

A STUDY OF THE NAGAS' DEMAND FOR AUTONOMY

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED BY

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UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “**A STUDY ON NAGAS’ DEMAND FOR AUTONOMY**” has been carried out by me. This Dissertation is an authentic work carried out by me for the Degree of MPHIL in Political Science under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Manik Sonawne, Department of political science, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, pune.

The interpretations put forth are based on my reading and understanding of the original books that have been referred and also through the interviews taken from different section of the Naga society.

I also declare that the matter embodied in the dissertation has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree or other similar title upon me of this or any other examining body.

Researcher student: Heli

Place: Pune

Date: 03.01.2019

CERTIFICATE BY GUIDE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**A STUDY ON NAGAS' DEMAND FOR AUTONOMY**” which is being submitted herewith for the award of the Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) in Political Science of Tilak Maharashtra vidyapeeth, Pune is the result of original research work completed by **Smt. HELI** under my supervision and guidance. To the best of my knowledge and belief the work incorporated in this dissertation has not formed the basis for the award of any degree or similar title of this or any other university or examining body upon her.

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List of Abbreviation

- NNC- Naga National Council
- AFSPA- Armed force Special power Act
- FGN- Federal Government of Nagaland
- SA- Shillong Accord
- GOI- Government of India
- NSCN- National Socialist council of Nagalim
- NSCN (IM)- National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah)
- NSCN (K)- National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Khaplang)
- NSCN (R)- National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Reformation)
- NPGs- Naga Political Groups
- NNPGs- Naga National Political Groups
- NPMHR- Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights
- NMA- Naga mothers Association
- NH- Naga Hoho
- NSF- Naga Students Federation
- NBCC- Naga Baptist Church Council
- FA- Framework Agreement
- CEO- Chief Electoral Officer
- ECI- Election Commission of India
- CCNTHO- Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and Civil Organisations
- SFR- Special Freedom Relations
- GPRN- Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland
- NPGN- National people's Government of Nagaland
- NA- Non Accord
- FNR- Forum for Naga Reconciliation
- NNGs- Naga National Groups
- JWG- Join Working Group

- NLA- Nagaland Legislative Assembly
- NLF- Nagaland Legislative Forum
- NGOs- Non Governmental Organizations
- MIP- Ministry of Information and Publicity
- MHA- Ministry of Home Affairs

Chapter-1

Introduction

1.1: Introduction

For a better understanding, it is important to know the origin of Nagas' Identity, its geographical location, its history and their living style. The Nagas are an Indigenous people of a hilly area in the North-East part of India and surrounded by Arunachal Pradesh in the North, Assam in the west, and Manipur in the South and Myanmar in the East. The tribal people of Nagaland are called 'Nagas'. It is believed that Nagas belong to the Mongoloid race and speaks of Tibeto-Burman tongue. The different Tribes within Nagas have different languages, different culture, different ethnicity etc., but at the same time they have a common historical root, socio-economic, cultural and common political aspirations. Some researchers believed that the Nagas were migrated from China even before the coming of Christian era. The origin of the word 'Naga' was covered in riddles but it was the Britishers who gave the name 'Nagas' to the people who were living between the British India and British Burma. The British also named and recorded the Naga nation as the Naga Hills in the world map. So now with no doubts every Nagas living in different parts of the world are proud to be called as the Nagas and maintains the Naga identity and cultures in all respect. Originally it was the British or the people from outside who gave the name 'Naga' to them and since then the word 'Naga' has been used for many years. Many derivation of the term 'Naga' have been given by different researchers. "Johnston suggests that, the word Naga may have been derived from the Assamese word 'Noga' meaning 'Naked'. Hutton and Mills suggested that the word 'Naga' is derived from the word 'Nanga' meaning mountaineer and also from the Sanskrit word 'Nog' i.e., mountain or an inaccessible place. Some opined that the word 'Naga' was derived from the Burmese word 'Naka' meaning pierced ears as the Nagas had the tradition of making holes in the ears for decoration"¹. Today the Nagas are proud to be called as 'Nagas' despite its many origins. There was no written history of the Nagas

earlier to the British colonization. The Nagas have been practicing head hunting for their honour and they have been committed to sacrifice their lives for the defense and welfare of their own people. The Nagas have their own way of preserving their history from generation to generation through folk lores and oral story-telling.

The Nagas are ethnic group inhabited with more than Forty Tribes that reside in Nagaland, Arunachal, Manipur, Assam and the North-Western Myanmar (Burma). The Nagas are rich in diversity with the tribes speaking different languages but having almost similar cultures and traditions. Some tribes have their own distinct culture along with the common Naga culture. The Naga tribes are good Artisans. Their Homes are made of craft woods and straws. The Nagas are exceptionally talented craftsmen that craft baskets, weaving of cloth, pottery, metalwork, jewellery-making, and beads-making. Nagas preserving of culture is seen in the way they preserve their traditional clothes. There are traditional shawls (both for women and men), wrap-around garments (for women) designed and woven by the Naga women and the headgear designed beautifully for both the genders. The varieties of beads are used in the jewellery along with a wide range of materials including glass, Shell, stone, tusk, claws, horns, metals, bone, wood, hair, seeds and fibers. The Nagas also have lingua-franca developed from the Assamese and the Nagas which later became as Nagamese Creole (a language that communicates especially for trade and commerce). The Naga Tribes also have their arts and music that consists of folk tales, folk dance, and the folk song that are sung by all the Naga Tribes. The folk songs and dances are important component of the traditional Naga culture. Some Naga songs are historical songs which narrates the entire histories of famous ancestors and events. The Naga folk dances are performed in groups accompanied with traditional attires by both men and women depending on the type of dance. The folk dances are usually performed at festivals and religious occasions. The Naga Tribes celebrate their own festivals of which Nagaland is known as 'land of Festivals'. The Nagas follow agrarian culture and all their festivals relates to their agricultural calendar. The festivals give a significant meaning of Naga farming-culture. The sowing, cultivation and harvesting of Naga farming-culture is being led and followed by rituals and ceremonies which they

celebrate 'it' as Festivals. The Nagas' Festivals are celebrated either for invoking blessings on crops or by way of thanksgiving for the harvested crops. The festivals are celebrated and recited through folk dances and folk songs in its own season, in its own ways by different tribes. Apart from different tribal festivals, they also celebrate Hornbill festival which is common festival for all the Nagas. It is celebrated every year in the first week of December. It is called the 'festival of festivals'. The Hornbill festival brings every tribe together and showcases their own ethnic cultures through different ways not just to the Nagas but to the rest of the world. The importance of the Hornbill festival is to keep up, secure, and encourage the richness of the Naga heritage and traditions.

The Nagas have an egalitarian society. The Nagas traditionally live in villages that are established with their own sovereign village-states, occupying a territory with its recognized boundaries by stones, rivers, hills, within which the villagers had free right to exercise lasting terrace cultivation as well as shifting cultivation. They have free right of fishing in the rivers (except using modern technologies for fishing) and hunt in the forests. With the vast lands around them, evergreen natural forests with wild animals and birds, fast flowing rivers and streams, the Naga villagers have a healthy life-style. The people of the village are also brought together by social, economic, political and ritual ties. The Nagas are honest, a true to their word and are hard working people. With their own access of behaviour and system of administration, they were a closely knitted society with a high sense of unity. The villages had their own identities, but not in solitude, as there were interdependent with neighbouring villages. Modernization slowly got away the centrality of the villages as a social unit, as large commercial towns were speedily developing in every part of the Naga Hills. This has brought about spectacular changes in the values, lifestyles, and social setup of the people. The Naga family is the most important institution of social education as it is the most basic unit of the Naga society. The traditional Naga society is patriarchal society with a strong warrior tradition that gave the importance to the birth of boys. Naga woman were usually expected to be obedient and humble. Her roles were complex and varied: wife, mother, child bearer, food producer and household manager. She

supplements the household income by weaving and selling of traditional shawls. Women were traditionally not included in the decision-making process of the clan or the villages. However in the recent decades Naga woman had been influenced and affected with major social changes. At present Naga Mothers Association (NMA) being the dominant group in Naga society for Naga women has always played an important role for Naga women. The women's participation in politics is violently denied in the past by the male dominant citing the virtues of tribal culture. However NMA spearheaded the women movement in the state to improve upon opportunities of political participation for women of Nagaland.

Nagas had been living in a village free from external forces since time immemorial with every village governed by a set of traditional and customary laws, and justice was delivered accordingly. Since time immemorial, the Nagas had always organized themselves into villages with well defined boundaries and lines. Every tribe has their own territory; they are contiguous to one another and form a compact territory (till date). The Naga tribes are identified by their lands or territories. The Naga love for their motherland is immeasurable; at the same time their respect for other's territorial boundaries is very profound. Today the Nagas are put under various administrative units, and yet, ethnically, all the Nagas have their common origin of a Mongolian stock. In the past Nagas used to wage wars among different or between villages for the protection of their own lands or territories. The lands that Nagas occupied today have been owned by their fore-fathers since time immemorial. It was neither sought nor granted by any king or community. Nagas existed as 'race' with distinct socio-cultural entity long before the territory became a modern state in the Indian union. Nagas argued that Nagas' territory never came under British suzerainty and therefore they believe that British had no rights to hand over the Nagas' territory either to India or Burma or any nation in the world. Similarly the Nagas also never agreed to join Indian or Burmese union of 1947 and 1948 because in the first place Nagaland was never conquered by the British as a state. The Nagas believed that their territory is their birth right although partially colonized by British but was never a part of India. The Nagas never liked outsider's interference in their internal affairs especially when it comes to their motherland.

The Naga tribes are tribally separatist by attitudes and tribe-prone by faith and behavior. Tribes have always remained a dominant factor in the minds of the Naga people not to create hatred but to identify themselves with different Naga Tribes. Although Nagas had inhabited their land for many generations, they learned to read and write only in the later part of 19th century through American missionaries and commercial trade with British. Since the British had their politics and economic interests in the Nagas areas, they came into Naga territories. Therefore it is believed that the only link between the Indians and The Nagas were the British. With the coming of the British and the Americans in the Naga-territory, Nagas had abolished with head hunting. The American missionaries had showered with their loving heart to the Nagas and saved them from bondage of sins and gave them civilization. The British had initially recognized the territorial boundaries of the Ahoms (Assam) and the Nagas as the Political boundary. “But later on when the British governments set a firm footing on Assam and particularly after the Assam-Bengal railway was constructed in and around 1899, for their own administrative convenience, big areas of Naga territory were transferred to the adjoining district of Assam in 1898,1901,1902,1903 and 1923. All these transfers were done without the knowledge of the Nagas”²

It is believed that the Nagas and Indians are of two different people. They did not know each other till the time of British colonization. The first few Indians who saw the Naga country were the ones who accompanied the British as sepoys and Laborers during the British expedition to First World War. Likewise the first few Nagas who first saw Indians were the ones who went to Europe as a part of Labor corpse during First World War. Therefore a few scholars and researchers believed that Nagas are Indians by circumstances and not by choice. It may offend to those who are highly patriotic Indian but before taking into judgment; it would be necessary to know certain facts and histories and allots a thoughts accordingly. After many years of occupying the portions of some Naga Hill areas, the Powerful British engrossed the Nagas into First World War. They sought the help of the Nagas for service in France. The Nagas were so generous to help the British. That was the first time Nagas had gone beyond the neighbouring

villages of Assam, Manipur and Burma. They had never seen other people except for their neighbouring villages and also the British and American missionaries who were living in the Naga Hills. The separation of this large number of young men from their land had been a unique experience. This was the first time where these Nagas got an opportunity to intermingle with the outside world which they have not experienced before. The Nagas had no idea as to how far they had to go as they were illiterate and did not know any other languages. They also had no idea of how long they would be away from their homes. However in spite of all these obstacles they agreed to join the British for the war. It was not because of Naga love and affection for the British but because Nagas had their value of triumph to fight in any kind of war. "During world war-I, the Naga labor force that went to First World War in France to support the allies which consisted of 1000 Semas, 400 Lothas, 200 Aos, 200 Rengmas and a large number of smaller groups. This trip of going to France and coming back had shattered many of the illusions that the Nagas had about the superiority of other races, particularly the whites. On their way to France their ship met with an accident. While the Nagas, with their customary fortitude and equanimity, took this accident casually in their stride. On the other hands, hundreds of others, including the British, the Chinese and the Ceylonese, were badly shaken. Later in France the Nagas were used as a labor force for carrying loads and building roads. They were not used for the purpose of fighting in the war. However, through these experiences, the Nagas in France shattered their illusion of the British powers."³ With these few thousand Nagas who went to France and worked there have met different kinds of people and their behavior and cultures. The Nagas who returned from First World War brought their horrifying experiences and also learned how the great civilizations fought against each other, while they criticized the Nagas traditional custom of head-hunting. The relations of different Nagas who came to know each other during their stay together in France had developed a feeling of Friendship and brotherhood that manifested in them to work for the Naga unity and Harmony among themselves. With this spirit after returning to their native land, the Nagas labor corps took importance of social and political activities. From the experiences they gained in the war and their contact with other different

civilized men in the war, the Nagas came to realize the uniqueness of their own ethnic, linguistic, social and culture.

1.2: Historical Trends of Nagas' Demand for Autonomy

The Nagas are green-horned tribal; the blood of head-hunters; and ferocious warriors with no religion in the past and have been living in the hills of Nagaland for ages and ages without being conquered by any nations or dynasties of the World. The Nagas had no organized body to govern them before India's interference in Nagas' political issue, be it in the village, District, or state level. Though the Nagas had no knowledge about the laws and orders or existence of courts or other part of the world but in their case they were wise enough in exercising their own unbiased laws in bringing justice whenever crimes in villages or theft or immoral acts or clashes among the villages or any other issues occurred. The village chiefs (also called as Angh by Konyak tribe) used to act as the right Judges and prosecutors in bringing justice to the Victims. Nagaland has always been free and the Nagas were absolute aliens to the word 'Politics' or 'political world'. Ahoms (Assam) were the only immediate neighbour who had a trade relationship with Nagas but towards the dawn of colonization in the late 19th century, the British tried to contact with the Nagas. Eventually, the giant crown of Britain influenced some of the Nagas along with other tribes from the hills of north-east India to take part in the World War I (1914-1918) as the labor corpse in France.

The First World War opened an eye to the participated Nagas who started to walk a new path of understanding the governance by other nations outside their world. At the same time, American Missionaries started to spread Christianity among Nagas, and also started to open schools and slowly and gradually Nagas started to give up on Head-hunting and inter village wars and attacks. Few Nagas started to get education and became more and more aware to demand for the Autonomy. The Nagas who participated in the First World War agreed that after

returning to their homeland, they will work together towards the unity and friendship among the various Naga tribes. Their love for own motherland paved the way to form the first Naga pan organization as Naga club in 1918.

a) Naga Club

The participation of the Nagas in the First World War was a blessing in disguise for the Nagas. After their return from France, they became more aware of their common ethnic identity. They realized the importance of unity and togetherness. Under the British rule Nagas started to expand political consciousness. It resulted in the formation of Naga club in 1918 comprising of few educated Nagas, Dobashis, village Headmen and having its branches at Kohima and Mokokchung. This was the first pan-Naga organization. The aim of forming the Naga club was to bring all the tribal (Nagas) under one umbrella as a unified Nation. The basic objective of the Naga club was to look after the welfare of the Nagas by promoting the feelings of unity among Nagas as a Nation. The club was an important platform to discuss the socio-political affairs of the Nagas. This organization was the first step towards raising the issue of a Naga Homeland. Through the formation of the Naga club, all the isolated Naga tribes were brought together and established a sense of belongingness and unity. The British government had sent some officials to India in 1927 under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon to study the political situation. In January 1929 the commission visited Kohima, Nagaland. In their visit, the members of the Naga club submitted a memorandum on 10 January, 1929, with 20 signatories demanding the exclusion of the Naga Hills from 'New Reformed Scheme' which afterwards became the government Act of 1935. The memorandum stated:

“We the Nagas should not be thrust to the mercy of other people whom we were never subjected; but to leave us alone to determine ourselves as in ancient times.”⁴
[Full memorandum in Appendices]

The memorandum was the first written document in which Nagas have expressed the yearning of their National longing and political aspiration. With the receiving of

the memorandum, the Simon commission submitted the memorandum to the House of Commons and had debated on it and resulted in the exclusion of the Naga inhabited regions from the extension of the provision of the Government of India Act, 1935. The Nagas believed that the exclusion of the Naga regions from the mainland India by the British Empire acknowledges that Nagas and the Indians are of two different people living in different countries. On passing the recommendation by the Simon Commission under the Government of India Act, 1935, 'Naga Hills District' was declared on 3 March, 1935, to be treated as 'Excluded Area'. This Act gave the power to the Governor of Assam to administrate the Naga Hill Areas in his own discretion. The Act also stated that no Act of federal legislature or Assam legislature to be applied to the Naga Hills and thus Naga Hills was not brought within the fold of Indian Policy.

b) Naga National Council (NNC)

The Naga Hills District Tribal Council on April 1945 was formed by Sir Charles Pawsey as a token of gratitude to the Nagas as the British could defeat the Japanese with the help of a ferocious and mighty Nagas who rendered and offered their services to the allied forces. The main aim of this council was to bring all the Naga tribes and unite them together and to help them repair the damages done during the world war. The Naga leaders had hoped on the British that because of their invaluable help during the war, the British would take some concrete action before their departure from India. However, members of the various Naga tribes discovered that the British were least bothered about Naga political aspirations. Therefore in a conference with the representative of all Naga tribes held in 1946 at Wokha, the council name was opted to change to Naga National Council (NNC). The formation of Naga National Council (NNC) took an important direction in the course of Naga nationalism. It worked for the solidarity of all the Nagas and to achieve their political aspirations. The Naga National Council (NNC) was formed to bring about greater cohesion and to shoulder the cause of the Nagas. The Naga National Council (NNC) expressed the Naga sense of nationhood. Since its formation, Naga National Council (NNC) has been the main political organ of the

Nagas. The Naga National Council (NNC) was formed with the aim of bringing all the Naga tribes under one political umbrella. Mr. T. Aliba Imti was elected as president and T. Sakhrie as the general secretary to run the NNC office. The NNC at the time of formation was comprised of only twenty nine members that represented few Naga tribes. Slowly and gradually the membership of the NNC was made compulsory for all the Naga citizens and rupee on to hundred was collected as a voluntary contribution from every Naga family towards the NNC fund. The Leaders of the Naga National Council (NNC) brought a regular monthly journal called 'the Nation' published from Kohima. The most significant thing about the Naga National Council (NNC) was that the term 'National' that has been used which marks major steps towards the formation of Naga Nationalism. The Naga national council (NNC) adopted four point resolutions on June 19, 1946 and submitted to the British who were on their visit to India to prepare the ground for granting Independence to India. "The resolutions were:

- a) The Naga national council (NNC) stands for the solidarity of all the Naga Tribes including those in un-administered areas;
- b) The Naga national council (NNC) strongly protest against the grouping of Assam with Bengal;
- c) The Naga Hills should be continuously included in an autonomous Assam in free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interests of the Naga; and
- d) The Naga tribes should have a separate electorate."⁵

More or less like a pressure groups, The Naga national council (NNC) spearheaded the demand for autonomy with clear and focused objectives.

c) Nine Point Agreement or Hydari Agreement

In June 1947, the Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari was sent to Kohima to negotiate and understand the realities of Nagas situation. The Governor was acting on behalf of Indian Government. The Naga national council (NNC) tried to make it clear that that the Nagas would not accept any other kind of constitutional

arrangements. Thus the nine point agreement was passed and negotiated. The main provisions of the agreement were:

- 1- Judicial
- 2- Executive
- 3- Legislature
- 4- Land
- 5- Taxation
- 6- Boundaries
- 7- Arms Act
- 8- Regulations
- 9- Period of Agreement

[The detailed provision of the Nine Point Agreement has been included in the Appendices]

This was a landmark agreement in the political history of the Nagas. The Naga National Council (NNC) leaders were struck in their interpretation of clause 9 which clearly gave the assurance of self-determination till the end. The Naga also could not accept the fact that this agreement was incorporated in the sixth schedule of the Indian Constitution. Thus this made the Nagas understandably disturbed and they sought a meeting with Mahatma Gandhi on 19th July, 1947 at New Delhi. The Delegates expressed their view to Mahatma Gandhi that Nagas should be left alone once the British depart from India. They also told him about their demand for autonomy for the whole Nagas. Gandhiji agreed that Nagas have every right to determine their own future and to be free and told the Naga delegates that Nagas have every right to be independent. Gandhiji also said to the Naga delegates that since the British are leaving us, we do not live under the domination of the British anymore. He also encouraged the Naga delegates by saying that the

Nagas should feel India as theirs as much as he feel Naga Hills as his but if Nagas says that it is not his than the matter stops there. Gandhiji went on to say that he believes in the brotherhood Man but do not believe in the forced unions. Gandhiji said to the Naga delegates that if they do not wish to join the union of India than nobody will force the Nagas to do that. Not even the Congress government will do so. The Naga delegates also pointed out the threatening statement of Sir Akbar Hydari where he said that if Naga Hills refused to join the Indian union than India by the use of force will fight against the Nagas. With the hearing of Hydari statement, Gandhiji exclaimed that Sir Akbar Hydari is wrong and Gandhiji assured that He will come to Naga Hills and ask Hydari to shoot him before any of the Nagas are killed. It is believed that if Gandhiji was not assassinated shortly, than Nagas were convinced he would have done that.

There was no unanimity among the Naga national council (NNC) members on the issue of their demand as some were opposed to the view of immediate achievement in their demand keeping in mind that Nagas were still not fully learned about the art of running a state. Despite the differences in opinions and emboldened with the assurance of Gandhiji, the Nagas declared Independence one day ahead of the Indian independence day, on 14th Aug,1947. According to Naga national council (NNC) document, the government of India and the united Nation organization (UNO) were informed by cable about Nagas declaring the independence to which the UNO was kind enough to send an acknowledgement. However the British did not recognize the unilateral declaration of the Nagas independence. In-order to extract a clear statement about the actual fate of 10 year agreement of Hydari agreement, 3 member delegation met the representative of the government of India at shillong on Nov 1949. However they were told bluntly that no such agreement was made. According to Naga National council (NNC) sources, Shri Gopinath Bordoloi (chief minister of Assam) he sorrowfully admitted to the Nagas that there was no such agreement existed by the Indian government. Therefore the Naga National council (NNC) lost faith in the Indian Government and hence started to adopt radical steps to put pressure on the Indian government and the United Nation organization (UNO). The Nagas believed that the betrayal of

the agreement by the Indian government was a direct insult to the Nagas. This deliberate lie further widened the gulf separating the Nagas from Indians. This betrayal is still fresh in the minds of the Nagas. After the betrayal of the agreement, Naga National council (NNC) members at the meeting held in Kohima on 30th Dec 1949 adopted a resolution that Nagas would resolve to establish a separate Sovereign state of Nagalim at the earliest in fulfillment to the aspirations of the Naga tribes represented in the Naga National council (NNC).

d) The Naga Plebiscite

Naga National council (NNC) organized its first general conference at Kohima in 1950. The conference was held with the presence of all the Naga tribes. Despite having many differences among the tribes, they united on the common issue of their demand for autonomy and their objectives became clear. With a significant move in the conference, the Naga National council (NNC) decided to hold a plebiscite on the issue of Nagas' demand for autonomy to make it at the earliest. In 1951, the government of India was given advance information by the NNC regarding the holding of plebiscite. The Naga National council (NNC) also requested the Indian Government to send its representatives and observer to witness the holding of plebiscite by the Nagas. As a first step to put pressure on Indian government and the UNO, the Naga National council (NNC) carried a plebiscite on 16th May 1951 where 99% Nagas voted for free Naga state. The plebiscite lasted for about two months. The Naga National council (NNC) sent its copies of the Plebiscite document to the then president of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the then prime minister of Jawahar Lal Nehru and some foreign ambassadors and dignitaries in New-Delhi. However the Government of India did not support the Naga plebiscite or gave attention to their demand for autonomy but rather stand on its heir to the British government in India.

While Pt. Nehru was trying to work out the issues of the Nagas within the limit of Indian constitution, the Nagas were not ready for any adjustment to their demand. Therefore Indian government without the knowledge of the Nagas, formulated a policy which transferred the Naga Hills (excluded areas under

government of India Act 1935) to the government of Assam. This policy further complicated the matter for the Nagas. In retaliation, the Nagas boycotted the first general election of India in 1952 which was a successful demonstration of unity by the Nagas.

e) Formation of Federal Government of Nagaland and Naga Army

To defend the Naga nation and the people against Indian armed forces, the Nagas were driven to take up arms. In view of the imposing challenges, the Nagas had promptly taken a decisive decision and solemnly declared on 22nd march 1956, the formation of 'Federal government of Nagaland' and an army organization known as 'Naga Army'. The Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) had its own constitution known as 'Yehzabo' with a parliament of hundred Tatars (members) and a kedahge (president) and a cabinet of 15 kilonsers (ministers). The Naga army was formed mainly for the safeguards of Nagaland and to protect their motherland from Indian Armed forces (under AFSPA Act 1958). Both the Naga men and women volunteered to join the Naga Army.

It is studied that the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) and the Naga army did not operated from any consolidated headquarters. They were in various hideouts in all over Nagaland constantly followed by the Indian Army. During the 1950's and 60's Nagaland passed through a reign of terror when an undeclared war was waged between the Indian army and the Naga Army. As a result of this war, innocent villages suffered the most. The conflict became more severe and the Naga Army went underground.

f) Creation of Nagaland as a State

In the midst of wars and conflicts between the Indian government and Naga Army, a group of Nagas came ahead with the negotiations to Indian government. They formed an organization known as Naga people's convention in 1957. With several meetings and negotiations with Government of India (GOI), they came out with an agreement known as Sixteen Point Agreement. The Sixteen Point Agreement was signed without the Nagas' consultation and participation. This agreement led to the

formal fragmentation of Naga territory on the Indian side by carving out the present “Nagaland State” in 1963. The Naga national council (NNC) members protested this agreement. Thus Nagaland became the sixteenth state of Republic India. The state was officially inaugurated on Dec 1, 1963 by the then president of India, Dr S. Radhakrishnan, with the Mr.Shilu Ao as the chief minister of Nagaland. **(The details of the 16 point agreement have been included in the Appendices.)**

While a state is usually a result of an informed and inclusive political and social contract between peoples, “Nagaland State” was formed through an agreement as part of the broader counter-insurgency policy to fracture the Nagas’ demand for autonomy. Hence the birth of “Nagaland State” was not the result of an informed, consensual and participatory political agreement between Naga people and the Indian government.

g) Shillong Accord

The members of the Naga national Council (NNC) and its federal government of Nagaland formally entered into an agreement with some representatives of Indian Government at Shillong on 11 Nov, 1975. The political situation of Nagaland was at worse and taking advantage of its state administration pressured on the relatives of the underground Naga Armies. At this crucial situation, the Shillong Accord was signed on 11 Nov, 1975 between the moderate Naga national Council (NNC) members and the Government of India (GOI) represented by L.P Singh, the then Governor of Nagaland. “The points of the agreement were:

- 1- The representatives of the underground organizations conveyed their decision of their own violation to accept without condition the constitution of India.
- 2- It was agreed that the arms now underground would be brought out and deposited at appointed places. Details for giving effect to this agreement will be worked out between them and the representatives to the Government, the security forces, and the member of the Liaison committee.

3- It was agreed that the representatives of the underground organizations should have reasonable time to formulate their issues for discussions on final settlement.”⁶

[he details of the shillong Accord is mentioned in Appendices]

Though the Government of India (GOI) endorsed the Shillong Accord with some Naga delegates to end the Nagas’ demand for autonomy, nevertheless, Nagas in general and the leaders of Naga National Council (NNC) never supported or agreed to the Accord. This Accord created more complications within the Naga leaders. The then President of Naga National Council (NNC) A.Z. Phizo was asked to condemn the Accord while in his stay at London but it is said that he did not condemn the accord even after so many urges from the Naga people. It let down the hope and believes of the Nagas that they had in the Naga leaders. The Nagas held a national assembly to condemn the accord once and for all as the work of traitors. The assembly unanimously elected Mr.Isak chishi Swu as the vice president of the Naga National Council (NNC). Mr.Isak chishi Swu and Mr.Thuingaleng Muivah signed the condemnation paper and was elected as the vice-president and General Secretary of Naga National Council (NNC) respectively. Both Mr.Isak Swu and Mr Th.Muivah exposed the Shillong Accord as the betrayal of Nagas’ goal. Until today, no Naga national group has officially claimed responsibility for the Shillong Accord.

h) Formation of National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) and split of NSCN

After the shillong accord, the Nagas’ demand would have ended completely had not some of the Naga National Council (NNC) leaders denounced the Shillong accord and formed the National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) to carry on the movement. The shillong accord resulted in the division of the Naga leaders that led to the Split of Naga National Council (NNC) and formation of National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN). The National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) was formed under the leadership of Mr.Isak chishi Swu as its Chairman, Mr S.S Khaplang as vice president and Mr.Th.Muivah as its general secretary. The National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) was formed to protest Shillong

Accord signed between the Indian government and some Naga delegates. According to its record, National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) was formed on January 31, 1980. The National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) carried out a manifesto that was based on the morals of Christian Socialism that combines of traditional socio-cultural and economic system of the Nagas. They also declared themselves as extremists. The National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) was a powerful organization in the Naga society. But in spite of being the powerful organization, a rift developed within the leaders. It is believed that there was animosity among konyak tribes and Thangkul tribes from the beginning and because of their enmity the organization was split. It is also believed that the tribalism is considered as main factor for the split of National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN). It is studied that Chingang konyak and the then chief minister of Nagaland Mr.Hokishe Sema complicated a situation in the name of the unity by laying a trap for talks to confuse the National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) leaders. It was believed that the offer was rejected but they spread rumors that Isak and Muivah had sold out the plan to oust Khaplang, seize the arms from konyak national workers and surrender in India. This information reached the National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) headquarters (oking) which made the leaders to go on their own and led the bloodsheds in the National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) camp. "On 30th April, 1988, Muivah camp was attacked by S.S khaplang and Brigadier Khole konyak's group , killing about 140 men mostly Thangkhul tribe, while other 230 including women and children were killed by bullets, hunger and sickness, some died at the hands of the Burmese army."⁷ It is said that Muivah with his other 33 men could escape from the camp and joined Isak chishi who was away from the camp. After the incident, the National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) got split into two groups known as NSCN(IM) led by Isak and Muivah and NSCN(K) led by Khaplang. The non-cooperation of the Naga tribes within each other started to creep in. the Nagas were no longer united for their demand. The reasons of the National Socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) split was also because of the ideological differences among leaders, mistrust and leaders incapable of controlling the civil and political situation.

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Chapter-2

Review of Literature

A number of studies have already been undertaken on Nagas' demand for autonomy. But a very little effort has been made to discuss its strands and to present it in one analytical framework. The different Review of literature for the research topic is explained below which has been reviewed over the books and Articles on certain topic related to the research:

Books Review

1- Akum Longkumer- 'A way forward-the ideas of a peace accord between India and the Nagas', Heritage Publishing House, Dimapur, 2015 : According to writer's view, Modi has shown confidence in his own ability to deliver peace and solution of Naga issue and thus the Naga talk is placed directly under the supervision of Prime Minister himself. The book also talks about solution of Naga issue step by step. It is also mentioned that the framework agreement, though withheld in all its secrecy, yet it can be considered as a prelude or basis for a final settlement as there is a way forward. It is also suggested to engage with other Naga Political Groups (NPGs) by Government of India (GOI) and National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCM I-M) to maintain trust and be taken as broad-based and thus it is the responsibility of Government of India (GOI) and all the Naga factional groups to come together and bring forth logical solution. The credit goes to Prime minister again for coming forward to bring about 'Act East policy'. When economic reformation in North-East in general and Nagaland in particular is very weak, through this new policy the Japanese government has started a way out for North-East in Entrepreneurship programmes and investments which is another way forward. According to the book, Th. Muivah (General secretary NSCM I-M) has been strongly pushing for a joint defense mechanism to be included in any future agreement. It is also given awareness to New Delhi about Inter service Intelligence (ISI) in the North-East region and should give importance to the security dimensions. The process of peace talks is in-fact, an inspiration and good lesson to

the troubled world today which is a way forward in all peaceful manners instead of using Violence.

2- Kaka D.Iralu, 'The Naga Saga' (Published by Author himself), Kohima, 2009:

This book is all about wars but this does not mean the book celebrates wars. As the world renowned spiritual leader Dalai Lama says we Humans created war and thus even if we pray to God to bring peace to the world, they will refuse because we Humans created war so it is our responsibility to solve this problem. So also this book looks forward for Peace. And since Indians and Nagas created this problem we should solve it without anybody's interference not even God to highest extend. It is not lie, but, some rights have definitely been violated; some crimes have been committed inhumanely; untruthful allegations have been used. But alas! We are Humans. Even if we had to live for a day we live like Humans and thus the book cries for Nagas' rights and Peace. It is the way of life unfortunately that every Nation suffers and experiences wars in one way or the other. But for everything there is a 'time'. However for Indo-Naga issues, it never ends, and thus, in all its frustrations, sometimes with furious heart, while sometimes with tears in different colors seeks for peace and final solution. The writer reminds both India and Nagaland that they are like an Ant and Elephant and even if thousand years come an Ant can never be Elephant and thus one should respect one's own freedom and to follow different ways of lives through Forgiveness. The writer, of course, never forget to humble appreciate uncountable good things Indians have done for the Nagas especially in Economy and Defense. The writer reminds both Indians and Nagas that there is no doubt; India is superior in military strength and Man Power. However even if million years comes by Nagas may never surrender because as Indians loves their motherland so also the Nagas do.

The writer brings forth the real stories and truths about real events, real victim names and places which nobody can deny because what is done is done and can never be undone. However the writer wishes that one should accept and acknowledge what one has done, and if necessary, should ask forgiveness, resolve the problem and should learn to live in peace and unity.

3- Abraham Lotha, 'the Hornbill spirit-Nagas living their Nationalism', heritage publishing House, Dimapur, 2016: It is the ethnographic study and makes a connection to the readers between symbols and Nationalism. The book tries to convey one message about Nagas being blind and dumb towards nationalistic attitude. The book also tries to justify territorial integrity when talks about neighboring states in particular. The book challenges from being sub-nationalist to realize the ethnics of Nagas that goes along with the nationalistic attitude in Nagas' context. It is a kind of documents collected on the process of Naga nationalism. Some sensitive issues go untold by history but this book gives life to the history of Nagas in such a fully controlled package. As the Hornbill who possesses free spirit so also the Nagas are identified. It cannot be denied neither that the geographical location should allow the inhabitants to survive and live happily as the Hornbill in Nagas' land so also India should respect Nagas' land and roots to co-exist peacefully. As the Hornbill cannot live in other place but to an inhabitant place of its species so also the Nagas can inhabitant with its free spirit, love and grow if placed and respected in its own inhabited without annexation. The book also triumphs of what the Nagas have started because it is their eco-system, their ethnic roots laid and hornbilled that not even a soul can change the world.

4- Abraham Lotha, 'The Raging Mithun'- challenges of Naga Nationalism, Bark-weaver publications, Norway, 2013: The Raging Mithun is a special essay which is more like a reflection of furious Mithun. There is a special way to Love Mithun in a traditional way but today's Nagaland has been fed with so many society, lies and unfaithful promises which anger the Nagas in general. The Nagas not only have the lies of outsiders but Nagas themselves slept on lies. They have forgotten what they started and why. The book accounts with facts and articles appeared on Nagaland Dailies on a kind of guide to Naga scholars and researchers on Naga political movement, Nagas' culture, traditions and festivals and voice of religion as well. The book also reminds Nagas that they had forgotten their real aspirations, visions and most importantly their identities.

5- Kuroi K zhimomi, 'politics and militancy in Nagaland', Deep and Deep publications, New Delhi, 2004: The book has shared about the problems of ethnicity, governance, insurgency, and development that have marked its evolution. The ethnic-identity issues and political evolution leading to state formation and its creation of sub-state structures is traced in this book and also have emerged and analyzed the political problems.

6- Akum Longchari, 'Self determination-A resource for just peace', Heritage publishing House, Dimapur, 2016: The book has crafted an exquisite conceptual compass. His book sets new direction through contested terrain. It has explored the dream of self determination from the perspective of Nagas. The book affirms that because self determination is a right belonging to peoples, the dynamic of its praxis will remain in people's hearts and minds.

Articles Review

1- NSCN (IM), 'Framework Agreement about Nagas and Territories'- Source (the Sangai Express), May 13, 2017: The NSCN (IM) expressed that the Nagas have been Independent since time immemorial. Infact Nagas were unknown to the rest of the world until its small part was colonized by the Crown of Britain against the Naga head-hunters. And therefore before the British Crown left India and its neighbours, Nagaland was declared as Independent on 14th August 1947 one day before India got its Independence. Thus issue between the Nation of Nagaland and its neighbours was India's invasion against the Free-Nagas and myanmar (Burma) as a defense to Nagas' principles and ideas.

The Nagas' issue, however, will not invite any injustice encroachment against its immediate neighbours because the Nagas are into the race of its own rights and geographical boundaries against the alien nation but not into the old ages imperialistic era. The plebiscite conducted by the Nagas in 1951 clearly shows that oneness and unity of the people of Nagas if not being grievously sold by few Nagas or could say 'cheated' by the so called democratic country. The NSCN (IM) further

expressed that the framework agreement, the so called a controversial move and suspicious bond of the Nagas and the Government of India (GOI), however, respects the immediate neighbours' concern. It has not been made a public plate yet but it deals with the issue between Nagas and their territories. The agreement is expected to tie up in a harmonious ground without violating the principles of India's unity with her states and territories. It is also expected to be for peaceful negotiations between the Nagas and the Government of India (GOI) in recognition of the natural rights of the Nagas and in mutual respect of its historical facts which cannot be altered in any form or dimension.

2- Mapu Jamir I.A.S (Retd.), "Article 371A- A product of Naga Nationalism, February 12, 2017: The writer in his write up expressed that A.Z. Phizo, the pillar of Nagas issue stood fiercely and bravely for the cause of Nagas' demand . Under the green- blooded leadership of Phizo, the Nagas could resist the external forces even without modern war tools and ammunition. The colonial clashes between the British Crown and the Nagas could not be purely termed or looting by Imperialism because they were focused on civilization to the fierce Tribal warriors of the Nagas and as such they left Nagas completely once the Imperialism declined. But today, Nagas do not get the blood, flesh and Free will among Nagas as Phizo anymore and thus the dream of Nagas' demand is being overshadowed by the political instability, economic crisis, social injustices, outcry of educate unemployment, breaking-down of National movements into different factions, and untold miseries suffered by the people of Nagaland both in the hands of self-centered Naga leaders which has already made Nagas issue a very difficult and jeopardized the real-cause of Nagas' demand for Autonomy.

3- Critique review on Framework Agreement by the researcher: Framework Agreement is kind of pre-nuptial agreement. Such agreement could be already made in between husband-to-be and wife-to-be while some agreements are left for post-nuptial stage. The historic signing of framework Agreement between the Government of India and the NSCN (IM) which remains a mystery sowed the seed of discomfort among the North-East states. Such pre-nuptial agreements could be

very destructive to maintain peace and harmony because the Nagas never ask for family reunion with India as the Nagas are aliens to the Indians vice-versa. And if the agreement turns out true to the public's predictions, it will never bring permanent peace because the Nagas' cause is to acquire complete Autonomous body and such secret agreement or idea of Sharing Power can never bring justice to the Nagas. Such political complications are making the negotiations between the Government of India and the Nagas more complicated. The government of India should stop making conditions to the hypocritical leaders of Nagaland. If selling off one's own motherland to the hands of the Indians by the Nagas with such complications, the post-nuptial agreement should be agreed one after another a such as bondage or burden age between the husband-to-be and the wife-to-be goes for the sake of huge responsibilities in days to come. The agreement has already started burning the minds of the Nagas in general and invited tensions in Nagas' territories. The whole North-East states are either in fear or aggrieved by this secret knot.

The Indians, by blood and by vast knowledge in political world, unlike the Nagas, are well practiced in political arena as far as the way back to the Ashoka the great or the golden age of the Guptas. The Nagas, however have never been into this political arena which is why the Nagas are more mislead or hypnotized by more and more proposals and agreements tabled by the Indians. However one very glorious beginning, the Nagas should never forsake or rebuked by the spirits of head-hunters is that, they only want complete Autonomous body, and complete agreement never to be interfered by any nations around the World. This was the real cause of the green-blooded Nagas; this is the real bondage agreement of the Nagas with their spirits of Hills. Thus complete Autonomy is her only dream.

Chapter-3

Research Methodology

3.1: Introduction

Nagas had been waging war with Indians for their motherland for more than Sixty years. Nagas believe that they have been free for ages and ages and their love for their motherland is in their blood. The Nagas have been demanding to be an Autonomous body even before India's independence claiming that they had not been part of British India. Nagas have always been different from the rest of Indians be it culture, traditions, customs, etc. It is believed that the Nagas and Indians are of two different people. They did not know each other till the time of British colonization and therefore the only link between the India and the Nagas were the British. The Nagas love to be Free that revolves their lifestyle which cannot be taken away by the means of Force. The struggle against forces that threaten their existence had been their way of living since time immemorial. The Nagas' demand for autonomy is not because of any statuesque, or because of any unemployment in the state but because of Naga longing to be separated. Another reason for the Nagas' demand is because of the central government that introduced a draconian law in the pretext of maintaining peace in the Naga Hills. This law had imposed the involvement of Indian Armed forces in the life of the Nagas. More trouble was caused to the Nagas when Nagaland was declared as disturbed area by the central government. This had created more chaos in the life of each and every Nagas that had led to many unknown wars between the Nagas and the Indians which had created a bad image of Indians in the minds of the Nagas. Had Indian Government not enforced the Armies with draconian law, the Nagas would have been convinced by now to give up their demand. Among many the one reason for Nagas' demand is because of the Indian armed forces into the life of the Nagas. There had been many powers implemented out of which the notable among them were:

- a) Armed forces special power act(1958)
- b) The armed forces (Assam, Manipur) special powers ordinance, 1958
- c) The Nagaland security regulation, 1962 etc.

The implication of these laws has empowered the Indian soldiers to kill on suspicion, burn and destroy the Naga People.

3.2: Statement of problems

For the last four decades the Nagas aspiration towards their goal continues despite various splits and divisions among the Factional groups. The struggle for the Nagas' demand has been conflicted politically and economically which had lead to the split among Nagas. The rise of various Naga factional groups with various Naga leaders had made the Nagas' demand more complex. The emergence of differences and feelings among the numerous Naga leaders has also brought more complexity in the Nagas' demand and goal. The Nagas issue has become more challenging to the Naga leaders while seeking for a peaceful solution. The different ideologies of various Naga leaders and also Naga leaders wanting to be the dictatorship had strived for a problem in the Nagas issue. Another problem in the Nagas' demand is the dominance of the National socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN-IM) over other Naga factional groups. NSCN (IM) being the dominant group among other Naga factional groups has been defined to be the strongest of the factions who have over populated factions in Nagaland. And being the dominant group, the NSCN (IM) have appealed to the Government of India that they should be the one to discuss with and so therefore the Framework Agreement which is hidden from the public and was signed only between the Government of India and NSCN (IM) on Aug 3, 2015. Corruption is another mess to the Nagas issue. When the Naga leaders are politically corrupted, it only brings a chaos to their goal rather than bringing a solution to the long Naga vexed issue. The Naga people's fragmented pendulum has been swinging between doubt and certainty and between fear and hope. These are the problems that require a serious introspection and thorough research.

3.3: Research Questions

- 1- Can Nagas economically stand strong on their own after becoming an Autonomous Body?
- 2- Can Industrial Revolution take place in Nagaland after becoming an Autonomous Body?
- 3- Are all the Nagas in General demanding for Autonomy?
- 4- What are the contributions by various Naga Individuals and organizations towards Nagas' demand for Autonomy?
- 5- Is Naga Solution becoming a political Agenda?

3.4: Objectives of the study

- 1- To study the problems hampering the Nagas' demand for Autonomy.
- 2- To study the trends and status of Nagas issue.
- 3- To study the existing different Naga organizations like Naga Hoho, students union, Naga peoples movement for Human rights, Naga Mothers association, Naga national political Groups (NNPGs), etc., who have been working to bring amicable settlement of the Naga issue and release the Naga people from sufferings and troubles which they have been facing due to internecine wars among different factions of Underground organizations and also due to the military intervention in the affairs of Naga people.
- 4- To study the opinions of the different sections of the people in Nagaland.
- 5- To study the challenges of Nagas' demand for Autonomy.

3.5: Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that:

- 1- The Nagas fighting for Autonomy appears as if Nagaland is fighting for employment crisis rather than Autonomy.
- 2- The Naga customs, traditions, cultures and Religions are different from the rest of Indians and so the need of an Autonomous Body arises.
- 3- All the factional groups of Nagas cannot come under one umbrella to fight together for an Autonomous Body as all the groups' fights for their own Interest without emphasizing the interest and well-being of the Naga people.
- 4- The Naga issue has become more complex due to the rise of various political parties and numerous changing natures of political leaders in the state.
- 5- The Hidden truth of framework Agreement brings more doubts and mysterious theories that invite more critical questions to Nagas and Neighboring States.
- 5- Different resolution have been made, however no impactful resolution to bring Final resolution for the Nagas has made so far.
- 6- The question of Dual citizenship and ideas of sharing power bring more complex situations.
- 7- The Nagas in general are in favor of peaceful solution under the guidance of Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC), but Indian government and the Naga leaders is taking a century or more to bring forth a Final solution.
- 8- Due to development of differences and feelings among the Naga Factional leaders have weakened the demand for Autonomy.
- 9- The Nagas are lack of a Leader who can be as patriotic as Mahatma Gandhi and strong as Nelson Mandela to lead the Nagas.

3.6: Research Methods

Research methods are interpreted into qualitative methods as for this Thesis does not require quantitative methods which are phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematically based methods. However for better understanding the data analysis and interpretation have been put up in chapter-4 so as to give justice to the research that slightly includes of quantitative method.

Qualitative methods: Van Mannen had given the best term of qualitative research which covers the array of enlightening skills that seeks to narrate, interpret, express or else comes with a conclusion with certain ideas with the meaning not persistent of certain more or less traditionally followed and kind of stereotyped in the social works. The qualitative methods included in this research are Observation method and Narrative Inquiry.

a) Observation method collects a data through a direct observation and describes the site that looks from outside and in which a researcher sees it. It includes the Participant Observer and Non-Participant Observer. While the Participant Observer have the advantage to observe and experience the actual role of what is going on around in which the researcher gets to assume, the Non-Participant Observer since he/she is not the centre of action may not be able to view the situation but may be able to collect the data using a tape recorder giving every aspect of the event.

b) Narrative Inquiry is another method of qualitative research that is used for examining and explaining the oral narratives in thesis. Narratives are stories which are elaborated in arrayed of events that includes of verbal communication to understand of what one experienced in their life. It emphasizes specially on individuals' life experience and the procedure for collecting information for the cause of research through the story telling where the researcher records the narrative of the experience. A narrator is the primary source for the narrative enquiry. The understanding is developed through the relationship of the researcher and the narrator. Narrative research helps to collect information in bringing out the

appropriate and collective research data that can be used as the single evaluation of a real-life problem. Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding individual's experiences.

3.7: Methods of Data collection

Methods could be identified as the steps of methodological approaches and processes and that of the ideas of behavioral understanding of one distinct discipline of study or study of a particular body of knowledge or achieving to its destination step by step in an order. Specific Methodology implies more profound and deeper knowledge in that specific field of study; it is in fact related to more reasonable and logical understanding of a certain field of study; it gives the ability to bring out the conclusion of some hypothetical proposition given in a specific field of study by collecting raw data. The facts and records are both collected from first person and second or third person as kind of abstracts ideal but during a research these ideas or sources get converged.

(I) Primary Source of Raw Data and Facts: The main ideas of these Raw Data are collected from a particular field of knowledge in that very specific work that a researcher has undertaken. Its main focus is an oral history as a prime objective. Oral interviews are taken and it is focused on how these oral narratives becomes the fruit of oral history; how one comes across such events or how it occurs and how it is carried , on to another generation and finally become a history. Oral history is very important trend in Human history and tradition. It is the only way of communication that was carried on when the world was without pen and papers and it continues to boost the human culture and build a bridge when education and innovations fails anytime. It helps sustain human history. It is one of the pillars of knowledge and values. Therefore researchers do mostly rely on oral history as it has become like a tradition to amicable conclusion in any particular field of study. Men and women from different age groups were primary resource persons in the field study. The field work is done only in Dimapur districts and Kohima (capital of

Nagaland) as all the headquarters of the factional groups are situated in and around Dimapur itself and also the members of various civil organization mostly resides in Dimapur and Kohima. The primary sources of Data including field work, observation method and interview method was done. Formal discussion has been taken place with members of different Factional Groups (Undergrounds) who are fighting for Nagas' demand for Autonomy and also with the individuals as well as the Members of the various Naga civil organizations.

(II) Secondary source of Data: The published or unpublished written Data related to the Research topic constitutes the secondary source material. Articles, Documents, Journals, newspapers, books have been used for this research topic.

3.8: Limitations of the Study

- 1- The study is limited to only NSCN (IM) among the Naga National groups as the NSCN (IM) being the dominant group among them.
- 2- The Research does not give a detail study on culture, social, Religion and customary laws of Nagas.
- 3- The recent framework agreement Aug 3, 2015, is another limitation as it is hidden from the rest of Nagas and only known between GOI and NSCN (IM).
- 4- The Naga factional leaders are known to have a private life and so to collect information through Interviews and to meet the allotted appointment, the researcher had to go for a long process.
- 5- The research of the topic does not include Data findings or numerical calculations as the Study is limited to the qualitative method of Research by Observation and Narrative Inquiry.

3.9: Conceptual Framework

1) Study: Study refers to the process of undergoing or analyzing certain or specified subject or analytical topic or investigating deeper truth of a particular topic to a given area or a subject or a body. It could also mean to scrutinize the existing subject or a book or a topic. Study can also mean to devote one's attention or mediation in search of enlightened answers without prejudices or without being impersonal. Study could also refer to critical understanding of a given subject or a topic. Study can also be a particular discipline of understanding the subject in a more detailed, accurate and knowledgeable way approach.

2) Demand: Demand is more authoritative in its literal translation and definition. Demand refers to a command or calling in something which is very serious and must to be met. Demand could also mean summoning something which is more of the rights of the summoners than that of the one summoned. Demand could also mean requesting a particular Gem of treasure belonged to the summoner or needed by the summoner. It could also mean asking some space or rights of the Demander.

3) Autonomy: Autonomy is a majestic word refers to self reliable world without interferences of outside world in that particular area or given place. It could also mean running one's own society or government in its own fashion completely on its own without interlink other nation or people or a group of other people. It also means pure individualism. Autonomy also means a body of one's own with its rights and obligations. Autonomy also means having its own defined body of place, body of laws, body of governing board, and the people having its own geographic area without any interference from the outside world.

Chapter-4

Data Collection and Interpretations

The data of the research work has been collected through qualitative method that includes Narrative and Inquiry methods as for the research topic does not require quantitative methods which are phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analyzed using mathematically based methods. The research work is done with the process of Interviews and discussions and whatever the information collected through it has been interpreted and included in this chapter after the Table and chart Data. For better understanding, the data has been included in the form of tables and charts and interpretation of it have also been put up so as to give justice to the research that slightly includes of quantitative method where the researcher have asked 100 respondents on various questions presented below.

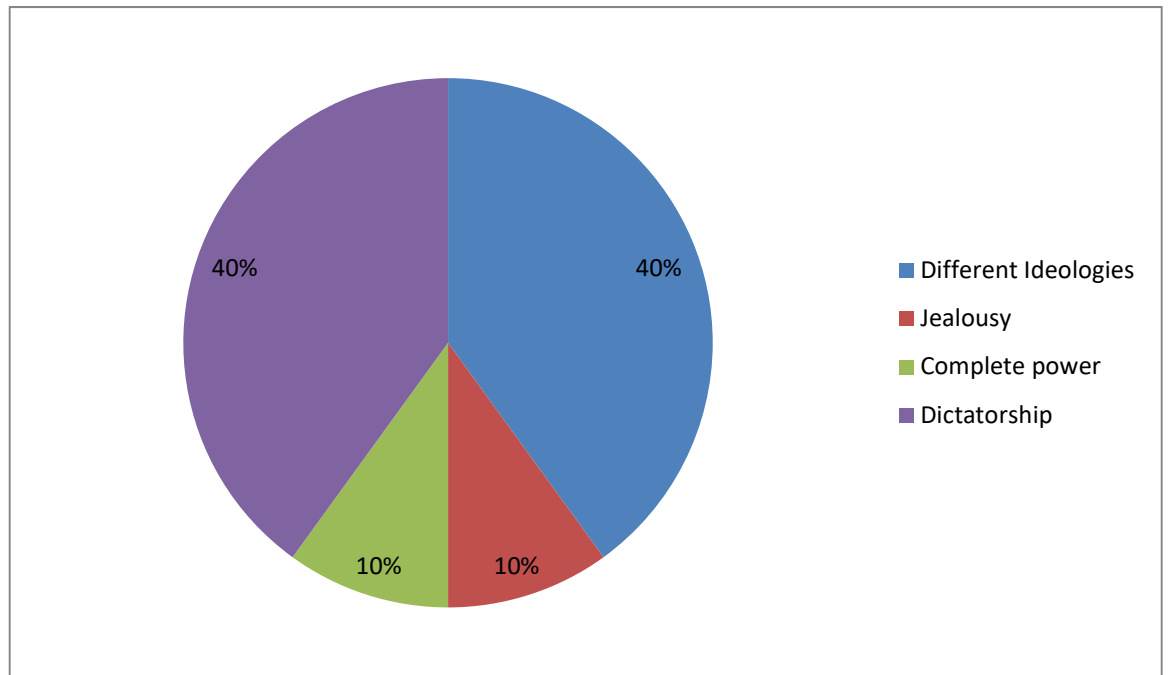
4.1: Tables and Charts and the interpretation of it collected through questionnaires

Hundred (100) Respondents were chosen to answer the questionnaire below related to research work. The responses received from the respondent are presented below in the form of Tables, and charts.

Table.1: Reasons why Naga factional groups cannot come together under one umbrella?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
1.Different Ideologies	40	40%
2. Jealousy	10	10%

3 Complete power	10	10%
4. Dictatorship	40	40%
Total	100	100%



Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked for the reasons why the Naga factional group cannot come together as one. 40% of the respondents answered it is because of the different ideologies that they have within each other, 10% respondents answered that it is because of the jealousy and inferiority of each other, 10% respondents said that the groups wanted the complete power over each other and 40% respondents said that the leaders of each factional groups wanted to be the dictator of Nagaland for which they never come together as one leaving their ego aside.

Table.2: How far the Nagas' demand for Autonomy will be helpful to the Nagas in General?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
1. Neutral	Educated Nagas	30%
2. Not Helpful	Commoners	20%
3. Neutral	Organized Civil Bodies	20%
4. Helpful	Different Naga Factional Groups	30%
Total	100	100%

Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked How far the Nagas' demand for Autonomy will be helpful to the Nagas in General. The educated Nagas supported Neutral to the question saying that the demand is partially helpful and Partially Not helpful. The commoners supported not helpful to the question as they see no hope of Nagas ever being an Autonomous Body. The Organized civil bodies also supported Neutral to the question saying that the demand is partially helpful and Partially Not helpful. While the different Naga factional groups said it will be helpful saying that if Nagas becomes an Autonomous body Nagas will leave on their own in every field. While out of 100 respondents, 30% were the educated Nagas, 20% were the Commoners, 30% were the different Naga Factional groups and 20% were the different organized civil Bodies.

Table.3: Will Nagas be able to co-exist peacefully without India after becoming an Autonomous body?

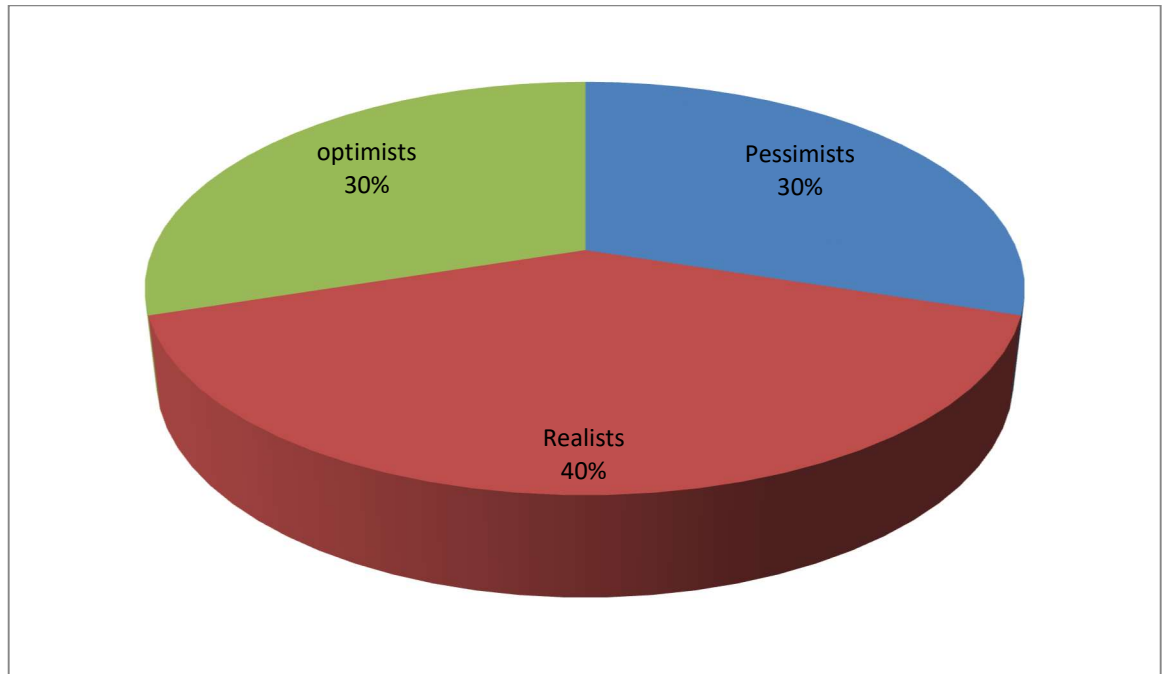
Options	Respondents	Percentage
1. Neutral	Educated Nagas	20%

2. No	Commoners	30%
3. No	Organized Civil Bodies	20%
4. Neutral	Different Naga Factional Groups	30%
Total	100	100%

Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if Nagas can co-exist peacefully without India after becoming an Autonomous Body. 20% of the educated Nagas and 30% of the Different Naga Factional groups supported Neutral to the question saying that Nagas may or may not be able to co-exist peacefully. 30% of the commoners and 20% of the Organized Civil bodies agreed that Nagas cannot exist fully without India as economically the Nagas will find it very hard to sustain on its own.

Table.4: what is the generational attitude towards Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?

Respondents Age Group	Options	Percentage
20-30 years of Age	Pessimists	30%
31-40 years of Age	Realists	40%
41 years and above	Optimists	30%
Total	100	100%

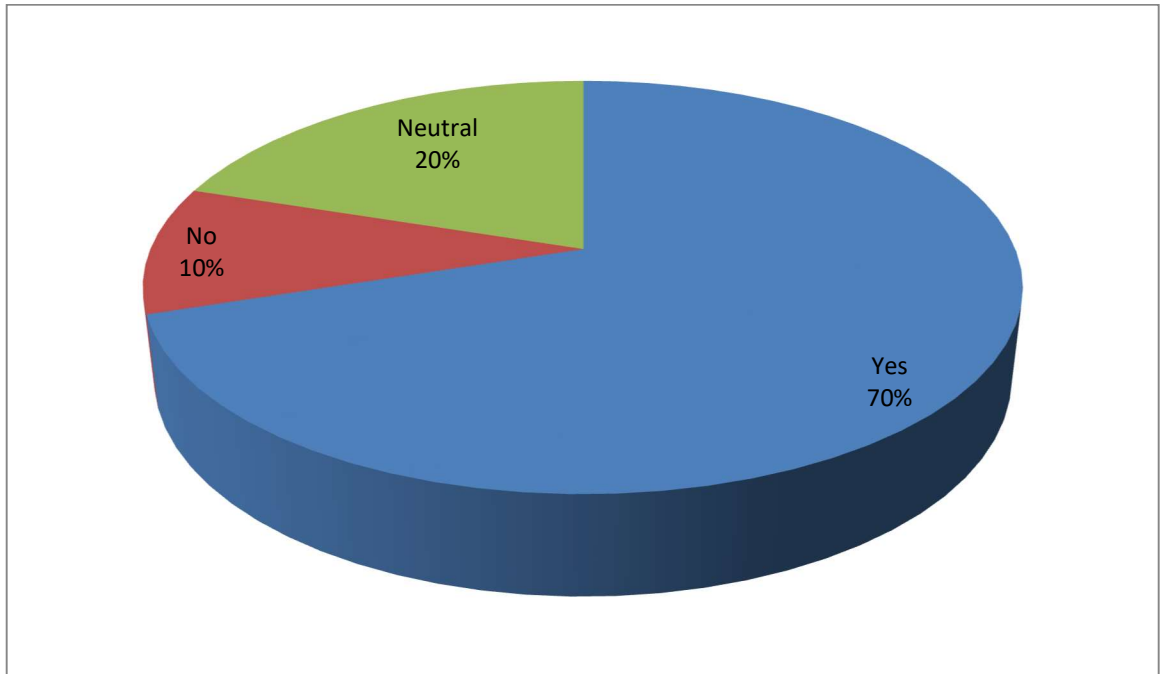


Interpretation: 100 respondents of different age group were examined about their attitude towards Nagas' demand for Autonomy. 20-30 age groups being the young educated among the Nagas are pessimists because they are more focused on economic growth rather than demanding for Autonomy. 31-40 age groups are realists and always practical because they have seen both the good times and bad times and thus they always remain realistic in their ideas of Nagas' demand for Autonomy. While 41 years and above are always optimistic towards Nagas' demand for Autonomy because they are the founders of Nagas' demand for Autonomy and have positive attitude in their demand.

Table.5: Is Indian Government taking too long to resolve the Vexed Naga issue?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	70	70%
No	10	10%
Neutral	20	20%

Total	100	100%
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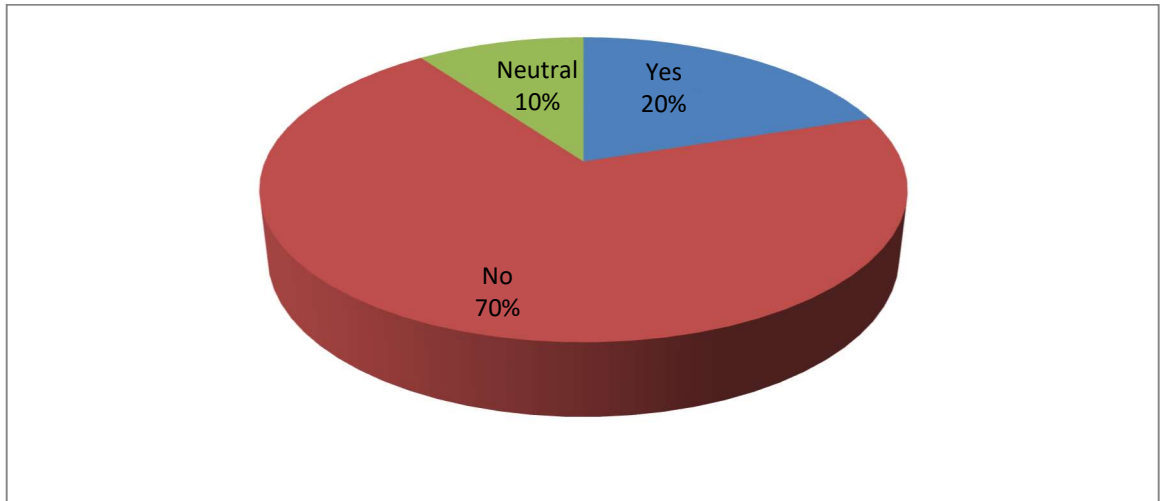


Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if they think Indian Government is taking too long in resolving the vexed Naga issue. 70% of the respondents said yes as they feel after having many rounds of talks and negotiations Indian government by now should be able to bring an amicable solution for the Nagas. 10% of the respondents said No as they believe that if Indian Government is taking time than the solution would be better for the Nagas. 20% responded neutral to the question.

Table.6: Can Nagas globally compete with the rest of the World in every field if Nagas become an Autonomous Nation?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	20	20%
No	70	70%
Neutral	10	10%

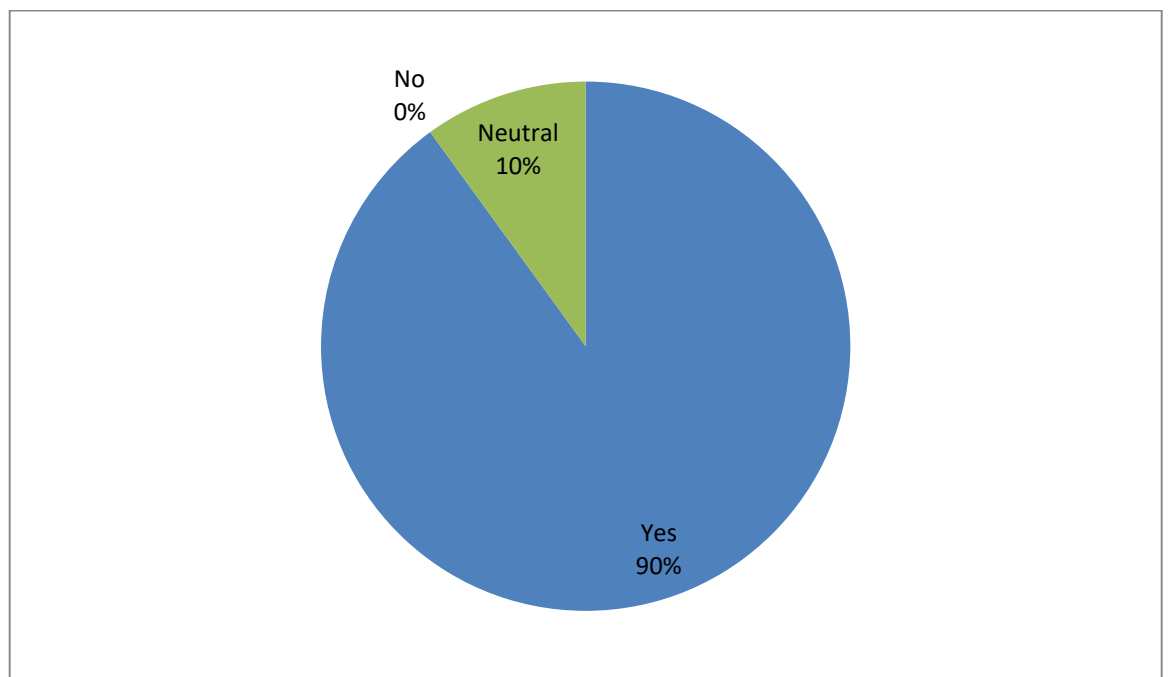
Total	100	100%
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Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if Nagas globally compete with the rest of the World in every field if Nagas become an Autonomous Nation. 20% of the respondents said yes as they believe that if Nagas work hard than Nagas will be able to compete with the rest of the world in every field. 70% of the respondents agreed that Nagas cannot compete with the rest of the world by taking into account of the present situation because Nagas are very weak in economy, politically corrupted and do not have dedicated leaders to bring about Revolution and modern infrastructure. Although Nagas follow agrarian culture in the past and still following in some rural areas but still in most part of Nagaland have stopped farming and given up agrarian culture and started depending on government Jobs, government schemes and government reforms. Nagas also do not have their own Alphabets to make their independent form of text in the field of literature. Above all most of the Nagas are worried about employment crisis in a stste than fighting for Autonomy. 10% of the respondents were neutral to the question.

Table.7: Do you think the Naga issue has become more complex due to the rise of various political parties and numerous changing natures of Political leaders in the state?

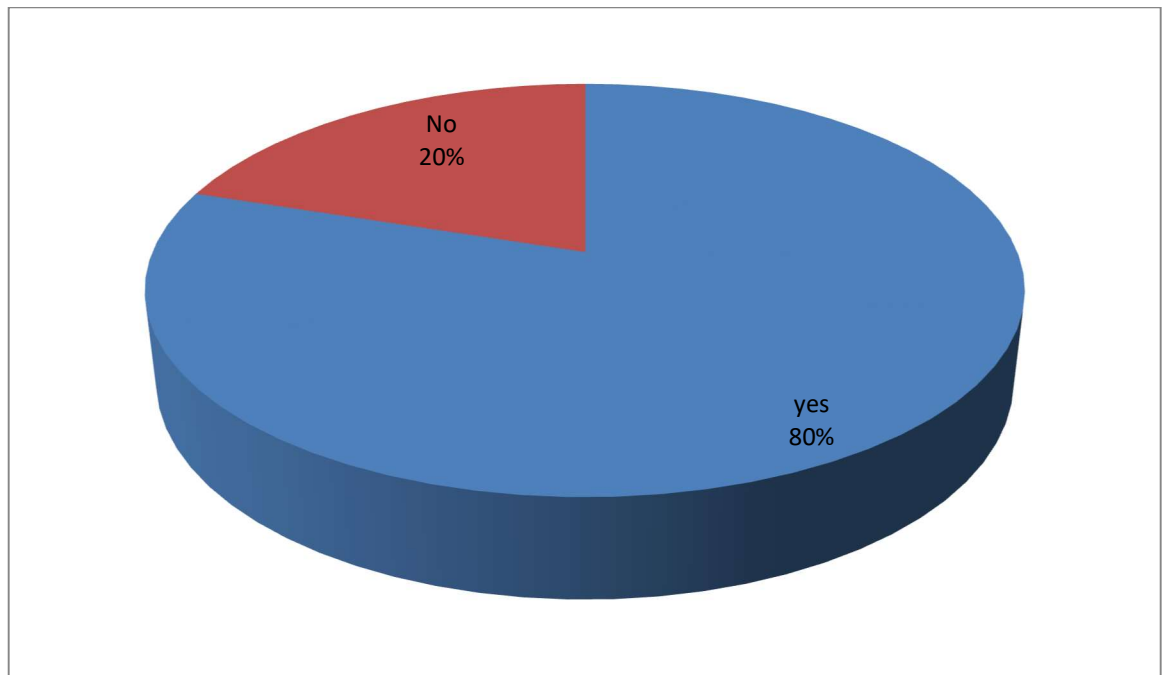
Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	90	90%
No	0	0%
Neutral	10	10%
Total	100	100%



Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if the Naga issue has become more complex due to the rise of various political parties and numerous changing natures of Political leaders in the state. 90% of the respondents said Yes because the more the parties arises the more various ideologies bring forth for Nagas issue and it becomes more of Vexed to the issue rather than resolving it. 10% of the respondents were neutral to the question.

Table.8: Are Nagas lack of strong and capable leader who can lead the Nagas in the future?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	80	80%
No	20	20%
Total	100	100%

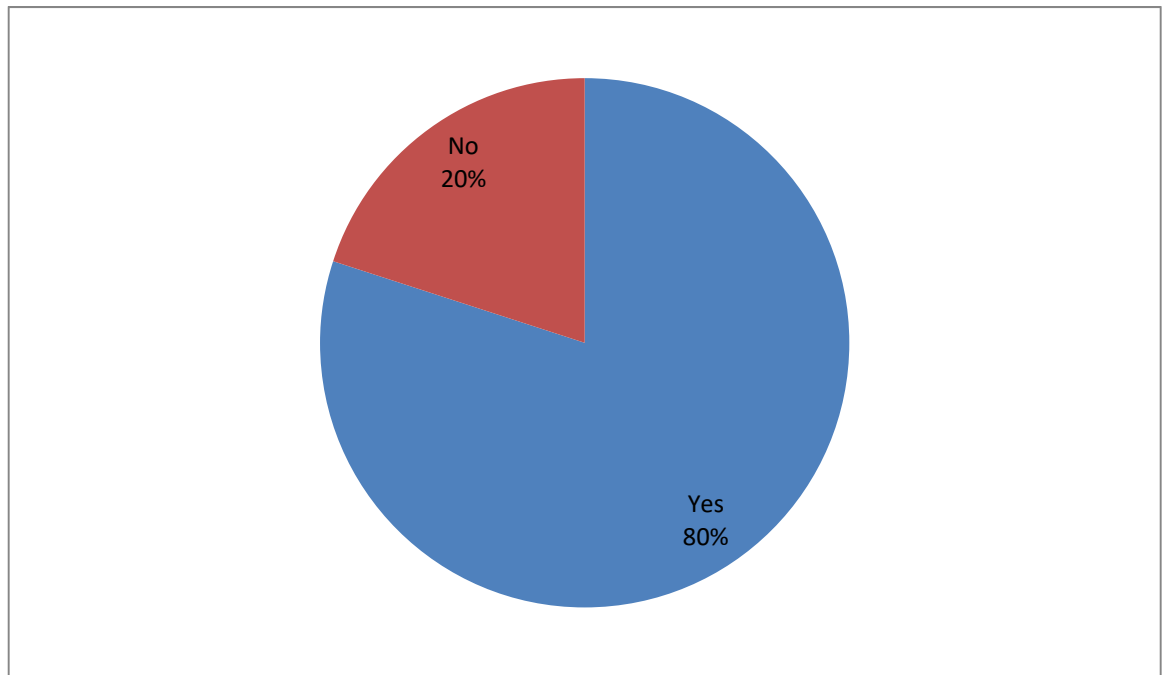


Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if Nagas are lack and capable leader who can lead the Nagas in the future. 80% of the respondents said Yes as almost all Nagas believe that Nagas are in lack of Capable and patriotic leader as Mahatma Gandhi and strong as Nelson Mandela who can lead Nagas in the future. 20% of the respondents agreed to No as they feel most of the Naga leaders are corrupted and have their own ideologies and differences among each other.

Table.9: Can Nagas afford to be an Autonomous Nation if their demand is granted by the Government of India?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
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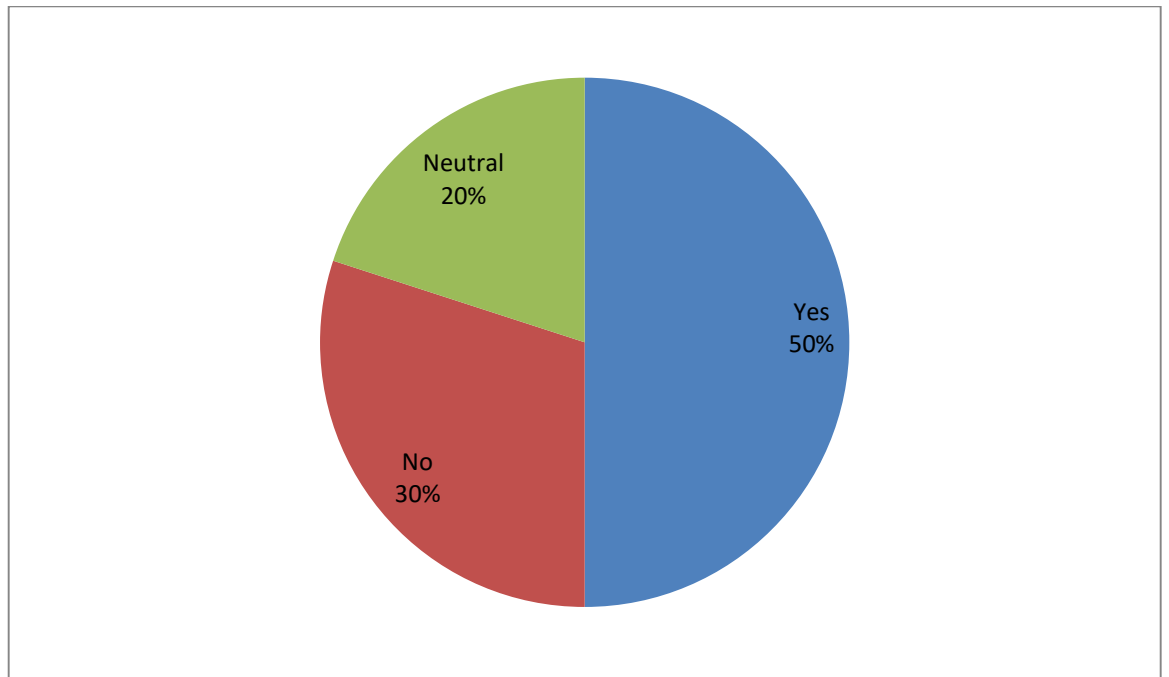
Yes	20	20%
No	80	80%
Total	100	100%



Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if Nagas can afford to be an Autonomous Nation if the demand for Autonomy is granted by the Government of India. 80% of the respondents answered said No giving the reason that Nagas are still weak to have its own separate nation and economically weak that Nagas will have to pay a huge price by cutting off from India. It will not be an easy journey towards recovery from what Nagas are now at present if Autonomy is to come by. While 20% responded yes saying that Nagas have been living independently for many years before the coming of British without any outside help or interference and so Nagas will be able to live in its own.

Table.10: Are all the Nagas in general demanding for Autonomy?

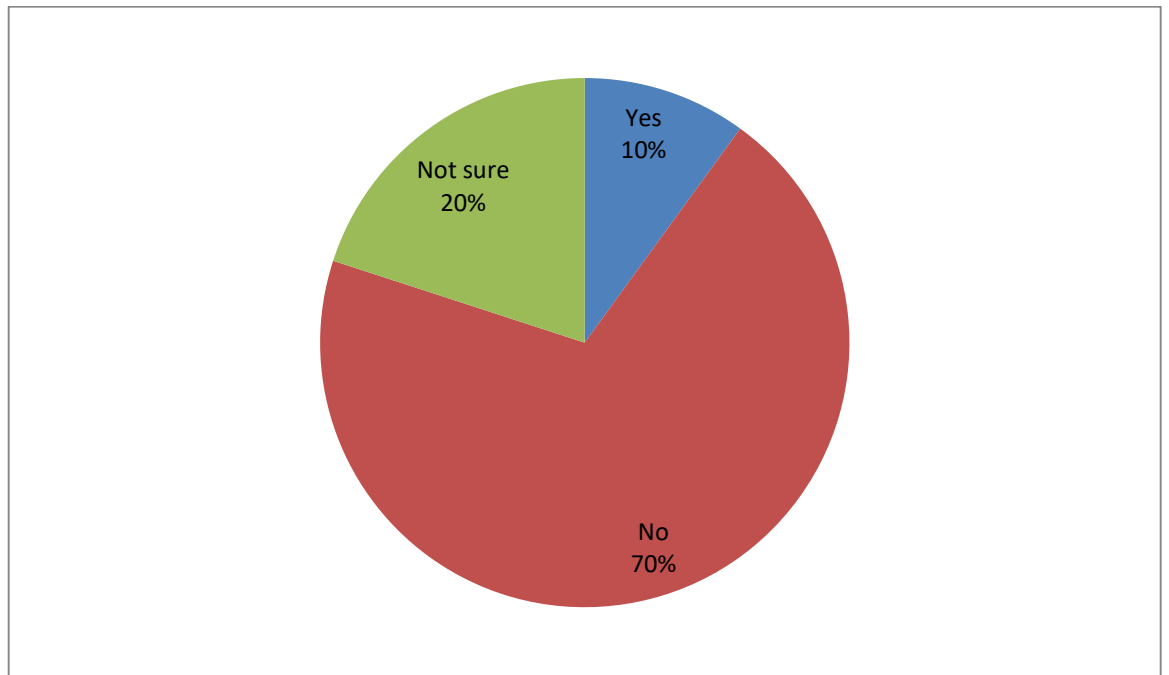
Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	50	50%
No	30	30%
Neutral	20	20%
Total	100	100%



Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if all the Nagas in general demanding for Autonomy. 50% of the respondents answered yes as half of the Nagas are demanding for Autonomy because some of them believe Nagas can be better off after having their own government structure. 30% of the respondents answered No as there are some Nagas who do not want to separate from the Indian because Nagas are too weak in every field and Nagas are dependent to Indian government. 20% of the respondents answered neutral to the question as they feel some Nagas are blindly following while some are not sure what to do.

Table 11: will the Nagas living in the neighbouring states of Nagaland unite with the rest of the Nagas in Nagaland after becoming an autonomous nation?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	10	10%
No	70	70%
Not Sure	20	20%
Total	100	100%

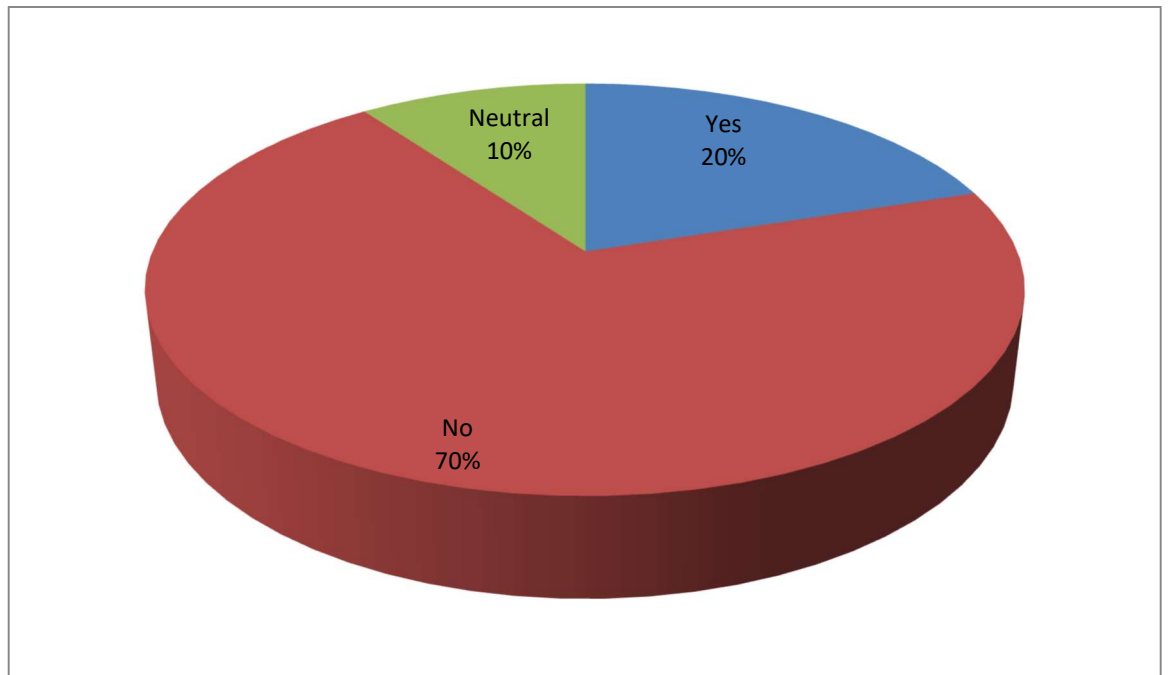


Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if Nagas living in the neighbouring states of Nagaland will unite with the rest of the Nagas in Nagaland after becoming an autonomous nation. 70% of the respondents answered that Nagas residing in neighbouring states cannot reunite with the rest of the Nagas living in Nagaland because that will create more chaos and civil war in neighbouring states. 10% answered that Nagas residing in neighbouring states may reunite with the rest of the Nagas in Nagaland because if Nagaland becomes an autonomous nation than

automatically that will help the other Nagas in neighbouring states in every field. 20% of the respondents were not sure if the Nagas in neighbouring states will unite or not with the rest of the Nagas in Nagaland.

Table 12: Is Indian Government really trying their best to bring a permanent solution for the Nagas?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	20	20%
No	70	70%
Neutral	10	10%
Total	100	100%

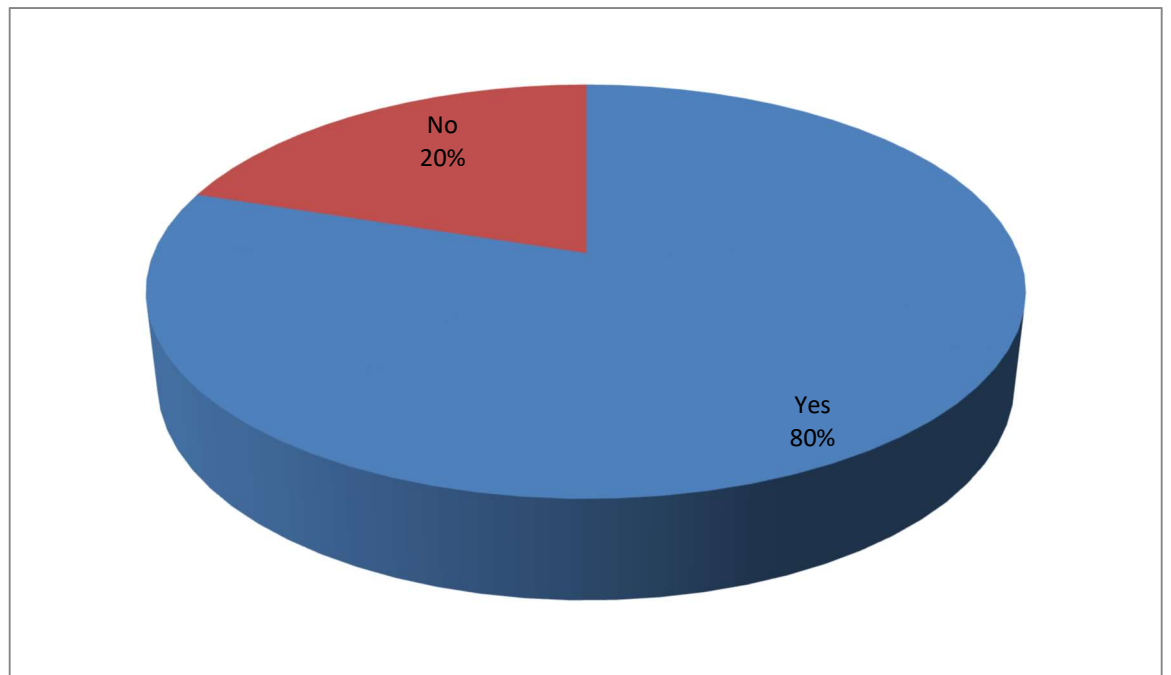


Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if Indian Government really trying their best to bring a permanent solution for the Nagas. 70% of the respondents answered No because they feel India is more concerned in Nagas' economic

development and education. India has been trying to build up Nagaland even if Nagas' demand for Autonomy is fulfilled or not but Nagaland government is less bothered and always been corrupted in every field. 20% of the respondents answered yes because they feel that if Indian government is not concerned about Nagas issue than there would not have been endless talks and negotiations so far. The Indian government would not have come up with the framework Agreement (Aug 3, 2015). 10% of the respondents answered neutral to the question.

Table 13: Are the Nagas in dilemma over the Nagas' demand for Autonomy?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	80	80%
No	20	20%
Total	100	100%

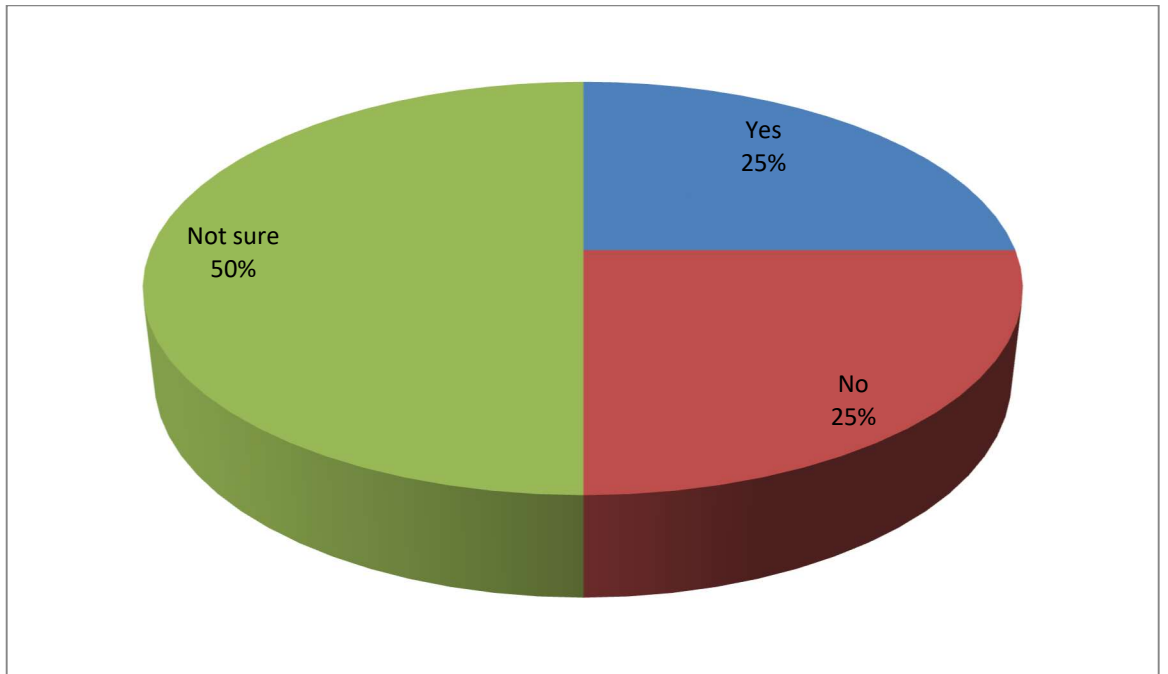


Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked Nagas are in dilemma over the demand for Autonomy. 80% of the respondents answered yes as they believe that

most of the Nagas still lack of political wisdom and they are yet to understand how to solve the Naga issue peacefully. They also agreed that most of the Nagas are in dilemma for Autonomy because they are not sure what would become of Nagaland after getting autonomous body as they are very far behind in every field from the rest of the world and may not be in peace. 20% of the respondents answered No as they believe there are few Naga intellectuals and leaders who are still in negotiations with the Indian government so as to bring a final solution to the long Naga vexed issue which have also help them to sign an agreement with Indian government known as Framework agreement (Aug 3, 2015).

Table 14: If Naga Factional groups were to be united, can Nagas’ demand for Autonomy become a reality?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	25	25%
No	25	25%
Not sure	50	50
Total	100	100%

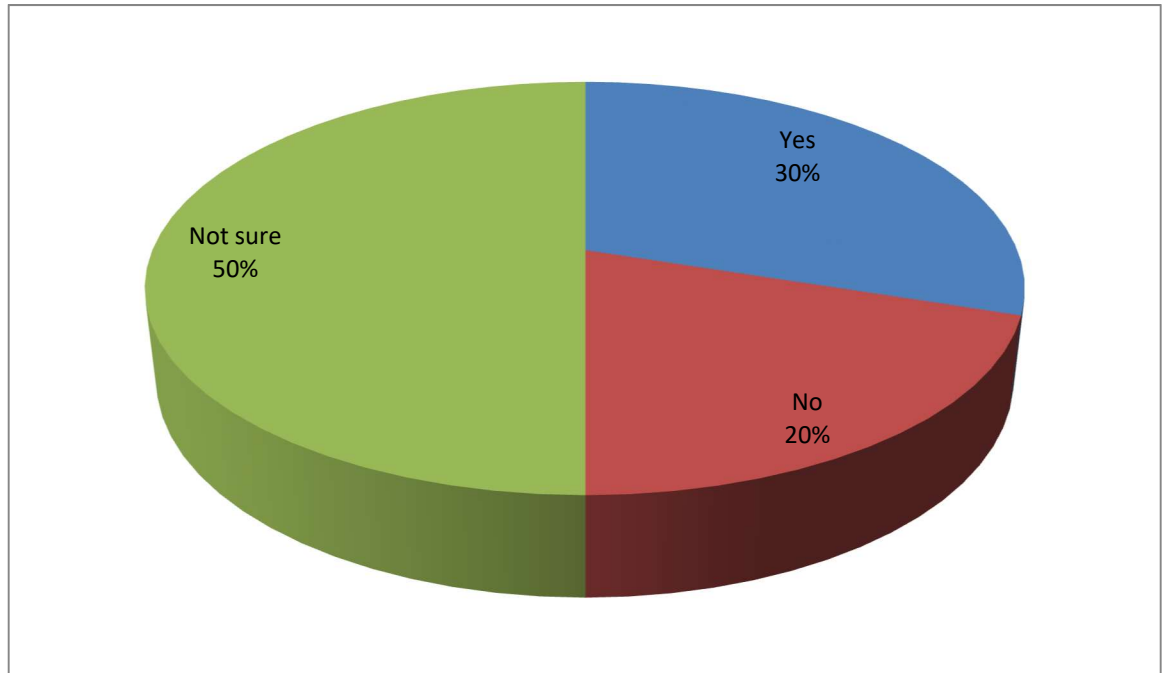


Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if Naga Factional groups were to be united, can Nagas’ demand for Autonomy become a reality. 25% of the respondents answered No because they can never be united basing on history and today’s scenario. 25% of the respondents answered yes because some of the factional groups are really working hard to come and be united. 50% of the respondents were not sure to the question because if Naga Factional groups be united than Nagas’ demand for Autonomy could become a reality but it all depends on the situations on how the factional groups can be united.

Table 15: Is the ruling party of Indian Government boosting up the Naga political issue?

Options	Respondents	Percentage
Yes	30	30%
No	20	20%

Not sure	50	50
Total	100	100%



Interpretation: 100 respondents were asked if the ruling party of the Indian government is really boosting up the Naga political issue. 20% of the respondents answered No because Nagas has lost hope as they use Naga issue as political agenda. 30% of the respondents answered yes because there had been many talks and negotiations and agreements like Framework Agreement (Aug 3, 2015). 50% of the respondents were not sure to the question because according to different negotiations, Nagas have been given fruitful promises but till now no actions have become reality.

4.2: Interpretations of the Data collected through Interviews and Discussions and also published or unpublished Written Data

D) the Talks, Negotiations and Agreements taken Place towards Nagas' demand for Autonomy

The Nagas demand for Autonomy had started even before the India's independence and continues till this day. The Naga issue is one of the oldest problems that the government of India is trying to bring a solution, but most of the Indians outside Nagaland have no knowledge about Nagas issue. Nagas have been fighting for a separate autonomy for more than 60 years and since the start of the movement, the main aim was to build a unified Naga homeland. Nagas believed that they were never a part of India and that's been recognized as unique situation even though Nagas are now a part of India union as a state. Nagas had been struggling to get Autonomy which had already marked a century but the solution for Naga political issue is nowhere to be seen. The struggle of Nagas people for Autonomy has been a political right from beginning with many rounds of talks and negotiations to resolve the Naga issue regarding the unification of all the Naga areas with ultimate aim of achieving its desirable goal for the Nagas as an Autonomous Body. There had been many rounds of peace talks, table talks and negotiations between Indian government and the Naga leaders for bringing solutions to Naga issue. Through the talks and negotiations between Government of India (GOI) and the Naga leaders, there is a hope for the Nagas in general to have a permanent solution to the prolonged vexed Naga issue. The Naga society have always accepted and appreciated the Government of India (GOI) for allowing the Naga leaders to come to New Delhi and have a meaningful talks and negotiations with the prime minister to bring amicable solution to the Naga issue. The history of the wrath of warfare should never be repeated in civilized world again. It is encouraged and accepted by the whole world that there should be a peaceful solution through tabled conferences and negotiations for every issues arising among the nations or between the nations because the battlefield does yield peaceful fruits. It is thus, Right and accepted

Negotiations is the best way to bring forth permanent peace and ethical way to live like Human beings even we live for only just one day.

It was the Nagaland Baptist church leaders who called for a convention urging both the Government of India and the Naga Leaders to form a peace mission. The four names were suggested to be a part of the proposed peace mission who were B.P Chalia, the chief minister of Assam, Jayaprakash narayan, the famous sarvodaya leader of India, shankar Rao Deo , an assamese and Rev Michel scott, a British citizen. Michel scott being an international observer, the Nagas believed that Naga issue has been internationalized. The Nagas were boosted morally with the inclusion of Rev. Michel scott in the peace mission. Michel scott has played an important role in the contacting the Rebel Naga leaders and obtaining their view points. The political parties in Nagaland also welcomed the peace convention. The Naga legislative assembly also appreciated the move and urged to have a peace talks by negotiating and giving an opportunity to the other section of the public of Nagaland as well. The Naga legislative assembly had urged the Naga Underground or the factional groups to create a healthy atmosphere by way of taking peace talks seriously and also to respond to the call of the people. However some of the Indian parliament members did not appreciate the inclusion of Rev. Michel scott on the basis that he was a British National. The government later accepted scott's inclusion in the peace mission because he had agreed to the settlement of Naga problem within the framework of the Indian union and pandit Nehru also appraised the members of the Lok sabha that Scott was included in the peace mission at the initiative of the Nagaland government. The member of the peace mission took several months to convince both the Naga Leaders and Government of India (GOI) to accept a draft containing term and condition of cease-fire. Before the agreement was signed, Pandit Nehru passed away and the agreement was signed on august 15, 1964 by both the parties. "The cease-fire agreement came into practice with effect from September 6, 1964. The cease fire agreement stated that:

The government of India welcome the steps intended to bring about peace in Nagaland with this object in view as already stated they will depute representatives ,with whom it will be associated the representatives of the government of Nagaland, to take in talks with the leader of the underground Nagas. To facilitate these talks and taking note of the letter of august 10,1964, it has been ordered that with effect from September 6,1964 and for a period thereafter of one month at present the securities forces will not undertake ;

- a) Jungle operation
- b) Raiding of camps of the underground
- c) Patrolling beyond and thousand yards of security post
- d) Aerial action
- e) Arrests and
- f) Imposition of labor by way of punishment

The underground Naga federal government also agreed that during this period they refrain from;

- a) Sniping and Ambushing
- b) Imposition of fines
- c) Kidnapping and recruiting
- d) Sabotage activities,
- e) Raiding firing on security posts, towns and administrative centers and
- f) Moving with arms or in uniforms in towns, villages and administrative center and where ever there are security posts and approaching within one thousand yards of security post.”¹

The five factional group representatives who had signed the draft agreement cease-fire were Zashei Hire, Biseto Medom, Hokiye Swu , Seletsu Seyetsu and Khruzalie. They were authorized to sign by Tatar Hoho without any delay. However, from that year onwards, Nagas observe September 6 as peace day every year. So many rounds of talks were held in the year 1964 at chedema, but the solution of the problem was nowhere near sight. The Naga rebel (federal government of Nagaland)

was not ready to accept any solution rather than Autonomous body. Since no solution arrived between the Naga rebel & Government of India (GOI), the peace mission asked both the parties to meet at the Prime Ministerial level so as to discuss the importance of the problem. In the presence of the peace mission the Prime Minister, smt Indira Gandhi and the Naga Factional group leaders led by kughato sema, Ato kilonser (Prime minister, federal government of Nagaland) had its first round of ministerial talk in New Delhi on 18th Feb, 1966. The political negotiations broke down after six rounds of talks and could not bring any progress to the Naga issue. However the affairs of Nagaland were transferred from the office of the external affairs of ministry to the Ministry of Home affairs on January 1, 1972 and the cease-fire continued until the Indian government declared the Naga national council (NNC) and federal government of Nagaland (FGN) as unlawful organizations and resumed military operations against the Nagas.

National socialist council of Nagalim (I-M) has actively involved in internationalizing the Naga issue. The European and American Non-governmental organization supported and encouraged the National socialist council of Nagalim (I-M) that made them to enter into cease-fire agreement with India on August 1, 1997. Since the 1990's NSCN (IM) had been into negotiations with Indian government as a dominant group among Naga factional groups. "So far the Indian government had engaged in formal political negotiations with the NSCN (I-M) on the following terms of reference:

- a) The political talks shall be unconditional;
- b) The talks shall be at the highest level; that is, at the prime-minister's level; and
- c) The venue of the talks shall be anywhere in the world."2

The peace Talks happened between the Government of India and the Naga Leaders are interpreted below. (**Chronological orders are given in table Appendices VIII**). Based on the principles, given above, the cease-fire has been extended many a times till today and peace talks between NSCN (I-M) and the Government of India (GOI) continues. In 1997, the Prime Minister announced in the parliament the government's decision to enter into peace with the Naga

Factional groups. Again in 2003, the peace talks took place between the NSCN (I-M) and the Government of India (GOI) in Thailand and in New Delhi. They met again in 2004 in Thailand with the then chief minister of Mizoram, Joramthangal. In 2005, NSCN (I-M) members came back from Netherlands to New Delhi to negotiate with Government of India (GOI). Since the 1997 cease-fire agreement, there have been many rounds of talks between NSCN (I-M) and Government of India (GOI). In all the talks, the Naga leaders have always demanded to Government of India (GOI) the inclusion of all the lands inhabited by the Naga territorial. Apart from the inclusion of all the integrated Naga areas, the Naga leaders' demands in the talks were the proposal of having federal relations with the Indian Union which will have supremacy in the external affairs, Defense, currency, and communications. The included integration of Naga areas were parts of Myanmar and India's north-east region such as Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. However the Government of India (GOI) insisted the Naga leaders to resolve the Naga issue within the framework of Indian constitution. The two parties again met in 2006 in Bangkok agreeing to extend cease-fire and also encouraging each other to take further initiative as there were not much of solution arise so far. In the early part of 2007, the NSCN (I-M) leaders Isak chishi and Th.Muivah went to Delhi to have another talks about the possibility for the creation of greater Nagalim with the inclusion of all inhabited Naga areas. Another round of talks happened in the year 2009 which was held in Switzerland. In 2010, with the appointment of R.S pandey, as an interlocutor facilitate the talks between the two parties. The Central government however with the interlocutor, R.S Pandey held a fresh talk with the NSCN (I-M). In this talk the central government assured the Nagas of early settlement to the Naga vexed issue. However with all these talks held in many different places of the world, the NSCN (I-M) and Government of India (GOI) could not made any major headway till date. And now the Government of Indian (GOI) and NSCN (IM) have signed the framework Agreement on Aug 3, 2015 which is yet to disclose its details.

Note: The years and places mentioned in the chronology of the talks held between the Government of India and the NSCN has been illustrated from the Souvenir,

‘Nagalim- 50 years of resistance’ issued by Ministry of information and Publicity of Government of the people’s Republic of Nagalaim(GPRN). However the detailed meetings held between the GOI and NSCN for peace talks has been included in the Appendices.

History says that there have been clashes between India and the Nagas which had cost the lives of many thousands people. The Indo-Naga political issue has created many disturbances and war between India and the Nagas. It is studied that the Naga leaders in the past wanted to solve the Indo-Naga problems through talks and negotiations and today after many years of sacrifices and hardships, they could come up with the Framework Agreement with the Indian government which may bring a positive solution for both the Nagas and India. In all these years the Nagas have been longing for an early solution to the long drawn Indo-Naga conflict. It is believed that the Government of India (GOI) had recognized the uniqueness of Naga history and therefore there had been negotiations trying to solve it through a political discourse instant. And over the years this discourse had been going on. The NSCN (IM) had been the dominant group among the Naga factional groups who had been initiating the vexed Naga issue with the Government of India (GOI). They are also considered to be the strongest factional group having maximum members and various designated camps in Nagaland. With the new change of UPA government led by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) with Shri Narendra Modi as Prime Minister in 2014, the Governor of Nagaland and the interlocutor for Indo-Naga peace talk also changed. Mr. P.B Acharaya was assigned as the Governor of Nagaland and Mr.R.N Ravi as the interlocutor for Indo-Naga peace talks. The NSCN (IM) after many years of political negotiations with the Government of India officially recognized the unique history and situation of the Nagas and signed the Framework agreement on August 3, 2015, between the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) in the presence of the Prime Minister of India. The present political party at the centre under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, is a boon for the Naga issue. The way in which Narendra Modi has handled the Naga issue is to be appreciated and has shown the quality of his leadership. Earlier the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) delayed for

bringing an amicable solution to Naga political problem but now the Nagas have hope on finding a solution to it because Prime Minister office (PMO) with Modi personally supervising Naga talks. The signing of framework agreement has added a new dimension to the Indo-Naga political issue after many rounds of talks between two parties. The agreement though has been hidden but it is a sign of welcoming a development for peace in Nagaland. The details of the agreement are not known yet to the Naga people or to the public. Narendra Modi in his speech while signing the agreement said that this agreement does mark not only the end of a problem but the beginning of new future. He also went ahead saying that the Nagas will not only build a bright future but the talents, traditions and efforts that the Naga possessed will contribute in making the nation stronger, more secure, more inclusive and more prosperous. **(Full speech by Narendra Modi précised in the appendices)**

The NSCN (IM) had stated through its Ministry of Information and publicity (MIP) that the framework agreement was reached after a series of political negotiations spanning twenty years under six successive prime ministers of India where both India and the Nagas have come closer to understand each other's problem by signing of the historic agreement. The Ministry of Information and publicity (MIP) of NSCN (IM) also pointed out that the framework agreement was a political in nature and a preamble for a detailed final political agreement which was expected to be completed and signed very soon between the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI). It is also claimed that framework agreement was signed without any unilateral power, unlike the Shillong Accord and the sixteen point agreement both of which were totally under the provisions of Indian laws and Indian constitution. Though the details of the agreement remain unknown, some of the frames of the framework agreement have been made available. Mr. Rh.Raising, convener of steering committee of NSCN (IM), in the joint council meeting held at the headquarter Hebron on January 25, 2018, said that 'the Framework agreement recognizes the ultimate right of the Nagas, the unique history and identity of Nagas and land of the Nagas.' Taking the security of India and the Political and historical rights of the Nagas into account, the NSCN(IM) and the Government of

Indi(GOI) officially agreed that India and Nagas will co-exist as two entities and share certain power between the two entities. It is also stated that India and Nagas will co-exist for enduring relation. It is noted that the Framework agreement acknowledges the importance of sharing certain power between two entities basing on the mutual trust for peaceful co-existence. The Ministry of Information and publicity (MIP) of NSCN (IM) said that the Government of India finally recognized and accepted that Nagas are not Indians but a different entity with equal status, having separate and distinct identity with unique history, traditions and cultures.

The assumptions made by the public for the framework agreement are to have a separate constitution for the Nagas, dual citizenship, Naga passport, separate Naga flag and Naga national Anthem etc,. Yet the assumptions remain unconfirmed and thus far the Interlocutor for Indo-Naga peace talk and NSCN (IM) leaders over the press keep telling to the public of the Nagas that the detailed competences of the Framework agreement are still under discussion and are yet to finalize it. The framework agreement has led to a lot of speculations and guesswork on what is really there inside the Framework agreement. “Based upon the interviews and press Conferences given by R.N Ravi, interlocutor for Indo-Naga peace talks and NSCN (IM) leaders, the Framework agreement contains four guiding principles: (i) Nagas will honor Indian Constitution, (ii) India recognizes the unique Naga history and cultures and respects Naga people's aspiration, (iii) relationship of equals and thus shared sovereignty, and (iv) no physical integration of Naga areas at this point of time; a proposed creation of a pan-Naga Hoho.(four guiding principles shown in figure below). These four areas are to provide the frames constructing future Indo-Naga relations.”³ R.N Ravi had a three day visit to Nagaland on July 2017 to have consultations with various Naga civil societies in Kohima regarding the settlement of Naga political issue with the Government of India. He spoke exclusively to Nagaland Post (newspaper) that the ‘the solution to the protracted Naga political issue is close by and that they are close towards solution and bringing framework agreement to a conclusion.

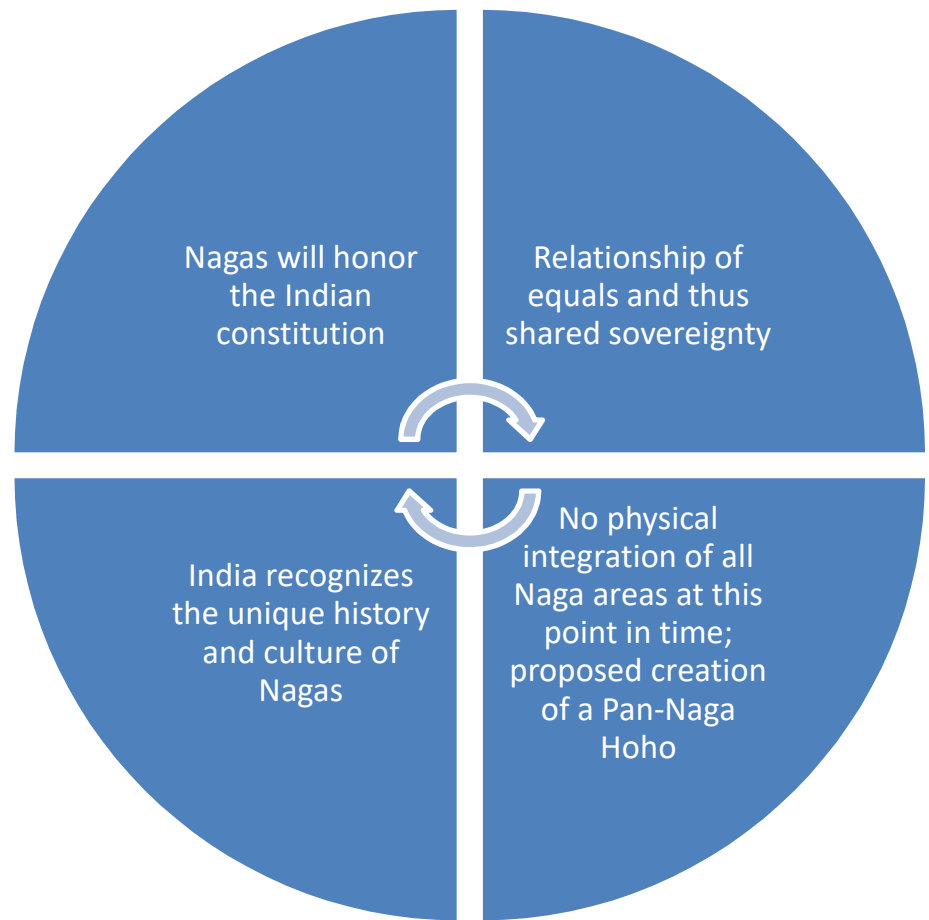


Figure 4.1: Four Guiding Principles of Framework Agreement

There have been many who had opposed to this agreement for the lack of transparency. While lauding the 'historic peace agreement', the unrepresented Nations and peoples organization (UNPO) expressed a deep concern for the lack of transparency. Taking an advantage of the situation the opposition party, Indian National congress President Smt.Sonia Gandhi and Vice President Rahul Gandhi attacked the UPA government for failing to consult the Chief Ministers of the three northeastern states which are ruled by the congress before signing the Framework Agreement.. This was followed by the chief ministers of Assam, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh to oppose the agreement. Many Naga civil societies or the Naga

public in general have been criticizing the framework agreement between Government of India (GOI) and the NSCN (IM) as in the first place the framework agreement has been hidden from the rest of the Nagas and the whole India. The NSCN (IM) being the dominant group among the all nationalist group in Nagaland has been considered by the Government of India (GOI) to have a negotiations and talks based on Framework Agreement in order to bring to an end the long Naga issue. The various Naga civil society and organizations has urged the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) to bring on board of all Naga National people groups in the discussion and finalizing of Framework Agreement because it is believed that NSCN (IM) is not the only Naga political groups among Nagas. The NSCN (IM) and R.N Ravi have stated to the press that the 'Framework Agreement is not a piecemeal solution but a comprehensive one inclusive of all groups' (cited from August 26, 2015, the Morung express 'GOI will not go for piecemeal solution'). A lack of transparency and secrecy of the Framework details has awakened mistrust to Naga people in general. The Naga people believe that an acceptable and honorable solution requires mutual agreement upon acceptability. Therefore the Naga political settlement can serve better if Naga public at large from the state government and the civil society are included in the negotiations and not just with one member of Naga National people groups (NNPGs). 'It is reported that the senior national workers of Nagaland (NSCN-IM) have stated that the Framework Agreement embraces all Nagas and their territories based on the uniqueness of the Naga history. The Framework Agreement has been a riddle to the whole world that nobody can be sure of what Framework Agreement is all about. But through different predictions Framework Agreement has recognized certain rights of the Nagas. A statement appended by 81 persons consisting of Kiloners (ministers) from various Naga Factional groups has assured that the agreement do not betray the principle of the Nagas but will protect the rights of the Nagas and guarantee the security of India as well as promote and strengthen harmonious interdependent relationship of the two Nation.'(Cited from the article Framework about Nagas and territories)

The signing of the Framework agreement hailed as historic generating hopes among the Nagas for an end to the years of strife and struggle that Nagas had been suffered. With this hidden agreement, the people of Nagaland are optimistic that a final settlement is not far if once the Framework is lay out and agreed upon. It is noted that a group of senior citizens from Nagaland consisting of former legislators and retired government officials have appealed to the Government of India through the press in regard to framework agreement done between NSCN (IM) and Government of India (GOI) that this historic agreement should be the basis of an honorable and acceptable solution for both the Indian and the Nagas. They also urged the Government of India(GOI) to move forward positively and realistically to resolve the Indo-Naga issue based on August 3 2015 Framework agreement as the Naga people concludes that the final solution based on this agreement will be the only honorable and acceptable solution for both the Nagas and India. The Joint Statement of the NSCN (IM) leaders stated that they are confident that the Framework Agreement will open a great opportunity for the Nagas to develop themselves into their fullest size-materially, intellectually, spiritually and socially. It is also studied that the neighboring states Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh would be consulted before the final agreement is signed. The neighboring states would be taken into confidence. The Home Minister had conveyed that the central Government has made it clear to the NSCN (IM) that their demand for powers would be given to the local bodies like autonomous district council. The framework agreement is believed to be a formula of how a solution can be reached for the Naga political issue. It is also stated that a detailed agreement will come only after the agreement is granted and there is no specific timeframe for the disclosure of the Framework Agreement. The positive side of Framework agreement is that after many years of talks and negotiations, the government of India (GOI) and the NSCM (IM) has finally come to an agreement to find a solution to the protracted Indo-Naga issue which is a good thing. But on the other hand, the secrecy behind the agreement has been viewed as something negative as the people are totally kept in the dark about the agreement which should not have been the case.

The framework Agreement was initiated by the then NSCN (IM) chairman Mr. Isak Chishi Swu and General Secretary Mr. Th. Muivah. However before the Framework Agreement is disclosed, on 28th June 2016, NSCN (IM) chairman Mr. Isak Chishi Swu died in New Delhi after battling on his sick bed. The NSCN (IM) declared Seven Days mourning period throughout Nagaland as mark of respect to Late Isak Chishi Swu. The Prime Minister had condolence the demise of Late Isak Chishi Swu who was the Prominent Leader among Nagas and lauded the role of Isak Chishi Swu for bringing out the Framework Agreement for a solution to Naga political issue. Prominent Indians and also Naga leaders gave the condolence speech. All the speakers talks about Isak Chishi Swu's deep rooted faith in God in his personal life which also shaped the ideology and principle about the Naga national Movement. A few days later after the death of Isak Chishi Swu, the Government of India's interlocutor R.N. Ravi was interviewed exclusively by the Nagaland Post asking about the Naga talks of which he said that 'we have lost a greater soul like Isak Chishi Swu who was a visionary Naga leader who always had in his mind the best interest of Naga people. He also added saying that Isak had always believed in the peaceful settlement of the issue and had dedicated his entire life for the Naga cause. He further stated that the future generations of Naga people will remember his role in the Framework Agreement and his departure is a huge loss to everyone but everyone needs to move on as everyone has a greater responsibility to resolve it and talks will continue. Isak Chishi Swu had passed away at the time when the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) are still negotiating for a final conclusion of the Naga Peace Accord.

Three years have passed of signing the framework agreement but until now the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) had not shared its details to the public. There has been a demand from the Naga civil society and Public organizations to the full disclosure of the agreement. The Nagas in general has also been urging the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) for the inclusion of all the Naga national groups to the secrecy of the agreement to bring an amicable solution. The agreement was signed so as to work towards the solution of the Ind0-Naga problem. The agreement has provided much hope and enthusiasm among the

section of the Naga people especially the politicians and the civil society organizations. The Naga people also woken up to the fact that agreeing to the unknown solution under framework Agreement, proposed by the NSCN (IM) with the Government of India (GOI), is not a very intelligent thing to do; everyone is asking for the other Naga national political groups to be taken on board by the NSCN (IM). But the NSCN (IM) has its own reasons for keeping the Agreement secret. If they needed to reveal the agreement than they could have done so by now and there is no way that they are going to let other Naga National groups be privy to their closely guarded secret. In a manner of speaking, the NSCN (IM) is right in their refusal to let other groups share in what has been the fruit, good or bad, of their sole effort. Meanwhile various Naga civil organizations have expressed disappointment over the delay in finalizing the historic peace accord (framework Agreement) that was signed between the Government of Indian (GOI) and the Nagas three years ago on Aug 3, 2015 in an attempt to end the long-standing Nagas' struggle for self determination. The organizations have also urged the negotiating parties to bring an acceptable and honourable political settlement on time bound manner. They urged the Naga people to remain united and support the on-going peace talks at the centre till they achieve their cherished political aspiration.

So many criticisms have received and talk about sharing of powers, it is important to know that the theoretical aspect of "sharing powers" since it is mentioned repeatedly in the Indo-Naga political issue especially the Framework agreement 2015 which has given a clue of sharing powers. It is always learned that the Modern states are supreme power oriented and using power is taken as its important element. Supreme Power is one of the essential features of federations that while agreeing to a union the federating units must preserve their individuality. The subjects of administration are, accordingly, divided between the newly created central government and the federating units. Having Supreme power has got two dimensions which are of Internal and external:

a) The idea of having Supreme power in internal terms meant that the state enjoys as the supreme power within its area. All the people and their associations come under the control of the state. The state makes and enforces a law throughout its territory. The idea of Supreme power in internal deals with positive law and functions law legally.

b) The idea of Autonomy was used for what is sometimes called external Power. The idea of having Supreme power in the external term implies a freedom to a state from all spheres of control. The aspect of having external power is just an extension of internal aspect of supreme power in the international sphere. It is just an abbreviated expression for designating the totality of rights by which Internal power manifests itself Vis-a-Vis foreign states. The idea of having external power also mean about National Autonomy which Nagas are fighting for.

With the idea that has explained about Supreme power above, it clearly stated that the having supreme Power leads to Autonomous Body. The Nagas had been fighting for their own Supreme power which is also considered as Autonomous Body. The idea of sharing supreme power between India and the Nagas has been emerged from the context of Framework agreement 2015 signed between the NSCN (IM) and the government of India (GOI). Both R.N.Ravi, the government of India's interlocutor for the Naga peace talks and Mr.Th.Muivah, the chief Negotiator of the NSCN (IM) had spoken to the press that the vexed Naga political issue will be resolved based on sharing supreme power. The concept of sharing power in the Framework Agreement was for the Nagas to have partnership with India for all economic growth of 'Nagalim' since Nagas are still economically backward. To provide a road map to develop a bright future with India and create large opportunities for Naga generations, it is believed that the acceptance of the Sharing power would certainly take the Nagas ' future forward with the advancement pace of great India which is rapidly becoming one of the economic super powers of the world. The assumptions that the Nagas in public have made about the sharing powers is that it may be interpreted as sharing of federal powers between Indian and Nagas under federal system in India because NSCN (IM) has always been propagating the special federal relation with India. The idea of

proposing a sharing powers between Nagas and the Indian government have speculated that a shared competence of transport, Energy, Development, Cooperation, Freedom, Security and Justice Environment, Research, Pan-Naga works will be assigned. These ideas are being influenced by the European Union Model. There have been notable examples of how some world governments have tried to address and resolve similar conflicts through sharing powers. Some of which are the relationship between the China and Honkong, the USA and Puerto Rica, France and Monaco etc. Among all the relations between New Zealand and the Cook Islands and Niue may give a relevant example of sharing powers to the situation between Indian government and the Nagas. Just like Cook Islands and Niue are the citizens of New Zealand and enjoys all the benefits, the same goes to the Nagas who are considered as the citizens of India and enjoys the benefits but the Nagas can be differentiated from other Indian citizens as Naga nationals. The Assumptions of the sharing powers has to be interpreted with the sharing of federal powers under federal system between the Indian Government and the Nagas in which Nagas will be enjoying the highest possibility of federal powers. Some researchers have also put up a statement that unless India and Nagas jointly form together as the same of a union like European Union or sign a treaty of associations, then both the parties can claim to share the ultimate powers. The idea of sharing powers has been existed even before the Framework Agreement was signed between the Government of India (GOI) and the NSCN (IM) on August 3, 2015 and it is not a hot topic in Indian sub-continent. The idea of sharing powers has also been used in the context of Jammu and Kashmir.

As time goes on and on the talks of Nagas issues goes on and on. Different round table conferences and negotiations have been going with nothing or very less impact till now. Yes, so far, Prime-minister takes up Nagas issue to the greater heights and wide at national level and international. Nagas have been grateful to Prime-minister unlike his predecessors and would be grateful even in the days to come. But what is the priority in bringing amicable solution to Naga issue should be done accordingly by both Indian government and the Naga leaders. There is no doubt; things do not turn out exactly the way everyone wants, but that should

not prolong more than half century issue. Countless talks and negotiations have been made already now with useless promises for winter gifts, Christmas gifts, new-year gifts, summer days coming, this and that. If there is no solution there is no need of any more talks and takes. Nagas does not need more talks now. What is the need of an hour is final solution with the best of both the Nations' best abilities.

II) Contributions of different sections of Naga People towards Nagas' demand for Autonomy

The vexed Naga issue has become the most important issue for the Nagas. In the recent years the numbers of participation in Nagas' demand for Autonomy have been increased. Many Nagas are reclaiming their democratic voice. The Naga people living overseas has always wanted thNagas to be united first and to continue striving for achieving the aspirations of the Nagas. They wish the Nagas to stand united in spirit and action also should be resolute to face different issues to overcome the undesirable elements from within the Naga society and from outside world so as to come to the desire goal. The Naga people at large who are open in expressing their views or wanting to be heard have increased. Local daily newspapers such as Morung express, Nagaland Post, Eastern mirror or the social network pages in Facebook like The Naga Blog, the Naga Spear etc., have given the opportunities to the younger generations of the Nagas to give their thoughts and expression on the Naga issue, allowing them to debate or express their opinions on Nagas' demand for Autonomy. Nagas civil bodies play a vital role especially Naga Mothers Association (NMA) and the Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) who has been the peace makers since the negotiations started between the Government of India (GOI) and the Naga leaders. They influence the people of Nagaland by initiating Peace talks and seminars. They act as mediators between the Government of India (GOI) and the Naga National groups (NNGs) from big to small issues that occur towards the Nagas' demand for Autonomy. The various organizations have contributed greatly towards the maintaining of peace in the face of divisions and killings to some extent. They have gone to the extent of meeting all the leaders from different factional existing groups to bring about and reconciliation

among them. In Comparison to the earlier years, Nagaland is now relatively peaceful. The credit for this goes to various civil societies and organizations in Nagaland. Some of the eminent organizations are Naga Mothers Association (NMA) - an apex body of all the Naga women, Naga Students Federation (NSF) – an apex body of all the Naga students in India, Naga Hoho – an apex body of all Nagas. Besides various Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Naga educated youngsters, Bureaucrats, church leaders, political parties, the commoners are also involved. Some Model villages and colonized villages like Longwa, Kisama, Khonoma have great influence of Nationalism and strong in their demand towards Autonomy. However most of the remote and rural villages in Nagaland are more focused on their farming and survival and thus have very less influence on the demand for Autonomy. The multiple civil society actors view the Naga conflict as a response to the inadequate fulfillment of basic human needs in Naga society. But true to realities, Nagas are lack of honest leaders, misled by corrupted politicians; educated Naga youths who are confused and people in general have become very frustrated. They are in a cross-road for many decades now that they are more confused than what they actually want. But at this juncture, these organizations definitely are trying to bring about peace and solution which cannot be denied. It might have not been successful yet but Nagas do acknowledge people from all walks of life who have contributed to Nagas’ demand for Autonomy so far. The various contributions done towards Nagas’ demand for Autonomy by different sections of the Naga people are mentioned below:

a) Educated Nagas: The educated Nagas have been playing a vital role in contributing to the Nagas’ demand for Autonomy through their intellectual views and writings about Naga issue. Most of the educated Nagas are focused on economic and self-reliance which is why they have less contributions towards Nagas’ demand for Autonomy but being educated they give their views and ideas whenever needed. A good number of Naga intellectuals also continue to write up their thoughts without fear of intimidation. Among the educated Nagas the Naga Students federation is one of the Organizations that have contributed much to the movement for Nagas’ Autonomy issue. The Naga student’s federation (NSF) was

formed on 29th October 1947. Its history of formation is indeed a memorable process towards a noble aspiration of youth for solidarity and unity through a common platform. The formation of Naga student's federation (NSF) was neither due to sheer historical incidence nor a mere perfunctory action of the students but it was the educated Naga youth who felt the need for a collective body through which they can articulate their aspirations and at the same time respond to the issues confronting the students and the Nagas as a whole. After the second session of Naga student's federation (NSF) in 1948, no activities was humanely possible due to the political crisis and the imposition of Army rule in Nags Hills. Under the repressive policy of the Indian government let loose the reign of terror when almost every Naga youth was taken as rebel and hunted, tortured and humiliated. For this obvious reason and circumstances, Naga student's federation (NSF) remained defunct for 17 long years. It was however revived in 1965. Besides, the blank period lasting over a stretch of 17 years was the time when the Naga' demand for Autonomy was at its peak and the Indian army repression was at worst. Though the Naga student's federation (NSF) has had its share of ups and downs, the federation since its formation has played a pivotal role and many sacrifices has been made for the betterment and upliftment of Naga society. Perhaps, no stone was left unturned as far as issues related to the Nagas are concerned. Since the beginning, the Naga student's federation (NSF) has been working singly or collectively in solidarity with similar organizations or otherwise in the North East region in general and the Naga inhabited area in particular. The Naga student's federation (NSF) once again underwent a thorough revival in 1971 and it has ever since played a pivotal role of being the custodian of different Naga Students organizations. As a student community, it is committed to 'intellectual fight' against the forces that threatens our existence, right, freedom and identity. Therefore, the Federation considers a moral obligation and duty to protect and thwart all the negative forces that hinders counters or deludes the rightful aspirations of the Nagas. The federation concerns on the need to connect the missing link and work hard to regain the lost glory by being an effective torch bearer of the Naga political issue. The Naga student's federation (NSF also vehemently opposed the enforcement of armed force special

power Act (AFSPA) and Disturbed Areas Act (DDA) in the state. It earnestly seeks the early logical solution to the vexed Naga problems which is honorable and acceptable in line with the political aspirations and rights of the Nagas. The NSF thus continues to champion and pioneer the cause of the Naga till the ultimate aspirations is fulfilled. Irrespective of the geopolitical demarcation, it has resolved to continue the solemn task for 'Greater Lim and Glory of the Nagas' in all sense of perfection.

b) The Commoners: The commoners are usually referred to the Public of Nagaland in general. The Naga public has always been supportive to the Movement for Nagas' demand for Autonomy. They have been supporting financially as the Naga factional groups functions their government with the help of collecting Taxes to the public. Since the Naga factional groups does not get support from the central or the state government financially so the Naga public supports them. This is how the commoners like the Daily Vendors or the working people give taxes to them.

c) Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA): Many Nagas have been involved in the vexed Naga issue and Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) is one of them. The executives and bureaucrats or the Legislative Assembly functions their own affairs of state but at the same time everyone has in mind of solving the Naga political issue. For that matter whoever sits as Member of Parliament in the central government, they have always brought forward Naga issue in the parliamentary session. In recent years, Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) has taken a serious note on solving the vexed Naga issue. Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) always believed that the Indo-Naga issue requires a political and humane approach which is why Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) has always been a part of solving Naga issue. On the context on solving the Naga issue at the earliest, the Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) urged the Government of India (GOI) to bring an honorable and acceptable solution to the Nagas before the General election which was held on 27th Feb 2018. They also urged election commission of India (ECI) not to schedule election in the state until the Government of India (GOI) brings an amicable solution for the Nagas to have their due democratic and other

rights. The house in this regard has urged all the civil societies, Tribal Hohos, church and other organizations concerned to cooperate with the vision of the state government. Ex- MLA Yitachu, in his speech said that, 'each and every Naga had a strong desire for a solution to the Naga political issue at the earliest. He said Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) was the only authority that could serve as a medium of linkage between the Naga people and the solution' (cited from Nagaland post, Dec 15, 2017. 'Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) passes resolution on Naga political issue'). The Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) urged the Election commission of India (ECI) not to announce the assembly election schedule in the interest of solution of the Naga political issue. Even after demand was made to the Government of India (GOI) by all the political parties in Nagaland to settle the Naga problems before the election, the election commission of India (ECI) however issued a notification of holding a state election on 27th February 2018.

The Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) had formed Nagaland legislative Forum (NLF) on May 25, 2015, so as to find solution to the Vexed Naga political issue. The Nagaland legislative Forum (NLF) on political issue has been playing the role of facilitators ever since its formation. It is studied that forum had been meeting prime-minister Narendra Modi, Interlocutor for Naga peace talks, R.N.Ravi, Home minister, Rajnath singh, minister of state for Home, kiren Rijiju and other central leaders and apprised them of Naga issue. The Nagaland legislative forum (NLF) has also urged the prime minister to solve the Indo-Naga issue inclusive of all Naga national groups and also to resume cease-fire with National socialist council of Nagalim (K) and also appealed to repeal the imposition of Disturbed area act and Armed forces special power act. Every section of the Naga people has been a part of the negotiations except National socialist council of Nagalim (K). But recently Khango Konyak led National socialist council of Nagalim (K) has decided to revoke its decision of unilaterally abrogating the cease-fire agreement and ready to talk. And thus the people of Nagaland expect the Government of India to respond in a positive way by honouring their decision in the interest of peace in Nagaland and Naga people in general. The all sixty

Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) legislators have been meeting the Nationalist groups very often to discuss about the solution of the Vexed Naga issue at the earliest. In a statement by commissioner and Secretary Mr.N.Benjamin Newmei at 12th Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) meeting said that, ‘the Nagaland legislative forum shall carry the voice of the House to all sections including the Government of India (GOI) and the Naga national workers (cited from Eastern mirror, ‘Nagaland Assembly constitutes NLF on Naga political issue’ May 26, 2015). The Nagaland legislative Forum has reiterated to be the role of facilitators for the Naga peace process and had appealed to all the negotiating parties to expedite the ongoing negotiations so as to bring an amicable solution to the Nagas at the earliest. The Nagaland legislative Forum has always take initiative in urging the central government for an early resolution for the protracted Naga political issue. The Nagaland legislative Assembly (NLA) in support of the unification of the Nagas, have passed a four resolution, the first on 12th December, 1964, the second on 28th August, 1970, the third on 14th September, 1994, and the fourth and last on 18th December, 2003.

The then chief minister T.R.Zeliang has appealed to the Nagas that Nagas should accept what India can provide to the Nagas. He has appealed that what India cannot provide today cannot be provided even after hundreds of years. He also urged the Nagas that the talks of Framework agreement is already negotiating and this agreement has brought both the Indian government and the NSCN (IM) close to each other to arrive at the conclusion of the Naga political issue. He also stated that the approach of the Indian government under Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s leadership is positive and so the Nagas should also be positive in an approach towards solution. The vexed Naga issue can be resolved through a dialogue between Indian government and Naga leaders and not from a third-world country or elsewhere. He also added that the plea of a Naga people at this Juncture should be that any solution should inclusive of all Nagas and not for a particular tribe or community (the above statement is extracted from the chief minister’s speech on the occasion of Sungremong festival of Ao –Naga tribe at Mokokchung on August of 2,2016). The chief minister of Nagaland legislative

Assembly (NLA) takes an important role in negotiating peace and resolving the Naga political issue. The then chief minister of Nagaland Mr.T.R.Zeliang along with his council of ministers urged the Naga factional groups to work out an acceptable solution to the Naga political problem so that peace, normalcy and all round development can be ushered in the State.

d) Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR)

The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) was formed on 24th February, 2008. This forum is the outcome of the Naga peace convention organized by Naga Hoho in Dimapur. The Forum was formed on March 25, 2008 at Kohima with the support of thirty nine Naga frontal organizations, the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC). In 2008 the forum comprised of fourteen members. In 2017 it expanded to thirty four members. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) was formed when there were inter-factional clashes with violence and political rhetoric. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) was formed with a hope of reconciling the entire Naga factional group to come together as one and solve the Naga political issues. Eventually after the formation of the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR), the inter-factional and clashes have decreased in Nagaland and peace has been established to some extent. Through the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR), the Naga national groups have been upholding their commitment to refrain from violence against each other. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) does not give the principles of divisions, distrust, suspicion and Fear that have awoken the Naga people from all walks of lives. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) believes that with the support of the Naga people and their prudent intervention this twisting situation can be reversed. Keeping in mind of all these, the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) makes a public statement that briefly outlines its formation, its principles, its activities and calls for renewing the people's determination, their commitment and their call for reconciliation.

The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) had contributed to a lot of reduction of violence and killings across the state. "The Position of the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR):

- 1- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) puts on public record that it does not belong to any Naga National groups. It is neither affiliated with nor does it represent any one particular group.
- 2- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) pursues Naga reconciliation on the basis of the historical and political rights of the Naga people.
- 3- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) pledges to work for reconciliation of all in the spirit of forgiveness, openness and mutual acceptance of one another through acknowledgement of wrongs done by all. This will contribute towards an inclusive and shared Naga future.
- 4- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) works irrespective of geographical demarcations in an impartial and fair manner without taking sides and without discrimination of any Naga national groups(NNGs) keeping in mind the people's common interests and aspirations at the centre of its activities.
- 5- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) asserts the necessity of reconciliation of Naga National groups (NNGs) as well as civil society of organizations and the public as an essential ingredient for healing and restoring people's dignity towards a holistic Naga identity.”⁴

The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) so many times had meetings with Naga factional groups for reconciliation. The very first objective of the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) is to bring down the inter-factional violence and bring peace among the factional groups. They also enable the groups to reconcile on the basis of the historical and political rights through the spirit of genuine forgiveness. “Here is a list of the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) meetings and some reconciliation activities:

- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) held an overall total of 267 meetings with the Naga national groups.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) visited GPRN/NSCN designated camp more than sixty times.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) visited NSCN (IM) designated camp more than sixty times.

- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) has met NNC/FGN more than forty times.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) had visited Eastern Nagaland (Burma) almost ten times.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) had a meeting with the Naga organization more than twelve times.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) had nearly forty meetings with the joint working group (JWG) of the Naga national group both within Nagaland and outside.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) had nearly twenty five meetings with Naga individuals-educators, social workers, writers, activities, lawyer.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) with Joint working group (JWG) and a choir formed by soldiers from different Naga national groups (NNGs) visited churches in Dimapur.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) met on September 25, 2008 at Sumi Baptist church Dimapur and with the support of forty seven Naga organizations and the Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) pushed the Naga reconciliation: A journey of common hope forward.
- The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) met on August 26, 2009 at hotel Saramati Dimapur with forty six Naga organizations and the church and called for the immediate meeting of top leaders of the Naga political groups for reconciliation on the basis of the historical and political rights of the Nagas at the earliest.
- On February 29, 2012, the Naga reconciliation meeting was held at Agri-expo, Dimapur. It was a public meeting attended by all the Nagas from all Naga-land, and for the first time top leaders from Naga national Groups spoke to the Naga public from one common platform.”⁵

It was only through the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) meetings with Naga national groups (NNGs) that could eventually result in reducing the level of violence and killings and this spirit of goodwill continues to prevail even now. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) had built an

opportunity to enhance freedom of movement and freedom of speech and expression and has contributed towards improving relationships between Naga nationalist group and the public. It is through the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) the fear and suspicion among people has reduced. With all the reconciliations happening so far after the formation of the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR), the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) had also organized a Naga Day on 10th January, 2018 at Kohima (capital of Nagaland). This Naga day was celebrated in-order to preserve the oneness of Naga tribes which is manifested through the formation of Naga Club that was formed with the spirit of unity to protect Naga rights . The Naga Day celebration also affirms and upholds the Naga Club memorandum to Simon commission on 10th January, 1929, on behalf of the Nagas and it is celebrated to mark that Nagas are peoples and a nation without borders. The 10th January, 2018 is considered to be to be the first Naga Day celebration after 89 years of submitting a memorandum. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) has also urged every Nagas to celebrate the Naga Day on 10th January every year so that it will deepen the relationships among Nagas and enrich the understanding of each other as one people. It also stated that Naga Day belong to all Nagas and not to any organizations alone. Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) also has urged the Government of India (GOI) to honor its commitment to engage the Naga political rights that stem from the facts of Nagas history with honesty, sincerity and through peaceful means. They also state that the Naga political struggle being one of the oldest running conflicts in the world, must be addressed with openness, political maturity and statesmanship, for bringing about an inclusive, just and lasting resolution without borders. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) believed that only through reconciliation, Nagas can heal, forgive and reconcile within Naga factional groups. Reconciliation has now become important for bringing unity among Naga factional groups. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) has taken the opportunity to reach out all the Nagas of young, men, women, rich and poor to give the reconciliation of the Nagas a one decisive push no matter how hard it is or how exhausting the process may seem to be.

The treasure of the Simon commission and with matchless gratitude to the signatories of the Simon commission, the memories has passed on to the Nagas needs with periodic refinement. In remembrance of the Simon Commission and the memorandum submitted to the commission by the Nagas on 10th January, 1929, the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) takes an opportunity to observe 10th January every year as Naga Day. The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) envisages observing Naga Day with the following objectives:

- That Nagas are a people of common belonging and therefore, ‘Nagas are one’ with organic bonding which is a constructive approach of every race.
- That common socio-cultural and established identity of the Nagas call for nurturing in order to ensure dependable expectations of peaceful co-existence and growth among the Naga family, and respect others as Nagas would want others to do to them.

e) Naga national political groups (NNPGs)

Before getting into the role of Naga national political groups (NNPGs), it is important to know what Naga political groups are all about. Since the beginning of Nagas’ demand for Autonomy, there was just one political institution for the Nagas which was known as Naga National Council (NNC) which was founded in 1947. Later on Naga national council (NNC) itself formed the Federal government of Nagaland (FGN). The Naga National Council (NNC) declared independent themselves on 14th August 1947 and formed a government. As years passed by the Nagas became more aware of the Nagas’ demand for Autonomy. With the signing of Shillong Accord by some Naga National Council (NNC) members, the few Naga National Council (NNC) members did not agree to the agreement and formed the National socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) which is a renowned political organizations or factional groups fighting for Autonomy. Later National socialist council of Nagalim (NSCN) was split into two- NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K). But today, it is recorded that there are at least 8-9 factional groups and political organizations are demanding for Nagas’ Autonomy and among these factional groups NSCN (IM) has always played an important role in negotiating with the

Government of India (GOI). All these factional groups formed their own government. It is well structured government with parliament (known as Tatar), constitution (known as Yehzabo), president (known as kedahge), prime minister (known as Ato kilonser) and a council of ministers (known as Kilonsers). They function as same as the state government and central government of India. There is no difference in how these Naga political groups functions their government and how a nation functions its government. It has a bureaucracy, a military army, a government and the features of the Autonomous body. The only difference is its capital. Since they do not have a capital, they considered a place as Oking (headquarters). Oking is a moveable and moves from place to place depending on where the council of ministers meet. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) consist of:

- 1- GPRN/NSCN which stands for Government of the people's Republic of Nagaland,
- 2- NNC/FGN stands for Naga national council/ federal government of Nagaland,
- 3- Naga National Council (parental body),
- 4- NPGN/NNC (NA) which stands for National people's government of Nagaland/Naga national council (Non-Accord),
- 5- NSCN (R) which stands for National socialist council of Nagalim (reformation), and
- 6- NNC/GDRN (NA) which stands for Naga national council / GDRN (Non Accord)

The six Naga national political groups (NNPGs) was formed so as to come together in the interest of Naga people as a whole and has also formed an intern body by the name 'working Group'(Eastern mirror Dec 15,2016). The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) affirmed that the formation of the working group will help the Naga national political groups (NNPGs) that can roadmap towards the fulfillment of Naga political aspiration. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) were formed to stand united under interim platform. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) on December 13, 2016 signed a joint statement. In a

meeting the Naga national political groups (NNPGs) resolved not to betray each other in the manner of instability and untrustworthiness and pledge to stand united. They also agreed to welcome the rest of the Naga political groups to be a part of the working group. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) were formed so as to march forward and seek a political solution for the Nagas which will be acceptable and honorable to the Nagas. 'The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) have also signed an agreement with the Government of India (GOI) on Nov 17, 2017. The working group was led by its convener Mr. N.kitovi.Zhimomi and co-convener FGN vice-president MR.Kedallo, Secretary NNC (parent body) MR.Zhopra Vero, NGPN/NNC(NA) prime minister(Ato kilonser) Mr.V.Nagi, President NSCN(R) Mr.Hozheto, President NNC/GDRN(NA) Mr. Wangtin Naga, and Mr Kiumukum Yimchunger who signed an agreement.' (Cited from Eastern mirror, November 19, 2017, 'Six NNPGs sign agreement with New Delhi'). The agreement is believed to be more or less like a preamble. The convener of the Naga national political groups (NNPGs) stated that an agreement contents to recognize the historical and political rights of the Naga people. The convener also stated that the government of India (GOI) had responded to the desire of the of the Naga people by stating that the Naga people will not be deprived off their rights and the political and historical rights of Nagas will be recognized. The signing of an agreement was not a final solution. Based on the agreement the working group of the Naga national political groups (NNPGs) and the Government of India (GOI) will negotiate the Naga political issue. The details of the agreement has not been disclosed either. The working group or the working committee had taken initiatives many times for negotiating it with the Government of India (GOI). They believed that a talk and negotiations can help or aim at resolving the Vexed Naga issue. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) stated that throughout its talks and negotiations, the interlocutor for Indo-Naga talks Mr.R.N.Ravi had based upon the principle of equality, mutual respect and trust for resolving Naga political issue. The Naga people believe that despite its differences, the Government of India and the working group of Naga national political groups (NNPGs) would work together and deliver the best political solution for both the Naga people and the Government of India.

The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) already had 11 rounds of Political negotiations with the Indian government.

Earlier the Government of India may have been initiating the talks and negotiations only with the NSCN (IM) at the prime ministerial level but now with the advanced movement of the Nagas' demand for Autonomy; the Indian government has recognized all the Naga political groups that should come into confidence for solving the Naga political issue. The Government of India (GOI) gave an official invitation to the Naga national political groups (NNPGs) for a meeting. So now the negotiation for the Naga political issue is not dealt with the NSCN (IM) alone. At present the Naga national political groups (NNPGs) are included in the negotiations of the Naga political problem. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) have prepared negotiations with the Government of India (GOI) on the ground of recognizing the political and historical rights of the Nagas. They believed that the sentence 'political and historical rights of the Nagas has not achieved by NSCN (IM) or any other political groups who is not a part of the Naga national political groups (NNPGs). They also pointed out that the NSCN (IM)'s achievement is the unique history of the Nagas. 'The government of India said to Naga national political groups (NNPGs) that Nagas have their unique rights but at this point, taking contemporary realities, the Indian government will try and work out with the relationship that will be enduring to both the Government of India (GOI) and the Nagas' (noted from the interview taken with Secretary to collective leadership GPRN/NSCN). The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) have also prepared with the charters and demand and going slowly with the Negotiations. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) believed that their negotiations with the Indian government would be that they will not touch the present boundaries but they will insist that whatever the Nagas are, they will be identified as Nagas. They believe that the boundaries will not differentiate their identity of being a Naga. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) are on the negotiations that in the event of any solution with the government of India, the Indian government must agree that the Nagas living in Assam, Manipur, or Arunachal must get the same facility and whatever outcome of the negotiation will be as that to the Nagas of Nagaland in

that way will maintain social, emotional, cultural integration and economic integration in the future when Nagaland will be stable in economic development. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) through negotiation also focusing on customary laws as they believe that Nagas are known for its customary laws that have passed down till today and this cannot be hampered. The Naga national political groups (NNPGs) are also negotiating that the Indian government must recognize Nagas customary laws.

f) Naga Hoho

Naga Hoho is an apex body that represents the whole of the Naga tribes. It is the federation of the Naga Tribes. The organization was formed on June 25, 1994. The Organization is a socio-political body and the members should be committed to uphold the solidarity and the unity of the Naga people so as the Nagas will promote and preserve their social, cultural, economic and political heritage and to promote fraternity and unity by securing peace and justice under a common platform and promoting the growth of the Naga people. The motto of the Naga Hoho is 'Nagas are one'. "The aims and objectives of the Naga Hoho are noted as follows:

- a) To create a sense of oneness amongst the Naga people by reconciling with one another.
- b) To uphold the uniqueness of the Naga political rights.
- c) To integrate all Naga inhabited areas and to bring about all round Development.”⁶

The Naga Hoho was formed as an apex body in 1994 with an aim of bringing about peace and unity amongst the Naga factional groups because at that point of time, the situation in Nagaland was so tensed with the Killings, Violence and extortion was a daily affair. Also during that point of time besides killings and violence, the innocent politicians, administrators, church leaders, women, state and civil society leaders were also not spared. Keeping in mind about all these clashes, the undersigned leaders of every Naga Tribal leaders decided to form an apex body under its name 'Naga Hoho'. The Naga Hoho has a resolution for its organization

that shall be non-political. The Naga Hoho has been putting efforts of meeting various Naga factional groups for peace and reconciliation. The Naga Hoho is considered to be the third institution of the Nagas after the Naga village and the Naga tribe. The Naga Hoho is neither a political organization nor a government body but it is the tribe based apex body of the Nagas under traditional system and practices of the Naga people. From the very beginning the first priority of the Naga Hoho is to resolve the conflict situation in Nagaland. It is playing a key role in the efforts to unite the different Naga rebel groups under a common platform so that a broad based solution to the insurrection could be work out, a move that has been generally welcomed in the state. The Naga Hoho has been trying to bring the Naga factional groups together and the response has been good. The organization has also quite aptly raised the need for inclusion of all the warring groups in the Naga peace talk or the ongoing framework agreement. It met the different camps of the militant groups from time to time, and the main issue of discussion has been the cessation of hostilities among the various camps of the Naga factional groups and exploration of the possibility of evolving the common approach to the Naga peace process for final settlement. While interacting with the Naga Hoho and Tribal Hohos it is rather obvious that the Naga Hoho and tribal Hohos realize that Naga ultimate power may be impossible in the context of a rising India that will never compromise its territorial integrity and supreme power.

Despite the various setbacks, the Naga Hoho is leaving no stone unturned in playing the role of facilitator. It mediates between the Government of India (GOI) and the Naga factional groups to arrive at a solution to the Naga problem. It initiated the reconciliation process to unite the Naga tribes. It is also to the credit of the Naga Hoho and other civil society groups that despite all the anger released during cease-fire declaration, the peace process was not hampered. During the extremely difficult days following the violence in Manipur over the inclusion of the territorial clause in the extension of Naga ceasefire, it was the intervention of the Naga Hoho which prevented the outbreak of any violence in Nagaland. The Naga Hoho also took some very bold and meaningful steps such as sending a goodwill mission to Assam to prevent the outbreak of the hostility between the

people of Nagaland and the neighboring states. Above all, one cannot undermine the role of Naga Hoho in seeking the early conclusion of the ongoing peace talks between the Government of India (GOI) and the NSCN (IM) for bringing a lasting solution to Nagaland. It also sought the settlement of political parameters with regard to the framework Agreement that was signed on August 3, 2015. With the motto 'Nagas are one', the Naga Hoho has been trying to free the Naga society from factional killings and differences, and the Naga people to have the opportunity to meet together, think together, share together and work together.

g) Naga Mothers Association (NMA)

The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) is the largest women's organization in Nagaland. Naga women from every tribe come forward and joined hands to fight for the social evils and to emerge solution for Naga political solution. With Naga women from every tribe formed an association known as 'Naga Mothers Association (NMA)'. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) began in 1984 as a response to rising drug and alcohol addiction ravaging Nagaland at that time. Their initial role was mostly as a mothers in working with the state institutions as well as civil bodies to control drug trafficking. It is mandatory for every Naga adult Naga women to be a part of Naga Mothers Association (NMA) with an annual membership fee of rupees one. The leaders of Naga Mothers Association (NMA) are nominated from every Naga tribes. The mothers were however faced with a new challenge; the emergence of killings and violence in the state in the early 90's resulting from extensive factional feuds. And hence they took up in restoring the peace in the state. From this emerged the Naga Mothers Association (NMA)'s non-violent campaign on 'Shed no more blood' as their motto. This actively pursued unity and reconciliation among Naga political groups, with the aim to bridge the gap between them. Every time the tension arouses in the state by the factional groups, Naga Mothers Association (NMA) have gone up to the factional or rebel groups for a talk. It is noted that ever since the Naga factional groups had a cease-fire agreement with Indian government (1997), the Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has been active in negotiations to settle the matter of Naga political issue.

Over the past years, Naga Mothers Association (NMA) had been fighting an advisory of different political issue in the state. They have been actively participating in Nagas' political issue. Though Nagaland is considered as an Autonomous body, there have been many clashes. In order to safeguard the lives of the Nagas, Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has taken initiative in making peace in the disturbed areas of Nagaland.

The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) is one of the notable peace groups in Nagaland. They have been in active in the politics for peace in Nagaland. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has rendered their valuable serve in the Naga political issue. "The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) also formed peace team in 1994 to confront the deteriorating political situation in Nagaland. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has assumed enormous influence in Naga politics is borne out by the fact that they are the only women's group in south Asia who has participated in cease-fire negotiations. In 1947, they mediated between the Indian government and NSCN (IM) factional and facilitated a cease-fire."⁷ The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has been the peace maker between the factional groups in Nagaland. It is noted that , 'after signing of the cease-fire between the government of India (GOI) and the NSCN (IM) in 1997, the Naga Mothers Association (NMA) decided to expand their work but challenges like Armed forced special power act (AFSPA) curtailed their free movement. The then president of Naga Mothers Association (NMA) noted that men folks were unable to take peace messages from one group to the other, so the Naga Mothers Association (NMA) stepped in to do the task. In 1999 after a meeting called by the NSCN (IM), a four member of Naga Mothers Association (NMA) team trekked all the way to Burma from India to convey the message of peace and reconciliation to the NSCN (K) chairman S.S.Khaplang' (cited from the story narrated by Ex-president NMA, Mrs Khesheli chishi in sharing stories at Morung lecture held at Ao Baptist Church, Dimapur on June 25, 2016).

The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) have also expounded on the role of Naga women in bridging divides between the neighboring states of

Nagaland such as Mizoram, Assam, Manipur and Meghalaya to spread the message of peaceful co-existence. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) also initiated dialogues with the various Naga factional groups on many occasions so as to bring an amicable solution to the Nagas. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) is a voluntary organization that strive to initiate peace among various Naga factional groups. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has assured an important role in the peace building of the state. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) many a times have responded to a conflict situation with their alternative paradigm. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) leaders have visited several camps and headquarters of various Naga factional groups. They also have held meetings many times with various leaders of Naga factional groups and have urged them always to have a negotiations. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) have taken initiatives in mediating between the various factional groups and also taken an important role in spreading a message that there can be no peace unless and until all the Naga factional groups stop killing each other and come together as one under one umbrella. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) had no professional skill or expertise for all these peacemaking but they had the process of learning through their own experiences, exposures and also undergone various trainings and workshops which helped them to initiate peace process all this time. They have successfully initiated in the peace process and also formed a common platform for various Naga factional groups to meet and have a dialogue with one another. It is through their efforts and united to fight against social, law and order problems, Human rights and also as a great agent for peace process, the Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has awarded for the social and political impact for life by Times of India (TOI) in the year 2013. Today the Naga Mothers Association (NMA)'s activities are being acknowledged and they have participated in Public meetings and activities and negotiations.

In a society run predominant by men, the role plays by the Naga Mothers Association (NMA) cannot be undermined. Though its objective for formation was rooted in the eradication of social evils, the Naga Mothers Association (NMA) has come a long way working towards conflict resolution by

trying to create a conducive climate for people to people dialogue. The Naga Mothers Association (NMA) believes that building trust and a culture of sharing between young and old, is key to nurturing the space for peace. As of now, they are continuously rooting for the early conclusion of the ongoing peace talks between the Government of India (GOI) and the various stakeholders, to bring a lasting solution to Nagaland.

h) Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR)

The Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) was formed on 9th September, 1978 in response to the Naga people long felt need for an organized movement to and further their human rights which have been trampled under the military boots of Indian state. Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) attempts to give organized expression to the Naga peoples fight for their rights while exposing to the people of India and to the world, the imperialist policy that the ruling classes of India had been pursuing through the mighty state machinery against the Nagas. Nagas have throughout history fiercely maintained their political and cultural independence. The constant application of military force to crush the nagas demand for autonomy regarding it as a thread of law and order has resulted only in a senseless state of violence thereby violating human rights. The Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) takes upon itself the task of initiating organized struggle for achieving objectives such as, ensuring and safeguarding the right to life , the right to work, the right to live together as a people and the unification of all Naga lands, spreading awareness about the importance of human rights among the people, etc,. It also ensures freedom from socio-economic exploitation, political domination and military repression. It stands against anti-democratic practices and the dismantling of institutions and social values which legitimize and perpetuate these within our society. The Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) has carried out various initiatives like putting up a sustained campaign for restoration of the Rule of Law, and filing Public Interest Litigation (PIL) with regard to the army atrocities. In the backdrop of ongoing Agreements and political negotiations that different Naga political

organizations have entered into with the GOI, and the various efforts of Reconciliation amongst the Naga political groups in particular, and so also with the silent efforts to reconcile with the past history of human sufferings, Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) has been making its own effort to stay away from provocative issues and elements. However, the constant recurrence of acts with utter disregards for human life where Nagas are concerned, at the hands of Indian military personnel, one is left with choice but to express its resentment with pain and anger. As such, Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) strongly condemn the enforcement of AFSPA in the state and the immunities enjoyed by the military personnel which leads to various human rights violations. Therefore, it calls upon the GOI to recall its military from all Naga areas for the sake of humanity. No doubt, though they had a profound influence on human rights movements in the North-East region with Nagaland in particular, the Naga people's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) now seems to be missing a sense of mission. It thus need to reinvent its image to one people can identify with.

i) NBCC

It's always the Church Leaders in Nagaland that actively ease the tense situation and bring an amicable solution to the crisis that the people face due to armed conflicts or political crisis. It is a fact that 80% of today's generation were born only after the nightmare situation of Naga political movement began. Few are surviving today among those who had witnessed the dreadful phase of life. Naga people had walked down the Dark valley in the political journey and in this phase, many Church leaders including those who are no more with us today had plunged themselves into peace work. They had played an important role back then and even today in bringing the peace in the State. Church leaders had been the peace makers and had battled for peace. With many killings and Violence happened in the state, the church leaders in Nagaland did not remained silent but rather step forward to mobilize every possible resource in bringing Peace to the state. Therefore at this critical juncture, the Nagaland Baptist church leaders have bring forth the Peace convention and urged both the Naga leaders and the Indian Government to join

Peace mission. At the time when Indian Army operation became very violent and harsh, the church leaders have involved themselves physically to usher a dialogue between the government and the Naga leaders. But today, the scene has been different and the church leaders have been working in a different way of bringing an amicable solution to be achieved before it is too late.

From the spiritual perspective for Nagas' demand for Autonomy, the Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) is considered as the important Association. They have always played a vital role to conclude the long Indo-Naga issue or the Naga vexed issue. The Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) recognizes all the different groups that have contributed to the Nagas' demand for Autonomy or have suffered for the cause of Nagas' aspirations. The church had understood the serious differences that have produced the 'Factions'. Even there is a cease-fire between the government of India (GOI) and the Naga national groups like NSCN (IM) or NSCN (K), there has been no unity and there had been differences among the Nagas and also intensified rivalries among the Naga factional groups. This has led to the increase of killings among Nagas that have weakened the spirit of the Nagas. The Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) is of the mind that unless factors dividing the Nagas are addressed; no real progress towards the need solution will be achieved. As being the Apex spiritual guide and religious body, the Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) has been guiding the Nagas' demand for Autonomy since the beginning of its journey which has its root way back to as early as 90's. The Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) played a very prominent role in bringing peace between the Indians and the Nagas which includes the 16 point Agreement made between the two entities in 1960. In fact the warm maintenance of cease-fire Agreement have been into light because of the peaceful seeds sowed by the Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) in India and in Nagas' soil. There have been many successful peace and reconciliation meetings between India and Nagaland, the Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) acted as the non-violent guide and spiritual lord to bring peace between the Government of India and the Nagas. The important role of the Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) does not end there. The Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC)

continues to guide the Nagas with ‘prayer’ and ‘hope’ in this almost century of struggle for Autonomous body for the Nagas. The voice of spiritual Leaders in Nagas have always been the warrior guide towards peace and reconciliation and for all the peaceful missions done by the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) and that still continues. The 6th of September every year in Nagaland is celebrated as the ‘Peace Day’ and reminds every Naga to bloom and strife with peace and friendship.

Over the years, many concerned organizations and individuals have been working tirelessly for mutual understanding and bringing an amicable and lasting solution to the long Naga Vexed issue. The different sections of Naga people have been playing an important role in Naga society. They have been trying to bring an amicable and lasting solution to the Naga people in many ways of their contributions. Apart from these organizations, there are also few other organizations who are also actively participating in Nagas’ demand for Autonomy directly or indirectly. Recently before the General Election for Nagaland 2018 announced, there were many organizations who were opposed of conducting an Election before solution. The ‘Solution before Election’ was the idea of the Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and civil organizations (CCNTHO) who vehemently opposed of conducting general election in the state before Naga solution is solved. The Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and civil organizations (CCNTHO) taking an initiative to spear-head the call of ‘Solution before Election’ is a reminder to the Naga people of bringing an early and lasting solution to the Naga vexed issue. The Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and civil organizations (CCNTHO) believes that the earlier the solution to the problem, the better for the Nagas. The Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and civil organizations (CCNTHO) also kept the slogan as ‘solution before Election’ because solution is more important than election as solution is something that comes merely in a lifetime but election come normally after every five years. Many organizations in Nagaland supported the Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and civil organizations (CCNTHO) for the call of ‘Solution before Election’. However the NSCN (IM) in regard to the call for ‘Solution before

Election' by the Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and civil organizations (CCNTHO) said that the Government of India (GOI) or Election commission of India (ECI) to hold an election is 'bound to undermine the progress of the ongoing talks between the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) and become serious obstacles towards finding an early political solution. Reiterating its commitment for an early negotiated political settlement that is honorable to both the India and the Nagas, the NSCN (IM) noted that 'Nagas have sincerely come very close for the political solution appreciating the steps taken by the Government of India (GOI) in seeking political solution and leaving aside military solution'. Despite the joint declaration by the Core Committee of the Nagaland Tribal Hohos and civil organizations (CCNTHO) along with other organizations to holding of the polls to the state general election, the Election commission of India (ECI) went ahead with the Election process and conducted the election on 27th February 2018 with Nagaland chief Electoral officer (CEO) Mr.Abhijit Sinha.

Thus there is always a need of the Civil society in addressing the issues and sensitize through people to people dialogue at the grass-root level. The intervention of the civil society organizations only at the negotiating table reflects the obscurity of civil societies in its function and approach.

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Chapter-5

Conclusions and findings

5.1: Findings and Testing of Hypothesis

It is studied that the Nagas fighting for Autonomy appears as if Nagaland is fighting against employment crisis than Autonomy. It is so because there have been thousands of educated Nagas who are unemployed due to the lack of opportunities in every form. Infact they are now more focused in economic upliftment today and less concerned about their so called Autonomy. It is also studied that the need of autonomy arises if one look towards cultures and tradition of Nagas as Nagas are completely different from the rest of the Indian when it comes to traditions, cultures, customs and religions. But leaving aside cultures, traditions, and religions Nagas are still economically weak to build its own nation. It is studied that Nagas may never be able to to become autonomous body as in first place Nagas are economically weak to build its own nation and looking at the present reality, Nagas do not attain the role of nationhood in many ways and therefore U.N general assembly will never recognize Nagaland as nation. It is also studied that there is no possibility of Nagas becoming an autonomous body as Naga leaders lack behind unity and also having different ideologies for the movement to strive forward. The Nagas are lacking behind of having an auspicious leaders who can lead the Naga movement for Autonomy like the Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. Naga leaders having inferiority towards each other are unable to bring them all together or may not help the Nagas to achieve what they are fighting for. It is studied that the present Naga factions are divided into many groups because of the mindset to rule and to gain momentum as a supreme leader and not for the citizen of Nagaland and because of their differences and hatred towards each other. Looking from today's generational perceptive, the researcher finds that the differences among the Nagas and also the Tribalism being the dominant factor have weakened the Nagas' movement for Autonomy. The thirst for the Nagas to become Autonomous body is still far mainly due to the reason of ideological differences among different Naga

factional groups, not only among said groups but also among various organizations such as Tribal clans or Hohos etc. Unlike the Naga forefathers, the feeling of togetherness and brotherhood among the Nagas is downsizing which creates a loophole in coming together as one. It has been observed that there had many clashes, killings and violence in Nagaland in the past years and it has been done among the Naga Factional groups as dictatorship being the main reason because every leader of the Naga Factional groups wants to be the dictator of Nagaland. It is studied that in the midst of the movement, the Naga leaders have developed the feelings of hatred towards each other's factional groups due to their superiority and for which there had been lots of clashes in the Naga solution. Emphasizing on the importance of unity among the people which gives courage, power and strength for one to achieve great things in the society, the researcher finds that the unity and oneness among the Nagas is still missing, which is why the Naga society is not moving or progressing much.

It is studied that Nagas had been fighting for a separate nation for more than 60 years but they are still economically and infrastructurally weak to stand and develop its nation on its own. The Nagas cannot deny the fact that the present state of affairs is not acceptable and unbearable. The more the world seems to change, the more things the same for the Nagas. It is studied that the issue of autonomy has been emphasized. Even if Nagas become Autonomous in future there will be no possibility of having dual autonomy as Indian itself under its law does not follow dual autonomy. It has been studied that the Indian government has tried to manage the Indo-Naga conflict through many rounds of political talks and negotiations, amendments, cease-fires etc. There had been many negotiations between Naga leaders and Government of India (GOI) and resolutions had been made through the negotiations but so far no impact resolution had been made that would bring end to the long Indo-Naga issue. It is studied that the signing of the framework agreement on Aug 3, 2015, between the NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) has invited many suspense as in the first place the agreement has been hidden. The framework agreement have received a mixed reaction from the Naga public with some welcoming the move while others worried over a possible compromise of

their demand for sovereignty and integration of all Naga-inhabited areas under one administrative umbrella or Greater Nagalim. The framework Agreement being wrapped and not disclosed to public has brought mistrust to the Naga people and also gives birth to anger among the Publics. So it will take another length of years to bring solution to the Naga issue. It has been observed that the zeal and determination of the Government of India (GOI) towards resolving the Naga issue is not same as shown during the signing of framework agreement. The agreement was signed on Aug 3, 2015, to bring an amicable solution to long Naga political issue but already three years passed by and the Zeal of the Indian government is gradually fading away. It is also studied that the idea of sharing powers had been included in the context of framework Agreement. Both the parties have stated to the press that the Naga vexed issue will be resolved based on sharing powers. The researcher finds that the idea of sharing power in the Framework Agreement was for the Nagas to associate with India for all economic development of Nagaland since Nagas are still economically backward. This will allow Nagas to develop a bright future with India and create large opportunities for Naga generations. The acceptance of the sharing powers would certainly take the Nagas ' future forward with the advancement pace of great India which is rapidly becoming one of the economic super powers of the world.

It is studied that the various Naga organizations have contributed much to the Naga freedom movement in the past years towards maintaining peace in the face of divisions and killings. They have taken initiatives in restoring peace on the strife torn region. It cannot be denied that the various Naga organizations are trying to bring a peace and solution in the state. It has been observed that only through the possibility of the Naga organizations, the level of violence in the state had been reduced. The various Naga organizations such as Naga Hoho, Naga Mothers Association, Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights, Naga Students Federation, Forum for Naga Reconciliation and Nagaland Baptist Church Council have contributed much to the Nagas' demand for Autonomy by way of restoring peace among the Naga leaders and the factional groups. Even in the context of Framework Agreement they had been urging the Indian government to bring on

board all the stakeholders or Naga National groups in finalizing and discussing the framework agreement so as to bring a fruitful solution to the long Naga vexed issue. It has been observed that both the Indian government and the Nagas have lacked so much in political wisdom and also lacked in maturity to bring an amicable solution for once and for all to Naga political issue. It is the time that Nagas and Indian government should think about lasting solution for Indo-Naga issue

5.2: Future Scope of the Study

There is no doubt, but the truths are, there have been numerous disputes taken place between the Government of India (GOI) and the Nagas; crimes against Naga women had been done; houses were burned down; lives were sacrificed and there is no doubt that India had wasted economy in the Naga issue more than compared to Kashmir issue. But no matter what, one should forgive the past and make newer generation a fruitful one for the unity and growth of both the Nations. And not only 'forgiveness' can heal but this very long Indo-Naga issue should yield an honorable solution. Although much have been said, Nagas have been directly or indirectly dependent on Indian economy and thus there should always have an honorable solution with the best of both India's and the Nagas' ability in every aspects to go forward in unity yet independently as being most immediate neighbours. Nagas' demand for Autonomy is one of the oldest problems that the government of India has been trying to address in all these years. Now what is the priority in bringing an acceptable solution to Naga issue should be done accordingly and so much distractions and confusions of so called secret Framework agreement or so called sharing powers should not bring anymore suspicious and discomfortness not only to the Nagas in Nagaland but Nagas in the neighboring states as well.

In the words of Akukau Kahuto Chishi (a prominent writer among Nagas), the new thought can accumulate on government of India (GOI) and the Nagas' issue to bring forth honorable solution where he put forward the proposals:

1. The Naga inhabited areas of Manipur, Assam, and Arunachal Pradesh should have special council or an autonomous body to govern them.
2. Article 371A, clause 1(a) should also be able to cover areas wherever the Nagas are inhabited since time immemorial. They should be able to exercise every rights and freedom over their ancestral lands and the resources there upon. They should be able to exercise freedom of customary laws. They should be exempted from paying any taxes as an indigenous Nagas wherever they are.
3. Ownership and transfer of land and its resources should be limited in Nagaland only provided that the legislature Assembly should henceforth make a resolution or it applies that the autonomous body of such districts or states decides thereupon.
4. The Nagas should follow the footsteps of American legislature system where there should be two houses i.e. House of Lords or Legislatives and the other House of common people or House of Representatives from every Naga tribe irrespective of its populations. The Lords of Upper House should be elected by democratic means as such as Universal Adult Franchise.
5. Nagaland should propose an Independent Judicial body. The elections of Judiciary should be vested in the Hands of upper house. However it should also propose that appointments of Judges or Registrates, promotion or transfers should be followed by strict laws of the land.
6. The bureaucrats should not be function under the influences of political body in Power.

He believes that the best the Nagas can do for the present is to have The Governments of India and Myanmar sit down for talks with Representatives of Nagas from both Nations. Modalities can be discussed but, 'Free Passage across the International Border for Trans-Border Naga Tribes is a must'. So Naga Tribes whose populations have been divided by the International Boundary Line must be allowed to travel across with reasonable restrictions. Essential Edible Commodities too must be permitted to flow unhampered by Custom Duties. The Governments of

India and Myanmar could jointly identify and issue Documentation to these Tribesmen. He had put forth these suggestions to all the Nagas everywhere so that they may provide a starting point to open discussions on what the Nagas want and what they aspire to. He believes that until the Nagas proves of governing themselves wisely and justify themselves in the eyes of God and Man, they should do with what they have to the best of their ability.

5.3: Conclusions

Many negotiations and Agreement have been initiated but everything has not come into existence or into practice and remained always in the paper as facts and not taken into action yet. NSCN (IM) along with other Naga factional groups, Naga civil organizations and Spiritual bodies like NBCC, they all have been participating for peaceful negotiations and solution in the past and still going on but so far no fruitful solution has been come up with the result of those meetings and negotiations. After many years of talks and Negotiations, the Government of India (GOI) and the NSCN (IM) has finally come up with Framework agreement to find a lasting solution to the Naga political problem and that is a good thing. But at the same time Framework Agreement is yet to disclose to the Public that has made many Nagas to ponder about what Solution lays behind the Framework Agreement. The Nagas' demand for Autonomy has started to become unreal. The promises of the Government of India to bring a permanent settlement have been years and years now. The promise of the Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been delayed already. It has always been talking but not practicing. The Idea of sharing powers has been acknowledged in the Framework Agreement and so many ideas and suggestions have been emphasized on it, but in all its growing fact the ideas remains dumb because of the fact that only few Nagas understands the idea of Supreme power and some Nagas hardly knows the deeper meaning of what is being suggested and agrees or disagrees. Some do not even understand what sharing power is. Some simply goes behind and dumb. So in simple phrase, the idea of sharing power is a

dream. Some dreams remains dream and this idea of sharing power apparently remains dreamers' dream rather than being celebrated or dreamed by the Nagas.

The Nagas' demand for Autonomy has rather become a political agenda for government of Nagaland and for some regional parties and National parties. It is infact invited more and more controversies and issues and solving the original problem. The different demands in the name of Autonomy by the Nagas have infact confused the Government of India as well. As different parties come to power from one tenure to another, the political leaders changed their agenda from old to new and new to old every time. Any party who brings up issue of Nagas' demand for Autonomy to the Government of India is infact defaming or selling the Nagas for their own purposes and advantages. This is how the Nagas' demand for Autonomy has become a mockery to the whole world and the main root cause of corruption in Nagaland. There are endless problems hampering the Nagas' demand for Autonomy but the main problem is Nagas are not united and have different kinds of issues. Nagas are confused themselves and have confused the Government of India more and more with their political problems, economic problems, governance and law and order, education and more. Above all Nagaland government is corrupted and uses political agenda to Naga factional groups. In every nation young people are the main builders of the Nation but in Nagaland there are thousands of frustrated educated Nagas today and most of them are concerned more for economic growth and stability and not much interested in Nagas' demand for Autonomy.

Nagas cannot stand strong economically on their own feet after becoming autonomous body. It is so because by observing the present economic scenario, Nagaland still does not have modern infrastructure, lack of influensive entrepreneurs (except few), bad road conditions, lack of modernized agricultural reforms, lack of railways and airports. Also there is no possibility of building up multi-national companies which is a boon to world economy today. Industrial Revolution cannot take place as well in Nagaland even after becoming autonomous bodies because Nagaland is very far behind from modernized technologies and

industries even today and it will atleast take a century for them to revolutionize industrially. It is so because Nagaland does not have modern infrastructure or macro industries or entrepreneurs. Although Nagaland villages lead an agrarian culture still they do not have modernized agricultural reforms and modern equipments for the farmers. From the realistic point of view, the Nagas should remain under India now. Economically, the Nagas will find it hard to sustain for a long time which in turn may lead to social breakdown. The Nagas need to develop themselves under the present circumstances and build itself up economically and infrastructurally so as to enable itself to stand on its own feet at some point of time in future.

No ruling party in India will give 100% sovereignty to any state fighting for separate nation. Be it Nagas, ALFA in Assam, Khalistan in Punjab, Tamilian in Tami Nadu or other groups. It is not easy for the Indian government to give away the Autonomy to Nagas as it will be a great challenge to the national security and so the Naga leaders and the Nagas should understand. The best solution would be when both understand each other. There is a long way to go for a negotiating and meanwhile NSCN (IM) should open their arm to welcome all Naga political groups (NPGs), shareholders, and Naga civil organizations for the greater interest of Naga people and bring an amicable solution together. Nagas can only come to a final solution when all Naga factional groups would be brought together as one, giving up their personal interest for the sake of their motherland. Also the Visionary leaders and the best men and women should lead the Nagas without bias so that the Nagas would be united under one roof. The more divided the Nagas are, the less Naga chances of fulfilling out common aspirations of ever becoming an Autonomous Body. Nagas and Indians may never be able to co-exist peacefully even if Nagas were to give up their demand for Autonomy. It is so because India has its own separate history since time immemorial and it is studied that Nagaland was never a part of India so also Nagas were aloof and had always been alone on their own and thus they both follow their own traditions, culture and attitudes towards every change. India is infact had been civilized since Mahabarata age or Lord Buddha's or Vedas and hence their advancement in every field can never be

compared. Nagas, on the other hand has been alone unconquered and stick to their own concept of life. It is infact only by the birth on British colonial in India Nagas were found and been civilized which is just been just hundred years or so. Although India may try to come down and give hand to the Nagas, but Nagas by blood has always been true to their own traditions and cultures. In other words, both India and Nagaland have very strong traditions and cultures of their own which is heavenly different from one another and may never co-exist peacefully as one. So therefore Nagas and Indians will be uplifted and lives will be made easier if both comes to a mutual understanding and bring forward an acceptable solution to the long Indo-Naga issue. Both have waged war on Nagas issue and took many lives. With the advancement of education, both should be wise enough to stop violence and hatred and bring a lasting solution where both will respect each other on every aspects of life. Nagas house stands divided today and its the urgent need for the Nagas to detoxify the distrust, fear and desire for revenge in the inter-factional groups or within the Nagas as well if the politics is to be creative and not to be destructive.

Different Naga intellectuals speak up in general like a critic writer Akukau Kahuto chishi who, in all his frankness and boldness having lived with hypocrisy of one's own brothers and lives with Nagas' history openly criticizes the foolishness of Nagas' for forgetting why Nagas started this movement. While on the other hand, the patriotic blood Kaka.D.Iralu (a prominent critic writer among the Nagas) cries for solution of the Government of India (GOI) and the Nagas' issue through forgiveness. In the midst of confusions and depressions, there are some angry men, there are some cool-men, there are witty minds, there are genius minds to lead the mass-depression and there are these Naga intellectuals, critics and writers who always try to open the eyes of Nagas in general which Nagaland is always proud of it. But above all these, what is the need of an hour is to negotiate with the Government of India (GOI). There is so much to be done by the Nagas especially to grow stronger in economy, political and social maturity. Nagas should remind each other over and over that Nagas should be strong in infrastructure, should give more importance in entrepreneurship, civic life and should be capable of imparting advanced education system especially in scientific and engineering field. Every

citizen of any country loves one's own country so also the Nagas but one cannot progress by culture, tradition and faith alone and hence Nagas should be able to grow in every other aspects of life such as in maintaining uncorrupted governance, honest Naga leaders and most of all today Nagaland has already more than 60,000 graduates and 20,000 post graduates degree holders where the sole giver of employment is the Government sector alone. This imbalance of education and employment has become one of the major problems in Naga society. Hence Nagas should be able to bring forth an amicable solution for youths of tomorrow. Today many Naga youths go outside the state in search of the Jobs and livelihood which has become a threat to the Nagas. Nagas should be able to build private sectors at large. Naga leaders however are very busy in demand for Autonomy movement and peace talks that the real situations at home and outside the home are missed out many at times. The home-work is definitely a need of an hour for the Naga leaders that Nagas should not be confused anymore but should be able to start doing what is so called 'The Good Life'.

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APPENDIX I

NAGA MEMORANDUM TO SIMON COMMISSION

To,

The British Statutory Commission

Camp-India

10 January, 1929

Subject: Memorandum of the Naga Hills

Sir,

We the undersigned Nagas of the Naga Club at Kohima, who are the only persons at present who can voice for our people have heard with great regret that our Hills is included within the Reformed scheme of India without our knowledge, but as administration of our hills continued to be in the hands of the British officers, and we did not consider it necessary to raise any protest in the past. Now, we learn that you have come to India as representatives of the British Government to enquire into the working of the system of Government and growth of Education, and we beg to submit below our view with the prayer that our hills maybe withdrawn from the Reformed scheme and place it outside the Reforms but directly under the British Government. We never asked for any reforms and we do not wish for any reforms.

Before the British Government conquered our country in 1879-1880, we were living in the state of intermittent warfare with the Assamese of the Assam Valley to the North and west of our country and the Manipuris to the south. They never conquered us nor were we ever subjected to their rule. On the other hand we were always a terror to these people. Our country within the administered area consists of more than eight regions, quite different from one another with different languages which cannot be understood by each other, and there are more regions outside the administered area which are not known at present. We have no unity among us and it is only the British Government that is holding us together now.

Our Education at present is poor. The occupation of our country by the British Government being so recent at 1880, we have had no chance or opportunity to

improve in education and though we can boast of two or three graduates of an Indian university in our country, we have got no one yet who is able to represent all our different regions or masters our languages much less one to represent us in any council of province. Moreover, our populations numbering 102,000 is very small in comparison with the plain districts in the province, and any representation that may be allotted to us in the council will be negligible and will have no weight whatever. Our language is quite different from those of the plains and we have no social affinities with Hindus or Mussalmans. We are locked down upon by one for our 'beef' and the other for our 'pork' and by both for our want in education which is not due to any fault of ours. Our country is poor and it does not pay for its administrations. Therefore if it continues to be placed under Reformed Scheme we are afraid that new and heavy taxes will have to be sold and in the long run we shall have no share in the land of our birth and life will not be worth living then.

Though our land at present is within the British territory, the governments have always recognized our private rights in it, but if we are forced to enter the council of the majority, all these rights will be extinguished by unsympathetic council, the majority of whose number is sure to belong to the plains districts. We also have much fear the introduction of foreign laws and customs to supersede our own customary laws which we enjoy.

For the above reasons, we pray that the British government will continue to safeguard our rights against all encroachment from the other people who are more advanced than us by withdrawing our country from the Reformed Scheme and placing it directly under its own protection. If the British government however, wants to throw us away, we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of people who could never have conquered us themselves and to whom we were never subjected; but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times. We claim (not only the members of the Naga club) to represent all those regions to which we belong, Angami, Kacha Nagas, Kukis, Semas, Lothas and Rengmas.

Signed by/-

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Nihu Angami, Head Interpreter | 11. Zephulie Angami, Interpreter |
| 2. Hisale, Peshkar | 12. Katsumo Angami, Interpreter |
| 3. Niser Angami, Master | 13. Nuolhoukielie Angami, clerk |

4. Khosa Angami, Doctor
5. Gepo kacha Naga, Interpreter
6. Vipunyu Angami, Potdar
7. Goyiepra Angami, Master
8. Ruzhukrie Angami, Master
9. Dikhrie Angami, Sub-overseer
10. Zapuhulie Angami, Master
14. Luzevi Sema, Interpreter
15. Apamo Lotha, Interpreter
16. Resilo Rengma, Interpreter
17. Lengjang Kuki, interpreter
18. Neikhriehu Angami, Interpreter
19. Miakrao Angami, Chaprasi
20. Levi Kacha Naga, Clerk

APPENDIX II

THE NINE POINT AGREEMENT

(The Nine Point Agreement arrived at between the Naga National Council and the Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari in June 27-29, 1947)

PREAMBLE

The right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their freely expressed wishes is recognized.

1. Judicial

All cases whether civil or criminal arising between Nagas in the Naga Hills will be disposed of by duly constituted Naga courts according to Naga customary law, or such law as may be introduced with the consent of duly recognized Naga representative organizations, save that where a sentence of transportation or death has been passed there will be right of appeal to the Governor.

In cases arising between Nagas and non-Nagas in (a) Kohima and Mokokchung town areas, and (b) in the neighbouring plains districts, the Judge if not a Naga, will be assisted by the Naga assessor.

2. Executive

The general principle is accepted that what the Naga National Council is prepared to pay for the Nagas National Council should control. The principle will apply to work done as the staff employed.

While the District Officer will be appointed at the discretion of the Governor, Sub-Division of the Naga Hills should be administered by Sub-Divisional Council with a full-time Executive President paid the Naga National Council, who would be responsible to the District Officer, for all matter falling within the latter's responsibility, and to the Naga National Council for all matters falling within their responsibility. In regard to:

(a) Agriculture

The Naga National Council will exercise all the power now vested in the District Officer, **(a) Public Works Department (PWD)**

The Naga National Council will take over full control, **(a) Education and Forest Department**

The Naga National Council is prepared to pay for all the services and staffs.

3. Legislative

That no laws by the Provincial or Central Legislature which would materially affect the terms of this agreement or the religious practices of the Nagas shall have legal force in the Naga Hills without the consent of the Naga National Council.

In case of dispute as to whether any law did so affect this agreement, the matter would be referred by the Naga National Council to the Governor who would then direct that the law in question should not have legal force in the Naga Hills pending the decision of the Central Government.

4. Land

That land with all its resources in the Naga Hills should not be alienated to a non-Naga without the consent of the Naga National Council.

5. Taxation

That the Naga National Council will be responsible for the imposition, collection and expenditure of land revenue and house tax, and such other taxes as may be imposed by the Naga National Council.

6. Boundaries

The present administrative divisions should be modified so as to

- I. Bring back into the Naga Hills District all the forest transferred to the Sibsagar and Nowgaon District in the past, and

II. Bring under one unified administrative unit, as far as possible, all Nagas. All the areas so included would be within the scope of the present proposed agreement.

No areas should be transferred out of the Naga Hills without the consent of the Naga National Council.

7. Arms Act

The District Officer will act on the advice of the Naga National Council in accordance with the provisions of the Arms Act.

8. Regulations

The Chin Hills Regulations and the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations will remain in force.

9. Period of Agreement

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

APPENDIX III

THE SIXTEEN POINT AGREEMENT

The Sixteen Point Agreement arrived at between the Government of India and the Naga People's Convention, July, 1960.

The points placed by the delegates of the Naga People's Convention before the Prime Minister on 26 July 1960, as finally recast by the delegation in the light of discussions on 27 and 28 July 1960 with the Foreign Secretary.

1. The Name:

The territories that were heretofore known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, shall form a State within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as Nagaland.

2. The Ministry In-charge:

The Nagaland shall be under the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India.

3. The Governor of Nagaland:

- a) The President of India shall appoint a Governor for Nagaland and he will be vested with the executive powers of the Government of Nagaland. He will have his headquarters in Nagaland.
- b) His administrative secretariat will be headed by the Chief Secretary stationed at the Headquarters with other Secretariat Staff as necessary.
- c) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to law and order during the transitional period and for so long as the law and order situation continues to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities. In exercising this special responsibility, the Governor shall, after consultation with the Ministry, act in his individual judgment. This special responsibility of the Governor will cease when normalcy returns.

4. Council of Ministers:

- a) There shall be a Council of Ministers with a Chief Minister at the head to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions.
- b) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Naga Legislative Assembly.

5. The Legislature:

There shall be constituted a Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary representing different tribes.

(Further a duly constituted body of Expert may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis).

6. Representation in Parliament:

Two elected members shall represent Nagaland in the Union Parliament, that is to say, one for the Lok Sabha and the other for the Rajya Sabha.

7. Acts of Parliament:

No Act or Law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly:

- a) The Religious or Social Practices of the Nagas.
- b) The Customary Laws and Procedure.
- c) Civil and Criminal Justice so far as these concern decisions according to the Naga Customary Law.

The existing laws relating to administration of civil and criminal justice as provided in the Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District shall continue to be in force.

- (a) The ownership and transfer of land and its resources.

8. Local Self-Government:

Each tribe shall have the following units of rule-making and administrative local bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas:

- 1) The Village Council;
- 2) The Range Council; and
- 3) The Tribal Council.

These Councils will also deal with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages.

9. Administration of Justice:

- a) The existing system of administration of civil and criminal justice shall continue.
- b) Appellate Courts:
- c) The District Court-cum-Sessions Court (for each district), High Court and Supreme Court of India.
- d) The Naga Tribunal (for the whole of Nagaland) in respect of cases decided according to Customary Law.

10. Administration of Tuensang District:

- a) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of 10 (ten) years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibility of the advanced system of administration. The commencement of the ten-year period of administration will start simultaneously with the enforcement of detailed workings of the constitution in other parts of Nagaland.
- b) Provided further that a Regional Council shall be formed for Tuensang District by representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang District, and the Governor may nominate representatives to the Regional Council as well. The Regional Council will elect Members to the Naga Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District.

- c) Provided further that on the advice of the Regional Council, steps will be taken to start various Councils and Courts, in those areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institutions.
- d) Provided further that no Act or Law passed by the Naga Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specifically recommended by the Regional Council
- e) Provided further that the Regional Council shall supervise and guide the working of the various Councils and Tribal Courts within Tuensang District and wherever necessary depute the local officers to act as Chairmen thereof.
- f) Provided further that Councils of such areas inhabited by a mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific Tribal Council to be affiliated to, shall be directly under the Regional Council for the time being. And at the end of ten years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desire the period will be further extended.

11. Financial Assistance from the Government of India:

To supplement the revenues of Nagaland, there will be need for the Government of India to pay out of the Consolidated Fund of India:

1. A lump sum each year for the development programme in Nagaland; and
2. A grant-in-aid towards meeting the cost of administration. Proposals for the above grants shall be prepared and submitted by the Government of Nagaland to the Government of India for their approval. The Governor will have general responsibility for ensuring that the funds made available by the Government of India are expended for the purposes for which they have been approved.

12. Consolidation of Forest Areas:

The delegation wished the following to be placed on record: The Naga delegation discussed the question of the inclusion of the Reserve Forests and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Article 3 and 4 of the Constitution, prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one state to another.

13. Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Areas:

The delegation wished the following to be placed on record: The Naga leaders expressed the wish for the contiguous areas to join the new state. It was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Article 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the area of any state, but that it was not possible for the Government of India to make any commitment in this regard at this stage.

14. Formation of Separate Naga Regiment:

In order that the Naga people can fulfill their desire of playing a full role in the defense forces of India, the question of raising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.

15. Transitional Period:

- a) On reaching the political settlement with the Government of India, the Government of India will prepare a Bill for such amendment of the Constitution, as may be necessary, in order to implement the decision. The Draft Bill, before presentation to Parliament, will be shown to the delegates of the NPC.
- b) There shall be constituted an Interim Body with elected representatives from every tribe, to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the Interim Body will be 3 (three) years subject to re-election.

16. Inner Line Regulation:

Rules embodied in the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873, shall remain in force in Nagaland.

APPENDIX IV

THE SHILLONG ACCORD OF NOVEMBER 11, 1975 BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE UNDERGROUND NAGAS

1. The following representatives of the underground organisations met the Governor of Nagaland, Shri L.P. Singh representing the Government of India, at Shillong on 10th and 11th November, 1975.
 - a) Shri. I Temjenba
 - b) Shri. S. Dahru
 - c) Shri, Veenyiyl Rhakhu
 - d) Shri. Z. Ramyo
 - e) Shri. M Assa
 - f) Shri. Kevi Yalley

2. There were a series of four discussions. Some of the discussions were held with the Governor alone; at other, the Governor was assisted by the two Advisors for Nagaland, Shri. M. Ramunny, and Shri. H. Zopianga, and Shri. M.L. Kampani, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs. All the five members of the Liaison Committee, namely Rev. Longri Ao, Dr. M. Aram, Shri. L. Lungalang, Shri. Kenneth Kerhuo, and Shri. Lungshim Shaiza, participated in the discussions.

3. The following were the outcome of the discussions:
 - a. The representatives of the underground organisations conveyed their decision, of their own volition, to accept, without condition, the Constitution of India.

 - b. It was agreed that the arms, now underground, would be brought out and deposited at appointed places. Details for giving effect of this agreement will be worked out between them and representatives of the Government, the security forces, and members of the Liaison Committee.

- c. It was agreed that the representatives of the underground organisations should have reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussion for final settlement.

Dated Shillong, November 11, 1975

I. Temjenba

S. Dahru

Z. Ramyo

M. Assa

Kevi Yalley

On behalf of the Representatives of the

Underground Organisations

L. P. Singh

Representative of Govt, of India

APPENDIX V

NAGA RECONCILIATION MEETING

February 29, 2012, Dimapur, Nagaland

The Naga Reconciliation Meeting, called by the Forum for Naga Reconciliation and supported by the signatories of the "Covenant of Reconciliation", the "Naga Concordant", churches, Naga peoples and its tribe organizations, women organizations, student bodies, youth organizations, the Dobashis and the Gaon Buras and village leaders on February 29, 2012, at Dimapur, Nagaland, resolves the following:

Resolution 1:

ADMITS a long history of Naga conflict that has broken relationships, robbed identities, stripped dignity, and inflicted deep and inexpressible pain to the Naga people.

CONFESSES our own sinful silence and deeply regrettable history of implicit and complicit involvement leading to deepening divisions and suspicions.

ACKNOWLEDGES AND APPRECIATES those who have already publicly and formally apologized and sought forgiveness from each other and repented for their and their government's involvement in these bitter conflicts.

APPLAUDS those who have walked the Journey of Common Hope and stand for Naga Reconciliation. Although often left nameless, their story is truly powerful.

INVITES as always, all Naga national political groups to the Naga Reconciliation: A Journey of Common Hope, for a shared future. Naga Reconciliation will not be complete if all groups do not respond to the call for reconciliation.

CALLS on all Nagas and their neighbors to stand against pervasive elements, support endeavors to eradicate it, and responsibly take steps to create a common humanity.

WE RESOLVE to prayerfully join hands together and walk the path of Naga Reconciliation.

Resolution 2:

MAINTAIN ongoing concern about the armed conflicts and other human rights violation in Naga areas and for this the Naga people express abhorrence.

CALLS upon all armed confrontations to cease with immediate effect, from this day February 29, 2012, and to decisively take steps towards Naga reconciliation.

ENCOURAGES all Naga Church, civil organizations and the public to pursue its course to ensure cessation of armed confrontation among the Naga groups.

Resolution 3:

ACKNOWLEDGES the monumental role of the Naga National Council (NNC) and its contribution under the presidencies of Mr. T Aliba Imti, Mr. Mhondamo Kithan, Mr. Visar Angami and Dr. AZ Phizo, for upholding the historical and political rights of the Nagas and their lands.

RECORDS the commitment and contribution of other Naga national political groups and their leaders Mr. SS Khaplang, Gen (Retd) Khole Konyak, and Brig (Retd) S Singnya, in safeguarding the historical and political rights of the Naga people and their lands.

RECOGNIZES that sovereignty of the Naga people is at the core of the uniqueness of the Naga historical and political rights. This right was officially validated by the Government of India when it recognized the "Unique History and Situation of the Nagas" in Amsterdam on July 11, 2002. While acknowledging and putting into record the achievement of Mr. Isak Chishi Swu and Mr.Th Muivah for securing this recognition from the Government of India, this right belongs to the Nagas.

AFFIRMS that Nagas are a sovereign people who uphold the principle that sovereignty lies with the people and hence abide by the concept that the will of the people is supreme.

EMPHASIZES that the historical and political rights of the Naga should form the basis of any political solution. Founded on this premise, any negotiation process must focus on how Nagas can determine, safeguard and exercise their historical and political rights in a contemporary and inter-related world.

THEREFORE CALLS upon all Naga national political groups and the people henceforth, to jointly pursue this common cause of realizing and determining our Naga historical and political rights.

Resolution 4:

OFFER sincere thanks to the NBCC, other Church bodies, the Naga Hoho, ENPO, tribe Hohos, GB's and DB's and all other women, students, village organizations for their tireless support to the Naga Reconciliation process.

EXPRESSES sincere gratitude to the concerned Nagaland State Government for logistic support for the cause of peace and reconciliation.

GIVES THANKS to all the people living in Naga areas and our neighbors in supporting *JustPeace* and Reconciliation in the land.

APPRECIATES the GOI for its commitment to solve the Indo-Naga political matter without further delay through the path of non-violence.

Recommendation:

EXPRESSES concern for the next step in the Journey of Common Hope and therefore, the FNR recognizes the urgency of all Naga national political groups and the people to render support to the Naga reconciliation process. In that spirit, we therefore recommend as a matter of urgency the formation of a new expert body to consult, provide and ensure all intellectual, spiritual, logistic and technical expertise necessary towards the next step of the Journey of Common Hope for a shared common future in all urgency and concern.

IMPLORES upon all Naga groups to join "Naga Reconciliation: A Journey of Common Hope" and to ensure that the reconciliation process become truly inclusive and liberative in its implementation.

APPENDIX VI

INDIAN PRIME MINISTER NARENDRA MODI'S SPEECH AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT WITH THE NSCN (IM) ON AUGUST 3, 2015 AT NEW DELHI

Shri Rajnath Singhji, Home Minister,

Shri Muivah and all senior leaders of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland.

My warm greetings to all those present here today on this historic occasion!

I wish that Shri Isak Swu, who played a leading role in reaching this agreement, was present today. He could not be here because of poor health. I wish him speedy recovery. Just as his contribution to this agreement has been huge, his guidance will remain crucial in the times ahead.

The Naga political issue had lingered for six decades, taking a huge toll on generations of our people.

I sincerely thank Shri Isak Swu, Shri Muivah and other Naga leaders for their wisdom and courage, for their efforts and cooperation, which has resulted in this historic agreement.

I have the deepest admiration for the great Naga people for their extraordinary support to the peace efforts. I compliment the National Socialist Council of Nagaland for maintaining the ceasefire agreement for nearly two decades, with a sense of honour that defines the great Naga people.

My relationship with the North East has been deep. I have travelled to Nagaland on many occasions. I have been deeply impressed by the rich and diverse culture and the unique way of life of the Naga people. It makes not only our nation, but also the world a more beautiful place.

The Naga courage and commitment are legendary. Equally, they represent the highest levels of humanism. Their system of village administration and grass-root democracy should be an inspiration for the rest of the country.

The respect for the infirm and elders, the status of women in society, sensitivity to Mother Nature, and the emphasis on social equality is a natural way of Naga life. These are values that should constitute the foundation of the society that we all seek.

Unfortunately, the Naga problem has taken so long to resolve because we did not understand each other. It is a legacy of the British Rule. The colonial rulers had, by design, kept the Nagas isolated and insulated. They propagated terrible myths about Nagas in the rest of the country.

They deliberately suppressed the reality that the Nagas were an extremely evolved society. They also spread negative ideas about the rest of India amongst Naga people. This was part of the well known policy of divide and rule of the colonial rulers.

It is one of the tragedies of Independent India that we have lived with this legacy. There were not many like Mahatma Gandhi, who loved the Naga people and was sensitive to their sentiments. We have continued to look at each other through the prism of false perceptions and old prejudices.

The result was that connectivity between Nagaland and the rest of India remained weak across this divide. Economic development and progress in Nagaland remained modest; and, durable peace was elusive.

Since becoming Prime Minister last year, peace, security and economic transformation of North East has been amongst my highest priorities. It is also at the heart of my foreign policy, especially the "Act East" Policy.

I have been deeply concerned about resolving the Naga issue. Soon after entering office, I appointed an interlocutor for talks with the Naga leaders, who not only understood the Naga people as also their aspirations and expectations, but has great affection and respect for them.

Given the importance of this initiative, I asked my office to supervise these talks; and I personally kept in touch with the progress. I want to especially thank my senior colleague, Home Minister Shri Rajnath Singhji, whose support and advice was invaluable in bringing us here today.

Today's agreement is a shining example of what we can achieve when we deal with each other in a spirit of equality and respect, trust and confidence; when we seek to understand concerns and try to address aspirations; when we leave the path of dispute and take the high road of dialogue. It is a lesson and an inspiration in our troubled world.

Today, we mark not merely the end of a problem, but the beginning of a new future. We will not only try to heal wounds and resolve problems, but also be your partner as you restore your pride and prestige.

Today, to the leaders and the people of Nagaland, I say this: You will not only build a bright future for Nagaland, but your talents, traditions and efforts will also contribute to making the nation stronger, more secure, more inclusive and more prosperous. You are also the guardians of our eastern frontiers and our gateway to the world beyond.

Equally, the rest of the nation will join you in shaping a future of dignity, opportunity and prosperity for the Naga people.

Today, as you begin a new glorious chapter with a sense of pride, self-confidence and self-respect, I join the nation in saluting you and conveying our good wishes to the Naga people.

Thank you.

APPENDIX VII

GENERAL SECRETARY OF NSCN, TH. MUIVAH'S SPEECH DURING THE SIGNING CEREMONY OF FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT WITH THE GOI ON AUGUST 3, 2015 AT NEW DELHI

I thank God for this momentous occasion. On behalf of the Chairman Mr. Isak Chishi Swu and the Naga people kindly allow me to begin by saying that Naga people have great respect for Mahatma Gandhi because he understood and respected the Nagas when the Naga delegation met him for the first time in 1947. Unfortunately, after his demise, the Indian state resorted to military might to crush the Nagas. Armed confrontation followed inflicting heavy losses on both the parties.

After a long fighting, Mr. Narasimha Rao, the then Prime Minister of India had the courage to admit that it is political issue and should be solved through political negotiations. We appreciated his wisdom and accepted the Ceasefire Agreement to start political negotiation in 1997. We gave our commitment to him that NSCN shall leave no stone unturned to find a negotiated amicable settlement between the two parties.

The Nagas were very happy when the Government of India under the leadership of the then Prime Minister of India Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, declared the recognition of the "unique history and situation of Nagas" in 2002. We Nagas appreciated the statesmanship of Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee and we gave our commitment that if the Government of India would understand the reality of the Nagas, the Nagas will appreciate the reality of India even ten times more and we never back-track from our commitments.

Today, under the visionary leadership of honorable Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi, we have come close to understand each other and have worked out a new relationship between the two parties on the basis of this uniqueness. We appreciate your wisdom, your leadership and your vision to build an enduring relationship between the Nagas and Indians, The Nagas will ever remember you for your statesmanship and your profound understanding of the Nagas with warm heart for them. Beginning from now the challenges will be great so also the responsibilities.

The obligations to meet the needs of the people shall be paramount for both the parties to make this historic Endeavour more meaningful. Let me also assure you that Nagas can still come closer if their rights are respected. On behalf of the Naga people allow me to assure you once again that Nagas can be trustworthy and take into your confidence for any policy in the Northeast and beyond the frontiers.

God bless you and your leadership.

Kuknalim.

APPENDIX VIII

Chronological order of the Peace talks happened between the Indian Government and the Naga Leaders

Sl.No	Date	Place	Name of Participants
1.	June 12, 1995	Paris-France	Indian representatives: 1) P.V. Narashimha Rao, Indian Prime Minister NSCN representatives: 1) Chairman Isak Chishi Swu 2) General secretary Th.Muivah
2.	September 1995	New York	Indian representatives: 1) Verma, Principal secretary to the Prime Minister of India

			<p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Chairman Isak Chishi Swu 2) General secretary Th.Muivah
3.	November 17, 1996	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Rajesh Pilot, Former union Minister <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) General secretary Th.Muivah
4.	February 3, 1997	Zurich	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Deve Gowda, Indian Prime Minister <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Chairman Isak Chishi Swu 2) General secretary Th.Muivah
5.	May 26, 1997	Geneva	<p>Indian representatives:</p>

			<p>1) Satish Chandra, principal secretary to the Prime Minister of India</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Chairman Isak Chishi Swu</p> <p>2) Vice-chairman Khodao Yanthan</p> <p>3) General secretary Th. Muivah</p>
6.	July 5-7, 1997	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) N.N Vorah, principal secretary to the Prime Minister of India</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) General secretary Th. Muivah</p>
7.	May 25-26, 1998	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Swaraj kaushal, special Emissary to the prime minister of India</p>

			<p>2) Shyamal Dutta, Ib Director</p> <p>3) S.Kumar, Joint Director IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) General secretary Th.Muivah</p> <p>2) Apam Muivah, coordinator, Alee office</p> <p>3) Th.Thuba, Joint secretary, Alee office</p>
8.	June 26, 1988	Zurich	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Swaraj Kaushal, Special Emissary to the prime minister of India</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) General secretary Th.Muivah</p>
9.	September 18, 1998	Amsterdam	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Swaraj Kaushal,</p>

			<p>Special Emissary to the prime minister of India</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) General secretary Th.Muivah 2) Vikiye Sumi, joint secretary, Alee Affairs 3) Raiyilung, PA to Th.Muivah
10.	October 30, 1998	Paris	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) A.B. Vajpayee, Prime Minister of India 2) Swaraj Kaushal, Special Emissary to the prime minister of India 3) Brajesh Misrah, principal secretary to Prime minister 4) Shyamal Dutta, IB Director 5) S.Kumar, Joint Director, IB <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Chairman Isak Chishi Swu

			<p>2) Vice-chairman Khodao Yanthan</p> <p>3) General secretary Th.Muivah</p>
11.	March 24-27, 1999	Amsterda m	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Swaraj Kaushal, Special Emissary to the prime minister of India</p> <p>2) Shyamal Dutta, IB Director</p> <p>3) S.Kumar, Joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) General secretary Th.Muivah</p> <p>2) Dr. K. Timothy, Deputy secretary, Alee Affairs</p>
12.	July 23, 1999	Amsterda m	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) Shyamal Dutta, IB</p>

			<p>Director</p> <p>3) S.Kumar, Joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) General secretary Th.Muivah</p> <p>2) Dr. K. Timothy, Deputy secretary, Alee Affairs</p> <p>3) Raiyulung PA to Th.Muivah</p>
13.	November 12-13, 1999	Amsterdam	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minister</p> <p>2) S.Kumar, Joint Director, IB</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Chairman Isak Chishi Swu</p> <p>2) General secretary Th.Muivah</p> <p>3) Dr.K. Timothy, Deputy Secretary Alee Affairs</p>

14.	August 29-30, 2000	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minister 2) Shyamal Dutta, Director IB <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Rh.Raising, special Emissary to the Naga Prime Minister(Ato Kilonser) 2) Meden Jamir, member Steering Committee 3) K.Hurray, Education Kilonser (minister) 4) Apam Muivah, coordinator, Alec Affairs 5) Dr.K. Timothy, Deputy Secretary, Alec Affairs
15.	October 27-29, 2000	Amsterdam	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minister 2) Shyamal Dutta, IB Director

			<p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Lt.Gen (Retd) V.S. Atem, convener steering committee</p> <p>2) Dr. K. Timothy, Deputy Secretary, Alee Affairs</p>
16.	May 22, 2001	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Th. Muivah Chief negotiator</p> <p>2) Rh. Raising, steering committee member</p> <p>3) Vikiye sumi, Tatar</p> <p>4) Col. Ningkhan shimray</p> <p>5) Imcha longkumer, Under secretary</p>

17.	June 13-14, 2001	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter 2) K.P Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB NSCN <p>representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Th.Muivah, chief Negotiator 2) Rh.Raising, steering committee member
18..	July 23-24, 2001	Amsterdam	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter 2) K.P Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB NSCN <p>representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Th.Muivah, chief Negotiator 2) Rh.Raising, steering committee member

19.	August 4-6, 2001	Amsterdam	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter 2) K.P Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Th. Muivah, Chief Negotiator 2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem Convener steering committee 3) Rh.Raising, steering committee
20.	December 11,2001	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter 2) K.P Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB <p>NSCN</p>

			<p>representatives:</p> <p>1)Th.Muivah, chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Rh.Raising, steering committee member</p> <p>3) Col.Ningkgan Shimray</p> <p>4) Imcha Longkumer, under secretary</p>
21.	February 19-20, 2002	Kaula lampur	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) K.P Singh, IB Director</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN</p> <p>representatives:</p> <p>1)Th.Muivah, chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Imcha Longkumer, under secretary</p>
22.	May 3, 2002	Chiangmai	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to</p>

			<p>Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) K.P Singh, IB Director</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN</p> <p>representatives:</p> <p>1)Th.Muivah, chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Rh.Raising, steering committee member</p> <p>3) Col.Ningkgan Shimray</p> <p>4) Imcha Longkumer, under secretary</p>
23.	July 10-11, 2002	Amsterdam	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) K.P Singh, IB Director</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN</p> <p>representatives:</p> <p>1)Th.Muivah, chief</p>

			<p>Negotiator</p> <p>2) Rh.Raising, steering committee member</p> <p>3) Imcha Longkumer, under secretary</p>
24.	September 21-22, 2002	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) K.P Singh, IB Director</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1)Th.Muivah, chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Rh.Raising, steering committee member</p> <p>3) Col.Ningkan Shimray</p> <p>4) Imcha Longkumer, under secretary</p>

25.	November 18, 2002	Milan Italy	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K. Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minister 2) K.P. Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Th. Muivah, chief Negotiator 2) Rh. Raising, steering committee member 3) Imcha Longkumer, under secretary
26.	January 21-23, 2003	New Delhi	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K. Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minister 2) K.P. Singh, IB Director 3) Ramesh Jain, Secretary Border Management 4) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB

			<p>NSCN representatives: 1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator 2) A.puni, steering committee Executive Member 3) Rh.Raising, steering committee Executive Member 4) Samson Jajo, Principal Secretary 6) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secretary</p>
27.	April 9, 2003	The Hague	<p>Indian representatives: 1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter 2) K.P Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives: 1)Th.Muivah, chief Negotiator 2) Rh.Raising,</p>

			steering committee Executive Member 3) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secretary 4) Captain. Raiyulung
28.	May 23, 2003	Bangkok	Indian representatives: 1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter 2) K.P Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB NSCN representatives: 1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator 2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Atem, Convener steering committee 3) Rh.Raising, Convener steering committee 4) A.K. Lungalang, Kilo Kilonser 5) Imcha Lonkumer, Deputy secretary

29.	July 16-17, 2003	Bangkok	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) K. Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minister 2) K.P. Singh, IB Director 3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Th. Muivah, Chief Negotiator 2) A. Puni, steering committee Executive member 3) Rh. Raising, steering committee Executive member 4) Zarsie Nyuthe, steering committee Executive member 5) Tokim, steering committee member 6) A.K. Lungalang, Kilo Kilonser, 7) Q. Tuccu, Keya Kilonser. 8) T.T. Among, Deputy Kilonser (Chaplee) 9) Imcha Lonkumer,
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			Deputy secretary
30.	September 18, 2003	Amsterdam	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) K. Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minister</p> <p>2) K.P. Singh, IB Director</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Th. Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) A. Puni, steering committee Executive member</p> <p>3) Rh. Raising, steering committee Executive member</p> <p>4) Zarsie Nyuthe, steering committee Executive member</p> <p>5) A.K. Lungalang, Kilo Kilonser,</p> <p>6) Q. Tuccu, Keya Kilonser.</p> <p>7) Imcha Lonkumer, Deputy secretary</p>

31.	June 23, 2004	The Hague	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1)K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) K.P Singh, IB Director</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership</p> <p>3) Samson Jajo, Secretary to collective leadership</p> <p>4) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secretary</p>
32.	July 30, 2004	Chiangmai	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) K.Padmanabhaiah, Special Emissary to Prime Minsiter</p> <p>2) K.P Singh, IB Director</p> <p>3) Ajit Lal, joint Director, IB</p>

			<p>NSCN</p> <p>representatives:</p> <p>1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership</p> <p>3) Qhevihe chishi, convener steering committee</p> <p>4) Major (retd) Johny Dibun, steering Committee executive member</p> <p>5) Tongmeth Wangnao, Education kilonser (minister)</p> <p>6) Samson Jajo, Secretary to the collective leadership</p> <p>7) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secretary</p>
33.	February 3, 2005	New Delhi	<p>Indian</p> <p>representatives:</p> <p>1) Shivraj Patil, union Home minister</p> <p>2) Oscar Fernandes, Minister of state</p> <p>3) Prithviraj Chauhan, minister of state (PMO)</p> <p>4) S. Ragupathy,</p>

			<p>minister of state (Home)</p> <p>5) M.K Narayanan, National Security Advisor</p> <p>6) K.Padmanbhaiah</p> <p>7) E.S. L Narasimhan, Director IB</p> <p>8) Dhirendra Singh, Home secretary</p> <p>9) Ajit Lal, Joint Director IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) 1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership</p> <p>3) Qhevihe chishi, convener steering committee</p> <p>4) A.P Shimrah, secretary steering committee</p> <p>5) Dr.N.Sonba, Member Steering committee</p> <p>6) Rh.Raising, , kilo kilonser</p> <p>7) Q. Tuccu, chaplee</p>
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			<p>(finance) kilonser</p> <p>8) A.Z.Jami, MIP kilonser</p> <p>9) Tongmeth Wangnao, education kilonser</p> <p>10) Angnaikham Makunga, Kilonser Art and culture and Tourism</p> <p>11) Samson Jajo, Secreatry to the collective Leadership</p>
34.	February 4, 2005	New Delhi	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Oscar Fernandes, Minister of state Delegation Leader</p> <p>2) Prithviraj Chauhan, minister of state</p> <p>3) S. Ragupathy, minister of state (Home)</p> <p>4) K.Padmanbhaiah</p> <p>5) Dhirendra Singh, Home secretary</p> <p>6) Ajit Lal, Joint Director IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p>

			<p>2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership</p> <p>3) Qhevihe chishi, convener steering committee</p> <p>4) A.P Shimrah, secretary steering committee</p> <p>5) Dr.N.Sonba, Member Steering committee</p> <p>6) Rh.Raising, , kilo kilonser</p> <p>7) Q. Tuccu, chaplee (finance) kilonser</p> <p>8) A.Z.Jami, MIP kilonser</p> <p>9) Tongmeth Wangnao, education kilonser</p> <p>10) Angnaikham Makunga, Kilonser Art and culture and Tourism</p> <p>11) Samson Jajo, Secreatry to the collective Leadership</p> <p>12) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secretary</p>
35.	February	New Delhi	Indian

	10, 2005		<p>representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Oscar Fernandes, Minister of state Delegation Leader 2) Prithviraj Chauhan, minister of state 3) S. Ragupathy, minister of state (Home) 4) K.Padmanbhaiah 5) Dhirendra Singh, Home secretary 6) Ajit Lal, Joint Director IB <p>NSCN</p> <p>representatives:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator 2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership 3) A.P Shimrah, secretary steering committee 4) Tongmeth Wangnao, education kilonser 5) Samson Jajo, Secreatry to the collective Leadership 6) Imcha Longkumer,
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			Deputy Secretary
36.	February 17, 2005	New Delhi	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Oscar Fernandes, Minister of state Delegation Leader</p> <p>2) Prithviraj Chauhan, minister of state</p> <p>3) S. Ragupathy, minister of state (Home)</p> <p>4) K.Padmanbhaiah</p> <p>5) Dhirendra Singh, Home secretary</p> <p>6) Ajit Lal, Joint Director IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership</p> <p>3) A.P Shimrah, secretary steering committee</p> <p>4) Tongmeth Wangnao, education kilonser</p> <p>5) Samson Jajo,</p>

			<p>Secretary to the collective Leadership</p> <p>6) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secretary</p>
37.	February 28, 2005	New Delhi	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Oscar Fernandes, Minister of state Delegation Leader</p> <p>2) Prithviraj Chauhan, minister of state</p> <p>3) S. Ragupathy, minister of state (Home)</p> <p>4) K.Padmanbhaiah</p> <p>5) Dharendra Singh, Home secretary</p> <p>6) Ajit Lal, Joint Director IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership</p> <p>3) A.P Shimrah, secretary steering</p>

			<p>committee</p> <p>4) T.S Thumpa, member Steering Committee</p> <p>5) Zhevitho Kaziri, member Steering committee</p> <p>6) Tongmeth Wangnao, Education kilonser</p> <p>7) Kevi Paulous, Deputy kilo kilonser</p> <p>8) K. Hothrong, Deputy Kilonser</p> <p>9) Samson Jajo, Secretary to collective leadership</p> <p>10) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secreatry</p>
38.	March 9, 2005	New Delhi	<p>Indian representatives:</p> <p>1) Oscar Fernandes, Minister of state Delegation Leader</p> <p>2) Prithviraj Chauhan, minister of state</p> <p>3) S. Ragupathy, minister of state (Home)</p> <p>4) K.Padmanbhaiah</p>

			<p>5) Ajit Lal, Joint Director IB</p> <p>NSCN representatives:</p> <p>1) Th.Muivah, Chief Negotiator</p> <p>2) Lt.Gen (retd) V.S Athem, Emissary to collective leadership</p> <p>3) A.P Shimrah, secretary steering committee</p> <p>4) Major (retd) Johny Dilbung, Executive member steering committee</p> <p>5) T.S Thumpa, member Steering Committee</p> <p>6) Zhevitho Kaziri, member Steering committee</p> <p>7) Tongmeth Wangnao, Education kilonser</p> <p>8) Major Gen. H.S Rmasan, Longvibu</p> <p>9) venizo Zholia, Dy. Kilo kilonser</p> <p>10) M.Longshen, Dy.Keya kilonser</p> <p>11) Samson Jajo,</p>
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			Secretary to collective leadership 12) N.Raikham, secretary Morung 13) Imcha Longkumer, Deputy Secretary, Morung
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Questionnaire

1. Is Nagas' Demand for Autonomy helpful to the Nagas in general?
2. Can Nagas economically stand strong on their own after becoming autonomous nation?
3. What are the different views of political parties on the Nagas' demand for Autonomy?
4. What is the generational attitude towards Nagas' movement for Autonomy?
5. Can Industrial Revolution take place in Nagaland after becoming an Autonomous Nation?
6. Can Nagas globally compete with rest of the world in every field if Nagas become an Autonomous Nation?
7. Are all the Nagas in general demanding for Autonomy?
8. What are the contributions of educated Nagas towards Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?
9. What are the contributions of Naga Civil Bodies towards Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?
10. What are the contributions of Naga Factional groups towards Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?
11. What are the contributions by Nagaland Baptist church council (NBCC) towards Nagas' Demand for Autonomy from the religious perspective?
12. What are the views of Naga Villagers on Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?
13. What are the views of Nagas living in the neighbouring states of Nagaland on Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?
14. What are the views of Nagas living overseas on Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?
15. Will the Nagas living in the neighbouring states of Nagaland unite with the rest of the Nagas in Nagaland after becoming an Autonomous nation?
16. Is Indian Government really trying their best to bring a permanent solution for the Nagas?
17. Are Nagas fighting for Autonomy or against employment crisis?
18. Is Nagas' Demand for Autonomy a reality or a stereotypical movement?

19. Is Naga solution becoming a political agenda?
20. Are the Nagas in dilemma over the Nagas' demand for Autonomy?
21. What are the problems hampering the Nagas' Demand for Autonomy?
22. If Naga factional groups were to be united, can Nagas' Demand for Autonomy become a reality?
23. Is the ruling party of Indian Government boosting up the Naga political issue?
24. Does Framework Agreement signed between NSCN (IM) and the Government of India (GOI) recognizes certain rights of the Nagas?
25. If Nagas were to give up on the Demand for Autonomy, Can Nagas and Indians co-exist peacefully as one?
26. What are the reasons why Naga factional groups cannot come together under one umbrella?
27. Are Nagas prepared enough to have their own Nation?
28. Will Nagas be able to afford to have its own nation economically without India after becoming Autonomous Nation?
29. Do you think the Naga issue has become more complex due to the rise of various political parties and numerous changing natures of Political leaders in the state?
30. Are Nagas lacks of strong and capable leader who can lead the Nagas in the future?
31. What are the reasons for the hidden Framework between GOI and NSCN (IM)? Why has the GOI done the agreement only with NSCN (IM) without involving other factional groups?