. Today Assamese people are most discontented with the centre for ignoring the crucial role she played during the most critical period of bifurcating the North-East Region. Also the long period of


5. The Editor's Note 'The Administrator' (Special issue on North-East), vol.xxxxix, no.4, Winter, 1994.
dereliction in the post independent period and further aggravated by the issue of refugee influx and outsiders that has added to more serious socio-economic problem in Assam. The rest of region is also no better.

The separatist groups in Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura still continue their movement, though some of them are demanding greater autonomy within the state or recognition of their identity and separate administrative unit within the region. Except in Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya, where it is relatively quiet, the entire North-Eastern region has been undergoing through a phase of turmoil, unrest and agitation. Series of negotiations, agreements and accords have been signed between the different insurgent outfits of the region but in most of the cases the problem continues. The onus to reach a lasting peace and to resolve the on going problem in the region lies with the centre as well as the people of this region. On the one hand, the unwillingness on the part of various ethnic groups to compromise their self identity and their unflinching demand to the centre; on the other hand, the centres ignorance and failure to acknowledge the needs and aspirations of the people of this Region. Moreover, the `Centre' has viewed the problems of North-East India as the singular phenomena of the peripheral region and also as law and order problem.

The centre's concern appears to go little beyond tackling the insurgency. And while tackling insurgency in North-East India, the centre find its easiest means through the application of brute forces of suppression: imposing various constitutional Armed Forces Special Powers Acts and other Disturbed Area Act. The centre while

seeking a quick method of curbing the spread of insurgency often transgress the genuine civil and human rights of law-abiding people from integrating with the mainstream.

The trauma experienced by the North-East Region in the aftermath Chinese invasion (1962) and the lackadaisical response of the centre to the helpless people of North-East India still remain fresh in the minds of the people. The insecurity has become a part of the people’s psyche. Hence North-East India endures the true character of a geographical and political peripherality.

A:1. Problem of Underdevelopment

Development and underdevelopment implies the level of economic change of a country/ state/ region. Objective of development is to explore and utilize economic, physical and human resources and to exploit their potentialities for the welfare of the people. The degree of economic development is measured by the level of successful transformation of the structure of an economy. Thus looking at the present underdevelopment of the North-East Region, the economic development seems to have miserably failed in the North-East India.

The North-East Region is not only the most remote and least known but also the most economically backward region of India. Except Assam and Manipur, the rest

are predominantly tribal states. Physiographically two third of the region are hilly areas. Notwithstanding the low density of population in the hilly tribal areas, scarcity of suitable cultivable land in the hills is a major problem for economic development.

Nearly 60 percent of the people in the North-East Region are engaged in agriculture, but the entire region is agriculturally very backward. More than 70 percent of the farmers fall in the category of small and marginal farmers. It is primarily due to poor economic resources, ill infrastructural facilities, and predominance of uneconomic, unscientific traditional method of agriculture causing tremendous agricultural stagnation in this rural based region.

In spite of the vast economic potentialities, growth of industry in the region is very slow. North-East India continues to be the exporter of raw materials and importer of manufactured goods. While the region considerably offers vast opportunities for setting up various resource-based industries besides a number of demand-based ones.

Apart from other various forms of natural resources such as mineral, hydel-energy etc., which have not been examined here, two significant potential areas for exploitation are forest and agriculture. There are various geographical and human factors that together hamper the setting up of big industries. One of the major factors is that partially due to lack of local entrepreneurs with sufficient resources, and partly the reluctance of major business houses from other parts of the country to invest in the region. Few establishments are there but instead of investing for the regional

development. they are mostly the ones that has outlet channel from this region to outside the region.

The economic development in the North-East Region is not only inadequate but unbalanced, relying mainly on the exploitation of natural and mineral resources rather than setting up industry in the region. In fact there is no major industry worth mentioning except for a few that are concentrated in the Assam plains. Most of the trade and commerce, tea estates plywood factories, transport etc. are owned and controlled by immigrants, who have skills, strong financial base and have business links outside the region. Not only the immigrants have controlled the economic life of North-East India but they are gradually taking over the white collar job market and in those sectors which required professional skills. In the absence of entrepreneurship from the indigenous people and industrial culture, the local community is left with the age-old subsistence economy or compete for the shrinking government job market with immigrants who are better qualified.

Paradox of the North-East India states are that the very nature of the small states/region, leads to a slow economic development and sometimes underdevelopment. They cannot produce the required human resources for their development purpose, therefore, they are compelled to invite outsiders who in the long term drain out all the resources from the region. This is because immigrants who control the economy have little concern for the development of the region; besides the risk of heavy taxes from the separatist groups, (though it is of very recent phenomena)

Lack of well developed transport and communication network has also added to snail’s pace progress of the region. Further the multi-ethnic formation with
different social and economic strata, linguistic differences have hampered the regional advancement. From time to time there is ethnic conflict often resulting in human and economic losses.

The region also faces a very complex geopolitical situation. The centre blames the region for its instability, insurgencies and non-cooperation to the developmental aspects. Indeed, there are reasons for blaming the people of this region, for instance, non-lifting of *innerline permit*, others like prevention of extension of railway lines and other insurgency movements that interrupt the wheels of development. Nevertheless, not many have attempted to grasp the genuine reason why the entire region is irrepresentative to open up for fuller development. There are interrelated answers to these questions, the fact that various ethnic groups in North-East India, having witnessed usurpation of land, job and marginalisation on their own soil at the hands of immigrants, perceive unbridled opening to market forces without adequate safeguards for the natives would benefit only the interloper. Which in turn has questioned the sincerity and commitment of the `Centre' towards the development of North-East India.

As a corollary, the attitude of the North-East India vis-a-vis the `Centre' has been marked by suspicion. That often the policy formation of the `Centre' in regard to the region is viewed as a method of 'enslaving the region' in the name of integration, where as the `Centre' has often blamed the North-East India as 'renegade region'.

The silent demographic invasion in the entire North-East Region, particularly by the Bangladeshis and Nepalis, have serious social and economic implications.
Besides, the bitter experiences of Assam (1979-1984), Meghalaya (1979) and Tripura (1980) have led to great loss of lives, property and heightened the feelings of Xenophobia, which made North-East India ever susceptible to outsiders.\textsuperscript{10}

Though problems of under-development of the region is an accepted fact the 'Centre' has failed so far to come up with a comprehensive regional planning. The twenty four years old North-Eastern Council (NEC) which is the only well known agency worth mentioning is facing numerous problems of tackling the mammoth responsibility of meeting the needs of the entire North-Eastern region, while on the other hand fighting the centre for allocation of funds for the development of the region.

The genesis of the core problem of North-East India lies in history. According to Roy Burman, "backwardness of North-East Region is the legacy of the colonial rule who after ruling for a prolonged period did not make much productive investment."\textsuperscript{11} However, even after almost half a century after the independence, the situation did not change much. The colonial mechanism seems to persist in a subtle way in the form of 'internal colonialism', and the region still continues to be the least developed region in India.


\textsuperscript{11} Roy Burman, 'Issue in North East: An Appraisal' in B.L. Abbi (eds.) \textit{North-East Region, Problems and Prospects of Development}, (Chandigarh, 1984, pp.174-177
These problems can be rectified through judicious planning, avoidance of under-utilization and mis-utilization of the rich resources.

'B' Process of Regionalism in North-East India

Regionalism, in its contemporary form is a recent phenomena. The assertion of the old regionalism have challenged national centres, thereby the relationship between the centre and the peripheries have become a major source of tension, conflict or at least a political debate.

India is a plural society and the North-Eastern India represents entirely different profile of social, cultural, historical and the relative location of the region is fundamentally affected by changes in prevailing economic and political patterns. These differences and changes, in turn, are manifestation of regionalism, the process by which political, economic, cultural, or perceptual area come into being.

North-East India known by its sobriquet "Seven Sisters" was unknown till they were discovered by the British and is still not popular to many mainstream India. At the most Brahmaputra plain was known to the neighbouring people, and it was known by various name such as Asalonga, and Kamarupa or Pragjyotish pura. It was the British who first used the term 'North-East Frontier'. Only after the India's independence, this region was called North-East India. Otherwise, culturally and ethnically North-East India is exclusive from the mainstream India. According to Professor Pakem in his 'Regionalism in India', academically this region is still regarded as part of South East Asia, at least from the cultural point of view. This is mainly due to the regional affinity with the people of South East Asia. Except the
non-tribal Assamese, the rest of the people in the entire region have a very different cultures, traditions, languages and social organizations from the mainland India.

India which has a very old Aryan culture for centuries has been confronted by the different peoples and cultures in the post independent period. And as mentioned earlier, North-East India with its various ethnic nationalities with different historical backgrounds had the same fate of confronting the alien culture by uniting with the Republic of India. The tussle between the different cultures, one trying to assimilate the smaller into its existing prominent one and the other smaller group trying to preserve its cultural identity has led to insecurity and search for identity; which is the main problem connected with the process of regionalism in North-East India.

In the post independent India, the challenges of regionalism have become more acute. In the North-East Region, various ethnic groups have demanded for autonomy and separate administrative units state. At the same time, various ethnic groups have demanded independence from the Indian Union taking claim that they were never part of India and she has no legitimate claim over the area of British-occupied regions. The process of political movement still continues with a strong trend towards regionalism. In some cases, the strong feeling of regionalism in the North-East Region indicates some sign of aggressive Parochialism or localism, based on the 'Sons of the Soil' concept. Never, in the history of India have so many states simultaneously witnessed unrest of such a magnitude. Apart from the different political movements and insurgent groups coalescing into a single front against the

There is also an under-current of shared aversion against the people from outside the region. The problem of economic disparity and backwardness of the region is further exacerbated by the process of imperfect national integration. This has added fuel to the fire of regionalism. The feeling that mainstream culture is imposed over the smaller groups as a means of national integration has alienated the new generations who shied away from the otherwise normal process of integration.

For those people their loyalty to the region comes first than the country. More over from a radical perspective, there is little that is inherently 'natural' about the current arrangements of the states and the region as well.

Looking at the present trend of geopolitical development and the process of regionalism in North-Eastern India, the outburst of different geopolitical units of the North-East appears to be well co-ordinated. "Although there are no definite perceptible signs of an organized region wide political conspiracy behind the unabated turmoil, there is no doubt that some force or combination of forces are master-minding and sustaining the unrest". 13 Some people of Mongolian stock in Assam, Manipur and Arunachal are looking back to their origin. "The People's Liberation Army in Manipur and the Tai Ahom movement in Upper Assam are apparently advocating secession from India and joining with China". 14

The uneven distribution of politico-economic powers and resources among the various segments and regions and marginal role of the North-East India is the decision-making process has fostered the concept of secession. Restoring faith of the North-East India in the political process of the mainstream politics and change in political institutions, equal representation of the states in one Chamber of Parliament, like the Senate in the USA may perhaps, thaw the feeling of regionalism in North-East India.

B. Nationalism and Insurgency Movement

The North-East region in the contemporary India is known mostly for the backwardness and insurgency movements. Most of the insurgencies that have taken place in the region are different from the kind that exist elsewhere. For 'North-East India insurgencies are mainly for 'political emancipation', i.e., political independence for getting separate homeland. Therefore, as far as the North-East is concerned the insurgency is closely associated with 'nationalism.' The Naga, the Mizo, the Meitei and Tripurise insurgency are of this type. The causes of insurgency in the region, among others, are mainly economic, relative deprivation, cultural isolation and neglect and attitudinal discrimination.

Nationalism is a political concept connected with the idea of self-determination for each nationality. Stoessinger’s definition of nationalism as “a peoples sense of collective destiny through a common past and a vision of common future”. In a

15. Bhuyan, n. 7. (Editor’s note)
broader sense nationalism may be designed as a group of people having the common bounds of race, common language, common culture, common history and the same aspiration.

The people of North-East India with their distinct cultures, languages, religions mostly in the case of tribals, origin and history has a long record of the evolution of nationalism among different smaller nationalities for long period. That is the reason the British had to struggle till 1873 even for symbolic occupation of the Naga hills. Similarly so till 1891 in Mizoram, till 1911 in the North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA). The hillmen never as much lost the sense of freedom, and they fought the mighty force of British till they were subdued finally. However, many scholars argues that the seed of nationalism in the North-East was sown by the Britisher as for instance, the formation of 'Naga Club' in 1918 was at the initiating and advice of some British administrators. The Naga Club which was later changed into Naga National Council (NNC) was one of the first political organizations to demand free independent Nagaland from the British. But the Naga Nationalist and other nationalist movements in the North-East Region were impeded by the British policy as long as the region was under the British Administration.

The revival of nationalism and emergence of various insurgent groups are noticed immediately after the establishment of the Republic of India. However, many of them have become inactive in the present day through the process of negotiation

17. Kumar, n.10, pp.244-71; Mackenzie, n.2, pp.27ff.
with the centre or either due to rejection and suppression by the powerful Central forces, but still many refuse to fizzle out. As the people become more exposed interact with the article world more of the global environment the growth of nationalism has led to emergence of more insurgents in the present North-East India.

Though among most of the politicians, the media and even among the scholars, it is perceived that the present insurgency movements in North-East Region as the cause of socio-economic backwardness or as the regular phenomena of the peripheral region. "In fact, insurgency in the North-East has its own historical reasons, whether in Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, Manipur and Assam. apart from other reasons, not excluding the failure of the Constitution, to answer both the hillmen as well as the plainsmen of the region". 19 Most of the hill tribals strongly resisted and even waged wars against the British occupation of their territory. Some of the present insurgency movements as in the case of the Nagas are the continuation of this struggle against any political domination by outside power(s) which is beyond any socio-economic theoretical framework, while some resulted due to long period of negligence and socio-economic compulsion.

On the eve of the independence the situation was very fluid in the North-East region. The impact of the world War II the policy of the British, and the growing tide of nationalism have all contributed to the growth of ethno-political movement and insurgency thereafter. Whatever the reason may be, insurgency in North-East has assumed a mass base, blended with nationalism and an ethnic sense. The Reader's Digest dictionary refers to 'insurgence' as 'Uprising' and 'an act of revolt'.

'insurgent' is one who revolts against authority. Perhaps, the most acceptable definition is that, 'insurgency' could be considered an "extra-constitutional, compositely progressive and variegated struggle launched by indigenous masses for the fulfillment of certain conceptual goals manifested emancipation".\textsuperscript{20} But in India there seems to be prejudice against insurgents in North-East India, often branding insurgency as 'mislead' and 'antinational' and simply the people of this region as 'hostile'. What has compounded the insurgency in the North-East Region is the discontentment, which is a result of long period of negligence and apathy of the centre.

The oldest case of insurgency is found in Nagaland. The Naga National Council (NNC) raised its banner even before the transfer of power in 1947.\textsuperscript{21} The NNC was later divided in its approach and National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) emerged. The NNC under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo formed Federal Government of Nagaland in 1956 and since then took up armed activities against the Indian army and security forces in their struggle for political independence.\textsuperscript{22}

"The insurgency in Manipur dates back to 1948 when the communists under the leadership of Hijam Irabot took up the cause of 'liberation of Manipur' from the suffering of 'semi-feudalism' and semi colonialism' by resorting to armed struggle".\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid. p.1.
\textsuperscript{21} The Editor's note 'The Administrator', n.5; Gordon P. Means and Ignunn P. Means, n.18, p.292.
\textsuperscript{22} Neville Maxwell, "India and the Nagas," Third World Unity, Vol.5, 1978, p.16.
"The movement was based on Meitei nationalism with Communist orientation. It was peasant revolt for the establishment of Sovereign Socialist Republic in Manipur and part of Burma". After a long gap of low ebb in the movement, "the thread left by Irabot was taken up by Revolutionary Government of Manipur in the mid 60's and revived by guerrilla after 1978 (PLA. Prepak & KRP) continues their struggle against the Centre".

The 1956-60 famine (Mautam), was a turning point of the Mizo Politics. The failure of the Assam Government and the apathy of the Centre during the ill-fated famine had outraged the Mizos. In the beginning Laldinga organized the Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) to help the people fight their fate. "The bitter experience during the crisis has eventually led to emergence of Mizo nationalism and ultimately formation of Mizo National Front (MNF) in 1962". After a long struggle of two decades of MNF insurgency movement for complete independence, the strife came to an end with the signing of the 'Mizo Accord in 1988 between Rajiv Gandhi and the MNF leader Laldenga.

The insurgency movement in Tripura seems to vary from the rest of the above-discussed insurgencies. Basically their movement is against the non-tribals

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especially the Bengali migrants who have come as a guest and taken over the major portion of land of the host. The long struggle against the outsiders and the Centre's blind attitude towards the problem have led to insurgency. The Sangrak movement was the first banner of separatist movement against the Centre. The Tripura Upajati Yuva Samiti (TUYV) started in 1973 and 74 with more militant character and later the Tripura National Volunteer (TNV) under the leadership of Bijay Kumar Hrangkhol took up the reins of insurgency. The 1985 Accord brought partial fulfilment to the demand of the Tripurise-insurgents. However, in the recent years the National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT) have emerged as the most dreaded outfit demanding a 'sovereign holy land of Tripura' exclusively for tribals.28

The protracted foreign nationals agitation and a long period of dereliction on the part of the Centre has brought about a radical group of activities in Assam when the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) was formed in 1979. The development of the movement was against the foreign nationals to 'liberation of Assam' from India. 'The advent of ULFA brought a new style to the plethora of guerrilla movements in the North-East. The Assamese widened the description of guerrilla war in the region: from jungle camps and in uncertain income from villages..... to the five star culture.'29 However, barely after a half decade the ULFA was forced to negotiate and a great number of them surrendered to the Centre as a result of series of devastating military operations in Assam and a promise of a government amnesty on the separatist ULFA. With the majority of them surrendered now, ULFA seems to be waning away

29. Hazarika, n.10, p.175.
although the core issue behind its growth remain unresolved.

Another disquieting development is the emergence of 'Khasi and Jaintia Liberation Army' in the peaceful state of Meghalaya. The initial movement against the influx of Bangladeshi and Nepalis is turning into an anti outsider movement.\(^{30}\) Some symptoms of nationalism have already been clued in the recent students movements against outsiders and the Centre.

In 1980’s various armed groups sprouted in the North-East India. Bodo/Boro Security Force (BSF), of Assam, Kuki National Army (KNA) of Manipur, Hmar Peoples Convention (HPC) spread out in all the three states of Mizoram, Manipur and Assam, are some of the insurgent groups demanding for autonomous council or greater homeland within the region. "The latest development of the two outfits are the United Liberation Army of Arunachal and the United Peoples Volunteers of Arunachal".\(^{31}\)

Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh were the only states in the entire region free of insurgency, have lately been in the news indicating their ethnic consciousness mostly due to unabated influx of outsiders and the fast deterioration of state machinery. Taking cue from the insurgency developments in the region, there is a possibility of turning these emerging movements into full scale insurgency if proper measure to tackle this menace is not provided on time.

\(^{30}\) Ibid. pp.125-28; Kumar, no.10, p.259.

\(^{31}\) Frontline, Feb.11. '95. p.
Taking the overall scenario of insurgency movements in North-East India, one finds the close relationship between nationalism and insurgency movements which has deep historical roots in respect of distinctive cultural, institutional and political embodiments of the minority in question. The historical sense of independence, and desire to maintain their distinct ethnic identity seem to be the primary elements in the case of North-East India. Barring the Naga insurgency movement which goes beyond the boundaries of economic, social and geographical factors, in most of the cases, "the fear of losing ethnic identity and threat to group security form the emotional and psychological components in ethnic nationalism". These apprehensions are the result of sudden demographic change, regional economic slackness and domination in the economy and administration by the outsiders.

Other factors are the close proximity to the international border which has rendered it possible for the insurgents to have easy and close relationships with the foreign agencies and countries.

'Problem of Integration and Alienation

The hottest topic of political debate in contemporary India is the question of national integration and the process of alienation in the country. When we talk of integration and alienation, generally we mean it in the political sense and accordingly, the concept of political integration/ disintegration becomes important to be analysed. It also clarifies the process whereby jurisdictional Centre attempts to 'resist' secession and maintains or enhances the 'integrity' of the state. Moreover, it helps to recognize

32. Singh, n.25, p.51.
secession which usually involves a political integration process within the seceding units.\textsuperscript{33}

Rajni Kothari, in his 'Politics in India' remarked "the politics in India is pre-eminently the politics of integration".\textsuperscript{34} Myron Weiner approaches integration with a vast range of human relationship and attitudes. To him,

"it is the integration of diverse and discreet cultural loyalties and the development of a sense of nationality; the integration of political units into a common territorial framework; the integration of citizens into a common political process, and finally the integration of individuals into organizations of purposive activities".\textsuperscript{35}

National Integration has thus three important aspects - Physical integration, Psychological or emotional integration and socio-economic integration. In the context of a plural society like India, it also means the process of balancing the forces of unification and the quest for identities of the constituent groups.\textsuperscript{36}

National integration is an ongoing process in India. It can be traced long back into history, but gained momentum during the British period. During the Freedom movement, it forged an unprecedented unity and gave a concrete shape to the Indian


\textsuperscript{36} Rajni Kothari, \textit{Politics in India} (Delhi : 1970), p.4.
nationality. 37 But in the case of North-Eastern region, barring Assam, the story is different altogether. The NE was completely detached, at the most Assam had some relationship with the mainland India and beyond which the rest were unknown and not to mention about historical and political affairs. "Even during the Indian national movement, the 'nationalism did not travel to the East, beyond the Ganges and was reluctant to do so". 38 At the most upto the bank of Brahmaputra was considered as part of India. Hence, the inclusion of the North-East Region in the Union of India was one of the most difficult task for the new republic India. The tribals especially the Nagas strongly resisted against the Union while among the Khasis, Mizos, Manipuris and Tripuris there was a long tussle. Even after almost half a century of political integration with the rest of India, the region seems to refuse to fully integrate socially and emotionally.

The contemporary scenario in the North-East India as the continuous process of centrifugalism by means of different forms of resistance, movements, confrontation, insurgency, etc. (which will be dealt in the subsequent chapters).

The North-East India is greatly a diversified region and presents a complex problem of regional integration Ethnic conflicts and accommodation within individual state and across state, and national borders besides making integration in this region both its individual neighbours and the nation as a whole.

37. Ibid. p.3.
38. Nibaran Bora, "Insurgency In the North-East", in B.C. Bhuyan (eds) n.5, p.3.
Many smaller ethnic groups also share history, culture, language, folklore, and food habits with their ethnic brethren across the international boundary. At the same time alienation due to the overbearing 'Great tradition' of the mainstream India, thus making integration not a smooth process. Apart from these, there has been limited scope of political participation of the region; besides decision making and government institutions.

The major political parties give scant attention and respect to the aspiration of the region, or rather unwilling to integrate and interact with the minorities as equal partners in the right spirit of federal political structure. In such situation ethnic minority's assertion and demands for nationalism and autonomy become the natural fora for expressing of discontentment.

If the British followed the policy of separating the hill peoples from that of the plains, the policy of the government of India with regard to North-East India does not differ in essence from the earlier colonial policy: by neglecting and treating the North-Eastern People especially the tribals whose culture differ to that of the mainstream ethos. Even after independence, the government of India followed the policy of isolation towards the tribes of North-Eastern region in the name of retaining the distinctive identity of tribals. It is only after Sino-Indian border war of 1962, which came as a shock to the government of India, that brought a shift in the policy of the Centre towards these areas.\(^{39}\) To a great extent the political legacy and historical heritage of the region encouraged a tendency to alienate rather than integration of the Region.

\(^{39}\) Kumar, n.10, p.246.
The North-East Region has also paramount problem of socio-economic integration with the mainland India. Four and a half decades of planning and policy programmes on development has brought tangible development in other parts of India yet, this region still remains the most underdeveloped parts of the country. Difficult geographical terrain, remoteness of the region, compounded by long period of negligence, lack of integrated infrastructural facilities, mis-utilization and under-utilization of natural and mineral resources has created the regional imbalances and backwardness. Tribalism, ethnic and national consciousness among the smaller group have also led to shift in their loyalties from the larger to the smaller groups from National to regional, and further to their respective state and tribal groups.

The problem of India faced in the North-East Region can be approached through patience, commitment and understanding. The complex ethnic equation and aspiration and assurance on equal representations in decision making of the country. Because lack of understanding of the plural character of the Indian nationality and the erosion of secular value at the instance of the state itself have contributed towards centrifugalism and alienation rather than integration in the case of North-East India.

In the last five decades of post independent India the much desired political integration of the North-East India has bore little fruit, what remains to be achieved is the socio-economic integration and the most and prime importance is the emotional integration. The question for identity, nationalism and sub-nationalism in the case of North-East India are rather emotional and political and overcoming attitudinal dissemination.
Today, the entire North-East Region is in a turmoil. The 'pull factor' that operates underneath the political boundaries creates tremendous pressure on the frontier region of North-East India. To resolve the present problem of alienation of the North-East Region and the question of integration it needs honourable way of co-existence. It does not mean assimilation alone.

Keeping in view the changes in the geopolitical paradigm, there is a need for a debate on the core-periphery dynamics in Political Geography. This Thesis is an attempt to study the dynamism of North-East India and Nagaland in particular. It also study the relevance of the 'core' and 'periphery' models while seeking to develop the relationship within the North-East region, and the North-East region with the mainland India.

The introductory chapter reviews the general geopolitical scenario of India in its diverse racial, cultural, linguist, religious and ethnic groups. And within it the persistence of separatism, mostly in the peripheries. With this in mind, the study on the North-East is taken up for the region has been most restive since India's independence. The focus of the study on Nagaland is influenced by the peculiarity of Naga problem. Thus, examining of the Naga issue is within the core-periphery relationship to explore of it can shed any light into the region's perennial question of underdevelopment, increasing alienation, ethnic conflict, the question of aliens, and the insurgency movement.

Chapter II explains the theoretical/conceptual framework which serves as the premises for understanding the core-periphery relationship with the mainland India.
and the North-Eastern region. An inter-disciplinary approach to investigate the complex issue of core and periphery is taken up in the subsequent chapters. While discussing the core-periphery relationship in the colonial, postcolonial and contemporary period, related issues like internal colonialism, process of underdevelopment and dependency in the global as well as regional levels are being discussed. The crisis of the North-South the unequal development and the disparate relationship between the core and periphery is a major focus of this chapter.

The core-periphery relationship in the North-East India occupies a vital part of this study. The determinant such as geographical remoteness, centuries of isolation, multi-faceted social, cultural ethnic composition having a bearing on the geopolitical development of the North-East India is also discussed.

The problem of underdevelopment, insurgencies regionalism and feeling of alienation on is a legacy of the British misrule. This chapter also critically evaluate the wrong policy of integration and the apathy of the government of India towards the North-East India.

The strategic significance of Nagaland, despite its size and marginal impact on the Indian political decision making, in the contemporary period of the escalation or various ethnic groups is also discussed. The problem of Nagaland is discussed from the historical perspective to dispel any misgivings of prejudice and bias to this complex issue. The position and the role of Nagaland is also assessed both in the regional and national context by using the core-periphery model.
The concluding chapter identifies the basic core-periphery issues in North-East India. Keeping in perspective the locational imperative of the North-East India some measures are suggested. This is done in view the disintegrationist tendencies and the apparent lack of strategies by the successive regimes in the post independent India regarding nationality question, the ever alarming influx of migrants from across the borders. Moreover, the need of the hour is to help era so the feeling of alienation and sense perception of relative deprivation prevailing among the people of the North-East India.