CHAPTER – III

A BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Systematic empirical work on Nagas— their society, their psychological make up, unique mental qualities, their historical and the cultural world is relatively very limited. British Administrators, Missionaries, Army Personnel etc. who happened to work among the Nagas before independence collected information about their lives, history, culture etc. Their account was based on their subjective impressions, surveys, and analyses. After independence the focus of analyses and writing has been largely on the socio-political turmoil in Nagaland, Nagas’ struggle for freedom and sovereignty, militancy, secessionist tendencies etc. Various writers belonging to different disciplines like Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, and Journalism etc. have endeavoured to provide different perspectives on disturbance in Nagaland tracing its origin to historical, economic socio-political and military causes. While all these writings are informative and useful, what is most conspicuously missing in them is any discussion on the role of psychological factors related to Naga problem. Work on ‘psychological aspects of Naga problem is in fact almost negligible. Attempt has been made in this review of literature to take note of all kind of information available in these areas, which has bearing on the Nagas, Naga psyche and Naga problem. This review of information, based on the available literature is presented under convenient sub-heading.

(a) Empirical work on Nagas

Chand (1985) in his comparative study of various Naga pupils on their self-perception, socio-economic status, vocational and educational aspirations and academic achievement found that the educational inspirations of Ao pupils were similar to the Angami pupils but significantly different from those of Sema pupils. However, Angami and Sema pupils appeared similar on the educational aspirations. The educational aspirations of boys belonging to Angami, Ao and
Sema tribes differed significantly from the girls of their respective communities. The educational aspirations of girls belonging to Angami and Ao tribes were found to differ significantly from the girls of Sema students, where as Angami and Ao tribes girls appeared similar on this variable. The academic achievements of the Angami pupils were significantly different from that of Ao and Sema pupils. Where as the pupils belonging to the Ao and Sema tribes were not found to differ significantly. The academic achievement of boys belonging to these three tribes was significantly different from the girls of these respective tribes. The girls belonging to these three tribes were not found to be differing significantly on academic achievement. It is also found that the girls from these three tribes seem to have similar self-perception. Where as the boys from these three tribes were found to differ significantly on their self-perception.

Das (1986) in his investigation pertaining to the organization of student activities and their relationship with personality characteristic of secondary pupils in Nagaland found that students who were highly as well as moderately motivated towards students activities scores significantly higher than the lowly motivated on the “Reserved-outgoing” traits. Students who were moderately as well as lowly motivated towards students activities scored significantly higher than the highly motivated on “Less Intelligent-More Intelligent” and Vagorous-Doubting traits”. Students who are highly motivated towards student’s activities scored significantly higher than the moderately as well as lowly motivated on “Affected by Feeling –Emotionally Stable” and “Shy Venturesome” trait. Students who were highly as well as lowly motivated towards students activities scored significantly higher than moderately motivated on the “Sober-Happy-Go-Lucky” trait. There was no significant difference among students who were highly, moderately, and lowly motivated towards students activities on “The Phlegmatic-Excitable, Placid-Apprehensive, Group-Dependent-Self Sufficient, Undisciplined-Self Conflict-Controlled and Relaxed-Tense” traits “towards students activities
A Brief Review of Books Published on Nagas

Number of useful books have been written on Nagas by authors belonging to different social science and disciplines. These books generally deal with different aspects of Naga life - socio-cultural, economics, military etc. and are written on the basis of subjective impressions and analyses. An attempt has been made below to have a brief review of some of the important books on the Nagas and Nagaland. Some of the important titles are as follows:

- Rengma Nagas (Mills, 1937)
- The Naked Nagas (Haimendorf, 1939)
- Slope in Nagaland (Mankekar, 1967)
- The Sema Nagas (Hutton, 1968)
- The Angami Naga (1969)
- Violence (Arendt, 1970)
- Why Men Rebel (Gurr, 1971)
- Hill Politics in North-East India (Chaubbe, 1973)
- The Rising Nagas (Yonuo, 1974)
- The Naga Tribes of Manipur (Hodson, 1974)
- Return to the Naked Nagas (Haimendorf, 1976)
- India's North East in flames (Sarin, 1980)
- In Insurgency in North-East India: A Study of Sino-American Role (Sarin, 1980)
- Origin and Culture of Nagas (Shimray, 1985)
- The Patkai Nagas (Sardeshpande, 1987)
- Identity and Tension in North-east India (Datta Ray, 1987)
- Ethnic Identity, Ethnicity and Social Stratification in North-East India (Das, 1987)
- The World of Nagas (Murkot, 1988)
- North-East India-Quest for Identity (Misra, 1988)
- Nagaland: a Contemporary Ethnography (Channa, 1992)
- Nagas: Problems and Politics (Mao, 1992)
- The Role of Ethnic Kinstates in Secessionist Movement: A Comparative Study of Secessionist Movement in Sought Asia (Ganguli, 1997)
A broad look at the contents of these books revealed that they have been authored by different writers belonging to different disciplines and fields e.g. economics, political science, sociology, military forces, journalism etc. Mostly they contain theoretical analyses based on the factual information. Even though some of them are extremely informative and insightful none of them would seem to be reaching the final understanding of the Naga crisis or problem. They provide different kinds of perspectives, political, economic, socio-cultural, military etc. on the Naga problem. None of them however, is based on the use of systematic scientific methodology. And none of them very conspicuously, deals with the Naga psychological aspects of the Naga problem as pointed out in the chapter on introduction. None has employed psychological techniques or tools. Nor any attempt has been made to interpret the Naga problem using psychological constructs. The present study, therefore, very modestly attempt to correct these limitations by studying the neglected (psychological) variables related to the Naga problem or crisis. In the paragraphs which follow a brief introduction about the above mentioned books has been provided.

Mills in his monograph “Rengma Nagas” (1937) gives a detailed account on the life and culture of the Rengma Nagas. The author has discussed about the origin of the Rengma Nagas, their material culture, domestic life and social organization. He has also talk about the laws and custom, religion, languages, folk tales and songs of the Rengma Naga.
Haimendorf (1939) in his book *The Naked Nagas* talked about the Naga-Hills, the beautiful landscape in which the proud and cheerful people inhabits.

It is also interesting that the author have tried to capture almost all the socio-cultural aspect of Naga psyche, ranging from feast of merit and its social relevant to, harvest, the girls club, sacred chief, making peace, love and poetry, spring festivals etc.

Mankekar (1967) in his book *Slippery Slope in Nagaland* has talked about the political problem of Nagaland, which has been harassing the Indian nation today. Yet, very little accurate information is available anywhere about this vital question relating to the North-eastern frontier, particularly the Nagas of India. The author has presented dispassionate analyses of the political situation in a vital corner of India, although emphasis has been laid on the military, rather than other aspects of the problem. He has also described the underlying causes as well as events, which have progressively led to the situation, which may lead to very disturbing consequences in the political future of the republic.

Hutton (1968) in a monograph "*The Sema Nagas" he tries to give a detail account of Sema Naga tribe. The author have discussed in detailed about the domestic and social life of Sema Nagas their religious ceremonies, languages and folklore. The author also discussed in detail the general and the distinctive factors observable in Sema Community, and a scope for a comparative study of the affinities and divergence existed between the different Naga tribes, the inter tribal relationship, communication and culture.

Hutton (1969) in his monograph 'The Angami Nagas' gives a detailed account on the life and culture of the Angami Nagas. The author have dealt minutely the socio-cultural life of Angami Nagas and provides a readers an immense historical values or as baseline data for further studies in Angami Nagas society and culture.
Arendt (1970) in her book on Violence argued that the acquisition and exercise of power is the principal reason for all kinds of violence including terrorism, riots, and revolutions and agreed based crime.

Gurr (1971) in his book Why Men Rebel hypothesize on relative deprivation paradigm centered on the subjective or psychological discontent which made an individuals and communities amenable to mobilization for a recourse to violence.

Chaube (1973) in his book Hill Politics in North-East India has pointed out that the major factors behind the political turmoil in North-East India has been basically the concept of nationalism which partially ignored the smaller identities, territorial boundary, that crisscrossed different ethnic consolidation, and the process of industrialization which practically had no relation with the traditional economy. Chaube observed these above facts as the root cause of the present crisis among the tribal communities. Though the subject is political yet the historical, geographical and sociological aspects too were given emphasis.

Yonuo (1974) in his book The Rising Nagas is an attempt made by the local scholar to put in sight perspective about the Nagas whom are classified as head-hunters, naked barbaric, narrow minded. He has also highlighted the Nagas from ancient period down to the recent insurrectionist activities against the Government of India.

Hodson (1974) in his book The Naga Tribes of Manipur is an anthropological monograph on the Naga People of Manipur. The author has talked about habitat geographical distribution, origin appearance, ornaments and weapons of the Nagas of Manipur. He also talked about the cultural structure of Nagas, their organization, institution of marriage, adoption and inheritance, their beliefs system, priesthood and other related ceremonies.
Haimendorf (1976) His second book, *Return of the Naked Nagas* have highlighted the changes in the old tribal life, so enchanting in its gaiety and simplicity despite some streak of cruelty has ceased to exist due to the influences of higher civilization. The political upheavals for which years bedeviled relations between the Nagas and the government of India have shattered the hill-men seclusion and transformed their traditional way of living. He had also highlighted some aspects of the traditional Nagas ways of living.

Sarin (1980) in his book *India's North East in Flames* has given the importance to the geo-political situation of the region. The transition from traditional economy to modern economy created an upheaval in the tribal societies. The question of immigration and land alienation etc. are not given proper attention to understand the turmoil among the tribe who chose the path of insurgency with the aid of foreign countries. The author also provided an outline the counter-productive efforts made by the Indian government to solve those problems that further whipped up their parochial sentiment.

Sarin (1980) in his book *In Insurgency in North-East India: A Study of Sino-American Role* discussed the link with foreign countries. The author studied the growing insurgency in Northeast India, which will continue to remain vulnerable due to its geographical position. The author rightly observed that the inability on the part of the Government to check insurgency in Nagaland have led to the spread to the other state of the region. It also paves a way to hatch a conspiracy against the nation in her own soil. But the author has overlooked facts and findings that led to the revolt and the reasons that were cited are insufficient to provide a deep insight into the problem.

Shimray (1985) had attempted to put forward the fundamental concept and cultural aspect of the Nagas. His book, *Origin and Culture of Nagas* is a monograph in nature, treating the cultural life of the Nagas who live in scattered areas along the Himalayas and Patkai ranges bordering Burma and China.
Shimray has tried to discover the past and to assemble the facts and then to fit them in the present set up of the social milieu.

Sardeshpande (1987) in his book "The Patkai Nakas" has attempted to highlight that it is the scanty knowledge about the Nagas that led to think as naked, head-hunting, anti-national, hostile, underground insurgency activities etc. The author’s understanding of these tribes highlighted that the Nagas, by nature are suspicious, sensitive, worry, distrustful, inward looking, volatile and very proud people. He has also pointed out that there can not be a better friend than the Nagas, once he identifies and there can not be a worse foe than the Nagas once he feels deceived or let down. The author also put a light about the Nagas attachment toward their family and land. He has also highlighted how the fellow Nagas being asked to produce their passport or asked to disclose their nationality.

Datta Ray (1987) in his study of Identity and Tension in North-east India found that the tribal identity in Naga inhabited areas represent a conscious quest under the aegis of the traditional elite, but drawing upon communication skill of the emerging elite of harness the traditional resources of culture for crystallizing viable ethnic entities. The relative position of a particular group in the societal matrix becomes a rallying point of a quest for identity of its own.

In his study, it came out that the tribal society is not much acquainted with the term nationality. It is an alien concept, which came up at a certain stage of material civilization. The tribal situation in North-east is yet to catch up the level of nationality. In North-east, the major point relating to tribal identity movements has a different connection with the level of economic growth and disparity in capital formation.

Das (1987) in his book Ethnic Identity, Ethnicity and Social Stratification in North-East India is of the view that the development of ethnicity in North-East India is the result of long drawn process of interaction and
integration of different cultural elements which he prefer to call Aryan and Non-Aryan in the broader perspective. The various social inequalities based on unequal shares in exercise of power, wealth and prestige symbols are conspicuous in many ethnic groups. He also talked about the three dominant kind of tribal polity – tribe, chiefdom and state – that have been recognize in this ethnic situation and these have been exerting deep rooted influence in the framing of the whole social organization. The process of state formation in North-East India has become the most interesting issue among the social scientists because in this multidimensional ethnic situation variegated force of socio-political nature are in interactional processes ultimately emerging many new synthesis of social consciousness. The ethnic identity and its changing process are dependent on the nature of political forces. Thus after independence this pattern of ethnic identification has taken a completely different issue. In the post-independence development the democratic set-up of the country has caused a great deal in the emergence of socio-cultural consciousness. This consciousness has given birth to the idea of cultural revivalism amongst different ethnic groups. The author has rightly shown that many ethnic communities have always been conscious about their traditional culture which have brought forth their aspiration to restore the past glory and distinctive identity of language and religion.

Murkot (1988) in his book The World of Nagas tries to highlight the problem of the Nagas. For centuries the Nagas had lived a secluded life in their village hill-tops, existed in isolation. This remote areas and isolations, the villages developed their own code of behaviour and standard of administration. The world left them untouched and unnoticed. They valued their isolation and they clung to it. The first contact of Nagas to outside world was disastrous. The Nagas had developed their fear and distrust to the unknown. Their initial experience of the British administration also was not very happy. The British policy of non-interference in Naga areas avoids them to touch with the modern form of government. The independence movement of India also left untouched.
Unaware of the political development in the rest of the India increase their fear for unknown and which led to the demand for an independence in free India.

Misra (1988) in his book *North-East India – Quest for Identity* contains two parts, which deals with the contemporary development in the North-East. The first part deals with the Naga national question and the second part is on the Assamese national question. In the first part the author described the movement led by the Naga National Council (NNC), the political wing of the Federal Government of Nagaland. This organization, with the sole objective to separate Nagaland from India to constitute an independent nation, fought against the Government of India. The emphasis was laid on the typology Naga nationalism which is the major force behind the sustenance of such a movement for such a long time. The Naga Club which submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission (1929) urging the exclusion of Naga from the Indian republic. Though their demand was not fulfilled, the Naga are still firm on their point. The author keenly observed that the poor assessment of the content of insurgency in Nagaland by the Government of India led to the present situation in North-East.

Channa (1992) in his edited book *Nagaland: a Contemporary Ethnography* highlighted the problems of Nagaland reflecting upon global issues of ethnicity and nationhood hounding the world of today. This volume has made an attempt to represent views on contemporary Nagaland, on its political existence on the map of India both from the point of view of the detached observers and the involved insiders. It also tried to cover some aspects of daily life of certain Naga communities being to light their society and culture.

Mao (1992) in his book *Nagas: Problems and politics* study the social, historical and political processes of the Nagas. The book deals with the origin of the Nagas and their relation with the British Administration. The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter he talks about the process of political
modernization. In the second chapter he talks about the historical background of the Nagas. The third chapter deals with the Naga uprising. Chapter four deals with the creation of Nagaland state. Though granting of statehood to Nagaland within India fulfilled the aspiration of the moderates but failed to pacify the extremists and the bone of contention remained where it was. The initiatives taken by the government to restore Peace and order in Nagaland has been dealt in chapter five.

Ganguly (1997) in his book *The Role of Ethnic Kin States in Secessionist Movement: A Comparative Study of Secessionist Movement in South Asia* stated that when a secessionist movement breaks out among an ethnic group that straddles an international boundary, it immediately affects the neighbouring ethnic kin state – a neighbouring state that contains co-national boundaries (Primarily, but not exclusively, in the developing world), which often divides ethnic groups among two or more states, and the re-emerged of ethno-secessionist movements in the post-bipolar world, the likelihood of ethnic kin states being present next to a secessionist region and being involved in the conflict in some capacity is high. Understanding how ethnic kin states reacts to secessionist movements involving their co-nationals in neighbouring state is, therefore, important because it usually holds the key to predicting the audibility, visibility, durability and international acceptability of such movements.

Van Dyk (1998) in his book *Conflictual relations: Explaining violence in Ethnic secessionist movements* puts forward the pre-conditions for the rise of ethnic secessionist movements are: (i) a specific territory identified as “homeland” by the secessionist group and occupied by a majority of that group, (ii) a combination of political, social and economic grievances on the part of the groups, and (iii) the effective mobilization of the group, which is dependent upon a strong organization base and the existence of an entrepreneurial leader.

The author has also identified those factors which affect the potential for violence in ethnic secessionist movements are: (i) the tactics chosen by the
central government in its response to the secessionist movement, either military power/influence or political influence (which may include tactics of repression, placation or facilitation), or non-involvement; (ii) the respective capabilities of the government and the secessionist groups, particularly military, (iii) external involvement, either by individual state or non-state groups or the international community through such organization as the United Nation or NATO, (iv) a history of violence which provides the motivation for a current use of violence, and (v) the preference for violence by the leadership of any involved parties.

Pannalal (1998) in his book *Ethnic Unrest: In India and her neighbour* had highlighted the ethnic unrest in North-east India. He had also given the ethnic movement such as under the banner of NSCN (I-M) and their network of link with the international organization like UN Human Rights and the UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and People). He also talked about the militant groups in North-east India are working under the umbrella of the NSCN (I-M) and warned that the emerging problem in North-east will be of great concern if not properly dealt with.

Misra (2000) in his new book *The Periphery Strikes Back – Challenges to the Nation-State in Assam and Nagaland* is a comprehensive analyses of and a probe into the parameters of the ongoing conflicts in the region. The future of the Indian nation-state the author feels depends considerably on how it can resolve the question of ethnicity, nationalism and sovereignty thrown up by the rebel movements in the North-east.

Vashum (2000) in his book *Naga’s Right to Self-Determination* talks about a historical and holistic account of the Nagas’ struggle for their right to self-determination. His work covers the Nagas’ old way of life, the emergence of the Naga movement and the later developments till 1999 and the perceptions of the Nagas on self-determination. The author dates back into the remote Naga past traditions and articulates them to the development of the modern Naga national movement.
Singh (2000) in his book, National Security Problem in India: A Case Study of the Problem in Nagaland and Manipur highlighted about the original Naga argument for separation of Nagaland state started with the presentation of letter to Gandhiji in July 1947. The Naga reasoned that they were independent before British rule and demanded that their independence be restored once the British quit India. When the representatives of the Naga National Council (NNC) met Prime Minister Nehru, the results were not favorable. The NNC approaches the United Nation’s and Phizo, the President of NNC moved to U.K. to internationalize the Naga course. In 1975 section of Naga Federal Government (NFG) signed an accord known as Shillong Accord agreed to recognize Indian constitution under whose framework the problem was to be solved. But such accord could not materialized since the vice President, Isak Chisi Swu and General Secretary Th. Muivah rejected the accord as a sell-out and condemned the signatories of the accord as traitors. And the Maoist faction came up under the banner of National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) to carry forward the separatist movement.

b) Articles/ journals

Barpujari (1990) has highlighted about the emergence of new class different from the ordinary folk, which through British rule and Christianity has brought them together from various Naga tribes. He also talked about the outside contact of Nagas during the war periods, which led to the growth of consciousness of their common identity and interests. It had resulted in the growth of inter-tribal fellowship and understanding of broader issues. The formation of the Naga National Council was the major step in consideration of Naga Nationalistic force. He also highlighted that the changes that the missionaries and Christianity were responsible for separatist elements in Naga inhabited areas overlooked the fact that “Naga’s corporate and community spirit” which is greater than their “religious sentiment”. Thus Naga separatist movement is a search for and assertion on the ethnic identity of the Nagas.
Zemik (1992) in her paper has given a detailed account on the changing agrarian scene of Nagaland. Her paper has given an evaluative account of the changing scene and its adverse effects on the economy. The misunderstanding of traditional agricultural structure of Nagaland giving rise to monitory economy and commodification of land has brought upheaval in the Naga land holding and administration. The land which are owned by community or clan in traditional society ceased to exist, giving rise to private ownership which is not known to Nagas are the backbone of much of the changes that are taking place in Nagaland.

Sanyu (1992) in his paper tries to dissect the current situation in Nagaland in tracing the history of the creation of Nagaland. He has analyzed the mistake made by the government of India.

He also vividly described the accelerated the changes taking place in Nagaland today. He states that change itself is a part of social life but dangerous thing as he pointed out is the uncontrolled changes that are taking place in Nagaland at the rate i.e. destabilizing. The change is tremendous that the younger generations of Nagas are not getting enough time to readjust to a new way of life. Moreover, many of them are yet grouping for a true identity, while few would like to go back to their ancestral ways, the search for an alternative model led to intoxication of western culture. This western identification has created further problems for the integration of Nagas into the Indian Nation.

The Naga society has new way of life, ideas and values of people have changed. New generations are no longer exotic tribal. On the other, the modern Nagas conceptualized their own identity as a ‘Naga’, which may be quite different from the earlier one.

D’Souza (1992) in his paper on, emergence of self of Nagaland provides an insight in to the conflicting value systems of changing Naga societies. He also has provided an insight into the emergence of a new self-image of the modern Nagas, which is not amalgamation but a creation.
D’Souza’s understanding of the Naga society states that the emerging ethos of Nagas have been the hand made of the Missionaries and Christianity with the conversion into Christianity, the Missionaries have tried to imposed new ethos of life which is conflicting the old tribal value systems and simple way of life.

Imchen (1999) in his article Politics of Tribal Identity And Interpretive Monopolies has discussed the issue of identity and the state policy towards tribal issues. The author also talked about the incapability between the practice of the state and the tribal organization principles. That is, the tribals are concerned with particular meaning and precise understanding in the context of their social life and thus emphasize meaning more than form. The ‘safeguards’ that the Indian constitution are either denatured caricatures or misplaced notional consolidation. He has also cited the Naga experience to discern the relationship between the Indian state and the tribals. The Nagas are concerned of this issue of nationhood, self-determination and inalienable territorial rights from the very beginning. This was never understood by the state representative and incorporated in the Sixth Schedule which brought the traditional institutions to the level of a trans-tribal (Naga) level. The process of de-tribalisation to make them ready for legal emancipation, electoral politics etc. to assimilate themselves to the mainstream which is against the wishes of the tribal people. The question of autonomy existed at the sufferance of parliament in India, and therefore, subject to complete defeasance.

Miri (2001) in his paper talks about the discourse of North-east India. According to him politics, economics and culture are the main principal points of reference that revolved around the discourse of North-East India. Thus, any demand for political autonomy always go in hands with the other two principal points of reference.

c) Magazines/newspapers
Pardeshi (1986) in his article Nagaland: A problem unresolved report on the political game played to the Naga rebels by the Government of India. The first ever visit of Army Chief, General K. Sunderji to Burma mounted an attack on the Nagas belonging to National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) from both sides. At the time of independence, the Nagas, who had declared unilaterally the “independence” of Nagaland had requested the United Nation to put the entire Naga territories under the Trusteeship system. But at that time of independence, there could have been mutual readjustments but the Indian have certainly helped in perpetuating the imperialist policy of “divide and rule”.

The rebel Naga have been demanding “united Nagaland” combining the Indian parts with the Burmese and the Naga inhabited areas of Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. In order to meet such demand till statehood was granted to Nagaland carving out certain Naga inhabited areas in 1963 but failed to meet the aspiration of the people. The rebels who continued to oppose the “Indian domination”. Later in 1975 the Shillong Accord was concluded with some section of Federal Government. However, the hard-core refused to accept the accord and called those who had surrendered as traitors.

Today, the Naga society is divided in the issues of the future of Nagaland. The pouring in of massive development found into the state, the widespread corruption it has generated and the increasing career opportunities for the educate, have created a class which has a vested interest in peace and in the status quo, thought on issue like the alleged army atrocities they also support the rebels. The other section consisting of lower middle and middle lass, students and intellectuals support the underground, who provides the young with an alternative frame work it visualize Nagaland as a separate entity. The present statehood within the Indian constitution is perceived only as an interim arrangement. The continuing presence of the Indian army in their villages for they signifies the continuity Indian oppression of the Naga nationality.

Banerjee (1992) in his article Dangerous gamut in Nagaland reports on the dangerous game played by the Government of India taking advantage of the
The dilemma of the NSCN insurgents. The smart alecs in New Delhi’s home ministry have revived their manipulative game of dividing the Naga rebels and pushing through yet another accord with that section of the rebels which appears to be more pliable to the ministry’s bureaucrats. This is exactly what happened following the 1975 **Shillong Accord** (which was signed by some section of the Naga National Council, which agreed to abide by the Indian constitution, was denounced by the other section. The Naga insurgents have been fighting a “protracted war” for the last five decades against the obdurate Indian state that was required the reputation of being a slippery customer whenever negotiations and taken place on the future of the Nagas. Continuation of such a “protracted war” as well as the government out of narrow, short term motives imply further blood shed.

The People’s Union for Democratic Rights Delhi (1996) in the article **Army in Nagaland** reports the findings of D.M. Sen’s Commission Report about the long presence of army and paramilitary forces in North-east for more than four decades undermined the civil and legislative authority over the areas and was brought a high degree of uncertainty and insecurity to the lives of ordinary people. The Center’s imposition of extraordinary laws called the Armed Forces (Special Power) Act, 1958 on the regions by declaring them as “disturbed areas” also had serious implication for the federal nature of Indian polity.

Banerjee (1997) who incorporated the views of Gurmukh Singh on the problem of North-east India traces the roots cause of North-east remaining outside the mainstream even after fifty years of independence is due to regions alienation’s. The social scientists and security experts agreed that the crux of the problem is the location of the region. Prof. Udayan Misra adds that deprivation syndrome is breeding militancy. According to Ved Marwah and General V.K. Nayar, the then Governor of Manipur and Nagaland are of the view that the problem is due to the Delhi’s ignorance about the region and its people. Further,
Gen. V.K. Nayar, says that the sense of alienation has been deepened by the politicians and the insurgents. The author is of the view that the problem of North-east India is about social, economic, ethnic and political deprivation.

Suraiya (1997) reports on the Naga situation highlighted the Naga problem as physically and psychologically disguise into ethnic identity and at sometime nowhere. And the problem is intangible, omnipresent vector undercut across social, tribal and even family (clan) lines. The reporter on his personal encounter with the locals gains an impression about the local resentment on the deployment of troops. Further he also report that the locals have innate sense of sympathy with the underground for after all they are Nagas even though they might be misguided and certainly hostile to the people.

Baruah (1997) in her article India's stepchildren has highlighted the misconceptions the rest of the country has about the North-easterners. The people of the mainland never try to understand the problem at heart of the matter. The Government considered the North-east India a trouble spot, insurgency as law and order problem. There has been hardly any attempt to understand the complexities of the regions. She also highlighted that the north-easterners grew up with distrusting these Mayangs particularly the business communities as people who exploited the people. The role played by media also does not cover the issue and cultural aspects of the people to make people aware about the people of the North-east.

Fernandes (1999) in his commentary entitled “Conflict in North-East. A Historical Perspective”, talks about consciousness in relation to religion. He cites some examples of some North-east states of their unrest problem. He says that much awakening resulted from destabilization and the process of coming together of tribes began with it. Their conversion itself was an offshoot of their efforts to protect their identity. But the missionaries did very little to protect their culture. From 1930s, the desires of the tribals to cope with the changes
expressed itself in the form of new organizations. For example, the Bodos emulated the Ahom institution that helped them to make advance in education; the formation of the Naga National Council where the national leaders failed in understanding the aspiration of the Nagas alienated the Nagas. The causes of unrest differed from tribe to tribe, with similar process. In some form or the other the conflicts arose as a reaction to a homogenizing state.

Kumar (1999) in his article *Northeast India: Crisis of Perception and Credible Action* attempted to highlight that the country has suffered due to crisis of perception and credible action particularly in North-eastern region. The colonial rulers talked about the multi-stage isolation of the region from the country. He is of the view that the academician of the country has misinterpreted the society and culture, giving colonial bias to the history and promoted all round social, cultural, religious and ethnic divide. All these have made to assert for separate identity and social distancing. Moreover, the concept of ethnocentrism occupies a central stage and generates sense of alienation among the people. He has also cited the example of the creation of Nagaland state, which has affected the Naga psyche.

Iralu (2000) in his article *Proximity & Distance* tries hard to assert that Nagaland is not part of India. He goes further saying that it is not a secessionist movement but a fight for history, dignity and human rights. Elaborating this point, he says that when the Simon Commission came to Kohima in 1929 to assess public opinion on creating measures for reforms, the Nagas replied in writing right they want the right to decide their future on the basis of their pre-British status. The Akbar Hydari-Naga pact of 1947 which was drawn up at the initiative of India, and which Nagas considered accepting on this bases of certain clarifications, came to an ignoble end when the Indian government declared it had nothing to do with it. The distrust that resulted then has influenced Naga attitude towards Delhi ever since. Sensing that any ambiguity would result in serious complications, the Naga National Council declared Naga independence
on 14 August 1947, establishing a fact of no small importance to them, that their struggle is not one of secession from India.

Vasum (2000) in his article *Towards Peace in Nagalim* has high the crux of the Naga problem and reflect on the prospect of peace in N (Nagaland). He cited a number of movements against the British colonialism example, the Zeliangrong movement under the leadership of Jaduanang 1925) to overthrow the British regime in the Naga Hills. There are many pe unanswered questions that arise with respect to the interference Government of India in the Naga affairs – What right does the Governr India have to occupy the Naga Hills in the first place? Is Nagalim a com that can be transferred from one state to another etc. These questio unpalatable to many but required to be address before/after engaging in issues of the process of peace. Some Indian thinkers have expres opinions on the framework for resolution of the problem. While some oth that giving maximum autonomy to the Naga people can solve the Naga

Sachar (2000) highlighted the deep suspicion, complaints of break promises by the Government of India of the cease-fire and a confusion sit continued to bedevil the prospect of a solution to the Naga question. The b impeachment to the peace process, as the NSCN sees it, is the refusal Government of India to extend officially the cease-fire to all the Naga inh areas. He also raised issue on the rationale of cease-fire when both the p will hold their cease-fire in Nagaland and will continue to fight in areas of Nagaland. He also report on the unfortunate incident that took place bet both the parties (example, the life attempt on S.C. Jamir, the killing of 12 h activities etc.) which breach the cease-fire. He concludes with the sugg that the center and NSCN should continue their peace talks, not withstandir provocation from some quarters on political consideration or on wrong an that the gun can never solve a problem in the modern world.

\[ T \]

\[ 305 \]
Fernandes (2000) article on Unrest in the Northeast I & II, talked of how the Government of India label the unrest as instigated by Pakistan’s I.S.I., drug Mafia or Christian missionaries with looking at the cause why people join the underground. He talked about the diversity of the region and failure of many "mainland" Indians to recognize cultural and ethnic differences or in other word, homogenizing ideology, led to conflicting relations between the tribal and non-tribal (who dominated the economic decisions). This conflicting relations itself expresses in terms of nationality identity and ethnicity. This according to him is the main cause of secessionist movement. Fernandes is of the view that to find a solution to the unrest is to understand the aspirations and respect cultural, economic and social autonomy or even extending the Article 370 could be the first step towards a solution.

Roy Burman (2000) in his article Naga People and prospects for Peace has highlighted that the Naga people undoubtedly constitute a nation but became a part of India on their volation (by the implication of Peace mission of the 1960s). He talked about the positive aspects of the possibility of Peace in the short-range and long-range terms. According to him short-range perspective should include a confidence building measures (i) the Government should repeal the draconian Special Armed Forces Act and the regulation that are imposed in the Naga areas (ii) the Government of India must assure the Naga on the continuation of the traditional rights (iii) a non-territorial jurisdiction should be envisaged cutting across the state boundaries within India with much enhance power in legislative, administrative and judiciary etc. and (iv) the Nagas should be allowed to have non-statutory transborder coordinating bodies to enable them to mix freely without restricting in the de-facto border of India and Myanmar. He also talked about the long-term perspective such as a non-territorial solution without ignoring the territorial nexuses and a limited authority and power of the Government of India and Myanmar for greater freedom of existence for the Nagas.