

Politics of Nationalism: Insider's Views of pan-Naga Ethnic Community's Nationality Question in Ethnic Boundary Line

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In the universal nature law, everyone is equal. Thus, in this concept, we could have live harmoniously and happily without antagonize to each other. But men are craving for power, status and glory. These instincts make them to go for unrightfully dominances, conquers, conflicts, mutual treaties, segregates 'us' from 'them'. Thereby, the question of nationalities and birthrights, assertion of identities and maintenance of territorial (physical) boundaries, politics boundary, protections and negotiations become inevitable facts. Thus, drawing to this perspective, the author is taking significantly and critically examining the longest Indo-Naga problems in Constructivists perspective of insider's views is an attempt scholarly debates and suggestions for future course of action in democratic and pacific means to an amicable solution.

Key words: Nationalism, nationality, hegemony politics, ethnic communities, ethnicity, ethnic identity and politics/ethnics boundary

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Introduction

The issues and debates of nationalism, nationality, hegemony politics, ethnic communities, ethnicity, ethnic identity and politics of tribals or ethnics boundary are becoming a contestation doubting query to Scholars in knowledge field need to be reflected an insider's views in the North-East India. Although, these terms and concepts are modern yet unceasing process in the region and becoming more significant, problematizing, sensitizing, and challenges in the region needs to be discoursed in social scientific analysis. Keeping these terms and concepts in eyes views the paper focuses on to critically analyses an insider's views of pan-Naga ethnic community' nationality question and examining to ethnic boundary line.

Concepts and Theoretical Framework

Paul R. Brass defines nationalism is a political movement. It requires political organization, skilled political leadership, and resources to gain support to make essential demands in the political system. Furthermore, he observed the movement must be able to complete effectively against alternative political groups and must be strong enough to withstand government efforts to suppress it or to undercut its political support. Effective political organization and political

leadership and the resource base to maintain them are independent variable that profoundly influences the outputs.¹ He suggested five main political factors: First, Brass shared the important of political organizations that can command some community resources are likely to be more effective and successful nationalist organizations have been able to build and draw upon resources created during period of communal organization. To make it clear understanding, he cited in the 1940s and 1950s the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons in Nigeria based organization on the tribal unions created 1980s of Ibo ethnic consolidation and advancement as the James S. Coleman's studied shows.² Second, Brass also shared about the importance of identification with the community and popularized a political organization that succeeds in indentifying itself with the community rather than merely representing the community or pursuing its interests is also likely to be more effective against external political competition and potential internal rivals. He says the important goal for nationalist movements in this regard is exclusivity, the drive to become the sole political representative of the community so that the community may act cohesively and united. He says this is especially important if the group is a minority, for a cohesive minority may be able to achieve its goals against a larger, but more fragmented group, whereas organizational division in a minority ethnic group may be fatal to its interests.³ Third, Brass shared that not only identification but also purpose of the organization. He says the more effective ethnic nationalist movements are their ability to shape the identity of the groups they lead. Fourth, Brass shared leadership qualities. He says to be effective in the pursuit of nationalist goals, must be able to provide continuity and must be able to withstand changes in leadership. Most successful nationalist movements are led by strong, dynamic, and sometimes charismatic leaders, but such leadership may not be sufficient to sustain a movement to the end. He asserted, prominent leaders may die or be killed or may return away from nationalism before the group's goals are attained. There must, therefore, be clear successor or a second rung of leaders, who can affect a succession without dividing the movement. Finally, Brass shared that dominant group to lead the rivals. He says it is critical importance in the success of nationalist movements that one political organization be dominant in representing the demands of the ethnic group against its rivals.⁴ To put in a sentence, the term nationality refers to the relationships among the people of communities. It is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, ancestry, or regionality.

Thus, in general, the term hegemony means leadership or dominance, especially by one state or social group over others. Jonathan Joseph defines “The concept of hegemony is normally understood as emphasising consent in contrast to reliance on the use of force. It describes the way in which dominant social groups achieve rulership or leadership on the basis of attaining social cohesion and consensus. It argues that the position of the ruling group is not automatically given, but rather that it requires the ruling group to attain consent to its leadership through the complex construction of political projects and social alliances. These allow for the unity of the ruling group and for the domination of this group over the rest of society. In its simplistic form hegemony concerns the construction of consent and the exercise of leadership by the dominant group over subordinate groups; in its more complex form, this deals with issues such as the elaboration of political projects, the articulation of interests, the construction of social alliances, the development of historical blocs, the deployment of state strategies and the initiating of passive revolutions.”⁵

An ethnic community is defined as a self-perceived community of people who hold a common set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact.⁶ Ethnic community refers to a population which is largely and biologically self-perpetuating; shares basic cultural values, realizes unity in cultural forms; makes up a field of communication and interaction and has a membership which identifies the community and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.⁷ Unlike a tribe which is primarily a self-sufficient socio-cultural entity; an ethnic community is a politicized cultural group already drawn into the web of modernity. The term ethnicity refers to the relationships among ethnic communities. It is constructed out of the material of language, religion, culture, appearance, ancestry, or regionality.⁸ Ethnic identity can be viewed as self-awareness on the part of people belonging to a particular ethnic community.⁹ Ethnicity, identity and social mobility are interrelated. Ethnic identity plays a crucial role in bringing about social mobility of a community. By ‘ethnic boundary’, it refers to ‘the social boundaries of a group that maintains its identity when its members interact with others, and this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion.’¹⁰ Ethnic boundaries are articulated in terms of man-made distinctions on the basis of language, religion, social organization, endogamy and exogamy, shifts and drifts by ethnic actors.¹¹ Unlike physical boundaries, ethnic boundaries are not fixed¹² and they are flexible and intangible. Ethnic dynamics is the outcome of the efforts on

the part of ethnic actors to construct and maintain ethnic boundaries. Construction and maintenance of ethnic boundaries involve complex processes of contraction and expansion through exclusion and inclusion of a group of people within an ethnic community based on cultural markers and social interactions. The community leaders and organizations play very important roles in the politics of boundary making and maintenance.

The Constructivists core striking focus is not cultural attachment but rather importantly to social, political and economic factors which play crux roles through networking system of interaction and negotiation constructed a particular ethnic nationality identity. In the 1970s, this approach gained popularity.¹³ The main Constructivist argument of ethnic identity and ethnic boundary is that they are not static or fixed, but dynamic and fluctuating, influenced by and responding to changing social environments, processes and interactions.¹⁴ The pioneering authors of Constructivism, such as Benedict Anderson and Eric J. Hobsbawm show that the most important categories of self-identification such as language, religion, ethnicity, culture or even history are not primary characteristics and have not naturally come into being, but they are all products of social construction.¹⁵

The entire article will be discourses on Social Scientific Research method incorporated for the critical examining and analysis of the Constructivists' model perspective to know evident facts of the problems and challenges between Government of India (GoI) and pan-Naga ethnic community.

Situation Analyses: in Pan-Naga Ethnic Community's Nationality Question

kaba Iralu, a writer asserted in pragmatic notion of nationalism or nation state in the context of pan-Naga ethnic community. He claims that no nation on earth, no individual in human history has come into existence without a concrete geographical reference point. In other words, he illustrated no nation on earth and no individual in the world have fallen into the earth from outer space. The political history of every nation has its origin in some concrete geographical land within these physical boundaries the people develop one nationality, cultural identity and political space. The habitants of the land called their land. This logically followed that the pan-Naga ethnic community, like any other nations on earth, called Nagaland¹⁶ (that is, term 'Nagaland' combination of two words 'Naga' and 'Land' implies land of the Nagas. He pointed out in globe of nationalism by a tragic twist of history; Nagaland in the 20th century was

severed in two physical boundaries lands by the British Government through a treacherous betrayal. Half was gifted to Burma dominion and half to Indian dominion. Those areas that fell under Indian Territory were further fragmented into four India Constitutional States- Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. It was divided Naga people against the wishes of the Nagas by the hegemony of India political leaders and framer of the Constitution. This was purposely done to reduce the Nagas strength into smaller possible geographical locations for their administrative conveniences.

The hegemony politics of India toward pan-Naga ethnic community went back early to Nehru's, the first Prime Minister India's times right after in 1947 onward. As A. Lanunungang Ao, the Naga Scholar observed that the worst political tragedy that ever experienced was Nehru's 'Policy of Iron Hand' upon the pan-Naga Ethnic community that created a wide gap between India and the Nagas. He pick pointed out that it was political blunder that Nehru made between the two nations. Nehru came to know the Nagas from Christopher Von Furer Haimendrof¹⁷ and gave him a very wrong impression the reality of the Nagas. Thereafter, Nehru thought that the Nagas are naked people, illiterate and headhunter that could be easily handled without much difficulty. But when he heard the Naga political aspiration from Mahatma Gandhi, he laughed at the Nagas, even miscalculated the Nagas are just, and like any other Indian tribal who could be easily controlled by way of introducing welfare schemes or if not by sending military forces, aware the necessity of treating the depressed sections of the people in India by forces particularly to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes communities, according to his observation according Ao's observation in the one angle. On another angle, he discovered that indeed, Nehru, the first Indian leader who was more sympatric towards the tribal population in the North-East India, though he misunderstood the pan-Naga ethnic community in the inception. In the capacity of the President of Indian National Congress, prior to Indian's Independence, asserting that the Naga territory must continue to form part of India in Assam, when India attains Independence. Thereby, Nehru says:

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

They should be isolated between India and China. Inevitably, therefore, this Naga territory must form a part of India and Assam with which it has developed such closed associations. I see no reason whatever, why an extraneous judicial system should be enforced upon the Naga Hills. They should have perfect freedom to continue their village Panchayats, tribal courts, etc., according to their own wishes. Indeed, it is our wish that the judicial system of India should be revised giving a great deal of power to the village Panchayats".¹⁸

In the above lighted statement contextual, Nehru's vision to empower local self-governing system is also logically not incorrect because he also thinks for less development regions. But the question is why did Nehru suppress Nagas' rights if they can able to live, of what they were as sovereign nation in pre- British period? There are sovereign countries, for instance, like Vatican which is much smaller than even Nagas' country in term of geographical size and location can live independently. Why then India is very much interest on Naga land? By doing this, perhaps, Nehru was inviting more problems for India is queried from some of the Writers and Scholars in the contemporary Nagas' insider views. As A. Lanunungang Ao critical examined shows that when the Nagas declared Independence on August 14, 1947 Nehru again laughed at the Nagas. He did not even care for it after he becomes the Prime Minister in Free India. He never believed that the Nagas could go even up to the extent of conducting national plebiscite on May 16, 1951 at 10 Am. Nehru was shocked when he heard that it was successfully conducted by NNC. Whereby, he stopped sending observers team just to ignore the pan-Naga ethnic community's movement for freedom.¹⁹ He himself wants to see the Nagas and their territory. He visited Kohima along with Unu, the Burmese Premier to examine the aspiration of the Nagas came via Imphal, and landed in Kohima on March 30, 1953. The joint visit of Naga Hills by two Prime Ministers was well recorded by General B.N. Mullick.²⁰

General B.N. Mullick's reported statement clearly mentioned that Dutt (Intelligence Bureau) came to Imphal and informed him that at the public meeting at Kohima, the Nagas would put forward a demand that they should be allowed to read out a statement which would be more or less a statement working for the acceptance of the 9-point Programmed and concerning their right to secede after ten years. If they were not allowed to read this out, they would boycott the meeting. General B.N. Mullick personally communicated this to the Nehru, the Prime Minister of India and receiving this information Nehru was rather upset because Unu, the Premier of

Myanmar was also going to be present at that public meeting. However, Bishnuram Medhi, Chief Minister of Assam arrived and assured the Prime Minister that the visit would be successful and the Nagas would make no such demand. But Bishnuram Medhi shared to Nehru turn into negative. Soon, after they arrived at the D.C's house, a delegation of the Nagas came and demanded that they should be allowed to read out a statement at the public meeting. The D.C's after consulting Medhi told that they could not do so. Therefore, delegates went away. As General B.N. Mullick arrived at the venue of the public meeting about ten minutes before the Prime Minister was due to arrive. Nearly 3 to 4 thousand Nagas were present. In the meantime, the delegation that had gone to the D.C's house, returned, and by the time, the Prime Minister arrived and ascended rostrum along with Unu. The entire Naga audience vacated except a few government servants left the place of the meeting. It was affectively boycotted and was left to address a dozens of government servants and their family members, most of whom were not Nagas but plain peoples. Nehru, the India Premier as well as Unu, the Myanmar Premier was shocked. They could not talk and came back to D.C's house and Nehru told Medhi in the presence of General B.N. Mullick that S.M. Dutt (intelligence Bureau) was correct and Nehru's own assessment was incorrect.²¹ In the actual sense, this was how Nehru failed to understand the Nagas. A. Lanunungsang Ao examined, the meeting was the most unsuccessful one, perhaps, and that was ever experienced by Nehru in his life time.

Thereafter, he felt insulted by the Nagas through his meeting and he himself was flared up due to the mistake the local administration that did not permitted the Naga leaders to meet the Indian Prime Minister on his first auspicious visit to Naga country. As a result, Ao observed a freaky relationship developed between India and the Nagas initially from this meeting. Nehru's visit to Naga country, thereafter, had far reaching impact beyond repair till date.²² This followed, Nehru made up his mind to handle the Nagas with his 'iron hand policy' of sending Indian military force to every corner of the Naga country. He decided even to finish Naga movement for Independence through military forces. This is how he declared the Naga territory as Disturbed Area and put under Indian Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958 which continues till date. Perhaps, Pandit Nehru was in a confused state of mind on Indo-Naga issue and no alternative was left for him other than to hand over the Naga problem to Indian military forces.²³ By conceptualizing, the Nagas also know that the Indians are not Nagas' enemies but Nehru's ill treatment to the pan-Naga ethnic community is unfortunate events and intolerable. This Nehru's

regime added to wider division between the two sides but it would be unwise to blame the entire Indians.

Further, Tanyuba observed as General B.N. Mullick stated, troops moved into Tuesang by the Month of October 1955 and the war with Nagas started thereafter. The Indian armies and the Assam rifles increased their pressure in Tuesang, infiltration continued occurring in Naga Hill People.²⁴ Thus, Indian Armed Forces and Para-military forces overshadowed the Naga population with the dire intention to suppress the Naga freedom movement. This gave a negative impact on Nehru's policy of militarism over the Nagas and promotes to strengthen the spirit of Naga nationalism to higher development. By conceptualizing one can rationally understood that Nehru provides space responsible for giving the opportunity to the rise of Naga National Freedom movement to continue. The Nagas, in order to defend themselves from the attack of Indian troops, they re-organized themselves and formed the Naga Army to defend their motherland. The Nagas also felt sorry on the one hand by losing many lives and properties but on the other, Nagas must give credit to Nehru for making Nagas' issue in broader perspective or make it more popularity to world Sovereign States. It was Nehru, who popularized Nagas to the world. Nehru's commented:

“Whether heaven falls or India goes to pieces and blood runs red in the country, I don't; care. Whether I am here or for that matter any other body comes in, I do not; care. Nagas will not be allowed to become independent”.²⁵

Acceptance or rejection of the existence of Naga Independence was a different issue, but Nehru totally misunderstood the Naga People's Movement ignited Nagas to become stronger than ever before. Had Nehru understood the Naga political issue well in the inception and accordingly built confidential measures of the NNC leaders like A.Z. Phizo, the Naga political question could have been settled amicably without losing the lives of hundreds or thousands of people during Nehru's ruled and make it further differences between the two nations. Yet, he tried to wipe out the Nagas from their existence and thrust them to the ground completely²⁶made more complicated situation. It was after all, Nehru's hegemony politics. Thereby, after many Nagas shed their

blood for the nation cost and rationally without carefully dealing with, it would turn the problems from bad to worse even as perennial process.

Speaking of further, after handing over the Nagas to the hands of India Armed forces, Nehru listened to the reaction from the Nagas through his political agents as recorded. He came to know the adverse effect on the Army rule over the Naga territory. Nehru then directed his General Thimmaya, to submit a report on Naga issue for future treatment. General Thimmaya reported that Naga issue is purely a political problem and treating Naga issue as law and order problem would be wrong and therefore, it needs a political treatment apart from military treatment. He further reported that, Indian bullets alone couldn't finish Nagas; therefore, they need to be treatment psychologically to win over their minds. This followed another similar report was reported by Army General Carippa, stating that Indian Armed forces couldn't kill by shooting them and their political aspiration. However, Nehru condemned the nobler reported. Again, General Thimmaya further reported that 'Nagas cannot be finished by Indian bullets alone; therefore, this handful of Naga population needs special treatment. Thus, he went up to the extent of suggesting by arranging a special train, deport them to Sasaram forest in Bihar, and keep them there is political concentration camp. At the meantime, the Naga territory would be occupied by Indian Armed Forces, as their territory is a strategic region from defense point of view for security of India in frontier land. However, Nehru did not comply with this ergotic suggestion due to fear of further political implication before the eyes of the world communities.²⁷

By critically examining one rationally understood that though Nehru rejected General Thimmaya's strongly commenced on Nagas' political issue. Indeed, General Thimmaya's efficiency and wisdom could not be failed to acknowledge, he knew better about the ground realities and how to deal with pan-Naga ethnic problems. His genius tactic and creative suggestions is aptly known by introducing 'W- 3 Operations,' that is, Wine, Women and Wealth to control the Nagas. As Ao's observation shows that this was little convince to Nehru by his excellent suggestions. Thus, Nehru's government introduced wine, women's market and inter-marriage with Naga women, where many Indian army officers got married with Naga women. Even they purchased their promotion by marrying the Naga women as political strategy. Flow of Indian currency also started, thereafter, to Nagaland. The liquor market in Nagaland state had

then reluctantly closed down since 1989 through the initiative of the church organization and Christian Nagas who vehemently opposed the state policy²⁸ of Nehru's regime to Nagaland.

Knowing the total failed of strategy planned of 'iron hand policy' and its negative outcome of undemocratic practiced, Nehru wanted to change his policy to democratic practiced. It was little too late by the time A. Z. Phizo arrived at London to propagate the Naga issue with the support of Western countries with the head office base in England. Nehru became more worried and restless to see the Naga movement growing from strength to strength and gaining a stronger people supports, Ao's studied shows.²⁹ Thereafter, Nehru also well reconciles and foreseeing that Phizo was not only the father of Naga Nationalism but also he was next to Netaji Subash Chandra Bose of India extremist leaders of India's freedom fighter during the World War II who fought from tool to nail. But he was not great honour in India, the biggest democratic country as Ao's observed. This is unfair democratic practice of India hegemonic by Nehru Brahminical politics tradition. Again, Ao's studied shows that Nehru deliberately keep on avoid meeting of the formidable guest called Phizo, the Naga noble heart hero. When Phizo landed in London with all the requisite peoples' mandate and NNC functionaries, some well-wishers countries started giving arm to the Naga army. This made Nehru more worried about because simultaneously, the Indo-China war was also knocking at the door, reaching up to the Upper Assam and then possible entry to the whole Northeast through North-East Frontier agency (NEFA), at that time. Finally, Nehru conceded to meet Phizo for a political dialogue for setting the Naga issue, sadly, some pro-India Naga leaders and New Delhi maliciously sabotaged this eventful opportunity. This was followed up Nehru's early died on May 26, 1964 when he almost full realized the geneses of Nagas' problems. Just after that a few months later, Nagaland statehood was formulated and inaugurated on December 1, 1963, leaving Naga political problem unsolved.³⁰

Critical Focus: Coherent Problems and Challenges Constructing on Ethnic Web

The roots or geneses of Indo-Naga problems and challenges start right from formation of pan-Naga ethnic community's first parental organization called the Naga Club in 1918 with the help of and guidance of British administrative officials in the Naga Hills. The club comprises of a few elites class of individuals from government servants and Corp Labour delegates. This group of individuals was the first class consciousness group. As they were class conscious

individuals, they mobilize mass and led the first formation of common or pan-Naga identity. Withstands of the Naga Club (1918) as forefront as parental class consciousness organization, the later different Nagas' organizations do join the Club for the assertion of common Naga identity. This was the initial step of formation of Naga identity construction and expansion continuity and simultaneously to pan-Naga ethnic boundary. Further, in the light of Constructivists perspective to show more evident facts, some more organization can be put into discussions.

Next, the Naga National Council (NNC) which formed in 1946 make a turning point to Nagas' history by demanded complete independence from Indian Union. The organization's actors organized plebiscite on 16 May, 1951 at 10 am in the Naga Hills district led by the NNC leaders and where Nagas voted for 99.9% to be separated independence country from India and aptly pronounced the declaration as:

'Nagas belong to a distinct people and live in a country entirely of their own. We want to remain outside the influence of any other nation, be it white or brown. We want to develop our own culture unhampered in the way we like, without having to worry for a possible mixture of alien blood. We want to direct our own education through the establishment of our own universities. We want to keep our land in the possession of our own people for our own people. We want to keep our own lives. There should be no room for any possible interference, directly or indirectly, whether now or in days to come. We want to keep in our possession heritage something which is exclusively of Nagaland; something which is bound to vanish and be lost to Nagas if they were to live under an alien direction; these are our national institutions of - (a) community organization. (b) people's sovereignty over ownership of property and land (c) our culture, a culture of love with a true respect for individual personality, society which admits no strata of social class, caste or creed, religions or race...' ³¹

On this declaration, distinct common characteristic could be seeing why Nagas claiming for their rights after British left for good in this subcontinent and power paradigm shift to India. Thereafter, unfortunately, Nagas come under India's administrative governance, but there have been perennial points of contested between India and Nagas over this issue. These unsolved problems of conflicts and challenges lead to continuous struggle of construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary.

Addition to this, D. Kaka Iralu also argued and asserted that within the boundaries of a nation's geographical land, it's national, cultural, and political characteristic develop and become the identity and ethos of that nation. The national identity of a nation is therefore rooted in the geographical land, which has nurtured it, and the two are inseparable. He further

asserted and argued that because the national and geographical identities of India and Nagaland are different, it follows naturally and logically that their cultural identities will also be definitely and totally different. Their customs, their practices and their way of thinking and living also will be totally different as well. This is so because of the following reasons, he says: i. racially the Indian mostly belong to Dravidian and Aryan race, while, the Nagas belong to the Mongolian race, ii. By religion, very small minority is Christians and the bulk of India's millions belong either to the Muslim by faith or the Hindu by faith and with its multifarious offshoots like Buddhism, Jainism or Sikhism also do practices and exists. In contrast to this, the Nagas were erstwhile all animists and at present time the bulk populations are Christians and the remaining is still animistic. Not a single Naga is by faith a Hindu or Muslim, and iii. In the linguistic category too, the Indian's languages belong to the Indo-European group with Urdu and Sanskrit as its main languages. While unlike the Indian, the great variety of Nagas languages belongs to the Tibeto-Burma groups.³² Likewise A. Lanunungsang Ao listed eight points of ethnic differences between India and Nagas and simultaneously also shows constructing and expanding of ethnic boundary. Of them some points can cited here. 1. First, the definition of Naga Movement for freedom have been misunderstood and misquoted or misinterpreted. It is to be acknowledged that the Naga People's Movement is neither an underground movement nor an insurgency or secessionist section but collective force resurgent movement, a question of Nagas' historic facts, though many people may understood differently from governmental reports and Indian Journal writings in different connotations. However, such usages have been clarified right from A. Phizo's times, he defended. 2. Fourth, the Nagas claim that their Independent-hood is their birthrights. To live independently and free from foreign dominant and interference is their legitimate rights. They are independent people who have been living independently in their territory since time immemorial. However, India does not recognize what Nagas are claiming for their genuine rights, he justified. 3. Seventh, the Government of India defenses her own position that a full-fledged state had been granted to the Nagas according to their wishes on December 1, 1963. India also stated the reasons that the Nagas had demanded this status through Naga People's Convention by signing a Charter of 16-Points Agreement between the Government of India and Naga People's Convention. This fulfills the political aspiration of the Nagas and they have nothing to claims more than this by the Indian. Whereas, Nagas are claiming that granting of statehood has no relation with Naga

National struggle for freedom. It was only a betrayal treaty of agreement manipulated by the India government to a few Nagas leaders in their favour. It is undemocratic agreement and therefore, cannot be accepted by the Nagas mass. Further, the Nagas clarified that this Indian state is a puppet state government against Nagas' wishes. Expansion of Indian state structure, formulating a state in certain part of Naga territory strategically is a political trap created by New Delhi, which divides the Nagas, he defended. Therefore, this temporary political arrangement by force is the greatest obstacles in search of Naga political freedom, justifies A. Lanunungsang Ao strongly. 4. Eighth, the question of Naga's sovereignty is not free from contention. The Nagas have been kept on justifying that they will never give up their legitimate rights. They have been reiterating that their sovereignty will never be surrendered to any authority. It was, it is and it will be their right to continue fighting and to enjoy the birthright of their sovereignty, he shares his patriotism for the birthrights.³³

Part of, all the Nagas factional militant groups also clarified and justifying their own positions that Nagas' sovereignty is not negotiable. In the contrary, if Nagas are insisting for their sovereignty, there is no question of negotiation as stated by all the Prime Ministers of India right from Jawaharlal Nehru to Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Thus, these confictions are the core and crux debate of Naga ethnic boundary problems and challenges between India and pan-Naga ethnic community in the contemporary political dialogue.

Construction and Expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary in Constructivists Perspective

By critically examining and studying of numerous Scholars and writers, prior to colonialism, a sense of common identity was absent among Nagas. No doubt, political organization did exist but this also not extends beyond the village level. The Naga Club (1918), the parental pan-Naga ethnic community's organization, its structure, aims and objectives, powers and functions and jurisdiction will show the evident facts that how it was formed in the initial stage in a logical background or philosophical behind of this and while discussion proceeds, it will also shows various pan-Naga ethnic community's organizations how these different organizations come into formulations, linked up with the parental organization and continue construction and expansion of her pan-ethnic boundary.³⁴

Linking to this discussions, first, Formation of Naga Club (1918), the Club "Journey across seas and countries awakened the spunk of the Naga Nationalism like other parts of India and they began to develop the concept of a Naga nation which had not dreamt of before",³⁵

after the World War I, the Nagas realized the significance of protecting their socio-political identity and realized to live together under one banner to achieve their common goals. As a result, they unanimously decided to live together oneness. They formed the Naga Club in 1918 at Kohima as mentioned earlier. This was the first common organization of the pan-Naga ethnic community. The Club's objectives will prove clearer to the doubting minds.

The primary objectives of the Club were: (i) to consolidate their Socio-political identity, (ii) to make a distinct Naga Nationality above the scattered tribal identity, (iii) To develop fraternity feelings of various Naga tribal communities, (iv) to look after the welfare and unity of all Naga tribes. Therefore, the formation of Naga Club paved the way towards establishing the most needed organization with political motives as expressed by the founders. This was the first socio-political organization formed by the Naga elites and ever representatives' organization of Naga tribal nations in the form of a coarse 'common wealth of tribal nation'. Thus, the Club brought all the isolated Naga tribes together with common goal and common political identity. It had created a sense of what Nagas are feeling amongst 'us' from 'them' that ever experienced by the pan-Naga ethnic community. Mentioned may be also made here that before the formation of the Club, it was the Labour Corps Naga heroes who brought Nagas together to fight unitary for their common cause to achieve their desired goal.³⁶

As the Club established, the working functionary could see that the first encounter of the Naga Club on ethnic line was with the British authority in 1929. During which they had submitted a memorandum on January 10 to the Simon Commission who visited the Naga territory to show that Naga are different. This was their first expression desiring to restore their independence country as before when the British force withdrew their power from their forceful occupation of Naga territory. The Nagas were fully aware that the British rule would be withdrawn from Asia one day. They were also aware about the proposed 'New Reformed Scheme' against the wishes of the Nagas. This scheme turned to be the Government of India Act of 1935. This was the British India Statutory Commission, under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon who visited Naga Hills with Mr. Clement Attlee as one of the members of the Commission. They landed at Kohima to ascertain the wishes of the Nagas as to whether they would like to join in the proposed 'New Reformed Scheme'. The Naga representatives under the aegis of Naga Club demanded adequate safeguards from any possible rule by Indian or Burmese, right from that day onward. The Nagas expressed that after the British left their land; the *status*

quo ante (the previous state of affairs) should be maintained, as it was existed before the advent of the Britishers. They expressed this in clear terms that the Nagas should be left alone as they were before the British rule so that they could continue to live independently as before. In this encounter, the question of nationality or self-determination was placed clearly before the Simon Commission for consideration of their genuine case. This gave another strengthen foundation to the growth of Naga Nationalist Movement³⁷ continued to struggle for her rights.

As per recommendation of the Simon Commission the Naga Hills district was declared constituted on March 3, 1936 and it was kept aloof as 'Excluded Area' as mentioned above discussion and analysis. This also rationally implies that the Naga Hills to be kept outside the British India previewed as initiated by the British India Act of 1935. The Governor of Assam was then empowered to administer over this area in his own discretion. It had provided that no Act of the federal Legislature or Assam legislature was apply to the Naga Hills; and thus, the Nagas were not brought within the fold of British Indian new reformed scheme³⁸ on the one hand. On the other hand, it is encouraged Nagas to come together as one and to construct and expand her pan-Naga ethnic boundary for common goal.

By carefully observing and critically examining, one could notice that the Club led to the formation of Naga National Council (1946) as next strong based organization actor. The organization ignited strongly the feeling of the spirit of Naga nationalism. This became stronger amongst the Nagas significantly after the World War II. It became necessary to recognize the Naga Hills in the high-level decision making bodies. It was Lord Wavell, the Governor-General of India who informed Mr. Claw, the Governor of Assam and Mr. Amery, the Secretary of the State through an official letter that they should help the staunchest Nagas who did magnificent jobs in keeping the British and Allied Forces during the World War II. This information was sent to Mr. C.R. Pausey, the Deputy Commissioned of the Naga Hills at Kohima. In responded to this acknowledgement, he called the Naga leaders to his official Bungalow to discuss the future political issues. This Bugalow became the meeting place of Naga leaders on many occasions to discuss about their political destiny. At the meantime, the Naga themselves also established a political institution called the Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDTTC) in 1945. Later on, the nomenclature was altered into the Naga National Council (NNC) in a meeting held at Wokha on February 2, 1946. Thus, an Apex Body of the Naga National political organization was

reconstituted to fight for their independence. T. Aliba Imti and T. Sakharie were elected to be the first President and Secretary of this organization. Subsequently on June 19, 1946, the Naga National Council adopted four aims and objectives such as: (i) This National Council stands for the solidarity of all Naga tribes including the un-administered area, (ii) this Council strongly protects against the grouping of Assam with Bengal, (iii) the Naga Hills should be continuously included in an autonomous Assam in a free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interest of the Nagas; and (iv) the Naga tribes should have a separate electorate.³⁹ The Constitution of the Naga National Council was adopted on 10 and 11 October 1946 at Mokochung meeting and resolved to have a National Flag and National Anthem⁴⁰. The Preamble of the Constitution reads:

“This constitution to be known as the constitution and laws of the Naga National Council is adopted to provide a way of working for peace and agreement between all the Naga tribes, of preserving and developing what is good of their own culture and customs, and to promote the growth of democratic self-government and the materials welfare of the Naga”.

Studying the constitution and resolution of the NNC, one may reasons out the following clear objectives: (i) to stand for the solidarity of the Naga tribes including those of the Naga tribes living in un-administered areas, (ii) To stand for a complete political autonomy of the Nagas, (iii) To stand for unification of all the Naga tribes living in free India as well as in Burma (now Myanmar), (iv) To have a separate Naga judiciary system with nominated Naga tribal judges, etc.⁴¹

The four objectives implies clearly show that the Naga National Council (NNC) come into being purely on Constructivists' organizations perspective to lead pan-Naga ethnic community in ethnic web by the Nagas' educated individual elites along with organization's actors.

When the British Government sent a Cabinet Mission to India to study the political situation, the NNC representatives met the Cabinet Mission members on April 9, 1946, reminded them that in future, the Nagas would not be bound by any arbitrary decision of the British Government nor did recommendation would be accepted without proper consultation from the people of the Nagas.⁴² Having established the most wanted organized apex body of political organization at national level by NNC, the Nagas became more politically conscious about their political future in the course of dynamic political scenario around the globe. Thereafter,

subsequently, different pan-Naga ethnic community's organizations come into existence in civil, religion and military. In Naga civil organizations some prominent organizations such as Naga Hoho (Council), Naga Students' Federation (NSF), Naga Mothers' Association (NMA), Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), United Naga Council (UNC), All Naga Students' Association, Manipur (ANSAM), Naga Women Union, Manipur (NWUM), Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights, Manipur (NMHRM), Naga People's Organization (NPO), etc., are some of chief organizations' actors now in construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary as Constructivists' actors too. Of them, some organizations will be highlighted in brief discussions with their Constitutions references to know structures, aims and objectives, membership attachments. And in collaborations with of all the 66 tribes' Hoho (council) organizations to join hand in hand to construct and expand pan-Naga ethnic boundary in Constructivists' model.

First begin with brief discussions the Naga Hoho (Council) is a pan-Naga ethnic tribal federal apex body of the Nagas under the traditional system and practice. This apex organization was formed on 24th June, 1994 at Wokha and its Constitution was adopted from 11-12 March, 1998 sessions at Zunheboto. The main aims and objectives of organization read:

'To uphold the solidarity of the Nagas, to rebuild the Naga family, to safeguard and protect the Naga system and tradition, to promote the social, culture, economic and political heritage and to facilitate early settlement of the Naga issues'⁴³

The aims and objectives of the Naga Hoho, one can clearly understands that it involves both Primordialists approach as well as Constructivists approach of public mobilizations for the construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary. For instance, the Naga Hoho, the apex tribe based organization of all Nagas, irrespective of territorial boundaries passed the resolution on Naga Integration during its 6th Session at Dimapur on 11th & 12th March, 1999 and reconstituted as follows- 'the Naga hoho put it on record that it stands committed for integration of all Naga territories and its people under one political roof; and also it considers the present Nagaland State as a temporary measure pending final political settlement of the Naga peoples aspiration which shall be a bounden duty of the Naga Hoho to strive for'.⁴⁴

Second, the Naga Students' Federation (NSF) was formed in 1947 as the apex body of the pan-Naga ethnic community students' organizations. The 66 tribes' students' organizations

federal units are attached to this NSF. The Preamble of the amended Constitution of the Naga Students' Federation (NSF) 20th October, 1984 reads:

“We, the Naga Students, having solemnly resolved to constitute ourselves into a federation to: cultivate and preserve our cultures, customs and traditional heritages; ameliorate social and moral activities; safeguard common interest, integrity and co-operation amongst ourselves all over the Naga inhabited areas. Further the Constitution under Art.5 (2,3,4) stated as, “All bonafide Naga Tribe Students' Organization(s) shall be a member of the Federation and of the Federal Assembly and shall be called the ‘Federal unit’ of the Naga Students’ Federation. Art.6 (1, 2, 3) deals about jurisdiction thus, “The territorial jurisdiction of the federation shall extend to all Naga territory and to wheresoever’s any Naga Students’ inhabits/resides. The Executives Jurisdiction of the Federation shall extend over all the Federal Units and Sub-ordinates bodies and there shall be no Co-ordinating Naga Students’ Organizations other than the Sub-ordinate bodies”.

Like the Naga hoho, the aims and objectives of the Naga Students' Federation (NSF), one can clearly understand that it involves both Primordialists approach as well as Constructivists approach of public mobilizations for the construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary. Further, the constitution of the Naga Students' Federation shows that the apex students' federation has well networking system with all the 66 Federal Units of the pan-Naga ethnic community different tribes' organizations and simultaneously defending, constructing and expanding of pan-Naga ethnic boundary. For instance, when Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC (I)) by spearheaded S.C. Jamir, Chief Minister of Nagaland and his teams NPCC (I) published a pamphlet, *Bedrock of Naga Society* in 2000 instigated by a few party politician opportunists to tarnish Naga unique history of long struggling for the right to self-determination, the Naga Students Federation (NSF) projected vehemently and bonfire those pamphlets and observed mourning on the 30th November, 2000 at Oking Kohima. Thereafter, the NSF also published a pamphlet *The Naga Foundation: Toward fulfillment of a Peoples Unwavering Aspiration* in 20 September, 2002 to restore the Naga's image damaged by political opportunists of NPCC (I).⁴⁵ Further, on 3rd of May, 2010 a team of the Naga Students' Federation, the umbrella student body of all Naga tribes of India and Myanmar, led by its President was heading to Oinam Hill village, Senapati District for a preparatory meeting of their Federal Assembly stated for the 7th May, 2010. They were prevented from proceeding by Manipur State Armed forces deployed at Mao Gate. It was an insult and an outright provocation to the Naga student community when they were disallowed to go even to their own lands. The

NSF demanded an apology from the GoM pending which a total ban on Manipur vehicles was enforced in the entire Naga area.⁴⁶

Third, United Naga Council (UNC) came into being on 16th February, 2003. The Preamble of the Constitution of the United Naga Council (UNC) reads:

“We, the Naga people in the present Manipur State, having resolved to organize ourselves into a tribe based organization under the name of the United Naga Council to uphold the solidarity and unity of the Naga people, to protect our land, our identity and our history, to preserve and promote our culture and traditional heritage and to secure all round growth of our people, do hereby adopt this (Amended) constitution in our council assembly this 16th day of February, 2003”. Further, Art.3 (a, b) deals the jurisdiction of the Council and thus, “Federal Representation: the president and Secretary of the tribe or their authorized representatives, i.e. two from each tribe. Representation in population: for every 10,000 population of a constituent tribe, there will be one representative.”

The aims and objectives of the organization also show the deep rooted to socio-cultural attachment and evolution out of it. Further, the United Naga Council, the Naga tribes' apex body based on Manipur also clearly shows the construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary in the regional level. The activities that the organization takes up and mobilize the mass Nagas as regional actor can be elaborated. Thus, on 1st July, 2010, the Nagas in the present State of Manipur resolved in its highest decision making forum in the Naga People's Convention (NPC) under the active aegis of UNC, that Nagas sever all political ties with the communal Government of Manipur (GoM), and therefore, the vacuum in governance and administration created. Thereby, the organization stand their own position and asserted that it must be filled with an alternative arrangement by the Government of India (GOI) in consultation with the Naga people at the earliest possible time. It was also declared that the District Councils will not be allowed to function in the Naga areas.⁴⁷ The UNC also further stated that the Nine Point Agreement of June 1947 signed between Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, and the Naga National Council (NNC), clearly envisaged and recognized the right of the Nagas to live together under a single united administration. Furthermore, the thirteenth clause of the Sixteenth Point Agreement, 1960, between the Government of India (GoI) and the Naga Peoples' Convention testified to India's standing commitment to the consolidation of contiguous Naga areas.⁴⁸

UNC argues and states that the Nagas in Manipur have always opposed their inclusion within Manipur. As far back as 1948, the Nagas in Manipur under the Naga National League (NNL) had made their stand clear that they will not be part of Manipur since the latter had never conquered the Nagas; that it would be impossible for the Nagas to preserve their cultures, traditions, customary laws and political practices and their strong desire to merge with the Naga Hill District of Assam through the boycott of the preparation of electoral rolls in Naga areas in Manipur. The Nagas further launched the 'No House Tax Campaign' refusing to pay the annual House Tax to the Government of Manipur and instead submitted their annual house tax to Charles Pawsey, D.C. of Naga Hills of Assam at Kohima. The campaign was forcibly suppressed resulting in the death of three Nagas and the wounding of many. It may be recalled that, for the second time, the Hill House Tax-2006 of Naga households living in the present state of Manipur was not submitted to the Government of Manipur (GoM) but to the Hon'ble Prime Minister's Office on 7th July 2006 to show the Nagas' strong desire to live together as one people.⁴⁹ Nagas do not desire conflict arising out of ethnic and communal divide. However, when the dominant community is using the same as a basis for discrimination and suppression it becomes inevitable that the divide, which created by such discrimination and suppression, is accentuated to an irreparable point. 'Hao' the derogatory term meaning 'untouchable', 'uncivilized', or 'inferior' is still commonly used by the Meiteis against tribals; such attitudes and prejudices play decisive roles in shaping and informing the policies of the GoM and the interaction of the Meiteis with the tribals in Manipur.⁵⁰

Further, UNC argues and claims in their uncirculated supporting note incorporation with pan-Naga struggle for their rights, land and people in defense of 20 points.⁵¹ Of them, for instance, the first point UNC in defense of its support that before the partial colonization of the country; the Nagas lived in the Village States and were free from any external political interference and domination. Only with the arrival of the British, boundaries were redrawn arbitrarily to suit their administrative convenience and also to keep the allies of the British in good humour. As a result, the Naga territories were placed in the different states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, and Nagaland in India and in Sagaing division of West Burma. The Ninth point stated that the inherent and organized expression of the desire of the Nagas people to live as one also continued as civil movement of which the United Naga Integration Council movement of the 1970s has been well documented. On 4th August, 1972, in the joint agreement signed between All India

Congress Committee and Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee on one side and United Naga Integration Council on the other side, the Congress Party stated that it does not oppose Naga integration movement nor considers the Naga integration movement as anti-party, and anti-national, anti-state or an unconstitutional activity. The demand of the Naga people for integration of the contiguous Naga areas into one administrative unit also finds clear mention in the 9 Point Hydari Agreement of 1947 and in the 16 Point Agreement of 1960. Therefore, over the years memorandum and representations demanding Naga integration have been persistently submitted and pursued by the Naga people. The Tenth point stated the arm conflict between India and Nagas continued over the decades and has finally culminated in the second Indo-Naga peace process marked by the second Indo-Naga Cease-Fire that came into effect on 1st August, 1997, which today offers to bring about a lasting and honourable solution to the Naga issue which is about their land, the people and their rights. Eleventh, in the wake of the violent agitation in Imphal valley supported by the Government of Manipur (GoM) following the extension of Indo-Naga Cease-Fire agreement area coverage beyond territorial limits on 14th June 2001, the Naga people of Manipur under the aegis of the United Naga Council UNC, held its special session of the Naga Peoples' Convention (NPC), the apex decision making platform of the Nagas of Manipur on 8th and 9th August, 2001 at Tahazam (Senapati) and declared 'That our identity and history have to be defended and preserved at all cost, and the firm political stand of the Nagas of Manipur is to uphold the resolution of the Naga People for integration of all Naga areas under one administration'.

Part of, from the above discussions organizations, the Naga Mothers' Association (NMA), the Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR in secular wing; Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) in religions wing; Naga National Council (NNC), Naga Federal Government (NFG), National Socialist Council of Nagalim Isak-Muivah (NSCN(I-M)), National Socialist Council of Nagalim Khapalang (NSCN (K)) in defence wing; All Naga Students' Association, Manipur (ANSAM), etc in students wing. All together have very strong networking system links from grassroots level to higher level on ethnic line. Therefore, one could clearly grasp an idea that all these organizations work hand in hand and stand as ethnic organizations Constructivists perspective for constructing and expanding of pan-Naga ethnic boundary in all levels from regional to national level and national level

extend to even international level called Naga International Support Centre (NISC) as pan-Naga ethnic community international actor.

Ways and Means to Bring Amicable Political Solution

To bring amicable political solution various treaties or agreements have been signed by democratic and pacific means, between the Government of India (GoI) and pan-Naga ethnic community. But so far not much progress has been shown. Though treaties after treaties and talked after talked have been initiated and held within the country India and outside the country India as well. It looks almost like children hide and side game. People are alarming to hear positive outcome both from India side and Nagas as well.

Tracing back the Nagas' history, the course of Naga National struggle for freedom, five major significant agreements have been signed right from 1947 to 1997 between the Government of India and the pan-Naga Ethnic Community. However, most of these treaties signed were led to failures because of various reasons. To begin with chronologically, the first treaty, called Nine-Point Agreement (1947) was signed between the Governor of Assam Sir Akbar Hydari and NNC to recognize the rights of the Nagas relating to Judicial, Legislative, Executive, Land, Taxation, Boundaries Arm Act, Regulations and Period of Agreement.⁵² However, Shri Gopinath Bordaloi, the Governor of Assam declared this agreement an invalid treaty in Shillong, the Governor House in 1949. Thereafter, the Nagas felt cheated because of the betrayal and dishonoring the agreement. The Government of India deliberately ignored this agreement because they did not want to bring the Naga Hills District of all the forests belonging to the Nagas transferred to Sibsagar and Nowgong district of Assam in the past; and to bring the Nagas tribes under one administrative unit. The period of 10 years during which the Governor of Assam was authorized to ensure the due observance of the agreement after which the NNC was again empowered to decide the future of the Nagas. This agreement was however, abrogated by the Government of India without the knowledge of the Nagas. India did not keep her agreement and became a big liar. Thus, this agreement became a death document except for historical record. However, NNC maintained its commitment and by the completion of 10 years, period NNC informed the formation of the Federal Government of Nagaland in 1956.⁵³ The second treaty, called Sixteenth Point Agreement (1960) was signed between the Government of India and the Nagas people's Convention. Except certain clauses from 1-7 and 16th were partially applicable

till date pertaining to Nagas after formation of an Indian statehood called Nagaland state, the major clauses are no applicable till date and it is covered only to Nagas of Nagaland state alone but untouched to other Nagas habitation. The immediate transfer of Nagas from the Ministry of External Affairs to Home Ministry (Clause 2) in 1972 is a clear case of deception and on implementation of other clauses especially from serial Eight to Fifteen are glaring failures example of the agreement. This agreement has become debatable question till date.⁵⁴ The third treaty, called Cease-fire Agreement (1964) was signed on September 4, 1964 between the Government of India and the Federal Government of Nagaland as there was an undeclared war going on between the Indian Armed Forces and the Naga Army. This agreement was again abrogated by the government of India on August 31, 1972.⁵⁵ The fourth treaty, called The Shillong Accord (1975) was signed between the government of India and some underground representatives on 10th November 1975. After signing the agreement, it becomes to be a deadlock once again because of another political trap to suppress the Naga National Movement for freedom. This Accord turns to be incapacitate as it was highly objected by the Nagas from every corner. All arms deposited at Peace Camp were drilled and perforated by the Indian Army Ordinance technicians. All the barrels of firearms and the firing pins were then cut off not to be used in future. Hundreds of Naga political prisoners and patriots have been released from different jails. Thus, in the history of Naga People's Movements, the Shillong Accord of 1975 is said to be the most treacherous Act. It is considered as a sold out document and a surrender agreement as critically examining and observing by many Scholars and writers particularly insider views. However, this gave a stronger foundation to the rebirth of Naga National Movement. Consequently, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland was formed in 1980 to re-brace Nagas Movement for freedom.⁵⁶ The fifth treaty, called The NSCN Cease-Fire Agreement (1997) was signed between the Government of India and NSCN (I-M) with the sole objective to continue the peace process during which the Naga political talk could be held. Right from the initial stage after the agreement was signed; both the parties started accusing each other. It is not surprising to note their allegations against each other. Nobody knows as to what should be the final outcome of this agreement. The true color of signing of this agreement will only be proved by the time when peace process and finalization of the Indo-Naga political settlement takes place.⁵⁷

Conclusion

By conceptualizing, to summarize in conclusion of all the above critical discussions and analysis, the question of nationalism or nationality is undying process, often rise to all the sovereign states in the global world. Today Naga ethnic problem is yesterday Naga political problem unsolved legacy. Had Nehru been a little careful to tackle the Naga political problem in a positive way recognizing the fundamental rights of the Nagas in democratic hearing and pacific dealing, this cancerous wound in the entire North-Eastern region might not have been developed as of in the contemporary times that one can witnessing in the North-East India. The most unfortunate part was that, Nehru took it as a mere 'law and order problem' and tried to suppress it by 'military force'.⁵⁸ It is logically incorrect. It is to be noted that due to Nehru short sightedness and his wrong political approach towards the Nagas, the whole of the North-East India till date flared up one after another infesting the whole region as the nest of ethnic insurgent movements. Because of this reason, an 'incurable political cancer' had been developed in the region causing political headache to the Government of India as strongly criticized by Ao till date.⁵⁹

Whereby, the following critical mechanisms are put forwarded from the pan-Naga ethnic community's nationality question: first, it must be frame out some mechanism within pan-Naga ethnic community to solve her internal problems and challenges instead blaming others. When this understanding is there, all the Nagas must culturally, socially, economically, politically and religiously be integrated in hearts and spirits of oneness. Likewise and simultaneously, all the military factional groups should be integrated irrespective of differences. For this, Government of India must sincerely and transparently help out for not making into further divisions. Second, both the side should be transparency and sincerity to negotiable tables as frequently as possible to curb misunderstanding between them for confidential building measures. Or else it would valueless of bilateral talk after talk and thereafter continuity criticizing or pick pointing out of each other side weak points; Third, utmost, neither of the side can be blamed; it is tragedy of common to both the side. Therefore, above all need to seek God's wisdoms and directions to negotiate through democratic and pacific means like reconciliation process needs to be strengthened to a higher degree to bring amicable political solution at the earliest.

¹ Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1991, p.48.

² James S. Coleman, cited in *ibid.*

³ Paul R. Brass, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁴ Paul R. Brass, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁵ Here, my further clarification and argument is that how India under Nehru's leadership hegemony ignited a wrong notion from Naga's 'diversity in unity' country to India's 'Unity in diversity' country. No doubt, there are many ways that Naga tribes varied among themselves. They themselves also know this that they are diversity but by their own willingness and felt important, and thereafter, all tribes want to live together and no one forces or coercions them to be united. This is what Mahatma Gandhi, the father of India nation also wished to be. But hegemony began from Nehru's period, when he started to use forces Nagas to integrate India. The Nagas' leaders reacted vehemently and went to meet him immediately that they did not want to join India. In this matter, Gandhi was rational and visionary fine gentleman, he frankly and clearly responded, if Nagas did want to join India, no one forces Nagas but India wants to be good friendship with Nagas. This implies that Nagas and Indian are different people but after understanding each other. If Nagas wished to join India, they could do so but Nagas without any hesitation rejected the offered. Therefore, what Nehru did was under banner of 'unity in diversity' he used forces and coercions by the meant of para-military or arm forces within the framework of the Indian Constitutional politics, Nagas to join with them was totally mistaken step. But by nature human being are rational creature, and therefore, using by any force or coercion to join anyone, for sure, no one on earth will accept it. This is the core causal ethnic identities crises and assertion of ethnic identities in biggest democratic countries like the India from past till date. See further, Jonathan Joseph, *Hegemony: A Realist Analysis*, Rutledge, London and New York, 2002, p. 1.

⁶ See, De Vos cited by P. K. Bhowmick ' Ethnicity, Ethnic Groups and Survival Strategy', in R. K. Bhandra and S.R. Mondal (eds), *Stratification Hierarchy and Ethnicity in the North-East India*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1991, p.15.

⁷ Fredrick Barth (ed), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, Little Brown & Co, Boston, 1969, pp.10-11.

⁸ Joane Nagel, 'Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture'. *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No.1, 1994, pp. 152-76.

⁹ Yu V Bromley, *Theoretical Ethnography*, Nauka Publications, Moscow, 1984, p. 11.

¹⁰ Fredrick Barth, *op. cit.*, p.12.

¹¹ Andreas Wimmer, 'The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory', *American Journal of Sociology* Vol.113, No. 4 January 2008, p.997.

¹² Sun-Ki Chai, 'Predicting Ethnic Boundaries', *European Sociological Review*, Vol.21, No. 4, September 2005, p.375.

¹³ Tajfel, D.C. Martin, C. Calhoun, cited in Scarlett Cornelissen and Steffen Horstmeier, 'The Social and Political Construction of Identities in the New South Africa: An Analysis of the Western Cape Province', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2002, p.61.

¹⁴ Tajfel, D.C. Martin, C. Calhoun, cited in Scarlett Cornelissen and Steffen Horstmeier, *op. cit.*, p.61.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Kaba Iralu, *The Naga Saga: A Historical Account of the 62 years Indo-Naga War and the Story of Those Who Were Never Allowed to Tell It*, ACLS Offset Press, Kohima, Nagaland, 2009, p.3.

¹⁷ Nehru came to know Nagas from Christopher Von Furer Haimendorf's book *The Naked Nagas*, which was published from London in 1939 and Calcutta in 1962. Perhaps, Nehru was ignited wrong impression after reading the book that Nagas were naked and therefore, it was not great dealt to Nagas by Indian.

¹⁸ A. Lanunungang Ao, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.55.

²⁰ B.N. Mullick, cited in, *ibid.*, p.52.

²¹ Tajenyuba, Ao, *cited in Appendix II Lanunungang Ao, op. cit.*, p.56.

²² A. Lanunungang Ao, *op. cit.*, pp.56-57.

- ²³ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p.57. See also, Kaka Iralu, *The Naga Saga, op. cit.* This entire book talked about with the evident facts references to Indo-Naga conflicts and wars to the Naga country, beginning from 1947 to 2009 events.
- ²⁴ Tajenyuba cited in A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p.57.
- ²⁵ D. Kaka Iralu, *op. cit.*, p.35.
- ²⁶ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p.57.
- ²⁷ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, pp.57-58.
- ²⁸ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p.58.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ³¹ Wetskhokhrolo Lasuh (ed), *The Naga Chronicle*, Regency Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p.132.
- ³² D. Kaka Iralu, *op. cit.*, pp.9-11.
- ³³ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, pp.5-7.
- ³⁴ This kind of similar cases studied one will find from the pioneering works of Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1969, pp.17-18; Andreas Wimmer, 'The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory', *American Journal of Sociology* Vol.113 No. 4 January 2008, pp.979-980.
- ³⁵ Asoso Yonuo, *op. cit.*, pp. xii-xiii.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- ³⁹ Wetskhokhrolo Lasuh (ed), *op. cit.*, p.22.
- ⁴⁰ Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p.44.
- ⁴³ Naga Hoho preface of the Constitution first adopted from 11-12 March sessions at Zunheboto, 1998.
- ⁴⁴ UNC, supporting note to the position paper of the United Naga Council, (uncirculated notes)
- ⁴⁵ NSF, *The Naga Foundation: Toward fulfillment of a Peoples Unwavering Aspiration*, NSF, Oking Kohima, 2002.
- ⁴⁶ UNC, position paper of the United Naga Council approved in the Naga peoples' Convention held at Tahamzan on the 1st July, 2010.
- ⁴⁷ UNC, Memorandum submitted to Honourable Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, Dated New Delhi, September, 2010.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ UNC, Memorandum submitted, *op.cit.*
- ⁵⁰ UNC, Memorandum submitted, *op.cit.*
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² Wetskhokhrolo Lasuh (ed), *op. cit.*, P.67.
- ⁵³ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p.63.
- ⁵⁴ Wetskhokhrolo Lasuh (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 195-198.
- ⁵⁵ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, p.64.
- ⁵⁶ Wetskhokhrolo Lasuh (ed), *op. cit.*, pp. 331-340.
- ⁵⁷ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, pp.64-65.
- ⁵⁸ A. Lanunungsang Ao, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.