

**A STUDY OF EMERGENCE AND ROLE OF REGIONAL POLITICAL
PARTIES IN NAGALAND**

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO NAGALAND UNIVERSITY
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

**Submitted by
H. KUGHAKA SUMI**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NAGALAND UNIVERSITY
LUMAMI
NAGALAND
2015**

NAGALAND UNIVERSITY
HEADQUARTERS: LUMAMI

2015

I, H. Kughaka Sumi, hereby declare that the subject matter of this thesis, **A Study of Emergence and Role of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland**, is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form basis of the award of my previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university/institute.

This is being submitted to the Nagaland University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

H. Kughaka Sumi
(Research Scholar)

Prof. Arun Kumar Singh
Head

Prof. H. John Sema
Supervisor

Acknowledgement

First of all, I thank almighty God for his blessings and my special gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor Prof. H. John Sema, Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami, for his valuable guidance, suggestions and help during the course of my research work.

I would like to thank Prof. Arun Kumar Singh, Head, Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami, for his valuable advice and to all the faculty members and non-teaching staff's of the Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all the persons that I had interviewed, field guides, particularly to, Mr. Tohoto Sema and Mr. Howoto Sema for availing me their vehicle throughout my field work and to all the respondents without whom my works would not have been completed.

I also take this opportunity to thank the librarians and office staff of Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami, Bangalore University, Kerala University, Nagaland Legislative Assembly Library, Nagaland State Library and Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

I am grateful to Nagaland University, Lumami, for providing me UGC Non-NET Fellowship during my research work.

Lastly but not the least, I would also like to thank my parents and family members for their constant prayer and moral support and to all my Research Scholar friends for their support in completion of my thesis.

May God bless them all.

H. Kughaka Sumi
(Research Scholar)

This Ph.D. Thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents

Mr. Hotoyi Sumi & Mrs. H. Khekhuli Sumi

Abbreviation

AGP: Asom Gana Parishad

APHLC: All Parties Hill Leaders Conference

DAN: Democratic Alliance of Nagaland

DLP: Democratic Labour Party

DPN: Democratic Party of Nagaland

DK: Dravida Kazhagam

DMK: Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

CCP: Consultative Committee of Peace

FGN: Federal Government of Nagaland

FPM: Federal Party of Manipur

GB: Gaon Bura

JLF: Joint Legislature Forum

MNF: Mizo National Front

MPP: Manipur People's Party

NBCC: Nagaland Baptist Church Council

NCN: National Convention of Nagaland

NDM: Nationalist Democratic Movement

NHTA: Naga Hills Tuensang Area

NHDTC: Naga Hills District Tribal Council

NNC: Naga National Council

NNDP: Naga National Democratic Party

NNO: Naga Nationalist Organisation

NNP: Naga National Party

NPC: Naga People's Convention

NPC: Nagaland People's Council

NPP: Nagaland People's Party

PPA: People's Party of Arunachal

NSCN (I-M): National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muviah)

NTC: Nagaland Tribal Council

TDP: Telugu Desam Party

UDF: United Democratic Front

UDF (P): United Democratic Front (Progressive)

UFN: United Front of Nagaland

ULP: United Legislature Party

VDB: Village Development Board

Contents	Page
1. Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Regional Political Parties: A Theoretical Perspective	
2. Chapter 2: Evolution of the State of Nagaland, The Emergence of Political Parties in Nagaland	37
3. Chapter 3: Factors for the Emergence of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland	77
4. Chapter 4: Role of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland: A Critical Appraisal	110
5. Chapter 5: Findings and Conclusion	155
6. Appendices	168
7. Bibliography	198

Chapter 1: Introduction

Regional Political Parties: A Theoretical Perspective

Introduction

Nagaland one of the states under the Indian Union is located in the extreme north-eastern region of India, with Kohima as its capital and covers an area of 16,579 sq.km. The state has common boundaries with Myanmar in the east, state of Assam in the west, Arunachal Pradesh and a part of Assam in the north and with Manipur in the south¹.

Earlier Nagaland was a part of undivided state of Assam as Naga Hills district. The state of Nagaland was created by an act of Parliament in 1962 and was inaugurated on 1st December 1963 by the President of India, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan as the sixteen state of the Indian Union². The strength of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly was fixed to 60 (sixty) members and 1 (one) representative each to both house of the Indian Parliament i.e. Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The election to the first state legislative assembly was held from 10th to 16th January 1964³. It was a straight contest between the two political parties, the Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) and Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), both these parties were regional in character but the NNO party was considered as an associate party of the Indian National Congress (INC). The NNO party emerged victorious and formed the government with Mr. P. Shilu Ao as the first Chief Minister of Nagaland on 25th January 1964⁴.

¹ . A. Lanunungsang and Athungo Ovung (2012), **Nagaland: Land of Festival**, Heritage Publishing House, Dimapur, p.1

² . Aosenba (2001), **The Naga Resistance Movement: Prospect of Peace and Armed Conflict**, Regency Publications, New Delhi, p.67

³ . **Nagaland: 25 Years of Progress and Development (1988)**, Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.3

⁴ . **Nagaland is Born**, Directorate of Information & Publicity, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p.116

Prior to the creation of state, in 1957, the Naga people had also participated in the electoral process and had sent 3 (three) representatives to the Assam Legislative Assembly but it was a representatives of Nagas from the Naga Hills since, there was no political party at that time. The political party emerged in Nagaland⁵ only after it got statehood in 1963. Another major political development in Nagaland politics took place in the year 1976, when the Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) party merged with the Indian National Congress (INC). This merger brought the state of Nagaland and Nagas in contact with the mainstream politics, hence the Nagaland politics got the national outlook. The party system that had been in existence in Nagaland is a bi-party system with Indian National Congress (INC) party on the one hand and the regional political party on the other.

Today, the nomenclature of the regional political party in Nagaland is Naga People's Front (NPF). From the Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) in 1963 to Naga People's Front (NPF) of today, the party has undergone numerous changes in its nomenclature to suit the demanding situation of different periods, but the party symbol, motto, principles, aims and objectives had remained unchanged⁶.

There had been lots of work done on the Nagas but it had been mainly concentrated on its origin, society and Naga National Movement. Only little work had been done on the emergence and role of regional political parties in Nagaland. Hence, an in-depth analysis on the emergence, functioning and working of regional political parties in Nagaland was felt very much needed, for which I had proposed my

⁵ . B.N. Agrawal (1997), "***The Political Scene of Nagaland: The Role of Political Parties***", in Verinder Grover (ed), ***Electoral System, Behaviour and Elections***, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi, p.582

⁶ . Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), ***Lest We Forget***, N.V Press, Kohima, p.15

Research problem as, “A Study of Emergence and Role of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland”.

Theoretical Framework

Political Party: A Conceptual Analysis

The term “Political Parties” emerged in the nineteenth century with the development of representative institutions and the expansion of the suffrage in Europe and the United States. It is a designated organisation, whose goal is to capture the public office in electoral competition with one or more other parties⁷. A political party is a group or would be officials who are linked with a sizeable group of citizens into an organisation, a chief object of this organisation is to ensure that its officials attain power or are maintained in power⁸. Burke had defined political party as a group of men organised for promoting the common interest through their endeavour on certain agreed principles⁹. The political party also performs several other functions like, mobilising popular participation in politics, elite recruitment and representing sections of the public but winning elections and controlling the machinery of state power are its paramount¹⁰ objective.

In a democracy, political parties hold a very important place. It had become essential to the democratic achievement of choosing leaders and communicating the public

⁷ . David L. Sills (ed) (1972), **International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences**, Vol. 11, The McMillan Company & The Free Press, New York, p.428

⁸ . W. Phillips Shively (2005), **Power and Choice: An Introduction to Political Science**, McGraw-Hill, New York, p.247

⁹ . Hari Hara Das (1998), **Political System of India**, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, p.307

¹⁰ . Barrie Axford, Gary K. Browning, Richard Huggins and Ben Rosamond, etal, (2002), **Politics: An Introduction**, Routledge, New York, p.360

interest to the party leaders and government¹¹. It represents the principal instrument through which the segments of the population compete to secure control of elective institutions and through them to exercise predominant influence over public policies¹². By cultivating public opinion and educating the citizen about the political issues and their consequent responsibilities, the political parties also try to win mass support and become a connecting link between government and public opinion¹³.

The working of a political parties enormously depend upon the way they have evolved their status as the ruling or opposition party, their support base, leadership styles, traditions, their geographical location and spread¹⁴. According to political sociologist, they considered the political party as essentially a social group and for which Max Weber has called, “an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment”¹⁵.

Thus, political party is a group of people whose primary interest is to capture power and today the political parties had become a channel of communication between the people and government.

¹¹ . Era Sezhiyan (August 12-18, 2005), “**Political Parties in Federal India**”, *Mainstream*, Vol.XLIII, No.33, Perspective Publications, New Delhi, p.15

¹² . Joseph Lapalombara and Jeffery Anderson (1992), “**Political Parties**”, in Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan (eds), **Encyclopedia of Government and politics Volume 1**, Routledge, London, p. 393

¹³ . C.P. Bhambhri (1991), **Political Process in India**, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, p. 69

¹⁴ . Zoya Hasan (2010), “**Political Parties**”, in Niraja Gopal Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds), **The Oxford Companion to Politics in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.248

¹⁵ . Amal Kumar Mukhopadhyay (1997), **Political Sociology**, K.P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta, p.140

Regional Political Party: Evolution and Context

Given the phrase region as a geographical term, a regional political party refers to any political party at the district, provincial or regional level of a country propagating for the preservation of certain specific regional interests as differentiated from the general national interest. Which interest is expressed constitutionally through demands ranging from an aspiration for a separate cultural identity, a separate political identity, or a different level of socio-economic development, to an aspiration for environment or geo-political detachment¹⁶. Within a nation state when an area develops a consciousness of its customs and ideals and possesses a sense of identity distinct from the rest of the country, it may begin to assert itself and an ideology of regionalism may emerge¹⁷. It may also connote of mental or psychological aspect, which is born out of continued economic backwardness, growing consciousness in a distinct community about its own language and culture, leading to the rising sense of their ethnic identity in the midst of the majority people living around in a larger area¹⁸.

Regionalism may also serve as a mechanism for preserving the language and culture of the area and for increasing assertion of the states' rights as opposed to Union Government powers¹⁹. Hence, regional political party emerged out of regional consciousness, which they regard themselves as distinct from others. They are

¹⁶ . B. Pakem (1992), "***The Hill State People's Democratic Party of Meghalaya***", in L.S. Gassah (ed), **Regional Political Parties: In North East India**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, pp.103-104

¹⁷ . A.K. Baruah (1993), "***A Note on the Impact of Regionalism on Parliamentary Democracy in India***", in B.Pakem (ed), **Regionalism in India**, Har-Anand Publications, Delhi, p.60

¹⁸ . P.C. Biswas (1992), "***Regionalism and Regional Political Parties in North-East India: A Case of Meghalaya***", in L.S. Gassah (ed), **Regional Political Parties: In North East India**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, p.96

¹⁹ . R.L. Walli (1993), "***Context of Regionalism in India: Anti-People Development Strategy***", in B.Pakem (ed), **Regionalism in India**, Har-Anand Publications, Delhi, p.37

formed to preserve and protect their own interest and by its very nature a regional party restrict its area of action to a single region, which in the prevailing Indian situation means state²⁰.

Emergence of Regional Political Parties in India

India is a plural society, where one can find the presence of large diversity in language, customs, traditions, culture and religion among the people of India that had been living in co-existence with each other, making India the land of 'unity in diversity'. However, on the other hand, there had been an increase from various ethnic groups for more autonomy from the centre to preserve and protect their own distinct identity. The number of political forces based on such ideologies has of late been increasing in India. So much so that in certain areas they had been able to control state legislatures and others are launching a strong regional movements²¹.

Within three years from the grant of the constitution, India faced its first serious federal crisis. The natural tensions between the parts and the whole, ethnic, caste-based and religious communities surfaced with renewed vigour. The floodgates of linguilism had opened, challenging the unitary intent of the founding leaders. The beginning of a fast unto death by Telugu nationalist leader Potti Sreeramulu on 15th December 1952, over the issue of a separate state for Telugu-speaking people became a launch pad for 'political regionalism' in India, which has influenced or changed the course of politics and regionalism in our country. Bowing to the popular pressure, the Congress government created a separate state for Telugu people-Andhra

²⁰ . K.R. Bombwall (1988), "*Regional Parties in Indian Politics: A Preview*", in S. Bhatnagar and Pradeep Kumar (eds), *Regional Political Parties in India*, Ess Ess Publications, New Delhi, p.4.

²¹ . A.K. Baruah (1993), Op.cit, p.60.

Pradesh²². With the creation of Andhra Pradesh state on linguistic basis marked the beginning of the politics of regionalism in India.

There had also been a powerful intellectual movement for autonomy in the Dravidian south, mainly in the old Madras state. In continuation of a movement for the rights of non-Brahmins against the monopolistic hold of Brahmins on administrative and political positions started by Dravidian Association and the South Indian Liberal Federation (the Justice Party) in 1917. The militants Tamils set up in 1944, the Dravida Kazhagam (DK), which called upon the Dravidian people of South India “to guard against a transfer of power from the British to the Aryans”. It asked for a separate South Indian state and for a complete separation from the Indian Union. However, with the increasing Tamilian character in the Congress party and the growth of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) as a strong political party formed in 1949, had chastened the militant posture of the DMK and they decided to win power through ballot box²³. In 1967, after the successful protest, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) became the first regional party to win power through ballot box²⁴.

Besides this, the regional political party like the Shiv Sena was formed in 1960's as an anti-migrant movement in Maharashtra. The Akali Dal in Punjab, which had arose as an offshoot of the Sikh Gurdwara Reform Movement of 1920's, had since been

²² . Maya Chadda (2013), ***“Integration Through Internal Reorganization: Containing Ethnic Conflict in India”***, in Sudha Pai (ed), ***Handbook of Politics in Indian States: Regions, Parties and Economic Reforms***, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.59.

²³ . Rajni Kothari (2013), ***Politics in India***, Orient Blackswan Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, p.333.

²⁴ . Biswajit Mohapatra (2012), ***“Ethnic Conflicts, Politics of Regionalism and the Demand for Nagalim: Perspectives on the Politics of Regional Accommodation and Autonomy”***, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Merrut, April-June, Vol.LXXIII, No.2, p.317.

the principal political arm of Sikhs in Punjab, seeking for special political status for their community in a state within the Indian Union, where the Sikh religion and Punjabi language would be specially protected and promoted²⁵. In Andhra Pradesh, the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) formed in 1982, also appeals to similar political and social forces of regional nationalism²⁶. This had been the emergence of regional political parties in India, to preserve and protect ones identity.

The Indian party system is indeed complex and an important reason for this complexity is the social heterogeneity, which had made it impossible for a single set of parties to emerge across the country²⁷. For which, the numerous ramifications multiplicity of parties in India is a social reflections²⁸. In a large multi-nationality nation state like India, the problem of integrating people inhabiting different regions with varied language, religion, culture and ethnic communities had made the task an arduous one²⁹. However, until the late 1970s, the national political parties were able to engage with such regional issues and offer political alternatives to local and regional demands. Through, sustained organizational penetration, the Congress party was able to give the country a coherent and unified leadership, which could speak for the nation as a whole. The fact that, historically the Congress had developed as a movement of protest, not only against the colonial regime but also against some of

²⁵ . Paul R. Brass (2006), **The Politics of India Since Independence**, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, p.92

²⁶ . Ibid. p.91.

²⁷ . Zoya Hasan (ed) (2008), **Parties and Party Politics in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.2

²⁸ . Ali Ashraf and L.N. Sharma (2010), **Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics**, University Press Pvt. Ltd, Hyderabad, p.101

²⁹ . Thongkholal Haokip (2012), **"Political Integration of North East India: A Historical Analysis"**, *Strategic Analysis*, Routledge, U.K. March, Vol.36, No.2, p.305

the most stubborn features of traditional society and social regeneration, which was as much at the heart of its programme as was the national independence³⁰.

The opening out of the party system in India first began through the internal processes of dissidence within the Congress party. A wide variety of social and political organizations emerged at all levels³¹ and with the increasing political contest from highly mobilised and articulate local and regional political actors since the 1980s, significant changes can be noticed in the Indian political process³². Even during the stable rule of Congress party during 1980's, there had been two major demands. The first was the demand for less central intervention in the affairs of the states, and the second was the plea for more states' participation in the national governance³³.

Moreover, there was an enormous decline of the Congress party prestige because of the increase in corruption³⁴ and the excessiveness done by the Congress party during the National Emergency in 1975, which had created fear among the various states and ethnic groups of dominance by the central government. This has also led to the emergence of regional political parties in India to protect its own interest. Paul R. Brass adds that, due to deliberate interference of the Congress with the state legitimate jurisdiction and attempts to lower the prestige of the state leaders had

³⁰ . Rajni Kothari (2013), Op.cit, p.156.

³¹ . Ibid. p.177.

³² . Amit Prakash (2010), "**Regionalism, the Politics of Autonomy and Smaller States**", in Ajay K. Mehra (ed), **Emerging Trends in Indian Politics: The 15th General Election**, Routledge, New Delhi, p.189.

³³ . Balveer Arora (2004), "**The Political Parties and the Party System: The Emergence of New Coalitions**", in Zoya Hasan (ed), **Parties and Party Politics in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.518.

³⁴ . Myron Weiner (1990), **Party Politics in India: The Development of a Multi-Party System**, Low Price Publications, Delhi, p. 97.

encouraged the state autonomy movements and the growth of regional feelings throughout India³⁵.

Hence, the fear of dominance by the centre and the need to protect one's own interest led to the emergence of regional political parties in India. It is no surprise that with the maturing of the political process and the decline of the Congress party, the regional political articulations have come to acquire a central place in the national politics and determining electoral outcomes³⁶. Today, the success of the regional parties is partly due to the failure of the Congress party and partly due to the effectiveness of the regional as against national parties in fulfilling their myriads of regional and local problems³⁷. In India, the regional political parties are also formed to attract the attention of the centre towards the socio-economic development.

Emergence of Regional Political Parties in North East India

At the time of independence, the northeast meant Assam and the princely states of Manipur and Tripura³⁸. In the context of North East India, it appears that regionalism has assumed a distinct ethnic connotation in the sense that ethnic groups in this part of India led by their respective elite have been asserting their rights as regional entities by trying to extract as many concessions as possible from the central political authorities³⁹. It is because, this region of India is inhabited by numerous tribes, each distinct from each other particularly from mainland India in terms of culture and

³⁵ . Susmita Sengupta (2000), "*Regionalism in Meghalaya: An Analysis of Perception of National Political Parties*", in Girin Phukon (ed), *Political Dynamics of North East India*, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi, p. 168.

³⁶ . Amit Prakash (2010), Op.cit, p.195.

³⁷ . H.H. Das and B.C. Choudhury (1990), *Federal and State Politics in India*, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi, p.3.

³⁸ . Thongkhohal Haokip (2012), Op.cit. p.304.

³⁹ . Ibid. p.165.

tradition and for some historical reasons, the people of this region had always aspired to preserve their special identity and had opposed all steps towards national integration. To maintain such identity regional political parties have emerged in this region of India⁴⁰. The tribal's of the northeast initially formed the Hill Leaders Union in 1945 at Shillong in order to articulate their political aspirations. This Union worked for the welfare of the Hill areas of Assam⁴¹.

Regionalism in the North-eastern context has also been its added emphasis on the internal self-determination of the community, be it linguistic, tribal, religion or their combination, as the predominant form in which regionalism has sought to express itself, historically as well as at present. This self-determination has taken the form of the demand for statehood or state autonomy. The Indian state thus had to integrate within its Federal union a vastly diverse and underdeveloped Northeast. The answer was found in dividing the Assam state, and once the Nagaland state was a fact in 1963, the rest of the tribal nationalities in the Northeast could not be denied a state⁴². The birth of Nagaland state had encouraged and invited all the hill tribes of Assam to come ahead with similar demand. The hill leaders of Northeast India formed a political organization called, All Parties Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC), which used to meet occasionally and constitute plans and devices to achieve statehood for the hill people⁴³.

⁴⁰ . Salma Abdul Sattar (2011), "**Regionalism: A Great Threat to National Unity of India**", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, July-September, Vol.LXII, No.3, p.763.

⁴¹ . Thongkhohal Haokip (2012), Op.cit. p.307.

⁴² . Maya Chadda (2013), Op.cit. pp.62-63.

⁴³ . Chandrika Singh (2004), **North-East India: Politics and Insurgency**, Manas Publications, New Delhi, p.198.

The three states in India, all in the northeast, namely Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram, which were created after 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, had been carved out of Assam on the basis of tribal identity⁴⁴. What had been about the north east India is that, each tribe wants to maintain and preserve their distinct identity and they had always feared about the dominance of majority culture over them. The fear of dominance of Assamese language and losing one's identity, language and culture had led to many Hills movement and formation of many regional political parties based on ethnic identity in the erstwhile-undivided Hills district of Assam. The emergence of People's Party of Arunachal (PPA) in 1977 was out of ethnic considerations, committed to meet the aspiration of the indigenous people of Arunachal Pradesh and to preserve the distinct culture of its varied tribes. So was the case with Federal Party of Manipur (FPM) and Manipur People's Party (MPP) and Mizo National Front (MNF), which was an illegal outfit until it was integrated in mainstream politics after the Mizo peace accord in 1986, was also born out of ethnic consideration⁴⁵.

Moreover, due to geographical location this region had been less developed as compared from the mainland India, which had also led to the emergence of regional political parties to demand for more economic concession from the centre. So also, the fear of economic exploitation at the hands of outsiders has also led a very strong regional movement in this region.

As in the case of Assam, where the economic and cultural grievances of the Assamese middle class, which eventually culminated in a strong regional movement

⁴⁴ . Biswajit Mohapatra (2012), Op.cit. p.317.

⁴⁵ . <https://newsphilosophy.wordpress.com/2012/01/29/ethnic-politics-democracy-and-regional-political-parties-in-north-east-india/>

under the leadership of the All Assam Students Union⁴⁶, which finally resulted in the emergence of Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) in 1985 for the protection of Assamese identity. The principal driving force behind the rise of Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) was the issue of legal and illegal migrations of outsiders into Assam, particularly from West Bengal and Bangladesh and their entry in the electoral rolls, usually as Congress party supporters. After a prolong and often violent agitation initiated by Assamese students and politicians demanding the removal of illegal migrants from the electoral roll in the state, an Accord was reached with the Central government on this issue on August 1985⁴⁷.

The crisis of identity is the corner stone in the various movements in North East India⁴⁸, which had finally led for the emergence of regional political parties in this region. Besides this, the fear of dominance from other major culture and tradition and disparity in economic development, had also been another factors for the emergence of regional political parties in northeast India.

Emergence of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland

There had also been a national movement in Nagaland based on distinct identity but the split within the insurgent group led to the formation of Reforming Committee by some moderate insurgent leaders and which initiated the Naga People's Convention (NPC) in 1957. The result of this convention was that it led to the creation of Nagaland state in 1963. However, within the members of the Naga People's Convention (NPC), some members opposed the signing of agreement between the

⁴⁶ . B. Pakem (ed) (1993), **Regionalism in India: With Special Reference to North East India**, Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi, p.15

⁴⁷ . Paul R. Brass (2006), Op.cit. p.93

⁴⁸ . Ibid. p.13

Government of India and NPC members that resulted in creation of Nagaland state. For these leaders, since the NPC members could not able to bring the Naga undergrounds to the negotiation table for which even after the creation of state, it could not bring peace in Nagaland⁴⁹.

With the creation of Nagaland state, the democratic process also started in the state. The election to the first legislative assembly in the state was announced as early in 1964 and for which these leaders wanted to form a political party, which could bring Naga underground to the negotiation table. Hence, they formed a regional political party called the Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), with an objective to be a facilitator and mediator between the Government of India and Naga underground, so that the final and lasting solution to Indo-Naga political problem⁵⁰ can be achieved. This is how regional political party emerged in Nagaland.

During the first state general assembly election held in 1964, there were two political parties. The Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) and Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), both these party was regional in character but the NNO party was also regarded as an associate member of Indian National Congress (INC), which finally merged with the INC in the year 1976.

⁴⁹. Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), Op.cit. p.7

⁵⁰. **Celebrating 50 Years: Naga People's Front Golden Jubilee (1963-2013)**, NPF, Kohima, p.25

Statement of the Problem

Prior to the creation of Nagaland state, the general election to Lok Sabha and state assembly election in Assam in 1952 could not be held in Nagaland (the Naga Hills then) due to insurgency problem. The Nagas were represented in the Assam legislative assembly in 1957 but it was as a representative of Nagas and not under any political party. The creation of Nagaland state in 1963 and the announcement by the Election Commission for the election of the state general assembly in 1964 started the electoral process in Nagaland. During the first general assembly election, there were two political parties, the Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) and Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), both the parties were formed in 1963 and was regional in character but the NNO party was also regarded as an associate party of the Indian National Congress (INC).

The Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), was formed under the leadership of Mr. A. Kevichusa, with an objective to be a mediator between the Government of India and Naga underground, so as to bring final solution to Naga political issue. The party had ‘Cock’ as its party symbol, which symbolises the dawn of understanding, unity and peace in the land. It had its motto derived from the Latin word “Fide non armis” which means “by faith not arms” as its guiding principle for solving the Indo-Naga political problem⁵¹. The DPN contested against the NNO party in the first state general assembly election in 1964 and it won 12 seats⁵² out of 40 seats. However, all

⁵¹ . Shurhodelie Liezietsu (2011), Op.cit. p.14

⁵² . **Nagaland Uncovered: Tracing a Journey (2012)**, Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p.32

the 12 MLAs of DPN resigned en bloc on 8th December 1964⁵³ on the ground that, the ceasefire agreement was reached between the Government of India and Naga underground.

The nomenclature of the regional political party in Nagaland changed from Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) to United Front of Nagaland (UFN) and it contested the second general assembly election in 1969. Again, the nomenclature was changed to United Democratic Front (UDF) and it contested the third and fourth general assembly in 1974 and 1977. On both general assembly elections, the regional political party won the election but could not able to complete the full tenure due to politics of defection. The political process in Nagaland witnessed some major political developments in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This period witnessed the merger of NNO party with the Indian National Congress (INC) in 1976, which brought the Nagaland state in contact with the mainstream politics. However, on the other hand, several people interpreted this merger as compromising the Naga autonomy, for which even a section of NNO members walked out too⁵⁴ from the party.

With this merger, the national political party appeared in Nagaland and the Congress (I) party contested for the first time in the state general assembly election in 1977. However, the Congress party lost the election but it succeeded in winning 15 seats in the state legislative assembly. The reason that the national party could not make much impact in the state election was that, the national party was considered as an outside party by the Nagas. The National Emergency of 1975, which was followed

⁵³ . Bendangangshi (1993), **Glimpses of Naga History**, Naga Patriots, Guwahati, p.158

⁵⁴ . S. K. Chaube (1985), **Electoral Politics in North East India**, University Press, Madras, p.169

by an autocratic rule of Congress party created a fear of dominance from the Congress party among the people. As a result, the Congress party in Nagaland could not able to appeal effectively to the Naga people on identity basis, as the regional party had been able to. However, the Congress party won the 1982 and 1987 state general election but due to politics of defection, it could not able to complete its tenure. The Congress party succeeded in completing two consecutive terms from 1993-1998 and 1998-2003 under the leadership of S.C. Jamir.

There had also been series of political defection among the party members in Nagaland due to personal rivalries, personality clashes and struggle for more power and prestige. Due to this political defection among the party members, many new political parties were formed in Nagaland and the change in the party nomenclature due to the merger of one party with the other party. This had also been the reason for unstable ministry and downfall of many governments. As in the words of Yieptso Wezah, “they fight among themselves because the state becomes the fertile ground for money grapping, corruption, exploitation and tribal activities”⁵⁵.

In the year 1998, the state of Nagaland also witnessed another major political event in the Nagaland politics. The ninth state general assembly election held in 1998 was boycotted by the NGOs in Nagaland headed by Naga Hoho. The Naga Hoho which is the apex body of the tribal Nagas, boycotted the election under the slogan “No solution, No election”, and requested all the political parties not to participate or file

⁵⁵ . Yieptso Wezah (2004), **Prospect of Decentralised Gandhian and Christian Ethical Perspectives**, Cambridge Press, Delhi, p.81

their nominations⁵⁶. The Nagaland People's Council (NPC), a regional political party then, after a thorough debate among themselves arrived at the decision not to participate in the election⁵⁷ and this paved the way for the unopposed return of the Congress (I)⁵⁸. The regional party supported this boycott call because an early solution to Naga political issue was one of its main objectives.

In the tenth state general assembly election in 2003, the regional party under the new nomenclature Nagaland People's Front (NPF) won the election and its victory in the twelfth state general election in 2013, the regional party had won for the third consecutive term in Nagaland state general assembly election. The regional political party from DPN in 1963 to NPF party till date, had underwent number of change in party nomenclature but the party aims, objectives, motto and symbol had remained the same. In the 7th General Convention of NPF party held in Dimapur on 29th November 2012, the Chief Minister of Nagaland, Mr. Neiphiu Rio, again reaffirmed that the Indo-Naga peace process was the top of NPF agenda⁵⁹, which was one of the main objectives for the emergence of regional party in Nagaland. To give effect to this party objective, the party had declared to step down if a solution is achieved on Naga issue. Besides this, clean administration, corruption free and good governance has also been the main objectives of the party.

Hence, an in-depth analysis on how regional political party has emerged, how far they have achieved in their aims and objectives, what has been its role in socio-

⁵⁶ . H. John Sema (December 2012), "***Electoral Politics in Nagaland: Debate on the Issue of Interim Government and Alternative Arrangement for Nagas of Manipur***", in *South Asia Politics*, Vol.11, No.8, Abhaya Kashyap, New Delhi, p.21.

⁵⁷ . Ibid. p.21.

⁵⁸ . M.L. Ahuja (1998), ***Electoral Politics and General Elections in India (1952-1998)***, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.138.

⁵⁹ . The Nagaland Post, Friday, November 30, 2012, Dimapur, p.1.

economic life of Nagas and its contribution in the Indo-Naga peace process had been very much felt and needed an in-depth study.

Review of Literature

The following section deals with the books and articles in journals that had been reviewed for the preparation of the proposed research work.

Myron Weiner (1990), in his book, **Party Politics in India: The Development of a Multi-Party System**, helped in understanding how the party rank and file within the party plays the role in creating splits and merger within the party. How personal ambitions conflicts and struggle for more power had led the creation of many political parties in the Indian political system. This book helps to understand the complexity of Indian political system.

Paul R. Brass (1977), **The Politics of India Since Independence**, states about the deepening crisis of the national unity due to the Indian plural society. How various regional movements, demand for more autonomy and conflict based on caste, class and religion in Indian politics and the emergence of political parties on that line is threatening the unity of country is being stated in this book.

Thomas Paulose and Gurpreet Kaur (eds) (1996), **Parties Politics and Parliamentary Democracy**, provides a comprehensive study on the major issues and developments in the Indian politics is being made in this book. Where it is helpful in understanding how various political parties in India plays the politics of reservation for its own advantage, impact of religion in politics and the continuity and change of the ideology of the political parties in India.

Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy (eds) (2011), **India's 2009 Elections: Coalition Politics, Party Competition and Congress Continuity**, how the Congress party is changing its strategy in alliance formation, the growing importance of regional political party in coalition making. The nature of coalition government in contradiction to their professed ideology and the politicisation of ethnic and sub ethnic antagonisms in the Indian political system had been stated in this book.

Arthur G. Rubinoff (1998), **The Construction of a Political Community: Integration and Identity in Goa**, states about the formation of political parties in Goa based on communal lines. The differences between the parties, where one supports for merger with other state and other for statehood and how regional political party emerged in protest against the misrule of Congress party.

Ashutosh Kumar (ed) (2011), in **Regions Within Regions: Rethinking State Politics in India**, describes how the negligence on the part of the state government in its particular area, district and region had created fear of dominance of majority culture by minority group. Which had led to various movements for autonomous council and statehood in various states in India, how the issues like under development and negligence had become the factor for regional identities and voting pattern in the states had been stated here in this book.

Niraja Gopal and Pratap Bhanu Metha (eds) (2010), in **The Oxford Companion to Politics in India**, discuss a wide range of central issues in this book, which will enable the scholars in understanding the concepts of those issues that India had been facing in its political system.

Peter Ronald deSouza and E. Sridharan (eds) (2006), **India's Political Parties**, the changing stage in the Indian political system from one party dominant system to coalition politics is stated here. That will enable to know, how the inability of the Congress party to adapt the ambitions of various section has led to the emergence of numerous political parties. Increase in numerous regional parties based on caste and identities and the significant role it had been playing at the centre.

Zoya Hasan (ed) (2008), **Parties and Party Politics in India**, is a book on the various changes that had taken place within the political parties in India. The changing social base of the Congress party and the emergence of Hindu nationalist party, so also, the social cleavages which had transformed the party politics and had led to the creation of political parties in India.

Rajini Kothari (1995), **Politics in India**, writes about the challenges posed to the Congress party from the regional party in the states, how regional party had emerged and the prospect of minority getting represented in the government. How in a society with its diversities, the political party is mobilising its support base and the impact of modern education in politics, is what this book has dealt with.

Sudipta Kaviraj (1999), **Politics in India**, talks about the formation of political party based on caste, ethnicity, minority identities and its related politics. The formation of regional political party to demand for more autonomy and at times how the national party supports the regional party, since the regional party operates in a particular area and it does affect the base of national political party.

S. A. Palekar (2006), **Political System in India**, has dealt with the changing trend in Indian political system. It will help in understanding about, the one party dominance and how it became the factor for the emergence of regional political parties in India. So also, the author highlights the growing role of opposition with the emergence of regional political parties in the Indian political system.

Rekha Chowdhary (1991), **Ideology & Politics of Ruling Parties in India**, had discuss about what had influenced the ideology of the political party and how the ideology of a political party is playing the role of binding the party members and at a same time causing splits within the party structure. It gives an insight about the ideology of a political party in India.

C. P. Bhambhri (1991), **Political Process in India**, this book states about the ideology, social and class composition of a political party in India. It will also be helpful in understanding the differences and the conflict of ideology among the political parties and its effect on the masses.

Ajay K. Mehra (ed) (2010), **Emerging Trends in Indian Politics: The 15th General Election**, had covered a wide aspects of factors that will influence the 15th general election. Issues related to demand for more autonomy, identity and regionalism is dealt with. The growing significance of the regional political parties and its role in government formation at the centre, which had made the national parties to take on regional issues in respective constituency, state and region had been stated in this book.

Subhash C. Kashyap (ed) (1997), **Coalition Government and Politics in India**, the current problems and developments in the politics of India that had been brought about by the coalition government is being discussed in this book. How the feeling among the states in India of safeguarding their own interest has led to the emergence of many regional political parties, which had been the reason for the coalition government and the difficulty in running the coalition government had been stated.

Sudha Pai (ed) (2013), **Handbook of Politics in Indian States: Regions, Parties and Economic Reforms**, it is a collection of essay, which had dealt with the changing political process in India. From one party dominance of Congress party to bi-party system between the Congress and BJP led alliances to multi-party system, where the regional political parties is not only playing an important role in their respective states but also in the formation of government at the centre. How the regional political parties based on caste, class, tribe and identity had emerged to seek for more protection and concession from the centre had also been stated.

A.P. Padhi (ed) (1985), **Indian State Politics: A Case Study of Orissa**, had thoroughly analysis various aspects of political process in Orissa, the negative impact of Congress system for which regional party had emerged as a challenge to it. How the era of coalition politics had given chance to regional party to survive and its role in raising the voice of the hill region.

H. H. Das and B. C. Choudhury (1990), **Federal and State Politics in India**, it will enable the scholar to understand how the regional political parties emerged in India. It had also states about the failure of the Congress party in addressing local problems and too much of central dominance which had created fear among the states. The

reorganisation of states on the linguistic basis, which had also encouraged the emergence of regional political parties.

Partha Chatterjee (ed) (2008), **State and Politics in India**, has highlighted about how the politicisation of local issues had increased in the voters in the assembly election and the party fragmentation which has contributed to the increase in the number of contestant. It also states about the issues of identity, caste and minorities that overshadowed the Indian politics and the split in the Congress, which had led to the emergence of regional parties in India.

S. N. Kaul (2001), **Dynamics of Kashmir Politics**, how the lack of job opportunities, exploitation, suppression and denial of basic rights to the Kashmiri people had led to the emergence of political parties in Kashmir to demand for these basic rights had been stated in this book. It had also thrown light on the change in party's nomenclature due to personal rivalry and to accommodate all nationals under one party.

B. Pakem (ed) (1993), **Regionalism in India: With Special Reference to North East India**, is helpful in understanding how, the issues like identity, language, customs and foreign nationals that had been the reason behind the regional movements in north east India, which led to the emergence of regional political parties. So also, it also states about the lack of economic growth due to geographical isolation from main land India had also been the reason for the regional party to demand for more economic autonomy.

Girin Phukon (1996), **Politics of Regionalism in North East India**, how the politics of identity in safeguarding one's ethnic identity from foreign nationals led to the strong regional movements in Assam, which finally led to the formation of regional political party and how this politics of identity is having its impact in state is stated here in this book.

Girin Phukon and N.L. Dutta (eds) (1997), **Politics of Identity and Nation Building in Northeast India**, is a book which has given a comprehensive analysis about the identity politics in north east India. How the centralised tendency of the central government is responsible for identity assertion in northeast and the emergence of regional parties and its increasing mass political mobilisation on ethnic line to overcome economic and social backwardness.

Girin Phukon (ed) (2000), **Political Dynamics of North East India**, states about how, the political agenda of the regional political parties in North East India is influenced by issues like, identity, language, under development and exploitation. It is also helpful in understanding the aims and objects of the regional party, which had also been influenced by these issues.

B. C. Bhuyan (1989), **Political Development of the North East**, the political developments in northeast India that had been brought about by growing feeling of deprivation and negligence among the northeast people from the centre and the political movements based on language and identity and the emergence of regional parties is being stated in this book.

L.S. Gassah (1992), **Regional Political parties: In North East India**, is a book on the diverse regional political parties in northeast India. It had stated about the failure of the national parties to accommodate the interest of the tribal's which had led to the emergence of regional parties to demand for more autonomy to safeguard its own interest.

S. Bhatnagar and Pradeep Kumar (eds) (1988), **Regional Political Parties in India**, is about those regional political parties which are rooted in their own regional grievances and do not aim to provide national alternative to Congress party at the centre is dealt with. It is also on the political developments that had taken place between the regional party and the Congress party for more autonomy and economic aid.

S.K. Chaube (1985), **Electoral Politics in Northeast India**, had analysed the political process and the sixth Lok Sabha election in the Northeast India in his book. It had stated about the gaining momentum of issues like language, illegal migrants and distinct identity among the political parties in the Northeast India and its impact on politics.

P.S. Dutta (ed) (1986), **Electoral Politics in North East India**, highlights the lack of clear cut policies and programmes of the regional political parties besides national party and had also stated about the role of tribal students and youth movement in bringing regional parties together and the issues of boundary, foreign nationals and tribal identity in the electoral politics.

Sandeep Shastri, K.C. Suri and Yogendra Yadav, et al, (eds) (2009), **Electoral Politics in Indian States**, gives a comprehensive analysis on the state politics in India, where it will be helpful in understanding the different voting pattern in different states in India among the gender, caste, class and religion which had a direct impact in the politics of India. The changing social base of various political parties in the Indian states is also been stated.

Moin Shakir (1986), **State and Politics in Contemporary India**, the rise of regional bourgeoisie and its state based parties, which are posing threats to national parties. It also states about, under what circumstances the state parties emerged and different political parties based on different ideologies like caste, class and religion and its role on Indian politics.

Susmita Sen Gupta (2009), **Radical Politics in Meghalaya: Problems and Prospects**, states about how the Communist Party of India (CPI), for its lack of clear-cut policy on the issues like protection of tribal identity. The party wrong mass mobilisation based on class rather than on ethnic lines, which is an important factor in the hill states, had hampered the growth of CPI in Meghalaya.

Ravindra Pratap Singh (1981), **Electoral Politics in Manipur: A Spatio-Temporal Study**, gives an account of the variations in the voting pattern in the different district of Manipur due to geo-differences. Where the issues like education and Manipuri language dominated the Valley district and the issue of integration with the neighbouring states dominates the Hills district. It will also help to understand the different voting pattern among the different tribal people and its support to different political parties.

B. B. Kumar (2005), **Naga Identity**, is a book, which had described about the origin of Nagas, how the state was created and how political parties emerged in Nagaland. The manner in which the state was created had failed to solve the insurgency problem and insurgency politics in Nagaland is discussed here in this book.

Chandrika Singh (2004), **Naga Politics: A Critical Account**, the author had stated about the emergence of Nagaland state and the political process thereafter in his book. It enables to understand the in-depth about the political parties and the issue of insurgency in the Nagaland politics.

Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), **Politics and Militancy in Nagaland**, gives a clear account, which will help in understand, on how the state of Nagaland and political parties emerged. So also, how the Naga political issue had influenced the politics in Nagaland and the trend of politics in Nagaland.

Thongkhohal Hoakip (March, 2012), “**Political Integration of the Northeast India: A Historical Analysis**”, *Strategic Analysis*, had analysed how the government had failed to meet the various political aspirations of the ethnic groups during the integration process in northeast. The feeling of maintaining one’s distinct identity and demand for more autonomy from regional political parties had become an obstacle in the process of political integration in the Northeast India.

Annop Sadanandan (March/April, 2012), “**Bridling Central Tyranny in India: How Regional Parties Restrain the Federal Government**”, *Asian Survey*, the article had dealt with the rise of regional parties. How with its growing importance in the

formation of the government at the centre since mid 1990s had been successful in imposing political restraint on the centre for the misuse of Article 356.

Devin K. Joshi (October 2012), “*The Impact of India’s Regional Parties on Voter Turnout and Human Development*”, *Journal for South Asian Development*, had stated about the increase in the voter turnout in those states where regional political parties had been in power for at least 5 years. Improvement of human development as the regional parties knows better the regional sentiments and local grievances and for which it had also been the factor for increase in voters.

M. Umapathy (July/September, 1997), “*Challenges to the Indian Political system*”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, highlights about the challenges to the Indian political system. Where the writer states about whether, the political party in India can make the citizens to accept their rule as morally binding on them to have the legitimacy over them and does the political party can have the capacity to deliver the social and economic justice to its citizens or not.

Lal Bahadur Shastri (Jan/March, 1962), “*Reflections on Indian Politics*”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, the former Indian Prime Minister speaks about the multi cultural society in India which had encouraged many regional political parties to emerged and how it had posed serious challenges through elections. He also states about the narrow politics of regionalism above national loyalty and the politics of casteisms that had stood in the way for homogenous society, which is a serious challenge in the Indian politics.

Salma Abdul Sattar (July/September, 2011), “**Regionalism: A Great Threat to National Unity of India**”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, gives a detail account on how the lack of homogeneity and inability of the national political party to accommodate all problems of the regions had given rise to regional party. It also enable to understand the role played by the regional party in preserving their own identity at the cost of national identity and the growing influence of regional party at the centre.

Chandrika Singh (December 1980), “**Nagaland-From District to State: Culmination of Political and Democratic Process**”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, narrates about the issues and problems of the Nagas during the British rule and how it led to a conflict with India. The peace efforts and agreements that led to the creation of state and the beginning of democratic process is highlighted.

C. A. Perumal (Jan/March, 1987), “**Regionalism and Political Development**”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, the reality of the increasing population in India and the inability of the political institution to grow to absorb this increasing people is mention here. How this had deprived some section of the people, which had encourage the feeling of regionalism and emergence of regional party to defend its own interest is stated in this article.

K.M. Sharma, Jiwan Devi and Anjali Verma (Jan/March, 2012), “**Impact of Religion, Caste and Political Parties on Tribal Votes of District of Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh**”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, states about using religious ceremonies as a platform to introduce and promote the image of a leader

and the dominance of higher caste in the elections. It enables to understand the role of religion and the caste on the electoral outcomes.

Alak Bhattacharya (July/September, 2007), “***Tribal Politics of Tripura: A Study in Electoral Behaviour***”, *The Indian Journal Political Science*, the writer states about the Communist party success in organising people for social movements, that had made party so popular among the hill people. The issues like, refugee problem and Bengalis national, which had been a dominating factor in tribal politics.

H. John Sema (December 2012), “***Electoral Politics in Nagaland: Debate on the Issue of Interim Government and Alternative Arrangement for Nagas of Manipur***”, *South Asia Politics*, the writer had stated about the political parties in Nagaland which had no specific ideology and programme of action. The lack of ideas and vision among the political parties in Nagaland to provoke the minds of electorate and to develop political consciousness. The writer had also highlighted about how there had been lack of intellectuals within the political party members which had led to poverty of innovative ideas and the issue of solving the Naga political problem as one of the most common feature in Nagaland state politics.

Era Sezhiyan (August 12-18, 2005), “***Political Parties in Federal India***”, *Mainstream*, states about the basic contradiction in Indian politics that, where as the country has federal constitution but the political parties which participate in the elections and working of the federal system of governance is a highly centralised party. It also states about having de-centralised party with more power to lower levels to decide the local issues.

Barun Das Gupta (April 5-11, 2013), “*Tripura Votes for CPI-M again*”, *Mainstream*, enables the scholar to understand why the CPI-M won again in Tripura. The writer states that, the faction ridden in the Congress party, clashes over the distribution of tickets, lack of sustain political movement against the ruling party and the Congress Party activeness only during the election had caused Congress party defeat in Tripura.

Pushpa Kumari (2011), “*The Changing Nature of the Party System*”, in Neera Chandhoke and Praveen Priyadarshi (eds), **Contemporary India: Economy, Society, Politics**, Chapter 16, states about the changing party system in India and will be helpful in understanding how regional party emerged and its role as an important factor in state and central politics. This article also touches the problems and crisis that confronts the Indian party system.

Sanjay Kumar Pandey (2011), “*Politics of Belonging: Identity and State Formation*”, in Joana Pfuff-Czarnecka and Gerard Toffin (eds), **The Politics of Belonging in Himalayas: Local Attachments and Boundary Dynamics**, Chapter 5, gives an in-depth study about the politics of belonging in Nagaland, which led to identity formation and statehood. The writer also states about the Naga politics of belonging, which is not to protect their identity but to exclude others from them. How the constitution of India had failed to protect the aspiration of Nagas is stated here.

Despite all these available literatures, none of them has dealt on the regional political parties in Nagaland. Therefore, the researcher decided to fill the gap by making a study on the emergence and role of regional political parties in Nagaland. So as to

find out, how regional political parties emerged in Nagaland, what are their aims and objectives and how it functions. The role of the regional political parties in the socio-economic life of Nagas, which will be helpful in understanding the regional political parties, that is in existence and functioning in Nagaland.

Objectives of the Study

- ❖ To study the emergence of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland.
- ❖ To analyze the role of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland.
- ❖ To provide a critical approach to the contribution of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland.

Relevance of the Study

The findings of the present work will provide an insight into the entire issues concerning regional political parties in Nagaland. So far, no such work has been carried out in the context of the state of Nagaland and thus this work will be the reference point to the future researchers.

Contribution to the Area of Knowledge

The present work will enable to know how the regional political party emerged in Nagaland. What had been its role in the political, social and economic development in Nagaland since its emergence. Whether the regional political party been able to address the political, social and economic problems of the Nagas or not. In this way, it will broaden the area of knowledge regarding the regional political party and its role in Nagaland state.

Methodology

The study is analytical and empirical in approach and the universe of the study had covered the regional political parties in Nagaland.

Sources of Data

Sources of primary data

Simple random sampling technique was adopted to collect primary data using questionnaire. In the sample, 300 (three hundred) respondents who were 18 years and above within Nagaland were included and the data collected from questionnaire were supplement by personal interview.

Sources of secondary data

Secondary source was collected through books, journals, newspapers, magazine and various publications of the state governments, unpublished data like personal diary and through web sites.

Data Analysis

The data collected was analyzed using percentage and the result is presented in the forms of tables and figures.

Tentative Chapterization

Chapter 1: Introduction

Regional Political Parties: A Theoretical Perspective

This chapter covered the theoretical framework, statement of the problem, review of literature, objectives, relevance of the study and its contribution to the area of the knowledge and research methodology of the study.

Chapter 2: Evolution of the State of Nagaland and the Emergence of Political Parties in Nagaland

This chapter had dealt on the evolution of Nagaland as a state and had included the emergence of political parties in Nagaland.

Chapter 3: Factors for the Emergence of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland

This chapter had attempted on the factors that were responsible for the emergence of regional political parties in Nagaland.

Chapter 4: Role of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland: A Critical Appraisal

This chapter had dealt on a critical appraisal on the role of regional political parties in Nagaland

Chapter 5: Findings and Conclusion

The fifth chapter is the findings and conclusion of the research.

Chapter 2

Evolution of the State of Nagaland and the Emergence of Political Parties in Nagaland.

Historical Background of Nagas

Origin of the word 'Naga'

Nomenclature facilitates distinction. That is why persons, communities, nations, race and things around us have their own names. There are, however, names, which, though established by usage, are constantly in dispute when their suitability has outlived itself, and their origin and sources are lost in remote obscurity. The word 'Naga' is one such name¹. The word 'Naga' itself is shrouded in mystery and it is, most probably, a name given by non-Nagas². Many writers have attempted to sort out the derivation of the term 'Naga'. According to Johnstone (1896), the word Naga may have been derived from the Assamese word 'Noga', meaning naked³. Another theory states that, the word 'Naga' had been derived from the Sanskrit word 'Nag' which means 'snake'⁴, as it was believed that the Nagas were snake worshippers earlier. However, the Nagas neither worship the snake nor this kind of name was given to those who worship snakes in other parts of India. So also, the theory of Naga means naked cannot be accepted as those people living contiguous to the Nagas and who had been traditionally less clothed than the Nagas have not been graced with this appellation⁵.

Among the various theories regarding the origin of the word 'Naga', the largely accepted viewpoints are taken from the etymology of the word 'Naga' and its

¹ . M. Horam (1992), **Naga Polity**, Low Price Publications, Delhi, p.21

² . Charles Chasie (2005), **The Naga Imbroglio: A Personal Perspective**, Standard Printers & Publishers, Kohima, p.29

³ . U.A. Shimary (2007), **Naga Population and Integration Movement**, A Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.23

⁴ . Ibid. p.22

⁵ . Ibid. p.29

varying connotations in the Burmese. In Burma, the Naga tribes are called Na-Ka, which in Burmese means people or men or folk with pierced ear lobes. Piercing of the ear lobes is a wide spread practice among the Naga tribes. In fact, earlier, the piercing ceremony forms a very important initiation rite for young boys who are about to enter the manhood⁶. The other view, which had also been largely accepted, is given by Holcombe and Peal, who find the origin of 'Naga' in the word 'Nok' which means 'folk' and as the Naga people used to live in groups, they came to be called as 'Naga' later on⁷.

Origin and Migration of the Nagas

Nagas are Mongoloid race inhabiting the hilly and mountainous regions between the Brahmaputra river in India and the Chindwin river in Myanmar, in the states of Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Assam in India and Eastern Nagaland in Myanmar, between 93-96 East longitude and 24-27 North latitude⁸. However, until today, the places of the origin of the various Naga tribes remain an unsolved mystery⁹. The fact that, the Nagas lived in such inhospitable mountainous terrains and that the people from the plains could not establish any contact with them and as a result very little is known about their early history¹⁰.

It appears that Central Asia, centuries before the birth of Christ was a place of numerous bands of people who were forced by circumstances to move towards the

⁶ . Hokishe Sema (1986), **Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future**, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd New Delhi, p.3

⁷ . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), **Politics and Militancy in Nagaland**, Deep & Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, p.4

⁸ . Joseph S. Thong (2011), **Glimpses of Naga Legacy and Culture**, Society for Naga students' Welfare, Kerala, p.17

⁹ . Ibid. p.4

¹⁰ . Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), **Nagas: Problems and Politics**, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi, p.9

south-western part of Asia in search of better habitation. These people were originally known as non-Chinese Chiang tribes and they spread over to China, Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Bhutan and India¹¹. The fact that the Nagas have many cultural affinities with those living in remote parts of South East Asian countries like the Dyaks and Koyan tribes of Borneo (Indonesia), the Batlak tribes of Sumatra (Malaysian), the tribes of Formosa (Taiwan), the tribes of New Guineas, the Melanesian, the Polynesian and the tribes of Sarawak of Malaysia¹². For which, the bulk of the Naga groups could have been one of those groups, which took the westerly direction from Yunan province and upon reaching the head-waters of Irrawady and Chindwin rivers, bifurcated in several directions, ultimately leading to Tibet to Assam, to the hill range between Assam and Burma. There is further possibility of yet another wave that came from the South East islands taking a north westerly direction and entered the Naga Hills using Burma as a corridor¹³.

From all accounts, the Nagas reached their present geographical locations from, possibly, three eastern routes; one from the South east and South to North, one from straight across the Irrawady-Salween-Chindwin region and a possible third from the Northeast. However, all routes come through present day Myanmar¹⁴. According to Naga legends, almost all the Nagas point towards Makhel and its surrounding areas as of their origin and dispersion. Makhel is a small village of the Mao Nagas at

¹¹ . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.5

¹² . Joseph S. Thong (2011), Op.cit. pp.21-22

¹³ . R. Vashum (2005), **Nagas' Right to Self-Determination**, A Mittal Publication, New Delhi, p.20

¹⁴ . Charles Chasie (2005), Op.cit. p.30

Senapati district of Manipur state¹⁵. However, this theory lacks any historical facts and evidence.

About the origin and migration of the Nagas, many scholars had established the origin of the Nagas to South East Asian countries.

Nagas and the Ahoms

The Ahoms are said to be one of the first outsiders to come into contact with the Nagas sometime in 1228 A.D, when the former entered Assam through the Naga hills from Myanmar. The Ahoms are also Mongloids but speak Siamese-Chinese speech. Sukapha was the first prince of the Ahom Kingdom¹⁶. Assam Buranjis (Chronicle) had recorded that by the time the Ahoms came to Assam in the thirteen century, Nagas were already settled in their present homeland. It has also written of the Naga resistance to Sukapha, the founder of the Ahom kingdom¹⁷. Historical evidences had shown better contact between the Nagas and the Ahoms and the Cacharis of the Plain areas Assam during the British pre-occupation. In those days, neither the Ahoms nor the Cacharis attempted to interfere in the sovereignty of the Naga village states¹⁸. For which even, Sir Edward Gaith, author of the Assam history writes as, the hilly tract inhabited by various tribes known to us collectively as Nagas had never been subjugated by the Ahoms, and it was no part of the British policy to absorb it¹⁹. In 1401 A.D. a treaty was concluded between Surumpha, the kings of Mungkang and the Ahom king Sudangpha, according to which Patkai was fixed as

¹⁵ . U.A. Shimary (2007), Op.cit. p.24

¹⁶ . R. Vashum (2005), Op.cit. p.60

¹⁷ . V.K. Nuh (2002), **The Naga Chornicle**, Regency Publications, New Delhi, p.15

¹⁸ . Joseph S. Thong (2011), Op.cit. p.28

¹⁹ . Y.L. Roland Shimmi (1998), **Comparative History of the Nagas: From Ancient Period till 1826**, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, p.155

the boundary between the two countries. The two Borgohains met on the side of the Nongnyang Lake, 28 miles southwest of Margherita and concluded the negotiations for peace²⁰.

There had been frequent contacts between the Nagas and the Ahoms, which were sometimes fierce resulting in battles and sometimes cordial for reasons of conducting peaceful trade relations, which were conducted through barter system²¹. The first Ahom invasion of Dimapur took place in 1490 A.D. but it was repulsed, but in 1536 A.D. during another invasion, the Kachari king Detsing was killed and the city was almost destroyed. The strained relations between the Naga and the Ahom kingdom continued unabated until the 16th century A.D.²². In the 17th century A.D. during the reigns of Suchinpha (1644-1648) and Jayadhray Sinha (1648-1663), the relationship between the Ahoms and the Nagas improved and there was an exchange of gifts such as, gongs, spears and daos from the Nagas and ear-ring, beads and cotton from the Ahoms²³.

The relation between the Ahom kings and the Naga people was maintained through a confederation, which was periodically held in the capital of the Ahoms. It was established mainly for trade purposes of the Nagas in the plains and in turn, the latter were restrained from committing outrages in the plains²⁴. Trade had been an important factor in the relationship between the Nagas and the Ahoms and for which both side had always restrained to some extent in raiding each other. As for the

²⁰ . B.B. Kumar (2005), **Naga Identity**, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, p.113

²¹ . Bendangangshi (1993), Op.cit. p.40

²² . S.H.M. Rizivi and Shibani Roy (2006), **Naga Tribes of North East India**, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, p.7

²³ . M. Horam (1992), Op.cit. p.6

²⁴ . Y.L. Roland Shimmi (1998), Op.cit. p.154

Nagas, they need their daily necessities of life, like salt, dried fish, rice and iron made agricultural implements²⁵. For which the Ao Nagas have always been friendly with the Ahom kings and they never raided the plains of Assam for head hunting²⁶. Even inter-marriage had taken place between the Ahom King Godadhar Singh and Ao Naga girl called Sentishila also known as Jangtongyala²⁷.

For the Ahoms, they tried to maintain friendship or at least a no-war treaty with the Nagas for two main reasons. The first was, the strategic importance of the Naga area and the security of the Ahom kingdom and the second was due to economic considerations. The Ahoms were at war with the Burmese and had to protect their frontiers. That is why wise Ahoms kings and Statesman pacified Naga Chiefs by making them nobles, giving them high ranks in the Ahom army and gifting lands. The Ahoms also stood to benefit economically if they maintained friendly relations with the Nagas, who had number of brine-wells²⁸. The Ahoms also never regarded the Nagas as their subjects²⁹. There had also been instance where the Nagas had supported the Ahoms in their war against the Burmese and during internal revolt.

Whatever may be the nature of the relationship of the Ahoms and the Nagas, it was only a section of few Naga tribes and villages who came into contact with the Ahoms for centuries together, while the rest of the numerous Naga tribal sections were not touched and so continued to live in their respective age-old village states³⁰.

²⁵ . S.H.M. Rizivi and Shibani Roy (2006), Op.cit. p.7

²⁶ . B.B. Kumar (2005), Op.cit. p.113

²⁷ . Bendangangshi (1993), Op.cit. p.10

²⁸ . M. Horam (1992), Op.cit. p.7

²⁹ . Y.L. Roland Shimmi (1998), Op.cit. p.154

³⁰ . R. Vashum (2005), Op.cit. p.60

Nagas and the British

The history of the Nagas with the British is full of incidents of raids and counter raids by the villages and punitive actions of the British government until the Nagas learned the pacific way of life³¹. The British came in contact with the Nagas only after the collapse of the Ahoms and Cachar kingdoms³². The first British action that affected the Naga people was the treaty of Yandabo, on 24 February 1826³³. It was a treaty, which was concluded between the British East India Company and the king of Burma, Ava, which made the former political master of the whole of Brahmaputra valley by forcing the Burmese to retreat from the Indian territories³⁴.

Initially, the British did not show any sign of interest in conquering the Naga territories, as the Naga territory did not have any significance in terms of economic viability for the British East India Company. What had been the general perception of the British about the people in the Naga Hills and beyond was that they were all wild savages, continuously at war with each other, seeking the heads of their enemies as trophies³⁵. Therefore, they decided to leave the Nagas as it is. However, what had been of British interest in the Naga territory later on was that, they wanted to establish a direct communication from Assam to Manipur for easy administration and this could be only possible by finding routes via Naga Hills³⁶. For which, in 1832, an expedition led by Captain Jenkins and Pamberton along with 700 soldiers and 800

³¹ . B.B. Kumar (2005), Op.cit. p.121

³² . Ibid. p.118

³³ . Charles Chasie (2005), Op.cit. p.35

³⁴ . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. pp.9-10

³⁵ . P.K. Mishra (2012), "*J.H. Hutton and Colonial Ethnography of North-East India*", in T.B. Subba (ed), *North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology*, Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi, p.63

³⁶ . M. Horam (1992), Op.cit. p.8

coolies travelled Angami territory³⁷ to find out the possible route. This British survey party on their way down to Dimapur had to face the fierce Nagas.

Though initially the British did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the Nagas, yet the constant raid by the Nagas on the British subjects living in the plains attracted the immediate attention of the British Government towards the Nagas³⁸. The British East India Company decided to interfere in the affairs of the Naga tribes, who raided the villages in the plain and lifted away whatever they could carry. They thought that the only effective check to bring to an end to such 'unlawful' activities of the Nagas lay, in the eyes of the Colonial rule in sending military expeditions³⁹. In 1838, the Court of Directors also decided that the Naga affairs would come directly under the preview of the British government⁴⁰. To give effect to this policy, the British government dispatched at least ten military expeditions to the territories occupied by the Naga people between 1839 to 1850⁴¹. These military expeditions were sent to Naga territories, to find out the reasons for Naga raids, to befriend with the Nagas, to stop the raids and to be acquainted with the topography of the Naga Hills. The success of these military expeditions can be seen in the year 1845, when Captain John Butler succeeded in concluding a non-aggression pact with the Naga Chiefs on December 11, 1845⁴².

³⁷ . Joseph S. Thong (2011), Op.cit. p.29

³⁸ . Piketo Achumi (2012), **British Policy and Administration in Nagaland (1881-1947)**, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, p.4

³⁹ . B.R. Rizvi (2012), "**J.P. Mills and India's North East**" in T.B. Subba (ed), **North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology**, Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi, p.80

⁴⁰ . M. Horam (1992), **Naga Polity**, Op.cit. p.9

⁴¹ . Chandrika Singh (2004), **Naga Politics: A Critical Account**, A Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.27

⁴² . Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), Op.cit. p.20

However, this kind of agreement and pact did not end the Naga raid on plain area. The Nagas went away from their word and continued to intensify their raids on plains area. As for the Nagas, the resentment against the British was not only fuelled by their encroachment of tribal habitat but also due to prohibiting hill tribes from plundering and raiding the plains⁴³. The Nagas were not willing to accept the supremacy of the British nor they were ready to tolerate the interference in their internal affairs. On the other hand, the British government, send military expedition to counter the raids done by the Nagas, the Naga villages were burnt down and fine was imposed as a punishment. The conflict between the Nagas and the British reached to its height, when Bhogchand, the Daroga of British police post at Samaguting (presently Chumukedima) in 1849 was spared to death⁴⁴. This greatly outraged the British, for which an expedition was despatched under Lieutenant Vincent and his troops occupied Mezoma. In his continuation with military expedition to subjugate the Nagas, saw a bloody battle in the year 1851, between the Kekruma villagers and the British Army. Many Nagas were killed and some of them were taken as captives by Vincent⁴⁵.

The Kekruma battle fought between the Naga warriors and the British security forces, also incurred a heavy loss on the British side, for which, the British Government thought to withdraw its activities from the Naga Hills⁴⁶. The Naga resistance and opposition against the British advance led the British Government of

⁴³ . Jelle J.P. Wonders (2012), *"Reconfiguring Colonial Ethnography: The British Gaze over India's North-East"*, in T.B. Subba (ed), *North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology*, Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi, pp.104-105

⁴⁴ . H.K. Barpujari (1998), *Problems of the Hill Tribes North East India: 1843-1872*, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, p.28

⁴⁵ . Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), Op.cit. p.22

⁴⁶ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. pp.29-30

India to adopt the policy of non-interference in the Nagas affairs⁴⁷. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of British India, said on 20th February 1851, that, I dissent entirely from the policy of taking possession of the Naga Hills and establishing of our sovereign over savage inhabitants, our possession could bring no profit to us, and would be as costly as it would be unproductive. The British government therefore, ordered for the withdrawal of British troops from the Angami areas⁴⁸. This non-interference policy of the British government lasted for 15 years⁴⁹.

It was expected that this policy of non-interference would lead to peace or withdrawal of raids into the British territory. However, such hopes were belied because the Nagas continued their raids unabated. From 1854 to 1865 there were as many as nineteen raids resulting in the loss of 232 British subjects including some officers⁵⁰. The local British officials in Assam begun to criticise the policy of non-interference of the British government, as they believe that it might caused embarrassment before their subjects in the plain area. They wanted a policy of annexing the Naga territory into British Empire. What had been the reluctance of the British government to send further military expeditions to the Naga Hills was that of the cost of expenditure and no profit in return. Sir Cecil Beadon, the newly appointed Lieutenant Governor in 1866, who believed in active policy, gave his view that, “in the course of a few years Assam would be divided amongst the Bhutias, Abors, Nagas, Garos, Mishmis and other wild tribes” in the absence of British interference⁵¹. The British Government of India, considering this view, finally decided in 1866 to

⁴⁷ . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.14

⁴⁸ . Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), Op.cit. pp.22-23

⁴⁹ . M. Horam (1992), Op.cit. p.10

⁵⁰ . S.H.M. Rizivi and Shibani Roy (2006), Op.cit. p.11

⁵¹ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. pp.30-31

totally abandoned the non-interference policy and decided to enter the hills boldly on the pretext of civilising the Nagas and annexing a part of the Naga territory to the British Empire. Then it was followed by a long period of 23 years, during which period the bloodiest battles the Nagas had ever seen were fought against the British aggressor⁵².

In 1866, as the government had decided on a new policy, the features of which were, appeasement, punitive action and economic sanctions⁵³, the Government of British India agreed to the proposal to establish the District of Naga Hills. The Naga Hills District, therefore was formed with Samaguting (Chumukedima) as the Deputy Commissioners' Headquarters, which comprise that portion lying, to the west of Dhansiri and on the south bank of Doyang, together with the Angami Hills. Lieutenant John Gregory was the first Deputy Commissioner⁵⁴. The British had carved out this district purely for administrative purpose and they name it as the Naga Hills District⁵⁵. The occupation of Samaguting was also followed by the opening of a school and a dispensary, the extension of trade and construction of roads linking up the hills with the plains⁵⁶. With this, administrative set up marks the beginning of the British policy of annexing the Naga territory in British Empire.

In 1875, the British headquarters was shifted to Wokha, which was inhabited by the Lotha Naga. The main aim for this shift was to protect the adjoining district of

⁵² . Bendangangshi (1993), Op.cit. p.43

⁵³ . P.K. Mishra (2012), Op.cit. pp.65-66

⁵⁴ . **Nagaland 1963-2013: Fifty Years On**, The Coffee Table Book Publication Committee, Government of Nagaland, p.16

⁵⁵ . K. Sreedhar Rao (2009), "*Insurgency in Northeast: Ills and Remedies*", Strategic Analysis, Routledge, U.K. March, Vol.33, No.2, p.211

⁵⁶ . Birendra Chandra Chakravorty (1981), **British Relations with the Hills Tribes of Assam: Since 1858**, Firma Klm Pvt. Ltd. Calcutta, p. 87

Nowgong and Sibsagar in Assam from inroads of the Nagas on the border of the British Indian territory⁵⁷. However, for the British the real problem was the Angami Nagas, whose frequent raids in the plain area had become a problem for the British subjects living there. For which, they wanted a suitable place for their headquarters in Angami area, so that, they can effectively check those raids by Angami. In March 1878, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir S.C. Bayley, reported after personal exploration that, he considered Kohima to be the best site for headquarters for the political officer commanding⁵⁸ and hence the headquarters was shifted to Kohima on March 19, 1879.

The Nagas strongly resisted to this advancement of the British in the Naga territory, as they were not ready to accept the British authority. The British also wanted to crush the Angami Nagas resistance forever. Hence, the British send Brig. General J. L. Nation on November 17, 1879, to subdue the Angami⁵⁹. On the other hand, the Angami began to prepare themselves with a view of waging a big war against the British near Kohima. They smuggled a large number of firearms and collected weapons like spear, daos, bow and arrow in large quantity to fight the British⁶⁰. This battle came to be known as the battle of Khonoma. Finally, on March 27, 1880, after the severest fighting ever known in the hills, the British took over the Khonoma village, which was attacked on November 22, 1879⁶¹. This battle not only brought an end to serious hostility that was existing in Naga Hills, but also created a full-fledged Naga Hills District in 1880, which marked a new phase in the history of British

⁵⁷ . S.H.M. Rizivi and Shibani Roy (2006), Op.cit. p.12

⁵⁸ . V.K. Nuh (2002), Op.cit. p.34

⁵⁹ . Ashikho Daili Mao (1992), Op.cit. p.27

⁶⁰ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.91

⁶¹ . Charles Chasie (2005), Op.cit. p.36

India's relation with the Nagas⁶². By 1888, a seat for administration was established in Kohima, Wokha and Mokokchung⁶³.

In the history of the Nagas with the British, the three Acts of the British left a deep impact in the Nagas life. The Regulating Act of 1773, which passed the Inner Line Regulation that, prohibits the plains people from free entry to the Naga Hill area. The Government of India Act 1919 that, authorised the Governor of Assam to rule the hill people, keeping them away from Legislative Acts and the Government of India Act, 1935, which declared the Naga Hills District including other districts of Assam as "Excluded Area", which kept these districts out from General Administration⁶⁴. On the social life, inter village fights and raids was stopped and head hunting practice was criminalised sometime in 1920's⁶⁵ and the advent of Christianity.

Nagas During Pre-Indian Independence

The roots of Naga nationalism precede India's Independence⁶⁶ that can be traced back to the formation of the 'Naga Club' in Kohima⁶⁷. During the First World War in 1918, some of the Nagas went to France as a labour corps to support the Allies. This force consisted of 1000 Semas, 400 Lothas, 200 Aos, 200 Rengmas and a large number of smaller groups⁶⁸. The war had brought the Nagas into close contact with different nationalities and the people with different ways of thinking and ethical

⁶² . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.17

⁶³ . B.R. Rizvi (2012), Op.cit. p.80

⁶⁴ . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.17

⁶⁵ . Jonathan Glancey (2011), **Nagaland: A Journey to India's Forgotten Frontier**, faber and faber, London, p.14

⁶⁶ . Wasbir Hasan (2007), "*Ethno-Nationalism and the Politics of Terror in India's Northeast*", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Routledge, U.K. April, Vol.XXX, No.1, p.96

⁶⁷ . B. Varma (1988), **Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency**, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, p.145

⁶⁸ . Hokishe Sema (1986), Op.cit. p.80

values. The Nagas were now wise and sophisticated and what was more, he was very political minded⁶⁹. From their contact with totally a different civilized people, the Nagas came to realize their own ethnic, linguistic, social and cultural uniqueness. On their return, they were instrumental in forming the 'Naga Club' at Kohima in 1918⁷⁰. This very Naga Club worked towards bringing unity among the various Naga tribes and for social and political awakening among the Nagas. The first political opportunity that came to Naga Club was in the year 1929, when Simon Commission visited India. This Simon Commission came to Kohima on 10th January 1929, the Naga Club got an opportunity and submitted a Memorandum to this Commission. In its Memorandum, the Naga Club, stated that, the Nagas had nothing in common with the people of India, who are either Hindu or Muslims. It further stated that, "we are looked down upon by one for our beef and the other for our pork and both for our want of education, which is not due to any fault of ours". The Nagas for which appealed not to be included in the Reformed Scheme and "not to be thrust to the mercy of people who could never subjugate us", and therefore to be left alone⁷¹.

What had to be noted here is that, this was the first collective effort on the part of the leading individuals from different Naga tribes to spell out their view on the future status of the Naga people⁷². The desire of the Nagas to live independent and not under anyone's subjugation once again as they were before, found its expression in the Simon Commission. The British on the other hand, had also shown sympathy for

⁶⁹ . S.K. Chaube (2012), **Hill Politics in Northeast India**, Orient Black Swan, New Delhi, p.149

⁷⁰ . Sanjay Kumar Pandey (2011), "**Politics of Belonging: Identity and State formation in Nagaland**", in Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka and Gerard Toffin (eds), **The Politics of Belonging in Himalayas: Local Attachments and Boundary Dynamics**, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.109

⁷¹ . Ibid. p.110

⁷² . Udayon Mishra (1988), **North-East India: Quest for Identity**, Omsons Publications, Delhi, p.6

the Nagas aspiration. While discussing, the Simon Commission proposals for the Naga Hills in the House of Commons on May 1935. One of the Members of the House, Mr. Cadogan, who had conversation with the Nagas in the Naga Hills, said that, this hills men 'resent' even the slightest suspicion that something is being done to take away from their immemorial rights and customs⁷³. Basing on the reports and recommendations of the Simon Commission, the British Government, passed the Government of India Act 1935. Under this Act, the 'Naga Hill District' was declared as 'Excluded Area'. It also stated that, no Act of the Federal Legislature or of Assam Legislature was to apply to the Naga Hills. Under Section 92 of the 1935 Act, the Executive authority of the Province Assam extended to the Naga Hills District, but as an Excluded Area, the Governor shall exercise his functions in his discretion in all matter relating to the Hills district. Thus, the Naga Hills was not brought within the fold of Indian policy⁷⁴. However, this Act did not mention clearly about the Nagas right to be independent but it kept the Naga Hills District away from the British India, and this Act sowed the seed of discontentment between the Nagas and the Indians. So also, it further led to the isolation of the Nagas from the Mainland India, which later on resulted in problems and conflicts between the Nagas and Indians.

The Nagas were further isolated from the Indian mainstream by the works of some British officers, who sympathized with the situation of the Nagas. For instance, the British officers like, John H. Hutton, Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, presenting the case of the Nagas to the Indian Statutory Commission asserted that, the tribal's of

⁷³ . Sajal Nag (1998), **India and North-East India: Mind, Politics and the Process of Integration (1946-1950)**, Regency Publications, New Delhi, p.58

⁷⁴ . Vivek Chadha (2005), **Low Intensity Conflicts in India: An Analysis**, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.279

the Northeast India were racially, linguistically, culturally, politically and economically distinct from the Indians. Sir Robert Reid, the then Governor of Assam (1937-1942), argued that the British Government had a responsibility towards the future welfare of these local primitive people. In the wake of British departure from India, he wants all the tribal's of Northeast India to be united under one administration on the pattern of Crown Colonies of Basutoland and Swaziland in South Africa⁷⁵. Sir Reginald Coupland, a British Constitutional expert, reviewed Reid's proposal and suggested that the Nagas be included within a colony, later known as the 'Crown Colony' or 'Coupland plan', named after him. However, the freedom loving Nagas refused to accept the 'Crown Colony' as their demand was nothing short of independence⁷⁶.

In 1945, the Naga Club, which was formed in 1918, changed its nomenclature to Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDTTC) and again it changed its nomenclature to Naga National Council (NNC) during a meeting held at Wokha on February 2, 1946⁷⁷ and it became the sole political platform for the Nagas to voice out their future political aspirations. The NNC elected T. Aliba Ao as President and T. Sakhrie as General Secretary. Initially the NNC was confined only for the welfare and social aspirations of the Naga. But later on, extended its field to political activities to achieve the Naga independence from the foreign yoke. Since then the NNC has been active as the main political organs of the Nagas⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ . Sanjay Kumar Pandey (2011), Op.cit. p.110

⁷⁶ . Prasenjit Biswas and Chandan Suklabaidya (2008), **Ethnic Life-Worlds in North-East India: An Analysis**, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.166

⁷⁷ . A. Lanunungsang Ao (2002), **From Phizo to Muivah: The Naga National Question in North-East India**, Mittal Publication, New Delhi, p.35

⁷⁸ . Aosenba (2001), Op.cit. p.35

The Naga National Council (NNC) made its political aim expressed on June 19, 1946, by submitting 'Four Points Memorandum' to the British Cabinet Mission who had come specifically with the purpose to prepare the grounds for granting independence to India. The four points were related to;

1. Promoting solidarity among the Naga tribes, including those in unadministered areas.
2. Protesting against any attempt to group Assam with Bengal.
3. Favours constitutional inclusion of the Naga Hills in the autonomous Assam
4. Preparing a separate electorate for the Naga tribes⁷⁹.

In connection to this, the NNC issued a statement on 21st May 1947, where the Naga leaders called upon the Assamese, not to join the Indian Union, but form an independent Assam and work in cooperation with the Federal Naga state. It continued, "the Nagas who were determined not to allow themselves to be involved in a divided and chaotic India, are prepared to declare their own independence and can think of entering into a ten-year treaty with an independent Assam"⁸⁰. To sum up, according to the author Sajal Nag (1998), the Nagas regarded the Assam as an independent state. For the Nagas, when the British leave India, they do not want the British to include them in India. But if at all they had to be included, then they wanted it to be with independent Assam, with whom they had historical relationship for centuries, as an autonomous state for some period of time and after that they will

⁷⁹ . Rajat Kanti Das (2005), "*Ethnic Conflict and Self-Determination: Examples of North-East Indian Tribes*", in Rajat K. Das and Debashis Basu (eds), *North East India in Perspective: Biology, Social Formation and Contemporary Problems*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, p.174

⁸⁰ . Sajal Nag (1998), Op.cit. p.71

be free to decide their own future. This is what the NNC meant to the British Cabinet Commission, when they say to include the Naga Hills in the autonomous Assam state.

The year preceding, India's independence also witnessed many conflicting opinions voiced by the Indian nationalist leaders, which may also have led the Nagas to demand for independence. Pandit Nehru initially said that, it might be desirable to fix a period, say ten years after independence, after the establishment of free Indian state and at the end of which the right to secede may be exercised, through proper constitutional process and in accordance with the clearly expressed will of the inhabitants of the area concerned. However, his opinion on this matter changed after he was elected the President of the Indian National Congress⁸¹. In an official letter to the NNC leader, T. Sakhrie, Nehru wrote in August 1946, that, "It is obvious that the Naga territory in Eastern Assam is much too small to stand by itself politically or economically. It lies between the two countries India and China, and a part of it consists of rather backward people who require considerable help. When India is independent, as it is bound to be soon, it will not be possible for the British government to hold on to the Naga territory or any part of it. They would be isolated between India and China. Inevitably, therefore, this Naga territory must be a part of India and of Assam with which it had developed such close association". Nehru was clearly stating that the "Naga territory" was too small to exist as an independent nation and for strategic reasons it must join the Indian Union⁸².

⁸¹ . Vivek Chadha (2005), Op.cit. p.281

⁸² . Udayon Mishra (1988), Op.cit. p.8

The view of Jawaharlal Nehru on the future of the Naga Hills was not acceptable to the NNC. Accordingly, on February 20, 1947, the NNC sent a Memorandum to Lord Mountbatten, the then Viceroy of India for setting up an 'Interim Government' for the Nagas for a period of ten years, at the end of which the Naga people will be left free to choose any form of government as to their wish⁸³. However, the British Indian Government could not respond to this appeal but the NNC was asked to discuss their wishes to the Advisory Committee on the aboriginal tribes, which will visit Kohima⁸⁴. This Advisory Committee also known as Bardoloi Sub-Committee visited Kohima on 19th-21st May 1947 to find out the wishes of the Nagas.

In his welcome address to the Sub-Committee, T. Sakhrie, the Secretary of the NNC said, "You have come to find out from us, the desire of the Naga people on the question of how their land should be governed when the British power withdraws from India. I am sure the members of NNC who are all present in this house will make your task easy, in that Nagas are indivisible and have one voice; I hope you will do all in your power to help the Nagas achieve their demand"⁸⁵. The three days of talks between NNC and Sub-Committee could not yield any result as the negotiations ended in a deadlock on the question of autonomy and the Nagas relationship with the guardian power⁸⁶. As the NNC was demanding an Interim government for a period of ten years with the Government of India as a guardian power and after that, the Nagas will be free to decide their own future.

⁸³ . R. Vashum (2005), Op.cit. p.71

⁸⁴ . Aosenba (2001), Op.cit. p.38

⁸⁵ . Sajal Nag (1998), Op.cit. p.72

⁸⁶ . Thongkholal Haokip (2012), Op.cit. p.309

In another effort to solve the Naga Hills issue, the Government of India sent, Sir Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam to Kohima. The meeting was held with the NNC leaders from 27th to 29th June 1947, which finally resulted in Nine-point Agreement or Hydari Agreement. However, misunderstanding arose between the Government of India and NNC over one clause of this Nine-point Agreement. Of all the Nine-point Agreement, point no.9 bearing the sub title 'Period of Agreement' was the most controversial one. It says that, "The Governor of Assam as the agent of the Government of Indian Union will have 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"⁸⁷. The controversy here was that, both the signatories' parties interpreted the above clause according to their own understanding. The NNC interpreted that, after ten years the Nagas will be free to decide their own future and on the other hand, the Government of India interpreted that, renewal of agreement under the Union of India if the Naga desire so. Hence, with this conflict in interpretation, this agreement could not be implemented.

After the non-implementation of Nine-point Agreement, a Naga delegation led by A.Z. Phizo reached Delhi, as another effort to convince the Indian leaders. This delegation met Mahatma Gandhi at Bhangi colony (Delhi) on July 19, 1947. Mahatma Gandhi tried to convince the Naga leaders to be a part of Indian Union but with the rigid stand of the Naga leaders to be independent, he told the Naga delegation that, Nagas have every right to be independent. We do not want to live

⁸⁷ . R. Vashum (2005), Op.cit. p.72

under the domination of the British and they are now leaving us. I want you to feel that India is yours. I feel that Naga Hills are mine just as much as they are yours, but if you say 'it is mine', then the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I do not believe in forced Unions. If you do not wish to join the Union of India, nobody will force you to do that. The Congress government will not do that⁸⁸.

The Naga leaders greatly emboldened by these words of Mahatma Gandhi, on 14th August 1947, on the eve of Indian independence, the Nagas took the Indian National Congress leaders by surprise as they declared the Naga Independence⁸⁹. This was also to indicate that, the Nagas were independent even before India got her independence⁹⁰. This declaration was send to the Government of India and United Nations by the NNC. It stated that, Benign Excellency (.) Kindly put on record that Nagas will be independent (.) Discussions with India are being carried on to that effect (.) Nagas do not accept the Indian Constitution (.) The right of the people must prevail regardless of size⁹¹.

Nagas During Post-Indian Independence

After India attained its independence, the Government of India attempted to satisfy the Naga leaders by incorporating the Sixth Schedule into the Indian Constitution. In this Sixth Schedule, it includes most of the nine provisions of the Hydari Agreement, and the points submitted by the NNC prior to independence in a Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission on July 19, 1946⁹². Under the Premiership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the

⁸⁸ . Sanjay Kumar Pandey (2011), Op.cit. pp.114-115

⁸⁹ . Wasbir Hasan (2007), Op.cit. p.96

⁹⁰ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.46

⁹¹ . Vivek Chadha (2005), Op.cit. p.282

⁹² . Ibid. p.283

Sixth Schedule had evolved a broad policy of framework concerning the administration and integration of tribal communities in India in general and that of the Northeast India in particular⁹³. Nehru advised Imti Aliba Ao, the then President of NNC, to work within the Sixth Schedule.

However, the Nagas were very rigid in their demand for independence and Imti Aliba Ao on his return to Kohima, issued an ultimatum to the Government of India that, unless within a month, the Nine-point Agreement was amended to incorporate the NNC's view, the Nagas would set up their own independent government⁹⁴. The NNC in order to ascertain the Nagas stand on its demand for independence and to legitimise its declaration of independence on 14th August 1947, conducted plebiscite on May 16, 1951, where 99.9 per cent of the Nagas opted for independence. With this, the Nagas believe that these two actions, declaring independence and conducting plebiscite provides a firm legal and ethical basis for their claim of independence. They communicated their action to both the Government of India and the United Nations⁹⁵.

During early 1950's, saw a numerous attempts made by the NNC leaders to press their demand for independence before the Government of India. The NNC delegation led by A.Z. Phizo met Nehru in December 1951 at Sylhet (Tezpur, Assam) and presented to him the results of the plebiscite. Phizo also met Nehru in March 1952 at Delhi and again in July 1952 at Dibrugarh in Assam. The Vice-President of NNC, Imkongmeren Ao, also submitted a Memorandum to Nehru, while he visited Mao in

⁹³ . Gurudas Das (2012), **Security and Development in India's Northeast**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.41

⁹⁴ . S.K. Chaube (2012), Op.cit. p.154

⁹⁵ . Sanjay Kumar Pandey (2011), Op.cit. p.115

Manipur on October 24, 1952, complaining to him the incident on October 18, 1952, where an Assam police officer shot dead Zasibito of Jotsoma village and reminded him of the Nagas desire for freedom⁹⁶. All these afford of the NNC leaders and their talks with the Government of India could not yield any result. On the part of the Nagas, as resentment, the Nagas boycotted the first Indian General Election in 1952 and the provisions for composition of the Naga Autonomous District Council and for which the Autonomous Council could not be formed in 1953⁹⁷.

Jawaharlal Nehru, in order to see the reality of the situation in Naga Hills for himself visited Kohima on March 30, 1953 along with his Burmese counterpart U.Nu. Nehru maiden visit to Naga Hills turned out to be a very ugly incident due to the irresponsible behaviour of the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, Shri. Barkokati. Without the knowledge of Nehru, he did not allow the NNC leaders to submit any Memorandum or to talk personally with Nehru. To which, the Naga leaders protest and said, if the Prime Minister would not hear us, then we would not hear him either. Thousands of Nagas walked out from the public meeting when Nehru was about to make his address, except for few government servants mostly non-Nagas⁹⁸. After this incident, the Government of India decided to crackdown on the NNC leaders and to this the Assam police began to search intensively the houses of all the NNC leaders and also for the first time Section 144CrPC was imposed in Kohima town⁹⁹. It was followed by passing of Assam Disturbed Area Act 1955,

⁹⁶ . S.K. Chaube (2012), Op.cit. p.154

⁹⁷ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.186

⁹⁸ . Ibid. p.186

⁹⁸ . Aosenba (2001), Op.cit. pp.47-48

⁹⁹ . A. Lanunungsang Ao (2002), Op.cit. p.50

affecting the whole of the Naga Hills District from 1st January 1956¹⁰⁰. Under such atmosphere, the NNC leaders in order to evade arrest went underground and the seed of the insurgency movement¹⁰¹ was sown then.

By now, the NNC leaders were fully convinced that, the Government of India was not willing to give in to their demand of independence nor was considering to amend the Nine-point Agreement, but rather the Government of India wants a solution within the Indian Union, which was not acceptable to them. Having served an ultimatum to the Government of India earlier that, either to amend the Nine-point Agreement or the NNC will form its own independent government. The NNC on March 22, 1956 at Phensinyu village in Kohima area formed the Naga Federal Government (NFG) and the Naga Federal Army. Phizo raised these and thus an insurgent movement was founded in 1956¹⁰². On the other hand, the Government of India declared the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) as illegal and for the first time the existence of insurgency was officially recognised¹⁰³. When the conflict started in Naga Hills, the Army was, send to put it down¹⁰⁴ and consequently the Armed Forces Special Power Act of 1958 was enacted to deal with the situation¹⁰⁵.

In this conflict between the Indian Army and the Naga Army, it was the common Naga people particularly the villagers who were the worst sufferers, as they were often caught in between these two groups. Again, it added more to their sufferings

¹⁰⁰ . The Concern Citizens' Forum (2006), **The Nagas Among the Nascent Nations: A Discourse on the Indo-Naga Peace Process**, Mokokchung, p.17

¹⁰¹ . Aosenba (2001), Op.cit. p.48

¹⁰² . Gurinder Singh (2007), **"A Decade of Ceasefire In Nagaland"**, *Strategic Analysis*, Routledge, U.K. September, Vol.31, No.5, p.815

¹⁰³ . B. Varma (1988), Op.cit. p.147

¹⁰⁴ . Harish Chandola (2008), **"Nagaland Talks Going Slow"**, Mainstream, Perspective Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, May 2-8, Vol.XLVI, No.2, pp.18-19

¹⁰⁵ . Gurinder Singh (2007), Op.cit. p.815

when the Nagas came to know about the 'Village-Grouping' scheme of the Government of India. This scheme was based on the similar model of the British counter-insurgency operation in Malaya and US in Vietnam. The idea in such cases was to isolate the guerrillas from the general populace. The Indian army group together many villages at one particular place, so that, they can check the flow of intelligence to the insurgents and to stop force recruitment from villagers. This kind of scheme, added more hardships and sufferings to the Naga villagers. However, such kind of scheme was difficult to operate in domestic insurgencies, where the government is responsible to the populace¹⁰⁶, which the Indian government realise it. Finally, the Indian government decided to abandoned this policy and the villages were de-grouped towards the end of 1957¹⁰⁷.

During this period, when the whole Naga people were undergoing untold sufferings and hardship, there came out a group of Naga leaders from within the NNC, who wanted to settle the Naga issue peacefully. So that, peace can be restored in Naga Hills and the Naga people can return to their normal life. This group of Naga leaders came to be known as the moderate Naga leaders. The other group of NNC leaders, known as the extremist opposed to this and as a sign of their opposition, T. Sakhrie, one of the moderate leaders was assassinated on January 18, 1956¹⁰⁸. The assassination of T. Sakhrie was a clear message from the extremist NNC leaders that, they were not willing to accept any solution that is short of Independence. However, this kind of act could not dampen the spirit of the moderate leaders to seek for a

¹⁰⁶ . Rajesh Rajagopalan (2007), "**Force and Compromise: India's Counter-Insurgency Grand Strategy**", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Routledge, U.K. April.Vol.XXX, No.1, p.87

¹⁰⁷ . B. Varma (1988), Op.cit. p.152

¹⁰⁸ . Vivek Chadha (2005), Op.cit. p.287

peaceful solution and they gave a call for the Naga People's Convention (NPC) to settle the issue.

Formation of Nagaland State

First Naga People's Convention (NPC), August 22-26, 1957

Along with the moderate Naga leaders, few Naga elders felt the urgency to bring peace in Naga Hills and to solve the Naga issue. For which they felt the need of giving a call for Naga People's Convention (NPC). This idea of holding a Convention was informed to the then, Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District, Shri. S.J.D. Carvolho and Shri. Kapur, the Commissioner at the Deputy Commissioner residence by few Naga elders like, Shri. Levi Zeliang, Shri. Z. Obed, Shri. Imtione Ao, Dr. Setulie and Shri. Yajen Aier¹⁰⁹. The reason behind this was that, during that time due to insurgency problem, gathering or assembling of people was banned. Thus, to seek permission to conduct the meeting peacefully, the authorities were informed. The first Naga People's Convention was held at Kohima from 22nd to 26th August 1957 to discuss and approve the move for restoring peace in Nagaland. In this conference, Dr. Imkongliba Ao was made the President, while Jasokie Angami one time associate of Phizo was chosen as Secretary. The Convention in the presence of nearly 1735 representatives from different Naga

¹⁰⁹ . A. Lanunungsang Ao (2005), **The Architect Of Nagaland State: A Biography of I. Shashimeren Aier**, Naga Scholar's Society, Mokokchung, p.77

tribes¹¹⁰ proposed the formation of a separate administrative unit by merging the Tuensang division of NEFA with the Naga Hills District¹¹¹.

The Naga delegation met the then Prime Minister of India, Nehru at New Delhi on September 25, 1957 and discussed with him about the resolution of the Naga People's Convention. Nehru agreed to grant the Nagas a new political status and for which the Parliament of India passed the Naga Hills Tuensang Area Act in November 1957, which was soon assented by the President of India on November 25, 1957. As a result, the new administrative unit known as Naga Hill Tuensang Area (NHTA) came into being on 1st December 1957¹¹². Section 3 of this Regulation provided that NHTA should be divided into three districts, to be called Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. Section 4 state that, the administration of the NHTA should be carried on by the Governor of Assam, as an agent of the President of India¹¹³.

Second Naga People's Convention (NPC), May 21-23, 1958

The second Naga People's Convention (NPC) was held at Ungma (Mokokchung) from 21st to 23rd May 1958 and was attended by 2,705 delegates. This Convention went a step further than the first Convention and appointed a Liaison Committee. This Committee was to meet the underground Nagas and to win over their support for the Naga People's Convention. This move, though laudatory in its intentions, failed to achieve any success. The underground Naga insisted that the only basis of

¹¹⁰ . Kuroi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.69

¹¹¹ . **Nagaland: 25 Years of Growth & Development (1988)**, Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Nagaland, p.1

¹¹² . H. John Sema (2012), **Traditional and Modern Political Institutions of the Nagas**, A Mittal Publications, New Delhi, p.80

¹¹³ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.189

any negotiation was the recognition of the Naga Federal Government and the acceptance of their demand for independence. The Convention leaders could not reach to an agreement with the Naga underground. Having reached an impasse with the underground Nagas, they decided to go ahead with the appointment of a Drafting Committee, which would formulate their demands¹¹⁴. It was this Drafting Committee, which prepared the 16-point proposal for creating the Nagaland state within the Indian Union.

Third Naga People's Convention (NPC), October 22-26, 1959

The third Naga People's Convention (NPC) was held at Mokokchung from 22nd to 26th October 1959 and was attended by 3000 delegates. This Convention approved the 16-point proposal drafted by the Drafting Committee. The draft of the 16-point proposal to be send to the Government of India was signed by President Imkongliba, Vice-President Vizol, Secretary Jasokie and Joint-Secretary Chubatoshi of the Naga People's Convention¹¹⁵.

A delegation comprising of 15 Naga leaders headed by President of NPC, Dr. Imkongliba Ao went to New Delhi on 26th July 1960. The talks were carried out with the Prime Minister of India, Nehru from 27th to 28th July 1960 for the establishment of separate Nagaland state within the India Union. Except for a few modifications, the Government of India accepted the 16-point proposal¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁴ . Hokishe Sema (1986), Op.cit. p.94

¹¹⁵ . A. Lanunungsang Ao (2005), Op.cit. p.80

¹¹⁶ . Aosenba (2001), Op.cit. p.64

Interim Government (18th February 1961)

To give effect to the 16-point proposal the Government of India formulated the Nagaland (Transitional) Regulation, 1961 for the “Regulation of Nagaland and for matters connected there with until the creation of Nagaland state under the Indian Union”. It was this Regulation that provided for the formation of the Interim Body consisting of 42 members chosen by election from the tribes of Nagaland. The Regulation termed the NHTA as Nagaland¹¹⁷. On February 18, 1961, an Interim Body with 42 members was constituted and it was inaugurated by Shri. Nagesh the then, Governor of Assam. The Interim Body was to act as the Legislature and the tenure was fixed for 3 years. A five member Executive Council headed by a Chief Executive Councillor was formed to administer the area. Mr. P. Shilu Ao was appointed as the Chief Executive Councillor and Dr. Imkongliba Ao, the Chairman of the Interim Body. A caretaker government with P.Shilu Ao as the Chief Minister and four other members namely, Shri. Hokishe Sema, Shri. Akum Imlong, Shri. R.C. Chitten Jamir and Shri. J.B. Jasokie was formed¹¹⁸. However, with an unfortunate incident on 20th August 1961, where Dr. Imkongliba Ao was shot and wounded at Mokokchung by an underground gunman while he was on his way home from pharmacy. He was taken to Army hospital but succumbed to his injuries on 22nd August 1961¹¹⁹. T.N. Angami replaced him as the Chairman of the Interim Body.

¹¹⁷ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.76

¹¹⁸ . **Nagaland: 25 years of Progress and Development (1988)**, Op.cit. pp.2-3

¹¹⁹ . **Nagaland: 25 Years of Growth & Development (1988)**, Op.cit. p.2

Inauguration of the Nagaland State (1st December 1963)

The Nagaland state came into being very much before the stipulated time. When the Nagaland Transitional Provision Regulation was passed, the estimate of the Government of India was to work for three years. However, in the second session of the Interim Body, a resolution was adopted deciding to set up an eight member Committee under P. Shilu Ao to draft the amendment of the Regulation¹²⁰. It is interesting to note, the dialogue between P. Shilu Ao, Chief Executive Councillor and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, when the former came to meet the later in Delhi for this purpose.

Nehru: The Interim period is for three years.

Shilu: Your gesture to end it much before the time will be well received.

Nehru: But the violence continues and the hostilities are intractable.

Shilu: Leave it to us to deal with our kith and kin. I will request you to inaugurate the state.

Nehru: I shall send our Philosopher-Statesman to inaugurate the state. He is a holy soul. His blessing shall bring peace and amity¹²¹.

To give effect to this, the Constitutional (Thirteenth) Amendment Bill 1962 for amending part XXI of the Indian Constitution for incorporating the provisions of the proposed Nagaland state and the Nagaland Bill 1962, for the formation of Nagaland state was adopted by the Lok Sabha on 29th August 1962 and the Rajya Sabha

¹²⁰ . S.K. Chaube (2012), Op.cit. p.160

¹²¹ . Hokishe Sema (1986), Op.cit. pp.95-96

approved these Bills on 3rd September 1962. The President of India assented them on 4th September 1962¹²².

However, the Government of India had to face many criticisms both from within and from other political party members. Regarding these bills, U.N. Trivedi, a Jan Sangh member said that, “We are creating a territory, which we have not been able to administer because of violence that was practised there”. Even some members accused Nehru of sowing the seeds of disintegration and some viewed that Nehru was pursuing the policy of appeasement in respect of the Naga people. To this, Nehru replied that, creation of Nagaland state would not encourage the fissiparous and disruption tendencies, it would rather help in bringing the Naga people in the mainstream India¹²³. Besides objection for the creation of Nagaland state, another objection was the name of the state ‘Nagaland’. Some members like Dr. Ram Subhag Singh requested the Prime Minister to carefully name the area as Naga state or Naga Pradesh as for him Nagaland is something bigger. Shri. C.K. Bhattacharya another member said, Nagaland is an outlandish name¹²⁴. Defending the name ‘Nagaland’, Nehru said, sentiment is as strong thing and we do not think that we should by-pass or come in a way of that sentiment of the Nagas. Well it did not make any difference and so we accepted the name Nagaland¹²⁵. In support of the creation of the Nagaland, Indian Parliamentarian like, Jaya Prakash Narayan said that, “It is far more important to have friendly Nagas on our frontier closely associated with us (India) in some new

¹²² . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.82

¹²³ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.194

¹²⁴ . Rosemary Jamir (1988), **Nagaland 25: Silver Jubilee Souvenir on Completion of 25 Years of Statehood, December 1, 1988**, Etiben Publications, Dimapur, p.82

¹²⁵ . Rosemary Jamir (1988), Op.cit. p.115

Constitutional manner then unfriendly and discontented Nagas kept forcibly within Indian Union”¹²⁶.

As the Government of India and Nehru in particular for his concern for the tribal's was very much determined to grant statehood to the Nagas, so that it can meet the aspiration of the Nagas. For which despite of all criticisms, both these bills were passed and the statehood was granted to Nagas with special provision for Tuensang district. A Regional District Autonomous Council was given to Tuensang for a period of ten years, where the Governor will have the special responsibility and no act of state legislature will be implemented unless the Autonomous Council approves it.

It was a Sunday morning at 10.am on 1st December 1963. Dr. Sravapalli Radhakrishnan, the President of India, solemnly declared Nagaland to be the 16th state under the Union of India in the presence of thousands of jubilant Nagas¹²⁷. Dr. Hokushe Sema, former Chief Minister of Nagaland, in his address on the eve of the state inauguration day in 1970, said that, the establishment of Nagaland state marked the acceptance and acknowledgement of the Nagas as a distinct political community in India, an aspiration that Nagas cherished for years¹²⁸.

¹²⁶ . Zapra Chakhesang (2002), **A Brief Biography of Vamuzo**, N.V. Press, Kohima, p.74

¹²⁷ . **Nagaland: 25 years of Progress and Development (1988)**, Op.cit. p.1

¹²⁸ . **A Collection of Speeches and Statements of Shri. Hokushe Sema, Chief Minister of Nagaland 1969-1974 (1984)**, Directorate of Information and Publicity, Government of Nagaland, Kohima, p.216

Emergence of Political Parties in Nagaland

The political parties emerged in Nagaland only after the creation of the state of Nagaland, though the electoral process had started by 1952. Earlier before the creation of state, the Naga Hills was a district under the state of Assam and it was allotted 3 seats in the Assam Legislative Assembly. However, the Nagas boycotted the election in 1952 and for which the Nagas neither contested nor participated in the first Indian General Election. So also, the Nagas boycotted the election to the Autonomous District Council elections in 1953. It was only in the second state general assembly election that was held in 1957, three Nagas namely, Shri, Khelhoshe Sema, Shri. Chubatemsu Ao and Subedar Satsuo Angami filed their nomination papers for the three seats from the Naga Hills District to Assam legislative assembly and returned uncontested. Shri. Khelhoshe Sema was appointed as the Deputy Minister¹²⁹ in the Assam Council of Minister. These three Naga candidates filed their nomination not under the name of any political party but as representatives of Nagas.

The formation of the state marked the beginning of the democratic process in the state and as the Election Commission announced the dates for the election to the first Nagaland Legislative Assembly in January 1964, two political parties was formed to contest the forth-coming election. Hence, the emergence of the modern political parties in the state was the result of granting statehood to Naga Hills¹³⁰. The first political party was the Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) founded by leaders like, A. Kevichusa, Vizol and Tajenyuba, this party was regional in character. The second

¹²⁹ . Rosemary Jamir (1988), Op.cit. pp.139-140

¹³⁰ . B.N. Agrawal (1997), Op.cit. p.582

political party was the Naga Nationalist Organization (NNO) founded by leaders like, P. Shilu Ao, Hokishe Sema, R.C. Chitten Jamir, T.N. Angami and J.B. Jasokie and this political party was considered as a pro-Congress party, which merged with the Indian National Congress in 1976.

The first democratic election based on adult franchise was held from January 10th to 16th 1964. The Naga Nationalist Organization (NNO) and Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) contested the election. Forty seats were to be filled up by direct election and six seats were to be filled up through the representatives of Tuensang Regional Council¹³¹. There were 73 candidates in the field to contest the 40 seats. The NNO party won 34 seats (including six from Tuensang district), while the DPN party won only 12 seats. A seven member Council of Minister headed by P. Shilu Ao was sworn in by the then, Governor Shri. Vishnu Sahay on 25th January 1964. Shri T.N. Angami was elected as the first Speaker of the Assembly. Shri. S.C. Jamir became the first to be the Member of Parliament in Lok Sabha and Shri. M. Vero in Rajya Sabha from Nagaland¹³².

The second general election was held on February 6, 1969. This time the Tuensang was given 12 seats and so the strength was raised to 52. NNO party secured 22 seats, the United Front of Nagaland (UFN) won 10 seats and Independent 8 seats. All 12 members of Tuensang and 8 independent joined NNO and a 17 member NNO ministry, headed by Hokishe Sema was sworn in on February 28, 1969¹³³. The third assembly election was held between 12th to 16th February 1974. With the allocation

¹³¹ . H. John Sema (2012), Op.cit. p.81

¹³² . **Nagaland: 25 years of Progress and Development (1988)**, Op.cit. p.3

¹³³ . Ibid. p.5.

of the full quota of 20 seats to Tuensang district, the total strength of the Assembly was raised to 60. The United Democratic Front (UDF) won the election with 26 seats, while NNO party won 22 seats and Independent won 12 seats. The UDF party formed the government with the support of independents with Mr. Vizol as Chief Minister. However due to defection within the party led by Mr. Tokheho Sema a cabinet minister in Mr. Vizol ministry brought down the government on 18th March 1975. Thereafter, Mr. J.B. Jasokie of NNO party formed the government but it lasted only for ten days. Due to inability to run the government smoothly, the Governor imposed the President Rule in the state for the first time on 22nd March 1975.

During the President Rule in the state, one major political event took place in the state and that was the merger of NNO party with the Indian National Congress¹³⁴ in 1976. This merger brought the Nagas into close contact with the mainstream politics of India.

With the merger of the Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) party with Indian National Congress, the 4th legislative assembly election in 1977 saw for the first time a national political party in the state. The United Democratic Front (UDF) won the election with 35 seats, Congress (I) won 15 seats, National Convention of Nagaland (NCN) won 1 seat and Independents won 8 seats. The UDF party formed the government with Mr. Vizol as the Chief Minister. Very soon, there arose crisis within the UDF party, with the expulsion of Mr. S.C. Jamir, the then Deputy Chief Minister of Nagaland from the UDF party due to his anti-party activities. Mr. S.C. Jamir along with other expelled UDF members formed United Democratic Front

¹³⁴ . Easterine Kire Iralu (1986), **A Historical and Geographical Study of Nagaland: Vol.II**, Directorate of School Education, Kohima, p.183.

(Progressive) party. Later on it merged with newly created political party of Mr. J.B. Jasokie, Naga National Party (NNP) and constituted a new party called as United Legislature Party (ULP) under the leadership of Mr. S.C. Jamir¹³⁵. Thereafter, the ULP under Mr. S.C. Jamir formed the government, but it lasted only for 48 days, as the NNP members were not satisfied with Mr. S.C. Jamir in ULP government. Thus, the former NNP members withdrew from the ULP, joined with UDF party and formed a new party known as Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP). The NNDP formed the government with Mr. J.B. Jasokie as Chief Minister on June 1980 and survived until the next general election in 1982.

The 5th general election was held on November 10, 1982. The Congress (I) party won 24 seats, NNDP won 24 seats and Independent won 12 seats. The Congress (I) party under the leadership of Mr. S.C. Jamir formed the government with the support of Independents. However, due to Congress (I) high command, Mr. S.C. Jamir had to step down on 29th October 1986 and paved the way for Mr. Hokishe Sema as the Chief Minister. In the 6th general election, the Congress (I) party won the absolute majority with 34 seats. The NNDP won 18 seats, Naga People's Party a newly formed political party won 1 seat and the Independents won 7 seats. The Congress (I) party with Mr. Hokishe Sema formed the government. To the surprise of the Congress (I) party, the party could not complete its full term despite having absolute majority, as Mr. K.L. Chishi defected from the Congress (I) party and formed his own political party called, Congress (Regional) party. This brought down the Congress (I) party government under Mr. Hokishe Sema. Thereafter, Mr. Vamuzo, the leader of the opposition formed another coalition government known as Joint

¹³⁵. Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.148

Regional Legislature Party with the defectors as he could mobilise the majority in the house of 60 members. Again, the politics of defection weaken this government also and for which the President rule was imposed for the second time on 7th August 1988.

Again in the 7th general assembly election, the Congress (I) party won with 36 seats, while Nagaland People's Council (NPC) won 24 seats. The Congress (I) party under Mr. S.C. Jamir formed the government. The 7th legislative assembly also saw numerous defections, where floor-crossing took place among the party members every now and then and new party was formed overnight. For this defection, Mr. S.C. Jamir could not complete its tenure and on 15th May 1990, Mr. K.L. Chishi of NPC formed the government. However, Mr. K.L. Chishi too had to resign on 16th June 1990 due to internal crisis within the NPC party. After this, Mr Vamuzo, who was not the member of legislative assembly was made the chief Minister from the backdoor but even he could not stay in office until the end of legislative assembly tenure due to politics of defection. Finally, once again the president Rule was imposed on 2nd April 1992 until the general election to 8th legislative assembly in February 1993.

During 1980's, the Nagaland state politics saw the emergence of politics of defection. During this period, the Nagaland state had numerous Chief Minister even for a few days. Party was formed over night and government was brought down due to defection. Commenting on the politics of defection in Nagaland, Arenba Jamir rightly remarked that, "the Christ like political preachers are today the defectors of different parties, not a single party could implement to fulfil their promises during their tenure. Majority of the so called politicians are too ambitious to become the

leader of a party aiming to become the top leader of the government. To them, the other ranks like Minister of State, Deputy Minister and MLA are negligible and do not accept such post”¹³⁶.

The Congress (I) again got the absolute majority of seats in the 8th legislative assembly general election with 35 seats. The Nagaland People’s Council (NPC) won 17 seats, the Democratic Labour Party a newly formed political party won 1 seat and the Independent won 7 seats. Again, Mr. S.C. Jamir the Congress (I) party leader formed the government as a Chief Minister on 22nd February 1993¹³⁷. This time Mr. S.C. Jamir was able to complete his full tenure in the office, as there was no major disturbance. In the 9th general election held on February 1998, the Congress (I) party almost sweep the whole 60 seats, as various NGOs boycotted the election for which only the Congress (I) party and few Independents participated in the election. The Congress (I) won 53 seats and Independents won 7 seats. Mr. S.C. Jamir became Chief Minister for another term.

In the 10th general assembly election held on February 2003, the Congress (I) party won 21 seats, Nagaland People’s Front won 19 seats, Nationalist Democratic Movement a newly created party in Nagaland won 5 seats. For the first time in Nagaland State, besides Congress (I) party other National political party like Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) also won 7 seats, Janata Dal (United) 3 seats, Samata Party (SP) 1 seat and Independent won 4 seats¹³⁸. The Congress (I) party emerged as

¹³⁶ . Kuroi K. Zimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.126

¹³⁷ . E. T. Ezung (2002), **Government of Nagaland: Road to Progress**, Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.10.

¹³⁸ . Chubatemjen Ao (2012), **General Elections to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly (A Profile): 1974-2008**, Eagle Press, Kohima, p.91.

the single largest party but due to pre-poll alliance, the NPF and its alliance formed the Government with Mr. Neiphiu Rio as the Chief Minister.

The NPF party again registered victory in the 11th general election held on 2008. The NPF party won 26 seats, followed by Congress (I) party 23 seats, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) won 2 seats, National Congress Party (NCP) won 2 seats and the Independents won 7 seats¹³⁹. Again, the NPF led alliance under the leadership of Mr. Neiphiu Rio formed the government. The 12th general assembly election also saw the victory of the NPF party with 38 seats, Congress (I) won 8 seats, Independents won 8 seats, National Congress Party (NCP) won 4 seats and both BJP and JD (U) won 1 seat each¹⁴⁰. With this victory, the NPF party had won for the third consecutive term in the Nagaland legislative assembly election.

¹³⁹ . Chubatemjen Ao (2012), Op.cit. p.91.

¹⁴⁰ . Chubatemjen Ao (2013), **General Election to the 12th Election Nagaland Legislative Assembly 2013: Details of Votes Polled**, Eagle Press, Kohima

Chapter 3

Factors for the Emergence of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland

In this chapter, an attempt is made to study the factors for the emergence of regional political parties in Nagaland. In the early part of 1957, a church leaders meeting was held at Kohima and Impur and after this meeting, the church leaders sent out an appeal for peace to both the Government of India and Naga undergrounds. In response to this peace appeal by the church leaders, the so called moderate Naga leaders from within the NNC came forward. The main purpose was to oppose violence, to restore peace, and to win over the Naga rebels¹. Unexpected damage of lives and property resulting from the armed struggle between the hostile Nagas and the Indian Armed forces made the peace loving Naga people to realise that, the solution to their problem lay not in the violent methods but in negotiating with the Government of India. Consequently, the moderate Naga leaders disassociated themselves from violent path of struggle for an independent Nagaland and instead preferred political and democratic process for a peaceful solution of the Naga problem². The result of this effort was that, it made them to call for a Naga People's Convention (NPC).

The Naga People's Convention (NPC) was held during 1957, 1958 and 1959. It was in this Convention, the 16-point proposal was drafted and was approved by the Naga people and which became the basis for the creation of Nagaland state as the 16th state under the Indian Union. It was this Naga People's Convention (NPC), which became one of the most important factors for the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland. A political party is a pre-requisite for a democratic process, as the political

¹ . Aosenba (2001), Op.cit. p.61

² . Chandrika Singh (1980), "**Nagaland-From a District to State: Culmination of Political and Democratic Process**", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Chandigarh, December, Vol.41, No.4, p.815

party are an agent of democracy through which it fulfils the political aspirations of the people.

Among the members of the Convention, there arose two differing views, regarding the role of Naga People's Convention. Members like, Vizol, A. Kevichusa and Tajenyuba viewed that, the NPC was only a mediating agency between the Government of India and underground Federal Government of Nagaland. According to them, the Naga People's Convention (NPC) was not a competent body to sign any agreement with the Government of India, because it was not a conflicting party³. Since the conflict was between the Government of India and Naga underground, for them, the only competent party to sign an agreement was these two parties in conflict. However, the other Convention members went ahead and signed the 16-point proposal with the Government of India in 1960, which paved the way for creation of a separate state Nagaland, which was formerly known as Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA)⁴.

The NPC also appointed the Liaison Committee to contact and consult the Naga underground leaders but they were unable to convince the Naga undergrounds to come to the negotiating table. It was for this reason that, even after the creation of statehood, it could not end the violent insurgent movement in Nagaland. It was primarily because, the 16-point agreement was signed by the Government of India with the mainstream Naga leaders and not with the Naga undergrounds⁵. Hence, the Naga underground did not accept the creation of statehood and the insurgent

³. Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), Op.cit. p.6

⁴. Ibid. p.6

⁵. Lecture Delivered by Nagaland Chief Minister, Neiphiu Rio at the India Habitat Centre (18th February 2006), "**Governance in Trouble Times: The Nagaland Experience**", New Delhi, NPF, Nagaland, p.7

movement continued. For which these group of Naga leaders felt that, a political party or a body was required to be a mediator between the Government of India and Naga underground, to bring peace and final solution to Naga political issue.

Another factor that led to the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland was that, when the Election Commission announced the dates for the first general assembly election in Nagaland. The tribal council passed a resolution that only those persons approved by the tribal council would be allowed to stand for election and all would be elected uncontested. This was another turning point in the Naga political history. These Naga leaders felt that, they had no other option but to form a political party to bring the system back to the track by participating in the election⁶ and to declare a policy to work for a final political settlement of the Indo-Naga political problem. This move surprised those members who had signed the 16-point agreement and the Interim Body Members. As Hokishe Sema, former Chief Minister of Nagaland and one of the Interim Body Member said that, “I strongly feel that it was too early for the Nagas to fight the elections on the basis of political parties in the face of the tribal divisions and the underground problems. The system of tribal representatives was doing very well and it could have continued till the problems posed by the underground were satisfactory solved”⁷.

⁶ . Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), Op.cit. p.6

⁷ . Hokishe Sema (1986), Op.cit. P.103

Emergence of Regional Political Party

Having decided to form a political party, a group of Naga leaders came together in a meeting held on 21st October 1963, at Kohima under the chairmanship of A. Kevichusa and took the decision to form a political party called Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) to contest in the forth-coming general election in Nagaland.

This is how regional political party emerged in Nagaland. From Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) in 1964 to Naga People's Front (NPF) today, the party had undergone change of nomenclature a number of times to suit the demanding situation of the different periods, but the policy and principles as well as the symbol, motto etc. of the party continued to remain unchanged⁸.

Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) 1963

In the meeting held on the 21st October 1963, it was resolved as follows:

Aims and Objectives

1. In view of the disturbed condition in Nagaland, nearly eight years after the trouble started, a political party called the "Democratic Party of Nagaland" is formed to contest in the forth-coming General Elections.
2. The party is to be regarded as an ad hoc party set up to unite the people of Nagaland in these troubled times, and it will be open to the party to dissolve itself if and when its task is considered accomplished.
3. Membership is open to all in Nagaland who accept the principles laid down.

⁸. **Celebrating 50 years: Naga People's Front Golden Jubilee (1963-2013)**, Op.cit. pp.25-26

Party Principles

1. The party will have for its primary objective, the restoration of peace and normalcy.
2. As a Democratic party, the will of the people will be the guiding principle in the conduct of the affairs of the party.
3. The party will work on constitutional line for the rights of the people.
4. The party will strive to set up a pattern of administration best suited to the tribes to pave the way for (a) permanent internal peace and (b) lasting good relationship with the Government of India⁹.

After the formation of the political party, the party immediately registered with the Election Commission of India vide Notification No.126/NL/63 dated the 29th November 1963. The party had “Cock” as its symbol, which was allotted to DPN vide Notification No. 56/3/63 dated 2nd December 1963. The Cock symbolises the herald of a new dawn of understanding, unity and peace in the land. Pledged to the highest ideals of Morality, the party has for its motto the Latin catchword ‘fide non armis’ meaning ‘by faith not arms’ as its guiding principle for solving the Indo-Naga political problem¹⁰.

⁹ . **Celebrating 50 years: Naga People’s Front Golden Jubilee (1963-2013)**, Op.cit. p. 26

¹⁰ . Ibid. p. 26

In a field survey conducted with 300 respondents with different group of age, sex and tribe, when a question regarding creation of statehood and the aspirations of the Nagas, the responses of the respondents is shown in the table 1.

Q. Do you think that, the present state of Nagaland has met the political aspirations of the Nagas?

	Options	In Percentage
A	Yes	6%
B	No	58%
C	Need more autonomy	33%
D	Don't know	3%

Table 1 (source: field survey)

When this question was asked to the respondents, 58% said No. 33% said Need for more autonomy. 6% said Yes and 3% said Don't know. Out of the total respondents, the majority 58% said that, the present state of Nagaland has not fulfilled the political aspiration of the Nagas because the formation of state could not end the conflict in Nagaland. The majority of the respondents states that, the demand of the Nagas was not for statehood but it was more greater than statehood for which the Government of India had to settle the issue with the Naga underground for final and lasting solution. The 33% of the respondents said that, the Nagas need more autonomy in respect to our customary usage and traditional institutions. This group of respondents cited an example of how the Government of India transferred the Nagaland state to Ministry of Home Affairs from Ministry of External affairs, for which they said the Nagas need more autonomy to protect their own interest. 6% of the respondents feels that the creation of the Nagaland state has met the aspirations of the Nagas as we have a state of our own to protect and preserve our own identity and the rest 3% of the

respondents do not know whether the creation of state has met the political aspirations of the Nagas.

With regard to the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland, this question was asked to the respondents and their responses is shown in table 1.1

Q. What led to the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland?

	Reasons	In Percentage
A	To be an alternative to the national political party	10%
B	To protect and preserve Naga identity and traditions	23%
C	To be a mediator between the Naga underground and Government of India	43%
D	All of the above	17%
E	Do not know	7%

Table 1.1 (source: field survey)

Out of the total respondents, 43% of the respondents said that, the regional political party emerged, to be a mediator between the Naga underground and the Government of India. As the Naga People's Convention could not bring the Naga underground to the negotiating table, nor could it solve the Naga issue, for which a political party was formed, which could be a mediator between these two parties to bring final and lasting solution. 23% of the respondents said that, since the Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) party was considered as an Indian party, some Nagas felt that the Nagas need to have their own party and formed the first regional political party known as Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), which will protect and preserve the Naga identity. 17% of the respondents said all of the above options that had been given. They said that, the regional party was formed to be an alternative to national party in contesting elections, so as, to preserve and protect the Naga identity and to

be a mediator as its objectives. 7% of the respondents said they don't know. They said that because any political party aims to be in power and that it is very difficult to say that it emerged for a particular purpose.

Again, to know the relation between the Naga political issue and the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland, when the respondents was asked another question, shown in table 1.2

Q. Do you think the emergence of the regional political party in Nagaland have something to do with the Naga political issue.

	Options	In percentage
A	Yes	69%
B	No	19%
C	Don't know	12%

Table 1.2 (source: field survey)

When this question was asked, 69% of the respondents said yes. The 69% of the respondents said that, they are not quite sure whether the regional party emerged to be a mediator between the Government of India and Naga underground or not but they agree that it has something to do with the Naga political issue. They said that since regional political party emerged in Nagaland, one of its objectives had been to solve the Naga political issue. 19% of the respondents said No. this group of respondents said that, the issue of Naga problem is common to all political parties and that for them whether regional or national political party's main objectives is to contest election and to be in power. 12% of the respondents said that they don't know. They said that, the people who formed the regional party was also a member of Naga People's Convention and may be some misunderstanding might had taken

place between the members and for the which two political parties emerged and may be it has nothing to do with Naga political issue.

The Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) fought the first general assembly election in Nagaland in January 1964 as a registered political party. DPN was the only organised and registered regional political party in the state during 1964. The DPN party contested the first general assembly election with its election manifesto aimed to bring the Naga underground to the negotiation table and to bring final solution to the Naga issue. On the other hand, the Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) party contested the election with its election manifesto for peace and economic development of the Nagaland state. The DPN party won 12 seats out of 40 seats contested in Nagaland Legislative Assembly. One of the reasons for the defeat of DPN party was that the Central government and the bureaucrats in the state supported the NNO party in the election.

United Front of Nagaland (UFN) 1968

With the signing of the first ceasefire agreement between the Government of India and Federal Government of Nagaland, a Naga underground government on September 6, 1964 and which was followed by political talks to solve the Naga political issue. The 12 elected MLA's of Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) considered that their objective was achieved and they resigned en bloc on 8th December 1964¹¹ and dissolved the Democratic Party of Nagaland.

However, the political talks failed to bring any solution to Naga political issue and the ceasefire agreement broke down. On the other hand, the process of political

¹¹ . Bendangangshi (1993), Op.cit. p.158

development in Nagaland continued and the election to 2nd legislative assembly was announced. For which, the former members of Democratic Party of Nagaland again met at Kohima on 17th and 18th July 1968 and formed another regional political party called, the United Front of Nagaland (UFN). The party got registered with the Election Commission of India as UFN with 'Cock' as its party symbol and 'fide non armis' as its motto¹². The aims and objectives of the party were,

1. To take every possible step to bring about a political solution through peaceful means.
2. To work for the unity of the Nagas on the principles of justice and equality¹³.

The United Front of Nagaland (UFN) contested the 2nd general assembly election held on February 6, 1969, with its elections manifesto for solving the Naga issue and also criticising the ruling party for its inability to solve the Naga issue and also question its seriousness in solving the Naga issue. On the other hand, the NNO party, in its election manifesto talks about the economic progress that had taken place in the past five years and seek the people's mandate to enable the party to work for economic development in the state. The UFN party won 10 seats and was defeated by Naga Nationalist Organisation (NNO) party who won 22 seats. The reason for the NNO party victory in the election was also that it received support from the central government and state bureaucrats and so also the Naga people wants peace and economic development in the state. This had been the reasons for the defeat of UFN party in the second general assembly election.

¹² . V. Hokuto Jimomi (2009), **Political Parties in Nagaland**, Graphic Printers, Dimapur, p.23

¹³ . Ibid. p.24

United Democratic Front (UDF) 1974

In the mid-term poll for the Lok Sabha, which was held on 1971, Mr. A. Kevichusa, the United Front of Nagaland (UFN) candidate, defeated Mr. S.C. Jamir the NNO party candidate. However, very soon, Mr. S.C. Jamir was elected to the Nagaland State Legislative Assembly. Mr. S.C. Jamir held Mr. Hokishe Sema who was then the Chief Minister of Nagaland, responsible for his defeat in the Lok Sabha election and therefore he along with 14 MLA's of NNO party defected from the party and joined UFN party. It was for this the United Front of Nagaland (UFN) underwent a change in the party nomenclature to accommodate the members coming from other party. The party changed its nomenclature to United Democratic Front (UDF), with Party symbol, motto, principles, aims and objectives remaining the same.

The aims and objects of the United Democratic Front (UDF) party;

1. To propose, ground for peaceful solution of the Naga political problem through constitutional means.
2. To work for unity and integrity of the people.
3. To work for economic advancement with special emphasis for rural development.
4. To strive for clean and efficient administration¹⁴.

The regional political party under this new nomenclature as United Democratic Front (UDF) party fought the 3rd general assembly election held on 12th to 16th February 1974. The UDF party won the election with 26 seats, NNO won 22 seats and Independent won 12 seats. The UDF party along with the support of Independent

¹⁴ . **The Constitution of United Democratic Front (1977)**, Lamber Press, Wokha

MLAs formed the government with Mr. Vizol as the Chief Minister. The reasons behind the UDF party victory were that, it could able to expose the corruptions within the government and in return, it promise to the people to give clean administration. It also sought to secure the sympathy of the underground by promising to release all political prisoners, to withdraw Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, and to bring about a permanent political settlement with peace. Moreover, the UDF party was a mass based party and its influence in the countryside was gaining strength. With the dissension in the NNO's party rank, the UDF party gained much support, won the majority of the seats in the election, and could muster support of sufficient independents for the formation of the Ministry in the state¹⁵.

However, Mr. Vizol could not remain in the office for a long time. It could hardly function for a year, as crisis arose within the UDF party on March 8, 1975. Mr. Tokheho Sema, a cabinet minister resigned from the Mr. Vizol ministry, thereafter, he along with seven other members of the legislative assembly defected from the UDF party and joined the NNO party. After this defection, Mr. J.B. Jasokie of NNO party formed the government but he also could form the government only for ten days due to defection politics. Finally, the Governor of Nagaland promulgated the President Rule in Nagaland on 22nd March 1975.

Again, the regional political party under the same party nomenclature, United Democratic Front (UDF) contested the 4th general assembly election held on November 18, 1977. The election manifesto of the UDF party was that, it showed faith in the Shillong Accord, promised to find out solution to the Naga political

¹⁵ . B. N. Agrawal (1997), Op.cit. p.586

problem, to secure integration of contiguous Naga areas and to expedite settlement of boundary issue with the neighbouring states. So also, time bound development schemes, achieving self-sufficiency in food, accelerating rural electrification and water supply programmes. The Congress (I) party assured the Naga people in its election manifesto about the party firm desire to uphold the special constitutional provision under Article 371 (A), to give full support to the underground leaders in the formulation and implementation of “other issues” relating to clause III of the Shillong Accord. Which states that, the representatives of the underground organisation should have reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussion for final settlement¹⁶. The National Convention of Nagaland (NCN), a new political party also promise to give priority to the economic development of the backward areas, establishment of more industries in the state, village housing and village welfare programme¹⁷.

The UDF party again won the election with 35 seats, Congress (I) won 15 seats, National Convention of Nagaland (NCN) won 1 seat and Independent won 8 seats. The UDF party with again Mr. Vizol as Chief Minister formed the government. An analysis of the results of the 1977 election reveals that the Congress got defeated due to excessiveness committed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India during the National Emergency. Another reason behind the UDF party victory was that it obtained support of the underground Nagas towards whom the party leaders had remained very much sympathetic and liberal. The Shillong Accord had enabled

¹⁶ . Charles Chaise (2005), Op.cit. p.197

¹⁷ . B. N. Agrawal (1997), Op.cit. p.589

thousands of Naga undergrounds to come over ground and they all voted in favour of UDF candidates¹⁸.

However, Mr. Vizol could not complete his tenure due to politics of defection. The crisis arose when the UDF party expelled Mr. S.C. Jamir, the then Deputy Chief Minister in Mr. Vizol ministry. Mr. S.C. Jamir along with the expelled members of UDF party formed a new political party called United Democratic Front (Progressive). After that, Mr. S.C. Jamir merged his party to newly formed Naga National Party (NNP) party of Mr. J.B. Jasokie, and named it as United Legislature Party (ULP), under his leadership.

The expulsion of Mr. S.C. Jamir from the party and the defection within the UDF party brought down the UDF ministry under Mr. Vizol on April 1980. Thereafter, Mr. S.C. Jamir formed the government with his newly formed United Legislature Party (ULP) but even he could not stay in the office only for 48 days due to the politics of defection. As the Naga National Party (NNP) of Mr. J.B. Jasokie which merged with Mr. S.C. Jamir UDF (Progressive) party was not satisfied in Mr. S.C. Jamir United Legislature Party (ULP) government. This dissatisfaction among the former members of NNP in United Legislature Party (ULP) led to the withdrawal of former NNP members from ULP government and it brought down Mr. S.C. Jamir government.

The Naga National Party (NNP), which had defected from United Legislature Party (ULP), decided to merge with United Democratic Front (UDF) party. Hence, the regional political party in Nagaland once again underwent a change in its party

¹⁸ . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.125

nomenclature. This merger led to a change in party's nomenclature to Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP). In June 1980, a new NNDP ministry headed by Mr. J.B. Jasokie replaced Mr. S.C. Jamir ULP ministry. The NNDP government headed by Mr. J.B. Jasokie continued to be in power until the next general election in 1982¹⁹.

Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP) 1981

The official merger of United Democratic Front (UDF) party with Naga National Party (NNP) and change of nomenclature to Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP) took place on 3rd December 1981, at UDF party 9th General Session held at Kohima. The aims and objectives of Naga National Democratic party (NNDP),

1. To help in finding a solution to Naga political problem through peaceful means.
2. To strive for greater Nagaland.
3. To safeguard political, social, economic and religious rights of the people of Nagaland.
4. To work for economic self-reliance.
5. To promote and uphold the cultural heritage of the people.
6. To advocate the establishment of a government based on the Naga pattern of society²⁰.

The regional party in Nagaland under the new nomenclature called NNDP contested the 5th general assembly election in Nagaland held on 10th November 1982 and won 24 seats. Both the NNDP and Congress (I) party secured equal seats but it was the

¹⁹ . Nagaland (1988): 25 Years of Growth and Development, Op.cit. p.7

²⁰ . The Constitution of Naga National Democratic Party (1980)

Congress (I) party, which formed the government with the support of Independents. The Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP) again lost the 6th general assembly election held on November 18, 1987 as the party won only 18 seats as compared to Congress (I) party which won 34 seats. The reason behind the NNDP defeat in the election was due to the politics of defection among the party members. The role of the money and muscle power had also begun to play an important role in the state politics and it played a great role in deciding the outcome of the elections results during this time. Where, the party manifesto of NNDP, like solving the Naga political issue, peace and economic development of the state could not have much impact on the voters.

On July 30, 1988, thirteen out of the 34 Congress (I) MLAs under Mr. K.L. Chishi defected from the Congress (I) party and this brought down the Congress (I) government and led to another constitutional crisis in the state. For which the President rule was imposed for the second time in the state on August 7, 1988²¹. When the Nagaland state was under the President Rule, one political development took place in the Nagaland state politics. That was, the nomenclature of regional political party in Nagaland was changed. This time, it was the defectors from the Congress (I) party led by Mr. K.L. Chishi decided to join the Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP). The NNDP in order to accommodate the members coming from other party, decided to change its party nomenclature. It was on the 6th General Session of the NNDP, which was held in Dimapur on September 21, 1988,

²¹. Zhangulie (ed) (1989), **25 Years of Nagaland Legislative Assembly**, Nagaland Legislative Assembly Secretariat, Kohima, pp.7-8.

the party decided to change its nomenclature to Nagaland People's Council (NPC)²². The Election Commission gave its approval to the change of the party's nomenclature from NNDP to NPC vide its notification No.56/84.XXXXVIII dated November 18, 1988²³.

Nagaland People's Council (NPC) 1988

The regional political party that represented in the 7th Nagaland Legislative Assembly was under the nomenclature Nagaland People's Council party and it has the following aims and objects:

1. To prepare the ground for solution of the Naga Political problem through peaceful means.
2. To work for unity and integrity of the people.
3. To work for economic advancement of the people with special emphasis on rural development.
4. To work for the preservation of tradition and cultural values of the Naga people while introducing reforms aimed at character building.
5. To strive for clean and efficient administration²⁴.

In the 7th general assembly election, the NPC party contested the election with its election manifesto, to solve the Naga political issue, to give clean administration, for economic development of the state and of the rural area development. The Congress (I) party laid emphasis on the party achievement on its past five years in government in its election manifesto. The NPC party won only 24 seats, while the Congress (I)

²² . Zhangulie (ed) (1989), Op.cit. pp.7-8.

²³ . V. Hokuto Jimomi (2009), Op.cit. p.8.

²⁴ . **The Constitution of Nagaland People's Council (1990)**, Titan Printing Press, Kohima

party won 36 seats and formed the government with Mr. S.C. Jamir as Chief Minister. Again, due to politics of defection, the NPC party was able to topple the Congress (I) government and Mr. K.L. Chishi of NPC party formed the government on 15th May 1990. However, crisis arose within the NPC party and for which Mr. K.L. Chishi had to resign from the post of Chief Minister on 16th June 1990.

After that, the NPC party elected Mr. Vamuzo as Chief Minister on 19th June 1990, although he was not a member of Legislative Assembly then. Mr. Vamuzo himself could not able to stay in the office for long due to politics of defection, which led to instability in the government. For which, the President Rule was again imposed in Nagaland state on 2nd April 1992 and which continued till the 8th legislative assembly election held on February 1993. In the 8th legislative assembly election held on February 1993, the regional political party contested the election under the same party nomenclature, Nagaland People's Council (NPC). In this general election, the NPC party won 17 seats and it lost to Congress (I) party, who won 35 seats. It was reported that, during this general election there were many incidents of booth capturing by the Congress (I) supporters and involvement of underground, which helped the Congress to win the election. The Congress (I) party under the leadership of Mr. S.C. Jamir formed the government on 22nd February 1993²⁵. There was not so much disturbance in the 8th Nagaland Legislative Assembly and for which the government was unable to complete its tenure. The politics of defection among the party members and the role of money and muscle power also played a great role in deciding the results during this period also.

²⁵ . E. T. Ezung (2002), Op.cit. p.10.

Another major political event took place in Nagaland state politics during the 9th Nagaland Legislative Assembly in 1998. With the signing of ceasefire agreement between the Government of India and NSCN (IM), which came into effect on 1st August 1997 and was followed by political talks to solve the Indo-Naga political issue. It had been 50 years without any concrete solution to Naga political issue and it had been the utmost desire of the Naga people for an early and peaceful solution to Naga political issue. Various NGOs headed by Naga Hoho, the apex Naga tribal body in a meeting held at Naga Club building at Kohima on 20th January 1998, decided to boycott the 9th general assembly election, to be held on 23rd February 1998, under the slogan “No Solution, No Election”. They also gave a call to the Naga people in general and to the political parties in particular, not to participate or file their nomination²⁶. However, the Government of India decided to conduct the general assembly election in Nagaland as per scheduled, as the regular elections are the most essential feature of any democratic state.

The Nagaland People’s Council (NPC) party, a regional political party, whose main objective was to be a mediator and to bring any possible means to solve the Naga political issue peacefully agreed to this boycott call by Naga civil societies. For which, the regional political party was not represented in the 9th Legislative Assembly. The election to the 9th legislative assembly was held in Nagaland as per scheduled. Besides, the Congress (I) party and few independents, no other political parties particularly the regional political party participated in the election. The results of the 9th legislative assembly election was that the Congress (I) party won 53 seats unopposed and Independent won 7 seats. The boycotted call of 1998 election was a

²⁶ . H. John Sema (December 2012), Op.cit. p.21

failure, the reason had been that, the Naga Hoho, and NGOs did not try to mobilise public support from the grass root level. Moreover, it had also been alleged that, the Congress party under the leadership of Mr. S. C. Jamir had paid crores of rupees to NSCN (IM) to boycott the election²⁷.

In the year 2002, the regional political party again underwent another change in its party's nomenclature. The reason was that, the Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC) published a booklet called "Bedrock of Naga Society" in the year 2000. It was alleged that in this booklet it contains some derogatory remarks about the Nagas, for which the Naga people as well as various NGOs in Nagaland condemned this booklet. The criticisms and condemnation for this booklet also came out within the Congress (I) party. Congress (I) leaders like Mr. Neiphiu Rio and K. Therie, both of them a cabinet minister in Congress (I) party government condemned this booklet and resigned from the party. With their resignation, they decided to join the Nagaland People's Council (NPC) party. Hence, the regional political party had to change its party nomenclature to accommodate the party members coming from other party. To this effect, the Constitution (fourth amendment) 2002 was taken up by NPC to accommodate the other party members from outside. On the 9th General Convention of NPC held on October 18, 2002 at Kohima, it changed its party nomenclature to Nagaland People's Front (NPF)²⁸, with party symbol, motto, principles, aims and objects remains the same and Mr. Vizol was elected as the party President.

²⁷ . H. John Sema (December 2012), Op.cit. p.21

²⁸ . Nagaland People's Front (July, 2005), **The Constitution: Fifth Amendment**, NPF, Kohima, p.1

Nagaland People's Front (NPF) 2002

The regional political party in Nagaland got a new nomenclature known as the Nagaland People's Front (NPF) on 18th October 2002. The NPF party had the following as its aims and objectives and that is to work and assist in any possible manner on any approach for a peaceful solution of the Indo-Naga political issue, integrating all contiguous Naga inhabited areas under one administrative roof and to strive for a clean and an efficient administration²⁹.

The NPF party had in its party manifesto for the 10th general assembly election that, to solve the Naga political issue, integration of all Naga inhabited areas, transparency in decision making, corruption free governance, health for all and to provide stable economic infrastructures to underdeveloped areas³⁰. The Congress (I) party had also in its party manifesto for economic development, good governance and solution to Naga issue. The NPF party led alliance started the election campaign with similar election manifesto, the NPF party criticised the Congress (I) party for its booklet "Bedrock of Naga Society" and termed it as a sell out of Naga rights. The NPF party made an appeal to the Naga people that it would solve the Naga issue within three months if the party is voted to power. The party criticised the Congress (I) party not only of its inability to solve the Naga political issue but also corruption in the government at all levels.

On the other hand, most of the Naga people did not considered the Congress (I) government as people's government, since the Naga people did not participated in

²⁹ . Ibid. pp.2-3,

³⁰ . Nagaland People's Front: 2003 Election Manifesto

the 9th general assembly election that was held in 1998. Moreover, many Nagas considered the booklet of the Congress (I) party “Bedrock of Naga Society” as a sell out of Nagas right. It is for these reasons, the NPF party wave was very strong in the 10th general assembly election held in 2003 and which led to the defeat of Congress (I) party.

The NPF party won 19 seats and the Congress (I) won 21 seats³¹, but due to pre-poll alliance, the NPF-led alliance formed the government with Mr. Neiphiu Rio as the Chief Minister. However, Mr. Neiphiu Rio could not complete the full tenure due to defection within the NPF party, which created a constitutional crisis in the state and it led to the dissolution of the house and imposition of the President Rule in the state on 3 January 2008 to 12th March 2008. It was just 2 months before the completion of five years tenure.

In the 11th Nagaland Legislative Assembly, the NPF party came out as the single largest party with 26 seats followed by Congress (I) with 23 seats³². The NPF party with its alliance and with the support of Independents formed the government. Mr. Neiphiu Rio became the Chief Minister of Nagaland and completed the full term in the office. In the 11th general assembly election, the politics of defection and the Congress (I) party criticisms of NPF party inability to keep the election promise in 2003, that was to solve the Naga political issue within three months and its corruptions charges against the NPF party led government could not make much impact on the voters in Nagaland. On the other hand, the NPF party election manifesto, where the party highlighted the various developmental works that had

³¹ . Chubatemjen Ao (2012), Op.cit. p.91.

³² . Ibid. p.91.

been done in the past five years, reassurance to the Naga people to strive for early settlement of Naga issue and integrating all Naga inhabited areas. The party's nature of campaign, where it criticised the Congress (I) party at the Centre for its lack of seriousness in solving the Naga political issue, also found much appeal among the voters in Nagaland. For these reasons, the NPF party won the 2008 general assembly election. Moreover, the crisis of leadership and disunity within the Congress (I) party, as there was no consensus leader among them in the state was also one of the reasons for the Congress (I) party defeat in Nagaland.

Towards the end of the year 2008, a major political event took place in the Nagaland politics. The NPF party, which was confine only to Nagaland state in order to expand its wing to other Naga inhabited areas changed in its party's nomenclature. The word 'Nagaland' was changed to 'Naga' and thus the party's nomenclature became Naga People's Front (NPF) from Nagaland People's Front (NPF). With this move, the NPF party had expanded its party units to all the Naga inhabited areas of Northeast India. The party's territorial expansion can also be seen as an effort of the party to work for integrating all the Nagas inhabited areas, which had also been one of the main objectives of the regional political party in Nagaland since its emergence.

In the 4th General Convention of the Nagaland People's Front (NPF) held on the 18th November 2008, at Kohima, the party resolved to undertake the challenges of widening the geo-political boundaries of the party to the rest of the country as enshrined in the constitutional provision of Article-II No.2 Clause (c). Hence, the nomenclature 'Nagaland People's Front' assumed a new name 'Naga People's

Front³³. To give effect to the party aim of territorial expansion, Nagaland Chief Minister, Mr. Neiphiu Rio hoisted the NPF flag and formally announced the opening of NPF unit in Manipur state at Senapati on May 28, 2011³⁴.

Naga People's Front (NPF) 2008-till date

The regional political party under the new nomenclature Naga People's Front (NPF), which was changed on 18th November 2008, contested the 12th general assembly election held in February 2013. The NPF party won the absolute majority with 38 seats, the Congress (I) won 8 seats, Independent won 8 seats, National Congress Party (NCP) won 4 seats, BJP won 1 seat and Janata Dal (U) won 1 seat. Riding on the crest of the positive wave created by the party's promise of an honourable and acceptable "political settlement" to the vexed Naga political problems, the NPF-led Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN) obtained the mandate to form government for the third consecutive term. The NPF proactive role in the Joint Legislature Forum (JLF) seemed to have helped the ruling party to win popular support for a permanent solution to the Naga political issue. Describing the verdict as a vote for "Peace, Development and Stability", Rio said the DAN's third consecutive term showed that, "regionalism is here to stay in Nagaland"³⁵.

Another factor for the NPF party victory was that, the Congress (I) party could not able to win the voters in their favour over the alleged corruptions charges that had been prevailing in almost all the governmental departments. The leadership crisis and disunity within the Congress (I) party coupled with money and muscle power and

³³ . Naga People's Front (2009), **The Constitutional: Sixth Amendment**, NPF, Kohima, p.3

³⁴ . M. Gariangmei R Naga (2013), "**Analysis on Expansion of Naga People's Front Beyond Nagaland State**", *South Asia Politics*, Abhaya Kashyap, New Delhi, August, Vol.12, No.4, p.34

³⁵ . Frontline (March 22, 2013), p.133

involvement of NSCN (IM) in favour of NPF party has played a great role in the victory of NPF party in the 12th legislative assembly election.

The NPF led alliance formed the government with Mr. Neiphiu Rio as the Chief Minister for the third consecutive term. For which, Nagaland Chief Minister, Mr. Neiphiu Rio had become the only leader to lead the regional party to victory in Nagaland Assembly elections for the third consecutive term in the 50-year-old history of Nagaland state³⁶. On being elected to Lok Sabha in 2014, Mr. Neiphiu Rio the Chief Minister of Nagaland had vacated the office and Mr. T.R. Zeliang had succeeded him as the Chief Minister of Nagaland.

In a field survey conducted to know the reason behind the NPF party's victory is shown in table 1.3.

Q. What may be the reason for the NPF party's victory in Nagaland for the past three consecutive terms in the general assembly elections?

	Reasons	In percentage
A	Due to good leadership	4%
B	Due to developmental activities	2%
C	Due to money and muscle power	20%
D	Due to support of insurgent groups	6%
E	A&B	2%
F	C&D	57%
G	All of the above	9%
H	Don't know	Nil

Table 1.3 (source: field survey)

When the respondents was asked, why NPF party won for the three consecutive terms in state general assembly elections. 57% of the respondents replied, it was due

³⁶ . M. Gariangmei R Naga (2013), Op.cit. p.32

to money, muscle and from the support of insurgent group. They said that, since NPF party strongly support the Naga issue for which the insurgent group had some soft corner for their party and in return they were all out to support the NPF party and prevent the Congress (I) party from coming to power. In addition, the NPF party had used money to buy votes and muscle power to intimidate the voters. 20% of the respondents said that it was due to money and muscle power. They said that, the NPF party bought everything with their money power and where they could not do with money, they had used force. 9% of the respondents said, all of the above given options. For them, some voters voted for NPF because they liked the leadership of NPF, some due to their developmental activities, which they had seen, some voters were bought with money and even the party got the support of insurgent group. 6% of the respondents said due to the support from insurgent group, 4% said due to good leadership, 2% said due to developmental activities and another 2% said due to good leadership and developmental activities.

Again, the same respondents were asked the reasons for the defeat of Congress (I) party in Nagaland, the respondents response is shown in table 1.4

Q. According to you, what may be the reason for the failure of Congress party in Nagaland?

	Reasons	In Percentage
A	Due to leadership crisis	36%
B	Due to internal fighting among the party members	12%
C	Failed to protect the identity of the Nagas	3%
D	Failed to address socio-economic problems of the Nagas	11%
E	All of the above	25%
F	Can't say	13%

Table 1.4 (source: field survey)

Out of the total respondents, who were asked, what was the reasons for the failure for the Congress party in Nagaland, 36% of the respondents said that, it was due to leadership crisis in the Congress (I) party. These respondents say that, there was no consensus leader among the Congress (I) party which is acceptable to all. It was for this reason, the Congress (I) party could not be united under one leader and fight the election. Every candidate was busy in his or her own constituency and there was no unity of command and coordination for the whole party. 25% of the respondents said, all of the above reasons were responsible for its debacle in the last assembly election. For these respondents, the Congress (I) party failed in all fronts in Nagaland. They admit that there was leadership crisis, internal fighting, the party had not been able to address the socio-economic problems of the Nagas and some section of the Nagas felt that a national party cannot protect the Naga identity. 13% of the respondents said they can't say why Congress (I) party lost the election in Nagaland. Their reasons behind this was that, in Nagaland the elections are not conducted in free and fair manner and the party aims, objectives, election manifesto and the performance of

the party had never been put to fair test. As the elections had always been overshadowed with money, muscle and gun power. Under such circumstances in which elections are held, it is difficult for them to say the exact reasons why Congress (I) party failed in Nagaland. 12% of the respondents said that, the reason was due to internal fighting within the Congress (I) party members. They said that everyone wants to be the Chief Minister even before they had won the election and this internal fighting had brought down the party. 11% of the respondents said that, the Congress (I) party had almost ruled the Nagaland state for 20 years and had done nothing for the socio-economic development for the Nagas and for which the people did not vote for them. 3% of the respondents, believes that a national party cannot protect the identity of the Nagas and they wanted a regional party to be in power which can preserve and protect the Naga identity and for which the people did not vote for them.

Since, settling the Naga political issue had been the election manifesto for all political parties contesting election in Nagaland, for which the same respondents was asked another question about Nagaland politics and Naga issue. The response of the respondents is shown in table 1.5

Q. Do you think that in Nagaland, state politics revolves around Naga political issue?

	Options	In Percentage
A	Yes	57%
B	No	26%
C	Don't know	17%

Table 1.5 (source: field survey)

When the question was asked to the respondents, what they think about whether the Nagaland state politics revolve around the Naga political issue. Out of the total respondents, 57% of the respondents said yes. They said that since the first general election in Nagaland to till date, the Naga political issue had been one of the main issues in every election manifesto and the election campaign are planned and strategy are made according to it. Since every Naga people wants to have a solution on the Naga political issue, people tends to favour the party, which strongly supports for the Naga political problem. Not only that even the insurgents group supports the party that has a strong policy for the solution of the Naga issue. 26% of the respondents said no. They said that the Nagaland state politics does not revolve around the Naga political issue alone. According to them, in Nagaland, election manifesto, aims and objectives of the party, policy and programmes of the party and issues does not have any impact on the state politics. The state politics main revolve around on individual, tribe and money and for which they don't find that, the state politics revolve around the Naga political issue.

On the other, 17% of the respondents said that, they don't know whether the Nagaland state politics revolve around the Naga political issue or not. These respondents said that, they are confused with the voting behaviour of the Naga people. Many a time's money, muscle and gun power had directed the voting pattern in Nagaland and for which it is difficult to say any issue that have impact on state politics.

Other Regional political Parties in Nagaland

There were also some other political parties which was formed in Nagaland with regional characteristic but it was formed just on the eve of election, and when the election are over, the party either got dissolved or merged with other political parties. Some of these political parties, which were a recognised party and won seats in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly and deserved to be mention, are mention below:

National Convention of Nagaland (NCN) 1977

National Convention of Nagaland (NCN) was a new political party, which was formed just on the eve of 4th general assembly election in 1977. Mr. Melhopru Vero, who was the former member of Rajya Sabha, founded the Party³⁷. The party had a ‘Naga Warrior’ as a party symbol and the motto of the party was ‘Deeds not Words’. The aims and objectives of the party was to maintain unity and solidarity of the people and to work for their upliftment, basing on equality of opportunity, and to safeguard political, economic, social and traditional rights and religious freedom of the Naga people³⁸.

In the 4th general assembly election, the party set up its candidates in 31 constituencies, where the party won only 1 seat. Mr. Tsenlanmo Kikon of 40 A/C Bhandari, Wokha won the lone seat for NCN party. Later on the NCN party merged with the UDF party and formed the NNDP party.

³⁷ . Chandrika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.139

³⁸ . **The Constitution of National Convention of Nagaland (1977)**

Nagaland People's Party (NPP) 1987

The Nagaland People's Party (NPP) was formed on the eve of 6th general assembly election in 1987 by Mr. Huska Sumi. The symbol of the party was 'Elephant' and the motto of the party was 'Nagaism'. The aims and objects of the party, is to initiate a mass participation for establishing a social order based on the principles of justice, equality and liberty. In all its activities, the party is guided by the philosophy of 'Nagaism'. Which alone can safeguard the rights and interest of the people of Nagaland and preserve Naga pattern of society, thereby check exploitation of man by man³⁹.

In the 6th general assembly election, the NNP set up 32 candidates, where the party could return only one candidate as victory. Mr. Akumbemba from 24 A/C Angetyongpang, Mokokchung won in NPP ticket.

Nationalist Democratic Movement (NDM) 2002

The Nationalist Democratic Movement (NDM) was formed on the eve of 10th general assembly election, which was held on 2003. The party had the following aims and objectives to integrate all contiguous Naga areas under the umbrella of one administrative unit, to assist for peaceful solution to Naga political issue and to launch a democratic movement to bring about social and economic reformation mainly through electoral and administrative reforms.

The NDM party set up 25 candidates in the 10th Nagaland assembly election. The party could able to win only 5 seats, where even the party president Mr. K.L. Chishi

³⁹ . **The Constitution Of Nagaland People's Party (1987)**

lost the election. The NDM party was hit by defection, as four of its MLA, Mr. K. Hollohon, Mr. Kipli Sangtam, Mr. Hukavi and Mr. Heno Konyak joined NPF and ultimately reduced the NDM MLA to one. Thereafter, Mr. K.L. Chishi the President of NDM party held a series of meeting with party leaders and workers and he proposed to merge with the national political party. On 25th February 2004, the party took the decision to merge with Congress (I) in Nagaland⁴⁰.

Democratic Labour Party (DLP) 1993

Mr. Charlie Kevichusa founded the Democratic Labour Party in Nagaland. He was a former General Secretary in United Democratic Party, but when Nagaland People's Council (NPC) party decided to have coalition with the Congress (I) party in 1990, he resigned from the NPC party on ideological ground. Thereafter, he formed his own party known as Democratic Labour Party (DLP) and this party contested in the 8th general assembly election in Nagaland. The party could able to set up only 3 candidates in the election, where one of its candidate, Mr. Y. Sulanthung Lotha from 39 A/C Sanis, Wokha won the election but later on defected to Congress (I) party. Later, the DLP merged with the NNDP.

⁴⁰ . V. Hokuto Jimomi (2009), Op.cit. p.199

Chapter 4

Role of Regional Political Party in Nagaland: A Critical Appraisal

The regional political party, since its emergence had contested in all general assembly elections in the state, except the Ninth legislative assembly election, which was held in 1998. On several occasions, the regional party had contested the general assembly elections under different party nomenclature but the party motto, symbol, aims and objectives had remained the same. In this chapter, an attempt is made to study the role of the regional political party in Nagaland since its emergence as a political party. To analyse, what role it had played and what impact it had on the political, social and economic life of Nagas. A critical analyse on the role of regional political party in Nagaland is also made in this chapter, as the very existence of the regional political party in Nagaland with the same party motto, symbol, aims and objectives, also signifies that the party is consistently pursuing its original aims and objectives. Since one of the main objectives for the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland is to bring final solution to Naga political issue and to dissolve the party once it had been achieved. This had posed a serious question on the role of the regional political party in Nagaland.

Moreover, the party had also been under criticisms for its wrong policies and its ineffectiveness for protecting the Naga identity, also as a political party, it had lacked in creating political consciousness among the masses and had neither led any political movements in the state. For which a critical analysis on the role of regional party in Nagaland had also been made in this chapter.

However, the regional political party in its existence as a political party in the state for more than 50 years had also initiated and implemented certain policies and programmes, that was not only intended to preserve and protect but also to

strengthen the traditional institution of Nagas. There had also been certain party policies and programmes that had left deep impact on the social and economic life of the Nagas. The regional party had also been very active in voicing out for preserving and protecting the Naga identity and for an early solution to Naga political issue.

Hence in this chapter, the role of regional political party and a critical analysis of its role in Nagaland is been made.

1. Political

Role in Naga Political Issue

The emergence of regional political party in Nagaland has its roots in the Naga political issue and for which to solve this issue had been one of its main objectives. The Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) formed in 1963, declared in its manifesto that it was an 'ad hoc' party, set up for a definite purpose of bringing peace and normalcy in the strife torn country of Nagaland¹. Since then, though the nomenclature of the regional party had changed many times but its original aims and objectives had remained the same.

This is what had been about the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland but on the other hand, the efforts of the regional political party in being a mediator and to bring final settlement to Naga political issue is seen very less as compared to civil societies in Nagaland like Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) and Naga Hoho. As these two NGO's, is seen playing more effective role in mediating and bringing ceasefire agreement between the Government of India and Naga

¹ . Bendangangshi (1993), Op.cit. p.156

underground. The first ceasefire agreement signed in 1964 and another significant ceasefire agreement signed in 1997, where it was the NBCC which played a major role, with little role from regional political party.

Moreover, in the words of H. John Sema², where he said that, the regional political party neither in the past nor at present was a party to any political dialogue between the Government of India and Naga underground then, how can a party say that it will bring final settlement to Naga political issue. In addition to this, the NPF party during 2003 state general assembly election made a promise to the Naga people that, the party will bring solution to Naga issue within three (3) months³ if the party is voted to power. However, even after the party had won three consecutive terms, still the Naga political issue is unresolved and for which, the party seriousness in bringing solution to this issue had been question and criticised. For which, the question had also been is it a political ploy to win over the electorate for the sake of forming the government and capturing power.

However, it does not mean that, the regional political party had not made any effort nor played any effective role in finding towards final solution to Naga political issue. The Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), from the outset of its existence had been seen pressurising the ruling party i.e. Naga Nationalist Organization (NNO) for a political ceasefire agreement⁴, which led the Government of Nagaland passed the resolution for setting up of Peace Mission on 13th March 1964⁵. This led to the

² **Note:** H. John Sema is a Professor in the Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami

³ . The Nagaland Post, Saturday, April 5, 2014, Dimapur, p.1

⁴ . Bendangangshi (1993), Op.cit. p. 157

⁵ . Hokishe Sema (1986), Op.cit. p.107

signing of the first ceasefire agreement between Government of India and Naga National Council (NNC) on 6th September 1964.

With the signing of first ceasefire agreement, all the 12 elected MLA's of DPN resigned en bloc on 8th December 1964 and eventually dissolved their party itself, as they thought that their objectives had been achieved. Mr. A. Kevichusa, the then Party President of Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), even made a strong plea to 'to start all over again'. He wanted dissolution of the newly elected legislative assembly and doing away with the ministry⁶, so that, it can pave the way for the peaceful settlement of Naga political issue.

What can be seen here is that, the regional party in Nagaland from the very beginning had always been sympathetic and liberal⁷ towards Naga underground. It was for this, the then Governor of Nagaland called upon the then Chief Minister of Nagaland, Mr. Vizol of United Democratic Front (UDF) party to pledge his allegiance to the constitution of India and his constitutional duty to uphold its territorial integrity⁸. The reasons behind this was that, how can a political party functioning under the Indian constitution and owing its allegiance to it can have a close relations with those group which are against the Indian Constitution.

The effort of the regional party in solving the Naga issue was also seen in 1998, when the Nagaland People's Council (NPC), a regional political party then, did not contest in the Ninth general assembly election on a boycotted call given by Naga

⁶ . B.B.Kumar (2005), Op.cit. p.169

⁷ . Kuhoi K. Zhimomi (2004), Op.cit. p.125

⁸ . Rajesh Dev (2011), "***Democracy, Ethnic Fractionalization and Competitive Politics: The Case of States in Northeast India***", in Paul Wallace and Ramasaray Roy (eds), ***India's 2009 Elections: Coalition Politics, Party Competition and Congress Continuity***, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p.377

Hoho, under the slogan “No Solution, No Election”. In the Tenth general assembly election that has held on 2003, the regional political party under the new nomenclature, Nagaland People’s Front (NPF) contested and won the election. Mr. Rio, after becoming the Chief Minister of Nagaland once again said that the decade long Naga political issue would be the top priority of the Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN)⁹. The DAN government constituted a Consultative Committee of Peace (CCP) to facilitate the peace process in the state. The CCP then resolved to endorse the DAN government’s stand of maintaining equi-closeness to all groups and civil societies with a view to facilitate an early solution of the Naga political problem¹⁰.

However, since the Consultative Committee for Peace (CCP) was not successful due to non-inclusion of other political party members, for which the government disbanded it on 2006 and in 2009, it formed a new committee called, Joint Legislature Forum (JLF). This Forum comprised of all the 60 legislators in the assembly and one significant outcome of the Forum was that, on 19th July 2012, the JLF resolved to pave the way for an “alternative arrangement” and step aside from the present position in the event of a logical conclusion to the ongoing Naga peace process¹¹. Perhaps, this is the first time in the history of Naga politics, where all the political parties formed a common front and spoke in one voice for the solution of vexed Naga political issue¹².

⁹ . Chandirika Singh (2004), Op.cit. p.210

¹⁰ . H. John Sema (September 2011), “**Naga Politics: Issues and Problems**”, in South Asia Politics, Vol.10,No.5, Abhaya Kashyap, New Delhi, pp-29-30

¹¹ . The Nagaland Post, Friday, July 20, 2012, Dimapur, p.1

¹² . H. John Sema (December 2012), Op.cit. p.24

In what can be seen as another major effort towards Naga political issue was that, in 2008, the nomenclature of the regional political party was change from 'Nagaland People's Front' to 'Naga People's Front'¹³. This change in party's nomenclature was seen not only for party territorial expansion but also in support of territorial integration of all Naga inhabited areas. It came about when the peace talks between the Government of India and NSCN (IM) had almost breakdown due to integration issue. Mr. Neiphiu Rio, the then Chief Minister of Nagaland, while opening the NPF unit in Manipur state at Senapati on May 28, 2011¹⁴, even said that, 'integration of Naga homeland' is the birth right of the Nagas¹⁵. This territorial expansion of the party had strengthened the demand of integrating of all Naga inhabited areas.

Role as an Opposition Party

As an opposition party the role of the regional party in articulating political aspiration, political education, creating political consciousness and awareness among the masses is not effective. For which, till date the regional political party could not able to lead any mass political movement against the actions, policies and programmes of the ruling party that was against the interest of the state and Naga people. For instance, like in 1972 when the Nagaland state was transferred to Ministry of Home Affairs from Ministry of External Affairs¹⁶. It was a clear abrogation of 16th point agreement signed between Government of India and Naga People's Convention (NPC), which gave special status to Nagaland state unlike other states in India. In this event, the United Front of Nagaland (UFN), a regional political

¹³ . Naga People's Front (2009), Op.cit. p.3

¹⁴ . M. Gariangmei R Naga (August 2013), Op.cit. p.34

¹⁵ . NPF: *Lecture delivered by Nagaland Chief Minister at India Habitat Centre*, Op.cit. p.5

¹⁶ . Charles Chasie (2005), Op.cit. p.77

party then, was in opposition and it neither could mobilise people nor was able to lead any mass political movement to oppose the transfer of state from Ministry of External Affairs to Home Ministry. At the most, they protested the action of the Central government in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly.

The regional political party might have lacked in articulating political consciousness and awareness and for which it had been ineffective in leading mass political movements, but it is also not assumed that it had been an ineffective opposition party. The regional party had always brought the priorities and issues of the state before the ruling party and had often criticised the ruling party, whenever it had neglected and overlooked those issues. To bring about solution to Naga political issue had been one of the top most priorities of the state and to achieve this end, it had often criticised the ruling party, if they had failed to frame any policy to pursue or to solve the political issue in the state¹⁷. It had even accused the ruling party by saying that, the party policy is simply to prolong the Naga problem¹⁸. So also, on the question of protecting the Naga people and its identity from the outsiders, it had been pressuring the ruling party to handle this issue sincerely and strictly enforce the Inner Line Regulation in the state¹⁹. Instance like, Mr. Chupfu-O of NNDP, while protesting, questioned the government about how the foreigners and other non-locals

¹⁷ . Official Report, Proceeding of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, **2nd Legislative Assembly Proceedings (1969-70)**, Assembly Secretariat, Kohima, p.42

¹⁸ . Ibid. p.36

¹⁹ . Official Report, Proceeding of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, **5th Legislative Assembly Proceedings (1982)**, Assembly Secretariat, Kohima, p.259

unauthorised persons had been allowed to settle in the Railway colony at Dimapur²⁰, can be stated here.

However, on the other hand, though the regional party had been very vocal in criticising the ruling party whenever, they are found neglecting the priorities and issues before the state but the regional party itself had also failed to address these issues, when the party had been in power. For instance, the migration of non-Naga in Nagaland was also seen very high during the tenure of United Democratic Front (UDF) party and its alliance with Janata Party at the centre in 1977. As today, most of the non-local businessman from north India came and settled in Dimapur district during this period. The regional political party had also been in power for many times and with Naga People's Front (NPF) party victory in 2013 general assembly election, it had been in power for the third consecutive terms, since 2003. Still then, the party is unable to frame any policy decision on how to solve the Naga political issue. It is for these reasons, the regional political party had also been criticised when it comes in handling these issues.

Strengthening Traditional Village Institution

The village institution holds a very important place in every Naga life. Since time immemorial, each Naga village had their own laws to govern themselves and this had been a unique practice of Nagas. The regional political party had also played an important role in acknowledging the traditional political institution of the Nagas. It was under the United Democratic Front (UDF) party led government, the regional

²⁰ . Official Report, Proceeding of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, **5th Legislative Assembly Proceedings (1982)**, Op.cit. p.262

political party then, enacted the Nagaland Village and Area Council Act in 1978, to give legitimacy and recognition as a local self-governance institute²¹ and had enabled every individual in the remotest village to get an opportunity to directly participate in the process of democracy and development²².

However, as different Naga tribe have different traditional village institution, for instance like the Sumi and the Konyak, which have monarchical form of institution, where the absolute power lies with the village Chiefs/Anghs. This had often led to conflict of powers between the Chiefs/Anghs and the council members, for which, this act could not be fully implemented. Still then, this act had given legal recognition to the Naga village institution which they had practice since age long.

Rural Development

It was under the Nagaland People's Front (NPF) party led government, the Communitisation process was implemented, where management was delegated to public in the sectors like, elementary education, primary health services, water supply, electricity, roads and other welfare and development schemes²³. This policy had enabled people to participate directly in the developmental process of the state. To give more attention for the development of backward region in the state, the

²¹ . Nagaland 1963-2013: Fifty Years On (2013), Op.cit. p. 158

²² . Vizol Speeches and Address, "*Speech on the Fourteen Anniversary of the Inauguration of the State of Nagaland*", Directorate of Information and Public Relation, Kohima, p.3

²³ . *Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (March 2003-December 2003)*, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.157

government had also created separate department called Development of Under Developed Areas (DUDA)²⁴.

However, given the results of this policy, it had not been successful, as with the increase in corruptions within the government departments and misuse of funds by the public, for which many government properties is lying unattended and abandon. Still then, the NPF party for its better governance, local self-governance and rural development, had received high appreciation not only within the country but also outside the country. The Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government of India, presented the Nagaland state government with a silver plaque with a citation on 22nd July 2008 for “its remarkable experiment in grassroots democracy”. The state programme for Communitisation of Public Institutions and Services was selected for the United Nations Public Service Award, under the category of “Fostering participation in policy-making decisions through innovative mechanisms”,²⁵ on 23rd June 2008.

Health

Though, It had been found out that, some districts in Nagaland like Dimapur, which is also known as the commercial capital of the state even lacks basic facilities like generator in its Dimapur District Hospital, which had posed a serious question on the effort of the government in providing better health facilities to the people. However, the regional political party had also shown some political will towards providing better health facilities, which can also not be ignored.

²⁴ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2006)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.161

²⁵ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (March 2008-December 2008)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.66

The NPF led Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (DAN) government in one of its points in Common Minimum Programme, had ensure better health facilities. In order to achieve this, the party had been enacting various acts and policies. The passing of Autonomy Bill of Naga Hospital, Kohima, was seen a step towards this, to ensure better administration and to do away with interference from the government²⁶. In January 2004, the government also brought in to force the Nagaland Health Care Establishment Act of 1997, to streamline, regulate and ensure quality control of health care services provided by the private sector²⁷.

The Nagaland state also became the first in the country to give political leadership to fight against HIV/AIDS in the state. NPF party led government had seen taking an extra step while dealing with HIV/AIDS disease in the state²⁸, when the NPF party led government formed the Nagaland Legislator's Forum on AIDS on 19th August 2003. This Forum also contributed Rs. 1 Lakh from the Local Area Development Fund of each MLA towards this.

Culture

For preserving the culture of Nagas, the NPF led government had adopted our own State Emblem with "Unity" as its motto and a dignified and majestic Mithun (Bos Frontalis) as its symbol to highlight the identity of the Naga people²⁹. The animal Mithun adopted by the government as its symbol in the state emblem has been

²⁶ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2004-December 2004)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.50

²⁷ . **5 Years of Peace, Progress & Development of the Government of Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement Since 2003**, Department of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.36

²⁸ . Ibid. p.36

²⁹ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2006)**, Op.cit. p.83

closely associated with the Naga identity since time immemorial. Again, with an objective of popularising the Naga dish and to bring out, “Recipe Book” on Naga cuisine, the government had even organised a food festival at the Heritage building, Kohima on 30th May 2008³⁰. Till date, there had been no authentic written record on the origin, migration and settlement of the Nagas in its present place today. The NPF party led DAN government in order to have a proper written record of Naga history had commissioned a Research on the origin and migration of the Naga tribes in 2007³¹. This step has been a great effort towards preserving and protecting the Naga history from controversy on its origin and migration of the Nagas.

Sports

The NPF party had also shown its political commitments towards tapping the hidden resources of the Naga youths in the field of sports, to enable Naga youth to take up sports as a profession. In order to promote sports, the Nagaland government affiliated the Nagaland Olympic Association to Indian Olympic Association³² and for the first time, the Nagaland state participated in the 33rd National Games, held in Guwahati³³. Again, step towards promoting sports in Nagaland was that, the Nagaland Cricket Association was affiliated to the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) in 2008. The Government of Nagaland constructed Nagaland Cricket stadium of International standard at Sovima village, Dimapur and it was inaugurated on 14th

³⁰ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (March 2008-December 2008)**, Op.cit. pp.68-69

³¹ . **5 Years of Peace, Progress & Development of the Government of Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement since 2003**, Op.cit. p.18

³² . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2004-December 2004)**, Op.cit. p.63

³³ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2007-December 2007)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p. 53

April 2012³⁴, though the Cricket stadium could not be able to complete it in its stipulated time and the cost of the construction of Cricket stadium inflated than its actual cost of construction.

2. Social

Village

A community bond among the Nagas is very strong³⁵ and for which the village forms an important part of life for every Nagas. The regional political party in Nagaland had been making efforts and implementing various policies and programmes, so that, the community life of the Nagas can be preserve and promoted. Each Naga village is headed by a chief, which is famously known as Gaon Bura (GB), which means an elder person of the village. The GB of the village enjoys an important place in the political and social life of the village, this institution is sacred for the Naga people, and it had been in practice since time immemorial. The regional party in order to preserve and acknowledge this institution, for the first time instituted, GB Corpus Fund to provide benefits on retirement and death in harness³⁶. This programme had not only acknowledged the age-old institution but had also acknowledged their service rendered to our Naga society.

³⁴ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2012-December 2012)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.47

³⁵ . Lecture Delivered by Neiphiu Rio at the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi (2006), "**Governance in Trouble Times: The Nagaland Experience**", Op.cit. p.9

³⁶ . **5 Years of Peace, Progress & Development of the Government of Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement Since 2003**, Op.cit. p.23

Women Empowerment

The regional political party had been facing the challenges of empowering women in Nagaland. What had been is that the party had done something on social and economic empowerment of women in Nagaland but still the party is yet to empower women in political aspect. The party could not able to implement the 33 percent reservation for women in all local elected bodies in Nagaland, which the women organization spearheaded by Naga Mother's Association (NMA) in Nagaland had been demanding³⁷. The inability of the party to concede to this demand from women had led to conclude that the regional political party had failed to empower women in Nagaland, since social and economic empowerment is meaningless without political empowerment.

Nevertheless, the regional party had also shown the political will to empower women in Nagaland. The government had created separate department for women during the year 2003-2004 to address problems and issues related to women. On 28th March 2007 at Durbar Hall, Raj Bhavan³⁸, for the first time the government launched the State Women Commission. Through Training Cum Production Centre (TCPC), the government had been giving training to school dropout girls in tailoring, knitting and weaving to enable them to take up self-employment activities³⁹. Between the year 2008-12, 260 school dropout girls had been trained. Since 2009, the government is providing a nutrition supplement package designed especially for under nourished

³⁷ . <http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/naga-women-approach-supreme-court-for-reservation-of-seats-in-local-bodies-40206>

³⁸ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2007-December 2007)**, Op.cit. p.53

³⁹ . **Democratic Alliance of Nagaland 2nd Ministry: A Record of Achievements of the Government of Nagaland (2008-12)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.112

HIV/AIDS women. Under the CMs Corpus Fund, women are being trained to impart income generation skills like advanced tailoring machine embroidering, to take up for self-employment⁴⁰. To generate employment for women the government had raised the 1st Mahila India Reserve Battalion in Nagaland in December 2008.

The regional political party still needs more efforts towards empowerment of women in Nagaland. The party needs to assure that all the policies and programmes meant for the upliftment of women reaches the real beneficiaries. It needs to focus more on vocational training for self-employment and for the safety and security of women in Nagaland. Above all, the party needs to empower the women politically in the state.

Youth Empowerment

In order to empower the youth in the state, the government had been making various declarations. The year 2004 was declared as the “Year of Youth Empowerment”. This declaration has enabled the government to bring the ‘state sports policy’, to give greater emphasis and clear distinction to sports promotion as a part of youth empowerment. An important component of the sports policy is to give financial incentives to achievers and promising sports persons⁴¹. Music Task Force was also constituted to give officially government support to music to professionalise it into industry, which was followed by declaring music as a full-fledged industry in August 2006⁴².

⁴⁰ . Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2004-December 2004), Op.cit. p.114

⁴¹ . Ibid. p.212

⁴² . Nagaland 1963-2013: Fifty Years On (2013), Op.cit. p. 174

The year 2008 was declared as the “Year of Capacity Building” and a sum of Rs. 20cr was earmarked during that year for that purpose. To give effect to this declaration, the capacity-building programme for Spa and Beauty therapy was taken up in conjunction with the Lambency Chysalis Academy, Noida. Accordingly, during the year 2009-10, 200 young people had been sponsored for six months Beauty and Spa Therapy programme⁴³.

The party in its commitment to empower the youth, the government again declared the year 2010 as the “Year of Entrepreneur”. Mr. Neiphiu Rio, the then Chief Minister of Nagaland, while launching the “Year of Entrepreneur” at Mokokchung on 30th April 2010, expressed the governments intentions to create at least 1000 entrepreneurs during the year 2010, of which 500 would be from service sector and 500 from the manufacturing sector⁴⁴. The government with its declaration of various years as, the year of youth empowerment, capacity building and entrepreneur had empowered the youths of Nagaland in various fields, so that the youths can be self-reliant. Since, 2003-2004, 14,319 people had been sponsored under the CM Corpus fund⁴⁵.

The present scenario of the Nagaland state is that the number of government employees is very high as compared to the population of the Nagaland state and on the other hand, the number of job seeker in the government sector is very high. To accommodate all the educated unemployed youth in the public sector seems impossible for the government, since job creation in the public sector seems

⁴³ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2009)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.103

⁴⁴ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2010)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.63

⁴⁵ Ibid. pp.102-103

impossible. In this situation, the government still needs to offer more vocational courses, so that the youth can develop their skills and can self-dependent.

Hornbill Festival

The hornbill festival was started in the year 2000 but it received more recognition and popularity after the NPF party came to power in the state on 6th March 2003. The main idea behind this festival is that, in many states in India, there is a common festival but in the case of Nagaland, 16 major tribes and various sub-tribes had their own festival. Hence, the idea was to have one common festival for all Nagas and this is how the hornbill festival started.

The hornbill festival is held annually in the first week of December at the Naga Heritage Village, Kisama at Kohima. It is the time of the year, where all the tribes in Nagaland come together and show their respective tribe culture at one time and at one place. This hornbill festival had been recognised by the Government of India as a National festival and had also well received by the international community and for which this hornbill festival is known as “Festival of Festivals”. The hornbill festival attracts tourist, who comes and encounter the rich culture of the Nagas. The hornbill festival also leaves a deep impact even among the Nagas themselves. This festival had become a big social gathering for the Nagas, where the isolation and lack of communication created by the geographical barriers within each districts is levelled, leaving a deep impact on the social life of Nagas. Though looking from the perspective of economy and employment generation this festival had not been that beneficial, since this festival is seasonal and it only generates economy and employment during that particular period of days.

3. Economic

Rural

In the state of Nagaland, the vast area is still rural and for which the economic development of the rural area is very important. Moreover, Nagas are very fine craftsman and for which promotion of small scale cottage industry is also felt very much needed. The regional political party in Nagaland had also shown its concern for this and had been enacting and implementing many policies and programmes for the economic development of the rural areas in Nagaland. On his Republic Day speech in Kohima on 26th January 1979, Mr. Vizol, the then Chief Minister of Nagaland of United Democratic Front (UDF) party, said that, a Handloom and Handicraft Corporation had been set up. It was a programme, which will not only help in augmenting their production and providing them the marketing facilities, but also in promoting their distinct craft⁴⁶. What had been is that, under the regional political party, the small-scale cottage industry in Nagaland had received due recognition and had enabled the Naga craftsman to earn their livelihood.

Again, Mr. Vamuzo, the then Chief Minister of Nagaland of Nagaland People's Council (NPC) party, in his Independence Day speech on 15th August 1991, said that, to further enhance the opportunity for the people to choose schemes for themselves, according to their needs, the government have embarked upon a new scheme called, "Compact Area Development Scheme"⁴⁷. The Compact Area Development Scheme is one such scheme under which every constituency has been allocated Rs.75 lakhs.

⁴⁶ . **Vizol Speeches and Address**, Directorate of Information & Public Relation, Kohima, p.32

⁴⁷ . **Speeches of Mr. Vamuzo, Chief Minister of Nagaland (December 1990-November 1991)**, The Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima, p.75

With this scheme now, all those works for which earlier the villager had to run around the district headquarter and state capital, can be now planned and executed by the villagers themselves⁴⁸.

Rural development and establishing a cottage industry in Nagaland is still long way to go. The regional political party when it came to power had seen making efforts towards it but it had also been a fact that, still our rural areas had to be developed and small-scale industry is yet to be well established. As the Naga craftsman gets to show and sell their products only during festive season, which cannot be termed as a permanent profession to earn ones livelihood.

Village Development Boards (VDBs)

The process of empowering the village communities is not complete without economic empowerment. For which, it was under the United Democratic Party (UDF) party led government the Nagaland Village and Area Council Act was passed in 1978, which led to the establishment of Village Development Board (VDB). The VDB had been given financial grants based on household allocations, enabling them to plan and execute a number of village specific development schemes at their own level⁴⁹. This step of the government is to enable people to participate directly in the economic development process in the state and to empower economically to the people at the grass root level. To kick-start the economic development at the base level, Mr. Neiphiu Rio, the then Chief Minister of Nagaland, on his Independence Day speech on 15th August 2006 announced Rs.1 lakh micro credit to each of the 540

⁴⁸ . **Speeches of Mr. Vamuzo, Chief Minister of Nagaland (December 1990-November 1991)**, Op.cit. pp.56-57

⁴⁹ . Lecture Delivered by Neiphiu Rio at the India Habitat Centre, New Delhi (2006), "**Governance in Trouble Times: The Nagaland Experience**", Op.cit. p.10

VDBs⁵⁰. The government had also restructured the VDBs to become Non-Banking Financial Institution (NBFI) and to start with, 25 VDBs was selected to act as a financial intermediary. In this novel exercise, the participation of the Government of India, the State government, NABARD and the Banks is being envisaged in the ratio of 20:20:20:40⁵¹. In the year 2007, the government increased the household allocation to VDBs under Rural development to Rs.1000 per household.

Agriculture

Agriculture is considered as the backbone of Nagaland state economy and for which it had to be dealt with top most priority. The regional political party had also been seen trying to encourage and develop the agriculture sector in Nagaland.

The NPF party led government had declared the year 2006 as the “Year of the Farmer”. The year of the farmer was observed, so that the modernisation of farming technologies can be made more tangible and to lay more stress on modernisation of farming. The government had organised the North East Agri-Expo during the year, 2006, 2010 and 2012, with the basic aim to provide a platform for the North-eastern states to display their potentials and bring them face to face with experts, scientist and the corporate sector. It will also provide a rare opportunity to the Nagaland farmers to have face-to-face interaction with the biggest names in modern technologies, with an array of their tools and equipments⁵². Between the years 2006-2009, the government of Nagaland has also distributed 86 tractors and 162 power tillers to the farmers.

⁵⁰ . Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2006), Op.cit. p.182

⁵¹ . Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2004-December 2004), Op.cit. p.142

⁵² . Ibid. p.100

The government in order to lift the agricultural production from subsistence to surplus, the Agricultural Products Marketing Committee (APMC) have been set up under the umbrella of the Nagaland State Agricultural Marketing Board. The buyback scheme and the APMCs are expected to generate surpluses in the crops like kholar, ginger, potato, maize, paddy, oil seeds, passion fruits and cardamom. To brand our farm produce a premium organic products fetching high prices, the government has adopted the policy on organic cultivation, for which a Vermin-Technology Centre at Kohima is being set up to promote organic farming⁵³. The government has also taken measures to protect the farmers from the exploitation of middlemen and to assure them a support price, the paddy procurement policy was introduced for the first time in 2004 for procurement of rice at an assured price of Rs.540 per quintal⁵⁴. The state had also recorded the growth in area under food grains of 2.37 percent during the period from 1981-82 to 2012-13 and it had increased the food grains output from 125009 metric tonnes in 1981-82 to 598960 metric tonnes at the end of 2012-13. This means the state had increased 473.951 metric tonnes within the span of 32 years, with the growth percentage of food grains output at 5.02 percent⁵⁵.

However, what the government had been failing to provide in this sector to the farmer is that, better road connectivity, marketing and storage facilities, without

⁵³ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2004-December 2004)**, Op.cit. p.115

⁵⁴ . **5 Years of Peace, Progress & Development of the Government of Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement since 2003**, Op.cit. p.33

⁵⁵ . Maongtoshi and Mithilesh Kumar Sinha (2014), "**An Evaluative Study of Agricultural Progress in Nagaland**", *EPRA International Journal of Economic and Business Review*, EPRA Trust, Tamil Nadu, November, Vol.2. Issue.11, pp.28-29

which all policies and programmes towards agriculture and farmer will not be successful.

Nagaland Bamboo Development Agency (NBDA)

Today, the importance of bamboo is increasing particularly in the context of growing concern of global environment and ecology. Realising the potential of Bamboo, the NPF led government announced the state bamboo policy in the year 2004, which was perhaps one of the first bamboo policies initiated by any state in India⁵⁶. The state government formulated and notified the State Bamboo Policy on 15th March 2004. With this notification of the state bamboo policy, the Nagaland Bamboo Development Agency (NBDA) was established to take up the development of bamboo on a mission mode. Under the aegis of this Agency, the state has made commendable progress, which is especially evident in the state-of-the-art Bamboo Resource Centre that was inaugurated on 31st July 2007⁵⁷.

It is to see that, can this policy really tap out the skills and give employment opportunity to the Naga people who are mostly good craftsman. However, though this policy is in its early stage yet, but the NBDA had been able to established a market for bamboo mats. The bamboo clusters of Anaki from Mokokchung district supplied 60,000 mats @ Rs.50 per mat to Arunachal Plywood Industries Limited (APIL), Namsai of Arunachal Pradesh. The cluster generated an economy of Rs.30

⁵⁶ . Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2010), Op.cit. p.107

⁵⁷ . Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2007-December 2007), Op.cit. p.136

lakhs. The Agency is also working hard to have more villages and clusters included in the activity to meet the monthly requirement of 20,000 mats by APIL⁵⁸.

Nagaland Bee Keeping and Honey Mission

The honey, which was earlier considered only as a staple food, is now one of the components of increasing the economy of the state. The government realised the vast potentials of beekeeping, which can be tapped for uplifting the rural economy through income generation and for which, it launched the Nagaland Bee & Honey Mission in 2007. This state mission was to exclusively promote and develop beekeeping into robust industry. Since its formation, various promotional activities, such as capacity building and training, publicity, extension and studies, apiary development and technology advancement, besides post harvest and marketing services are being carried out across the state⁵⁹. At the honey exhibition-cum-sales day organised by the Land Resource Department of Nagaland on 9th November 2006, where the Chief Minister of Nagaland, Mr. Neiphiu Rio said that, the Department has earmarked an amount to the tune of Rs.37.80 lakhs covering all the districts in the state⁶⁰.

This had been the role of the regional political party in Nagaland. Mr. Neiphiu Rio, the then Chief Minister of Nagaland on his speech at District VDB Conference at Kohima on 22nd October 2009, rightly said that, most of the innovative programmes of the government had been initiated during the period when the regional party was in power. It had been a very impressive list, the VDBs, the Backward Fund, the

⁵⁸ . 5 Years of Peace, Progress & Development of the Government of Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement since 2003, Op.cit. p.19

⁵⁹ . Nagaland 1963-2013: Fifty Years On (2013), Op.cit. p. 189

⁶⁰ . Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2006), Op.cit. p.244

Reservation Policy, and Compact Area Development Fund, the District plan, the Communitisation process, the sports policy, the establishment of different departments like DUDA, Women, the youth Resource and the Music Task Force. Celebrating Year of Farmer, Capacity Building, holding of Road Show and the creation of unprecedented major infrastructures were the contribution, when the regional party had been in the seat of the government that was actively looking into the needs of the people of the state,⁶¹ touching all aspects of Naga people's life.

A Critical Appraisal

Despite its achievement in all round development and undertaken so many innovative programme for self-employment and economic development, it also has its own shortcomings. The role of the regional political party in Nagaland had been under severe criticisms not only from the Opposition party but also from all corners of the people in Nagaland. The regional party in Nagaland had always talked about tall promises to the people of Nagaland and had claimed of its big achievements but in reality, the promises had been empty and achievements only in paper. The government under the regional party had been under severe charges of corruptions and there are only few government departments, which is not under the scanner of corruptions charges. The state had been witnessing a series of agitations from all walks of people in Nagaland and there had been an increase in the number of groups and organisation formed to protect their interest, throwing light on the inability on the part of the state to protect the interest of its citizens. Not only corruptions but also the policies pursue by the regional party is being question and criticised by the

⁶¹ . **Speeches of Mr. Neiphiu Rio, Chief Minister of Nagaland (2009)**, Op.cit. p.107

people of Nagaland, questioning the party's ability to preserve and protect the Naga identity or compromising with it. This had led to the growing unrest, and resentment towards this had been shown by all sections of Naga society.

Naga Political Issue

In a field survey conducted in regard to the role and contribution of regional party in Naga political issue. The responses of respondents are shown in table 2.

Q. What do you think about the efforts and contribution of regional political party in bringing peaceful solution to Naga political issue?

	Options	In Percentage
A	Satisfactory	3%
B	Unsatisfactory	29%
C	Need more efforts	66%
D	Don't know	2%

Table 2 (source: field survey)

In regard to the efforts of the regional political party towards bring peaceful solution to the Naga political issue, 66% of the respondents said it needs more efforts. The respondent said that, the NPF led government since its coming to power in 2003 had been giving various efforts to solve this issue, it had formed Consultative Committee for Peace (CCP), Joint Legislator Forum (JLF) and followed policy of equi-closeness approach to all underground factions in order to bring final solution to Naga issue. The party had also made its stand repeatedly that it is ready to step down from the present position whenever any solution is achieved at, in order, to pave way to Naga political group to form an alternative government. However, the respondents feels that, the solution to this issue is still a distant dream and the party needs to give more efforts in bringing final and lasting solution to Naga issue. On the other hand, 29%

said that, the efforts that had been made by the regional party is unsatisfactory. They said that the NPF party election promise made in 2003 election and that was to solve the Naga political issue within 3 months if voted to power. Now it had been more than ten years that the party had been in power without any solution in sight, shows that the efforts of the party towards bringing peaceful solution to Naga issue is unsatisfactory.

3% of the respondents said that it had found the efforts of the party satisfactory for bringing peaceful solution to Naga issue. They said that since the NPF party is not a party of the peace talks that is going on, its duty is only to create a conducive atmosphere where both the party that is in conflict can come together and talk to solve the issue. In this context, the respondents said that the party efforts are satisfactory towards bringing peaceful solution. 2% of the respondents said that, they don't know whether the party efforts is satisfactory or not. This group of respondent said that, the NPF party had been in power for ten years and still there is no sight of solution. However, the NPF party is not a party of the peace talks for which it can also be said that no matter what affords is made, at the end it depends about the two parties that is in negotiating table. It is for this reasons, some of the respondent said that, they make Naga political issue as a plank to woo voters to capture power.

With regard to the regional political party in articulating political aspiration of Naga people. When this question was asked, the response of the respondents is given in table 2.1

Q. Do you think that, the regional political party been effective in articulating the political aspiration of the Naga people?

	Options	In Percentage
A	Yes	10%
B	No	55%
C	Can't say	35%

Table 2.1 (source: field survey)

When the respondent was asked the question, whether the regional political party was effective in articulating the political aspiration of the Naga people.

55% of the respondents responded No because the political aspiration of the Naga people is for the peace in Nagaland and a solution to the long-standing Naga political issue. But the NPF party in its ten years of rule could not bring solution to the Naga issue, on the other, factions had increased and it had led to clashes among themselves which had caused many Naga lives, threatening the very peace in the state.

35% of the respondents said they can't say. They said that the NPF party had been taking up some steps to meet the political aspiration of the Naga people but it is not yielding any results. Therefore, they cannot say whether the party is ineffective or there are some other reasons. 10% of the respondents said that, the NPF party is effective in articulating the political aspiration of the Naga people. As, it had been the desire of the Naga people to see more affords from the state government in solving the Naga political issue and the NPF party had been showing its seriousness towards meeting the aspirations of the Naga people.

Equi-closeness policy

The Consultative Committee of Peace (CCP) formed in 2003 by DAN government framed the equi-closeness policy. A policy designed to maintain equal and close relationship to all the underground factions in Nagaland. However, this policy had received lots to criticisms not only from opposition but also from insiders⁶².

Dr. Hokishe Sema, who was then the Convenor of the DAN government, said during the fourth session of the 10th legislative assembly that, the policy to maintain equi-closeness with all the factions is not in our Common Minimum Programme. He also added that, equi-closeness corroborates us in all their actions good as well as bad. In a seminar conducted by Post Graduate Students' Union (Lumami) at Nagaland University, Lumami, under the theme, "Debate on the Issue of Interim Government and Alternative Arrangement for Nagas of Manipur" held on 19th March 2014. Speaking on this theme as a speaker, H. John Sema⁶³ criticised this NPF policy that, how can a political party registered under the Indian Constitution, deriving its rights and privileges and participating in the democratic process of the state can maintain close relations with the undergrounds, in whose aims, objectives and ideology is against the disintegration of the country.

The NPF led DAN government policy of equi-closeness had also been biased towards a particular faction and for which it had been another reason for criticism. The Congress (I) party in Nagaland went to the extent of criticising the NPF party led government saying that, it is the NSCN (IM), which is wielding actual power without

⁶² . H. John Sema (September 2011), Op.cit. p.30

⁶³ . **Note:** H. John Sema is a Professor in the Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, Hqrs: Lumami

responsibility in Nagaland, as it is the NSCN (IM) leaders, which is dictating the terms in government functions, and what policies the new government should follow. The Congress (I) party also states that, the NSCN (IM) cadres whose activities were somewhat curtailed by the last Congress government is now having a free run in the state and even in the Naga inhabited areas of Neighbouring states. Moreover, the number of underground factions had increased during the NPF party led government.

Corruptions

In a decade of NPF party rule in Nagaland, it has been alleged with many charges of corruptions in most of the governments departments and for which the NPF party rule had been criticised. The party in its more than ten years of rule in the state had seen lots of misappropriation of government funds. Various departments, like education, medical and police department was under bogus appointment, loss of arms and ammunition from the police armoury, fraudulent withdrawal of Rs.18cr from the Police Department⁶⁴, Transport subsidy scheme scam, bogus society under Social Welfare Department and NPSC answer swapping scam. The Congress (I) party an opposition party in Nagaland was successful in unearthing those corruptions and for which the Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC) described the NPF led DAN government as a 'scandalous and mega scam' tainted government and alleged that no single department engaged in developmental works was scam free⁶⁵.

The NPF party government corruption was evident, when the Governor of Nagaland turned down on both the occasion, when the Cabinet recommended the ex-DGP of

⁶⁴ . **10 Years of NPF Misrule in Nagaland: A Decade of Scandals & Corruptions**, Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee, Kohima, p.23

⁶⁵ . The Nagaland Post, Monday, August 20, 2012, Dimapur, p.1

Nagaland, Mr. Kire as the next Vigilance Commissioner, since the ex-DGP was accuse in the Rs.18cr police modernisation fraud. So also, again on two occasions, on May 17, 2013 and September 17, 2013, when the DAN government submitted the false utilization certificate of Rs. 700cr out of Rs.2000cr allotted for 2012-13 sanction by the Government of India was rejected on both occasion by the Government of India. The NPCC said that, due to rejection of the utilization certificate, the legacy accumulated by DAN government since 2003 had led to the current financial crisis for the current 2013-14. It had also led to the situation where, the Nagaland was headed for constitutional crisis due to a combination of factors such as, a precarious financial position and total misgovernance by the NPF led DAN coalition⁶⁶.

In a field survey conducted regarding NPF party and economic measure taken in Nagaland, the respondents response is given in table 2.2

Q. Do you think that, the NPF party has taken enough measures to improve the economic conditions of the Naga people in Nagaland?

	Options	In Percentage
A	Yes	5%
B	No	55%
C	Up to some extend	39%
D	Don't know	1%

Table 2.2 (source: field survey)

According to the survey when it was asked to the respondent that, whether the NPF party had taken enough measures to improve the economic conditions of the Naga people, 5% of the respondents said yes that the party had done a lot to improve the

⁶⁶ . The Nagaland Post, Friday, October 25, 2013, Dimapur, p.1

economic condition of the Naga people. They said that, various policies and programmes that the party had taken up and implementing the central schemes had done a lot to improve the economic conditions of the Naga people. 39% of the respondents has said that, the party had done something to some extend to improve the economic condition of the people. They said hosting agri-expo where the farmers can exhibit and sell their product, Communitisation of education, health and power, hornbill festival, roads shows and training to youth and farmer had to some extend improve the economic conditions of the people.

55% of the respondents said no. They said that for any government to improve the economic conditions of its citizen is to improve the road conditions, since it connects the people. In the NPF rule the road conditions is the worst ever then how can, the economic condition of the people can be improved. They said all the funds meant for the public had been used for their own interest and the people had remained poor as it is. Today in Naga society, the gap between the haves and have not has widen to a great extend, and the government is to be blame. 1% of the respondents comprising mainly of uneducated people said that they Don't know whether the party had taken enough measures to improve the economic conditions of the Naga people. They said that, the government had been taking up some welfare programmes but they cannot say whether the government is serious in implementing it or not and whether it had been able to reach the needy people. This group of respondents had shown least concern in politics and government activities.

Road Show

Another criticism of the regional political party activities is that of organising “Road Show”. It was started in 2009 by NPF led government, with an intention of promoting the tradition and culture of Nagas and to interact with the people at the grass root level about developmental activities of the state⁶⁷. However, this event had become an extravaganza, which had started to cost a lot to state exchequer. With neither employment opportunity nor generating regular source of income, but rather it was only during this period of event where people can sell their goods, show their talents and get a chance to win few cash prize. On the other hand, the condition of the state finance was running on deficit, unemployment problem is rising, corruptions, bad road and poor electricity etc. It was at the cost of poor condition of the state and for this, it was criticised from all corners and finally the government had to admit it and abandon this show from its official engagements⁶⁸.

Self Vested Interest among the Regional Party Leaders

Among the regional political party leaders, there are some leaders, who due to their own selfish interest had often misled the party. In the Nagaland state political history, two important events had taken place, which had left deep impact on the Nagaland Legislative Assembly and to which the regional party in Nagaland was part of it.

The first was in 8th December 1964, when all the elected 12 MLAs of Democratic party of Nagaland (DPN) resigned en bloc because a ceasefire agreement was signed between the Government of India and NNC, a Naga underground group. The

⁶⁷ . <http://www.easternpanorama.in/index.php/2009/25-2009/july29/282-nagaland-road-show-2009>

⁶⁸ . <http://www.nagalandpost.com/ShowStory.aspx?npoststoryiden=UzEwMzY2OTM%3D-dD2lDJZ4h6g%3D>

regional party stated that, it was a move so that there are no hurdles in the peace talks from the over ground government and that both the parties can reach to final solution. However, it had been said that at that time, the regional party was misled by, late A. Kevichusa who was then the party president. As he was not happy for the non-inclusion of A.Z. Phizo in the peace talks and for which he made the party to resign en bloc and even dissolved the party, to pressure the government for the inclusion of A.Z. Phizo in the peace talks.

The second event took place in the year 1998, when the election for the 9th state legislative assembly was announced. Various NGOs in Nagaland headed by Naga Hoho, the apex Naga tribal body boycotted to this election. The reason behind this was due to the ongoing peace talks between the Government of India and NSCN (IM), which was made possible due to signing of ceasefire agreement in 1997. For which the civil societies in Nagaland gave a slogan 'No Solution No Election' and boycotted the election, to which the regional party in Nagaland supported to this boycott call and did not contest the 9th legislative assembly election. It was on the pretext that the regional party wants a final solution to Naga political issue and it was ready to step down to pave the way for the final solution. However, it had been said that, it was Mr. Shurhozelie who was then the party president misled the party for his own selfish interest. As he was fully aware of his electoral fortune then in 1998 and knows about his miserable position which was going to lead him to face a crushing defeat at the hands of his opponent, for which he misled the Nagaland People's Council (NPC) party then to boycott the 1998 election under the rhetoric slogan "No Solution, No Election". This infamous personalised agenda of political genocide attracted the radar of the Election Commission of India and it de-recognised the NPC

party in 1999⁶⁹. Hence, on both events, the regional political party in Nagaland had to lose its registration from the Election Commission of India due to selfish interest of some leaders.

There was also a struggle for leadership in the regional political party. It all started when Mr. Neiphiu Rio vacated the Chief Minister seat on his being elected to Lok Sabha in 2014. Thereafter, there had been a growing struggle for the Chief Minister seat among the regional party leaders. The regional party in Nagaland is divided into two groups, one led by Dr. Shurhozelie as party president and Mr. T.R. Zeliang as Chief Minister of Nagaland and the other group led by Mr. Noke as president and Mr. Kaito Aye as projected Chief Minister of Nagaland. The selfish interest among the regional party leaders in their struggle for leadership had almost made the government non-functional and for which the Naga Hoho made an appeal to all the leaders to keep their individual interest aside and decide for the best interest of the Naga people. It even termed it as very unfortunate that the entire state machinery have been brought to a grinding halt owing to the sharp division among the legislators⁷⁰.

In this connection, the question was asked to the respondents regarding the change of nomenclature of regional political party in Nagaland. The respondents response is shown in table 2.3

⁶⁹ . T. Pongjilemba Chang (2015), "*Will History be Repeated*", The Nagaland Post, January 21, p.6

⁷⁰ . The Nagaland Post, Thursday, January 15, 2015, p.1

Q. Why there had been so much of change of regional party nomenclature in Nagaland?

	Reasons	In Percentage
A	Selfish leaders to form its own party	31%
B	To accommodate members coming from other political party	15%
C	To meet the changing needs of time	10%
D	Due to constant split and defection among the party members	36%
E	Don't Know	8%

Table 2.3 (source: field survey)

When the question, why there had been constant change in the regional party nomenclature was asked to the respondents. 36% of the respondents said that it is due to constant defection among the party members. They gave the reason that, there is constant split within the party and the party members used to defect from their parent party to join another party. Under this situation, they formed their own party and later on joined with some other party under a new party nomenclature. This was how the nomenclature of regional party was changed very often.

The 31% of the respondents said that, the nomenclature was often changed due to the interest of the selfish leaders to form its own party. They said that, when some leaders are not satisfied with the portfolio given to them or if they are not given any portfolio then these leaders break the party and form their own party. Out of the total respondent, 15% of the respondents said that, the regional party changed its nomenclature to accommodate the members coming from other party. They said that, whenever a new political party wants to merge with the regional party, the regional party always change its nomenclature. 10% of the respondents had said that it is due to meet the changing needs of time. This group of respondents cited an example of

how the United Front of Nagaland (UFN) was formed by the same members of Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) which was dissolved in 1964 and this was done to start all over under new nomenclature. Again, how Nagaland People's Front (NPF) was changed to Naga People's Front (NPF) to enable territorial expansion. 8% of the respondents said that they Don't know the reason why there had been constant change in regional party nomenclature. This group of respondent said that, whenever there is a change in the party nomenclature, the political party used to give numerous reasons to defend and explain why it had happen.

Tribalism

The regional party led Government had not been free from tribal oriented government. The people of Nagaland had viewed that, the development that had taken place under the regional party is concentrated only on few tribal region. Even within the party structure, the party had favoured few tribes and for which it had failed to give equal representation to all the tribes in Nagaland. It has also been said that, tribalism and division among the Naga people on tribal lines had increased to a great extend under the regional party government. It is for this reason, the regional political party could not able to give a leader that has mass appeal and is acceptable by all sections of Naga people.

Stating an instance about the regional party favouritism and unequal treatment here, the incident of Sumi flushing out the NSCN (IM) cadres from Mukhalimi, Zunheboto district on 28th December 2013, can be stated here. The incident occurred, when the NSCN (IM) cadres molested a Sumi women passengers travelling in the taxi and the government apathy to take action against those NSCN (IM) cadres. It was for this

reason, the Sumi tribe attacked the NSCN (IM) camp at Mukhalimi in retaliation against the molestation and humiliation of women passengers. This attack would have been avoided had the government promptly apprehended the culprit in this case. While flushing out the NSCN (IM) from their camps, three Sumi youth died in this conflict, but the Chief Minister of Nagaland did not even bother to condole the deaths of Sumi youth nor considered of granting ex-gratia to the bereaved families and those injured.

This incident is being stated here because when there was a conflict between the Rengma Nagas and the Karbis in the Karbianglong district of Assam, the Nagaland government paid ex-gratia to those Rengma tribes who had been affected in this conflict. What had been the criticisms is that, when due consideration was rightly shown to the Karbi carnage victims' families by way of ex-gratia grant the least we expect is the same yard stick being applied for the Sumis, who had too lost their lives in similar undeserved fashion⁷¹. This had also been termed as partial and tribalism on the part of the government.

Accordingly, the question had been asked to the respondents regarding tribalism in regional party in Nagaland. The respondents response is shown in table 2.4

⁷¹ . Khekiye Sema (2014), "***Another One Bite the Dust***", The Nagaland Post, Saturday, February 1, p.6

Q. According to you, do you think the regional political party in Nagaland gives an equal representation in its organizational set up, rank and file among the Naga tribes?

	Options	In Percentage
A	Yes	7%
B	No	40%
C	Can't say	15%
D	It is doubtful that it gives equal representation to all the Naga tribes	38%

Table 2.4 (source: field survey)

To know about the representation of the Naga tribes in the organisation of the regional political party, a question was asked to the respondent that whether the regional political party gives equal representation to all the Naga tribes in its organisational set up, where 40% of the respondents said no. They said that, the party organisation is control by few tribes and there is a presence of favouritism to few tribes within the party. 38% of the respondents said that it is doubtful that the party gives equal representation to all tribes in the party organisational set up. As, the organisation of the party had been control by few tribes and it is very doubtful that the party has ever made an attempt to give equal representation or to restructure the party organisation to give equal representation to all tribes.

15% of the respondents said that, they can't say whether the party gives an equal representation to all tribes in its organisational structure. The party's main aim is to contest and win election and that can be possible only when the party has an efficient party workers or officials in its organisational structure. May be some tribes does not have good workers to occupy some important post or may be the party had neglected some tribes to favour some other tribes. So they can't say. 7% of the respondents said that, the party gives an equal representation to all the tribes in the regional party

organisation. They said that, when it comes to running of an organisation then it is all about capabilities and efficiencies of a person and for which if only a few tribes is represented then it is not discrimination. They said that a party could not afford to ignore some tribes and for which all tribes are, accommodate in some way or the other.

Emergence of Organisations like, Against Corruption and Unabated Taxation (ACAUT) and Survival Nagaland (SN)

The emergence of organisations like ACAUT and Survival Nagaland, which is leading a strong peoples movement in Nagaland also throw light on the inability of the state government to protect and meet the aspirations of the Naga people.

For many years, there had been an outcry from the Naga people about the rampant taxation and extortion by the Naga underground factions. In this situation, the Naga people had been undergoing untold hardships and sufferings but the government had always ignored it. The inability of the government to address the grievances of its citizens led the citizens to form an organisation called ACAUT to fight against the rampant taxation and extortion in Nagaland.

Another organisation formed on similar line was the Survival Nagaland (SN), which was formed to fight against the growing number of Illegal migrants in Nagaland. The issue of illegal migrants had also been of serious concern to Naga people since very long and many had raised this issue of concern on many platforms but again the government had failed to come up with any measures to deal with this issue. It was for this reasons that this organisation was formed to protect the Naga people from

being outnumbered in their own state and check the flow of illegal migrants to Nagaland.

In a democratic country like India, everyone has the right to form an association for promoting and preserving one's own interest and identity but in some cases like this, also highlights the inability of the government to protect its citizens and address the problems of the people.

Line of Control (LoC) Policy

Since the formation of statehood of Nagaland, the state of Nagaland is having a border dispute with the state of Assam. When the Chief Minister of Nagaland, Mr. T.R. Zeliang spelled out the policy of creating a Line of Control to the Central government over the dispute border with Assam, it was criticised by many sections of Naga society. While criticising the government policy of LoC, the Nagaland Tribal Council (NTC) expressed their surprises by saying that, it was a complete abandonment of the age-old Naga demand 'return us our ancestral land'. The NTC also recalled to the government about the demand of the Nagas to the Simon Commission 18 years before the British left India, was for the return of Naga forestland transferred to Sibsagar in Assam for better administration and management of forest in addition to other political issue. NTC also reminded the government about the dispute land which was repeated in 1946 in famous Sir Hydari or 9-point agreement and which was again raised in the 1960 in the 16-point

agreement between the Naga People's Convention (NPC) and Government of India⁷².

This policy of the government had raised the serious question on the role of the regional party in protecting the territorial integrity of the Nagas.

Recognition of Rongmei Tribe

When the government of Nagaland gave recognition to the Rongmei tribe as one of the schedule tribe in Nagaland, making it the 17th schedule tribe of Nagaland in 2013, all the civil societies in Nagaland criticised this decision of the government and opposed to it. While expressing its criticisms, the Zeliang People Organisation (ZPO) said that, a non-aboriginal tribe cannot be made an aboriginal tribe in the state of Nagaland and contended that the Rongmei tribe was traditionally and customarily not a Naga tribe of Nagaland but kith and kin of the Naga tribes in Manipur⁷³. The decision of the Nagaland government was said to be another addition to the state problem as when the state is unable to meet the needs of the existing tribes in Nagaland. It is also said by the people of Nagaland that the recognition of Rongmei tribe is at the cost of the interest of the present tribes of Nagaland.

Nagaland Special Development Zone (NSDZ)

Another policy of the regional party, which is under criticism from the Naga people, is the policy of Nagaland Special Development Zone (NSDZ). When the Nagaland Legislative assembly passed a resolution of NSDZ on 24th March 2014, it received criticisms from all corner of Naga people due to the loopholes that contained in the

⁷² . The Nagaland Post, Thursday, September 11, 2014, Dimapur, p.1

⁷³ . The Nagaland Post, Saturday, February 1, 2014, Dimapur, p.1

policy. The Nagaland Tribal Council (NTC) pointed out that, the NSDZ in its section 10 (iv) would entail relaxation of the existing system of land ownership and tenure system that are largely tribal in nature and as per section 10 (v) stated that, the Inner Line Permit (ILP) as per Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873, “needed to be relaxed”. The NTC described the liberalized entry of removing the above protective laws as a hidden agenda that would allow free access to investors from outside for permanent settlement and giving them legitimacy of rights and privileges so far enjoyed by the indigenous citizens of the state⁷⁴.

NTC also further added that, two issues, NSDZ and recognition of Rongmei tribe are confronting the indigenous Nagas of Nagaland and the Council had not been able to comprehend, why any government would resort to such “self-defeating” and right mortgaging actions at the expense of its citizens in the guise of temporary benefits and appeasements⁷⁵. What had been about the NSDZ policy of the government is that, it may be very harmful policy for the Nagas in the long run.

When the respondents were asked regarding the regional political party in protecting the Naga identity. The respondents response is shown in table 2.5

⁷⁴ . The Nagaland Post, Wednesday, July 16, 2014, Dimapur, p.1

⁷⁵ . The Nagaland Post, Monday, August 11, 2014, Dimapur, p.1

Q. Do you think that, the NPF party has taken enough measures to protect and preserve our identity?

	Options	In percentage
A	Yes	3%
B	No	23%
C	Need more Measures	55%
D	Don't know	8%
E	Up to some extend	11%

Table 2.5 (source: field survey)

55% of the respondents responded, the need for more measures, when they were asked that, had the NPF party taken enough measures to protect and preserve our identity. The respondent said that the party need to take more measures to implement in full the special privileges that had been given to us by the Indian constitution under article 371 (A). 23% of the respondents say no because the party is pursuing such policy that will affect the Nagas in their ownership of land and their identity in their own land. Policies like, oil exploration and Nagaland Special Development Zone will be disadvantageous for the Nagas in the long run. 11% of the respondents said that up to some extend the party had taken measures to preserve and protect our identity. They said that by looking into the policy of the party towards the importance given to village institution, which forms an important part of Naga identity. 8% of the respondents said that they don't know whether the NPF party had taken enough measures or not to preserve and protect the Naga identity. 3% of the respondents said that the party had taken enough measures to protect and preserve the Naga identity. What had been the criticisms about the regional political party in Nagaland is that, the party had been in power several times and particularly for the third consecutive term i.e. since 2003 but still the Naga political issue remains

unsolved. For which, one of the main objectives of the party and that is to bring about solution to Naga political issue had been criticised for the party's failure to do so. There had also been rampant corruptions among the party members, which had led to poor economic condition of the state. Selfish leaders and tribalism, which had been prevalent in the regional political party for which, the regional party leaders could not be acceptable to all sections of Naga people. The wrong policies of the party, for which, the Naga people had question about the party's role in protecting the Naga identity.

Despite of all the criticisms about the role of regional political parties in Nagaland, their contribution towards the development of the state in various field has been significant since the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Findings

Conclusion

The origin and migration of the Nagas to the present state of Nagaland is still a mystery, since the Nagas do not maintain any written record. It had been an oral narration about their origin and migration through folk songs and folk lore, which the Nagas had passed on from generation to generation. This oral tradition of narration is full of myths and legends, for which it is very difficult to accept this as the origin and migration of Nagas. This had also been the reason for the controversy regarding the origin and migration of Nagas when it comes to the historian due to lack of proper written record. The first written record about Nagas appeared only in the thirteen century in Assam Buranjis (chronicle), when the Nagas encountered the Ahoms. About the origin and migration of the Nagas, many scholars had established themselves to South East Asian countries and the name “Naga” derived from Burmese word Na-Ka, which means people or folk with pierced ears.

The British encounter with the Nagas was out of necessity. As the British wanted to find a trade route between Assam and Manipur and this trade route was not possible without crossing the Naga territory. For which the British send many expeditions to the Naga Hills to find the route, which often ended in strong resistance from the Nagas. The British government finally decided to subdue the Nagas and send military expeditions to the Naga Hills to crush the Naga resistance, to stop the Naga raids in the plain areas and to find the possible route between Assam and Manipur. Towards the end of 19th century, almost all the Naga Hills area came under the British government. However, from the beginning the British government was not interested in ruling over the Naga areas, one reason being that, the Naga Hills was in

no way profitable to the British government in terms of trade and commerce. It was for this reason the British never interfered in the internal affairs of the Nagas nor they tried to bring the Naga areas under its British India administration but they administered it as an 'Excluded Areas'. Which, in the later days, sowed the seed of nationalism among the Nagas.

When the British was about to leave the Indian sub-continent, the Nagas began to demand independence on the ground that the Nagas are distinct people which is different from the Indians in terms of race, identity, cultural and traditions. This expression of the Nagas was expressed in various memorandums, which the Nagas submitted to the British Government and British India Government. There were various efforts on the part of the British and Government of India to solve this issue but due to the rigid stand of the Nagas for complete independence could not solve this issue. Finally, the Nagas after getting convinced that neither the British nor the Government of India was willing to give them independence, declared unilaterally the Naga independence on 14th August 1947, a day ahead of Indian independence.

After series of efforts made from both side that is, the Government of India and Naga underground, the Naga issue could not be solved for which the Naga underground declared its own government parallel to Government of India know as the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) with its own Naga army on 22nd March 1956. This marked the beginning of armed conflict between the Indian army and the Naga army. In this conflict, it was the Naga villagers, the common Naga people who had to undergo untold suffering and hardship, as they were the ones who were often caught in between this conflict. It was for this reason, there was a growing desire for peace

among the Naga people and to which some of the Naga undergrounds leaders, which later on came to be known as moderate leaders, understood it. These moderate leaders along with some prominent Naga public leaders gave a call for Naga People's Convention (NPC), to find a peaceful and final solution to Naga political issue. For which the NPC was held during 1957, 1958 and 1959. It was during this convention, the 16-point proposal was drafted, which later on became the basis for the creation of Nagaland state on 1st December 1963 as the 16th state under the Union of India. However, even after the creation of Nagaland state, the insurgency movement did not end and the conflict continued in Nagaland.

Within the members of Naga People's Convention (NPC), there were some members, who opposed the others members of NPC signing an agreement with the Government of India. These members held that, the NPC could not sign an agreement with Government of India, since NPC is not the party that is in conflict. For which they opposed the signing of the 16-point agreement between the NPC members and Government of India. They also held that the NPC members had not consulted the Naga underground properly before signing an agreement with the Government of India, for which even after the creation of state, it could not end the conflict and bring peace in Nagaland. On the other hand, along with the creation of state the democratic process also started in Nagaland. The election to the first state legislative assembly was scheduled in early 1964. For which, these members felt that a political party was necessary to be a facilitator and mediator between the Government of India and Naga underground. Hence, they formed the Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) in 1963, which led to the emergence of regional political party in Nagaland. There was another political party known as Naga Nationalist

Organisation (NNO) party, which was also regional in character but this party does not have a clear objective as DPN on Naga political issue and was considered as an associated member of Indian National Congress (INC) party, the NNO party merged with the INC party in the year 1976.

The regional political party since the first state legislative assembly had been working towards achieving in its objective and that is to bring final and lasting solution to Naga political issue. It had also been seen pressurising the ruling party to find solution to this issue, when the regional political party had been in the opposition bench. The result of such efforts was that, the NNO party in the year 1964, a ruling party then, agreed to set up Peace Mission in Nagaland for finding final solution to Naga political issue, which led to the signing of first ceasefire agreement between the Government of India and Naga National Council on 6th September 1964. On signing the ceasefire agreement and followed by the peace talks between the two parties, the Democratic party of Nagaland (DPN) thought that the party objective had been achieved and for which all the 12 elected MLAs of DPN resigned en bloc on 8th December 1964 and even dissolved the party. This step was taken, so that both the parties in negotiation can solve the issue peacefully without any hindrance from over ground government.

Another important decision taken by the regional political party towards solving the Naga political issue was in the year 1998. The Election Commission announced the election to the Ninth state legislative assembly in the year 1998. This announcement of Election Commission came about just after a year of signing of ceasefire agreement between the Government of India and NSCN (IM) in 1997. Since solution

to Naga political issue was the outmost desire for every Nagas, for which various NGOs in Nagaland headed by Naga Hoho, the apex Naga tribal body boycott the Ninth state legislative assembly under the slogan “No Solution, No Election”. The Naga Hoho also made an appeal to all the political parties in Nagaland not to participate in the election, to this all the non-Congress party and Nagaland People’s Council (NPC), a regional political party in particular boycotted the election. Since the main objective of the regional political party was for the final solution to Naga political issue for which it did not participated in the Ninth state legislative assembly election.

In the Tenth legislative assembly election held on 2003, the Nagaland People’s Front (NPF), a regional political party under a new nomenclature contested the election and won the election under the popular election manifesto that is to solve the Naga political issue within three months, if the party is voted to power. The NPF party under the leadership of Mr. Neiphiu Rio after forming the government, constituted the Consultative Committee of Peace (CCP) and this committee framed the “equi-closeness” policy for the government to follow. It was a policy in contrast with the earlier Congress (I) government’s policy of “equi-distance” policy. By “equi-closeness” policy what the NPF led DAN government meant was that, to have a close relation with all the underground factions in Nagaland, so that they can come together and solve the Naga political issue. In 2008, the regional party once again underwent a change in the party nomenclature, from “Nagaland People’s Front” to “Naga People’s Front”. This step was taken to enable the territorial expansion of the party to its neighbouring states and to give party support of integrating all Naga inhabited areas, which had also been one of the important demands of NSCN (IM).

The NPF led government also formed the Joint Legislator Forum (JLF) comprising of all the 60 members of the Nagaland State Legislative Assembly, which made a joint declaration to resign and pave the way if alternative arrangement is reached between the Government of India and Naga underground. With the NPF party victory in the Twelfth legislative assembly election, it had won the state general assembly election for the third consecutive term.

From Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) in 1963 to Naga People's Front (NPF) of today, it had undergone a change in the party's nomenclature a number of times. This was done in order to accommodate the members coming from other party and to meet the changing needs of time. However, the party symbol "Cock" and motto "fide non armis" had remained the same. Also, the party's objective to be a facilitator and mediator between the Government of India and Naga underground and to step down and pave the way, whenever the final solution to the Naga political issue is achieved.

The regional political party had played a great role in the social and economic development in Nagaland. It passed the Village and Area Council Act in 1978, which led to the creation of Village Council and Village Development Boards (VDBs) in the Village. This had led to delegation of more powers to the grass root level, which in return had enabled more participation of the people in the democratic process of the state. So also, the Communitisation of public sectors like, education, health, power and water had enabled people to participate more in the economic development of the state.

The regional party created a separate department for the women and constituted the State Women Commission in Nagaland to give more empowerment to the women in

the state. It was the step taken so that, it can address the problems related to women in the state and to implement the policy related to women in the state.

To empower the youth in the state, the government through its various declaration like, year of youth empowerment, year of capacity building and year of entrepreneur, had helped the youth of Nagaland to be an entrepreneur and self-reliant, which had led them to live a dignified life. Moreover, by establishing Music as a full-fledged industry, the government had given an opportunity to many youths who are talented in music to take up music as their profession. In the field of sports, by getting affiliated to Indian Olympic Association and Board of Cricket Control in India (BCCI), it had promoted sports to a great extend in Nagaland and had given an opportunity to youth who had talent in sports to choose sports as their profession.

To increase the agriculture production in the state and to encourage the farmers, the government through it declaration, the year of farmer had helped the farmers in the state. Various schemes, loans and policies had been framed to encourage and protect the farmers. Through CM Corpus Fund, the government is also distributing tractors and power tillers to the farmers in the state.

It was also the regional political party, which understood the potential of Nagaland state in its tourism industry. For which the state promoted the Hornbill festival to such an extent that, the Government of India had recognised it as a national festival. During this Hornbill festival, many tourists both national and international visit the state. It had really helped the state to promote its tourism industry, besides promoting its culture, custom and traditions.

Through various missions like, Bamboo mission and Bee-keeping mission, the government is not only generating the state economy but it had also given many opportunities to many unemployed youth to generate their income by taking up as an enterprise.

However, the regional political party had also been criticised on many grounds like, loopholes in its Village and Area Council Act for which it could not fully implement, corruptions and misuse of government funds. The government had also been criticised for poor economy of the state, where the fund had been misused by the government officials. The regional party also landed on criticism from all sections of Naga people for its failure to implement the election manifesto and that was to solve the Naga issue within three months if elected to power. With NPF party victory in 12th legislative general assembly election held in 2013, it had now been more than a decade that the regional party had been in power since 2003 and still there is no solution to Naga political issue. This had posed a serious question on the efforts of the regional political party towards solving the Naga political issue.

The regional party had also been criticised for its tribal allegiance, as in the view of the Naga people, development had taken place only in few tribal districts and it had been stated that, tribalism among the Nagas is very high when the regional political party is in power. Within the party organisation, the regional political party is also neither tribal politics free party, as due to some selfish tribal interest, there had been a struggle for power within the party structure.

So also, the regional party is also criticised for its faulty policies like, Line of Control to solve the border dispute with Assam and Nagaland Special Development Zone

(NSDZ) policy, where there is relaxation of Inner Line Permit. These policies of the party had landed them in sharp criticisms from various tribal bodies, questioning the role of regional political party in protecting the identity and interest of the Nagas. In addition, recognition to Rongmei tribe as one of the Schedule tribe of Nagaland had also added more criticism to the party.

During the regional party in power, the state had also witnessed the emergence of various civil groups and organisation to protect their own interest, which had also shown the apathy of the government to protect its citizens.

However, despite of all the criticism, the role of the regional political party had been very significant, be it in the political, social or economic life of Nagas. It was the regional political party, which through its various policies and programmes had touched all aspects of Naga people's life. It had also succeeded in bringing administration much closer to the people, where people can directly participate in the democratic process of the states. It is for this that, it had won for the third consecutive term in the state general assembly election in Nagaland.

From the Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN) in 1963 to the Naga People's Front (NPF) of today, the party had undergone a number of changes in its nomenclature but the party's main character, motto, symbol, aims and objectives had remained the same.

Findings

Through various interviews conducted with the politicians from various political parties in Nagaland, regional political party members, voters of different age group and tribes, interaction and discussion with the people from different walks of life in Naga society and the data collected from the questionnaires, the following had been the findings of my research.

- ❖ The Nagas were represented in the Assam Legislative Assembly in 1957 and Lok Sabha in 1962. The representatives were not elected under any political party but it was elected as representatives of Nagas. The political parties emerged in Nagaland only after granting statehood to Nagas.
- ❖ The regional political party in Nagaland had emerged out of necessity. Since the creation of statehood had failed to end the conflict, for which, it emerged to be a facilitator and mediator between the Naga underground and Government of India to bring final solution to Naga political issue.
- ❖ Due to constant split and defections within the political parties in Nagaland and to accommodate those members coming from other political parties, there had been a constant change in the nomenclature of the regional political party in Nagaland. With an exception of change of nomenclature from, “Nagaland People’s Front” to “Naga People’s Front”, which was to enable the territorial expansion of the party to other states.
- ❖ The nomenclature of the regional political party had changed many times in Nagaland but its motto, objectives and character had remained the same with minor modification. The regional political party motto “fide non armis”, the

symbol “cock’ and its objective to be a facilitator and mediator between the Naga underground and Government of India had remained the same, since its emergence.

- ❖ The Congress (I) party had failed in Nagaland due to leadership crisis and internal fighting within party members.
- ❖ There is a tribal politics prevalent within the regional political party in Nagaland and tribalism among the Nagas had been very high during the regional political party in power.
- ❖ In Nagaland, the state politics revolve around Naga political issue since the emergence of statehood to till the last general assembly election held in 2013.

Suggestions

- ❖ The regional political party in Nagaland had to pursue more effective policy in addressing, the political, social and economic problems of Nagas. It had to empower the Naga women politically without which social and economic empowerment of women is meaningless. It had to generate more employment opportunities for Naga youth and more vocational training so that the youths can develop entrepreneur skill and self-dependent. It also had to provide better storage facilities and market to the farmers, better road connectivity and modernised way of farming to increase agriculture production and improve the farmers living condition.
- ❖ The regional political party need sincere efforts towards finding final and lasting solution to Naga political issue, which had been one of its main objectives. The party needs to create more conducive atmosphere and unite among the Naga political groups and various civil societies in Nagaland so that they can come together and reach to a common consensus on how to solve the Naga political issue.

Appendices

I. Questionnaire

I am a Ph.D. Scholar in the Department of Political Science, Nagaland University, doing research on the topic “**A Study of Emergence and Role of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland**”.

This questionnaire is design to assist and find out, how regional political party emerged in Nagaland and what had been its role in Nagaland.

This questionnaire is prepared exclusively for research purpose only and it will remain confidential.

I therefore request for your help in responding the following question.

Thanking you

Name: H. Kughaka Sumi

Department: Political Science

Nagaland University

Hqrs: Lumami

Ph.No. (0)9862398191

Email: kughakachishi@yahoo.in

Questionnaire on “**A Study of Emergence and Role of Regional Political Parties in Nagaland**”.

Instruction on filling up the questionnaire

Kindly fill up the question as comprehensively as possible by ticking the most appropriate option

Thanking you

General Background

1. Name:.....
2. Trbe:.....
3. Sex: Male/Female
4. Age:.....
5. Marital status: Married/unmarried
6. Educational qualifications:.....
7. Profession/Occupation:.....

Questionnaire

1. What do you think, by granting statehood to Nagas, the Indian government had done a lot for the Nagas to protect and preserve their identity?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Don't know
2. Do you think that, the present state of Nagaland has met the aspiration of the Nagas?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Need more autonomy
 - d) Don't know
3. What led to the emergence of Regional Political Party in Nagaland?
 - a) To be an alternative to the national political party
 - b) To protect and preserve Naga identity and traditions
 - c) To be a mediator between Naga underground and Government of India
 - d) All of the above
 - e) Do not know
4. Do you think, the emergence of the regional political party in Nagaland have something to do with the Naga political issue?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Don't know
5. What do you think about regional political party in Nagaland?
 - a) Different from national political party
 - b) It is just a political party
 - c) It is the right political party for the Naga people
 - d) No difference with the national political party
 - e) Don't know

6. Do you find any ideological differences between national and regional political party in Nagaland?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Can't say
7. Does the regional political party understand the local problems better than the national party in Naga context?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Both know equally
 - d) Don't know
8. In Nagaland, had the regional political party been able to link with Naga people?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No don't know
9. Do you think, the regional political party has been effective in articulating the political aspiration of Naga people?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Can't say
10. Can the regional political party only protect our identity?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Do not know
11. Do you think, the NPF party has taken enough measures to protect and preserve our identity?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Need more measures
 - d) Don't know
 - e) Up to some extend

12. Do you think, the NPF party has taken enough measures to improve the economic condition of the Naga people in Nagaland?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extend
 - d) Don't know
13. Do you think that the NPF party promote distinct political programme than national party in Nagaland?
- a) Yes, it is different
 - b) No, it is not
 - c) Not much difference with national party
 - d) Don't know
14. Do you think that, the state economy had prospered under the NPF party rule?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) The condition is same as when Congress party was ruling
 - d) Can't say
15. What do you think about the efforts and contribution of regional political party in bringing peaceful solution to Naga political issue?
- a) Satisfactory
 - b) Unsatisfactory
 - c) Need more effort
 - d) Don't know
16. Why there had been so much of change of regional political party nomenclature in Nagaland?
- a) Selfish leaders to form its own party
 - b) To accommodate members coming from other political party
 - c) To meet the changing needs of time
 - d) Due to constant split and defection among the party members
 - e) Don't know

17. What may be the reason for the NPF party's victory in Nagaland for the past three consecutive terms in the general assembly election?
- a) Due to good leadership
 - b) Due to developmental activities
 - c) Due to money and muscle power
 - d) Due to support of insurgent groups
 - e) a & b
 - f) c & d
 - g) All of the above
 - h) Don't know
18. According to you, what may be the reason for the failure of Congress party in Nagaland?
- a) Due to leadership crisis
 - b) Due to internal fighting among the party members
 - c) Failed to protect the identity of the Nagas
 - d) Failed to address socio-economic problems of Nagas
 - e) All of the above
 - f) Can't say
19. The booklet of Congress party, "Bedrock of Naga Society" published in the year 2000, which had denied the existence of Naga, as a nation and its sovereignty, can still be term as one factor that had led to the Congress party defeat in Nagaland?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Don't know
20. Do you think there is tribalism prevalent among the political parties in Nagaland when it comes to the selection of leader?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) No, it is about capability
 - d) Don't know

21. Do you think, the regional political party in Nagaland gives an equal representation in its organisational set up, rank and file among the Naga tribes?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Can't say
 - d) It is doubtful, that it gives an equal representation to all the Naga tribes
22. Naga voters on what basis
- a) Identity issue
 - b) Developmental activities
 - c) Party manifesto
 - d) Individual candidates
 - e) Money
 - f) All of the above
 - g) None of the above
 - h) Don't know
23. Do you think that in Nagaland, state politics revolves around the Naga political issue?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Don't know
24. Should there be 'no election' in Nagaland without solution to Naga issue?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Don't know
25. State like Nagaland is fully dependent on the centre for aid, so do we need a regional political party in Nagaland?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Do not know

26. A state government run by a regional political party?
- a) Will be able to understand local problems properly
 - b) Can promote ones identity and tradition
 - c) Can built a good communication between government and people
 - d) All of the above
 - e) Can't say
27. A state government run by a national political party?
- a) Will not be able to address local problems properly
 - b) The state politics will be dominated by central politics
 - c) Local issue will be overshadowed by national issue
 - d) All of the above
 - e) None of the above
 - f) Don't know

II. 17 Major Tribes of Nagaland

1. Angami
2. Ao
3. Chakhesang
4. Chang
5. Khiamniungan
6. Konyak
7. Lotha
8. Phom
9. Puchury
10. Rengma
11. Sangtam
12. Sumi
13. Yimchunger
14. Zeliang
15. Kachari
16. Kuki
17. Rongmei

III. Memorandum of the Naga Club to Simon Commission (January 10, 1929)

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 were included within the Reformed Scheme of India without our knowledge, but as the administration of our Hills continued to be in the hands of the British Officers we do 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 the growth of the education and we beg to submit below our view with the prayer that our Hills may be withdrawn from the Reformed Scheme and placed outside the Reforms but directly under the British Government. We never asked for any reforms and we do not wish any reforms.

Before the British Government conquered our country in 1879-1880, we were living in a state of intermittent warfare with the Assamese of the Assam Valley to the North and West of our country and Manipuris in the South. They never conquered us nor were we 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 tribes, quite different from one another with quite different languages which cannot be understood by each other, and there are more tribes outside the administered area which are not known at present. We have no unity among us and it is really 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 as 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 not got one yet who is able to represent us in any Council or Province. Moreover, our population numbering 1,02,000 is very small in comparison with the population of the plains districts in the Province, and any representation that may be allotted to us in the Council will be negligible and will carry no weight whatsoever. Our language is quite different from those of the plains and we have no social affinities with the Hindus and Muslims. We are looked 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 is continued to be placed under the Reformed Scheme, we are afraid, that new and heavy taxes will have to be imposed on us and when we cannot pay them all our land 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, Government has always recognised our private rights in it. But if we are forced to enter the council of majority all these rights may be extinguished by an unsympathetic Council, the majority of whose number is sure to belong to the plain district. We also have much fear the introduction of foreign laws and customs to supersede our own customary laws, which we now enjoy.

For the above reasons, we pray that the British Government will continue to safeguard our rights against all encroachment from 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 the people who could never subjugate us, but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times. We claim to represent all those tribes to which we belong—Angamis, Kacha Nagas, Kukis, Semas, Lothas and Rengmas.

Yours faithfully,

1. Nihu, Head Interpreter, Angami
2. Nisalie, Peshkar, Angami
3. Nisier, Master, Angami
4. Khosa, Doctor, Angami
5. Gepo, Interpreter, Kacha Naga
6. Vipunyu, Potdar, Angami
7. Goyiepra, Treasurer, Angami
8. Ruzhukhrie, Master, Angami
9. Dikhrie, Sub-Overseer, Angami
10. Zapuzhulie, Master, Angami
11. Zepulie, Interpreter, Angami
12. Katsumo, Interpreter, Angami
13. Nuolhoukielie, Clerk, Angami
14. Luzevi, Interpreter, Sema
15. Apamo, Interpreter, Lotha
16. Resilo, Interpreter, Rengma

17. Lengjang, Interpreter, Kuki
18. Nikhriehu, Interpreter, Angami
19. Miakra-o, Chaprasi, Angami
20. Levi, Clerk, Kacha Naga¹

¹ . Charles Chasie (2005), Op.cit. pp.183-185

IV. The Hydari Agreement or Nine Point Agreement

The Nine Point Agreement (The Hydari Agreement) arrived at between the Naga National Council and the Governor of Assam in June 1947.

1. Judicial

All cases whether civil or criminal arising between Nagas in the Nagas 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 recognised Naga representative organisation, 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 the Nagas and non-Naga in (a) Kohima and Mokokchung areas, and in (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 Naga National Council should control. This principle will apply to the work done as well as the staff employed.

While the district officer will be appointed at the discretion of the Governor, Sub-divisional Council with a full time executive president, paid by the Naga National Council, who would be responsible to the District Officers, for all matters 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 powers now vested in the District Officers.
- B. PWD: The Naga National Council will take over full control
- C. Education and Forest Department: The Naga National Council is prepared to pay all the services and staff.

3. Legislative

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

In cases 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 decisions 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 of such other taxes as may be imposed by the Naga National Council.

6. Boundaries

That present administrative divisions should be modified so as to (1) bring back into the Naga Hills District all the forest transferred to the Sibsagar and Nowgong district in the past, and (2) bring under one unified administrative unit, as far as possible, all Nagas. All the areas so included would be within the scopes 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 provision 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 the Indian Union will have 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 at².

² . Aosenba (2001), Op.cit. pp.132-134

V. The 16 Point-Agreement

(Under a 16-point agreement, statehood was accorded to Nagaland on 28th July 1960 and was brought under the aegis of Ministry of External Affairs. The 16 point pertain to various legislative, administrative and financial provisions)

The points placed by the delegates of the Naga People's Council (NPC) before the Prime Minister on 26th July 1960, as finally recast by the delegation in the light of discussions on 27th and 28th 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 from 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:** (1) 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. (2) His administrative secretariat will be headed by a Chief Secretary stationed at the headquarters with other Secretariat staff as necessary. (3) The Governor shall have special responsibility, regard to law and order during transitional period 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 judgement. This special responsibility of the Governor will cease when normalcy returns.

4. **Council of Minister:** (1) 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. (2) 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 Experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis.
6. **Representation in the Parliament:** two elected members shall represent Nagaland in the Union Parliament, this is to say, one for the Lok Sabha and the other for Rajya Sabha.
7. **Acts Of Parliament:** No Act or law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in the Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly:
 - (1) The Religious or social practices of the Nagas.
 - (2) Naga Customary Laws and Procedure.
 - (3) Civil and Criminal Justice so far as these concern decisions according to 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.
 - (4) 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
- (3) The Tribal Council

The 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
 - (1) The District Court-cum-Sessions Court (for each district)
 - (2) The Naga Tribunal for the whole of the Nagaland in respect of cases decided according to customary law.

10. **Administration of Tuensang District:**

- (1) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of the 10 years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibility of the advance 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 the Nagaland.

- (2) Provided further that Regional Council shall be formed for Tuensang District by elected representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang District, and the Governor may nominate representatives to the Regional Council as well. The Deputy Commissioner will be the ex-officio Chairman of the Council. The Regional Council will elect members to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District.
- (3) 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.
- (4) Provided further that no Act or Law passed by the Nagaland Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specifically recommend by the Regional Council.
- (5) Provided further that the Regional Council shall supervise and guide the working of the various Councils and Tribal's Courts within Tuensang District and wherever necessary depute the local officers to act as Chairman thereof.
- (6) 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 desired the period will be further extended.

11. **Financial Assistance from the Government of India:** to supplement the revenues of the Nagaland, there will be need for the Government of India to payout of the Consolidated Fund of India.

(1) A lump sum each year for the development programme in the 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 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 forest and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Articles 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 the record:

“The Naga Leaders expressed the view that other Nagas inhabiting contiguous areas should be enabled to join the new state. it was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the area of any state, but that 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 fulfil their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of the India, the question of raising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.

15. **Transitional Period:**

(1) 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.

(2) There shall be constituted an Interim Body with elected representatives from every tribe, to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of the Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the members of the Interim Body will be three (3) years subject to re-election.

16. **Inner Line Regulation:** Rules embodied in the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873, shall remain in force in the Nagaland³.

³ . Jaideep Saika (ed) (2010), **Documents on North East India**, Institute for Defense and Analyses, New Delhi, pp.49-52

VI. Members of Interim Body (18th February 1961)

1. Dr. Imkongliba Ao (Chairman)
2. P. Shilu Ao
3. Aluhang
4. Anyak Phom
5. Doss
6. Hepong
7. Hokishe Sema
8. S. C. Jamir
9. J. B. Jasokie
10. Tokheho Sema
11. K. A. Imlong
12. Kehozhol Kheiya
13. Khanchin Konyak
14. Khelhoshe Sema
15. Khuban Yimchunger
16. K. Shikhu
17. Levi
18. Litingse Sangtam
19. Lutjakai Kuki
20. Mhondamo Kithan
21. Lipikyu Sangtam
22. Tsubongse Sangtam
23. N. L. Odyuo

24. Pakho Khamniugan
25. P. E. Ezung
26. T. N. Angami
27. Tekasosang
28. Temwang Angh
29. Yaman Konyak
30. Zachitso
31. Zulutemba
32. Pudenu
33. R. Thinuochulie Angami
34. Riga Thong
35. Sangba Chang
36. Silie Haralu
37. T. Kikon
38. Khaming Khamniungan
39. Kedulhou Kachu
40. Dev Lal Mech
41. R. C. Chitten Jamir
42. Lothi Rengma
43. Kilungba Yimchunger
44. Vilhume Angami⁴

⁴ . Nagaland (1963-2013): 50 Years On, Op.cit. pp.29-33

VII. The First 12 MLAs of the Democratic Party of Nagaland (DPN), 1964

1. R. Lisen
2. Imsumeren
3. Tajenyuba
4. I. Kajenkaba
5. Vizol
6. N. Zao
7. Nsemo Ovung
8. Viyakha Rengma
9. Lungbe Meru
10. Lhausuohe
11. Neituo Angami
12. Bendangangshi Ao⁵

⁵ . Celebrating 50 Years Naga People's Front: Golden Jubilee 1963-2013, Op.cit. p.27

VIII. Members of 1st Nagaland Legislative Assembly (1964)⁶

Sl.No	Name	Party	Designation
1	P. Shilu Ao	NNO	Chief Minister
2	T. N. Angami	NNO	Speaker
3	K. Shikhu	NNO	Dy. Speaker
4	Hokishe Sema	NNO	Cabinet Minister
5	Jasokie Angami	NNO	-do-
6	R. C. Chitten Jamir	NNO	-do-
7	Akum Imlong	Nominated by Tuensang Regional Council	-do-
8	Mhodamo Kithan	NNO	-do-
9	Lhuthipru Vasa	NNO	-do-
10	N. L. Odyuo	NNO	Dy. Minister
11	Amon	NNO	MLA
12	Deblal Mech	NNO	-do-
13	Govinda Chandra Paira	NNO	-do-
14	Ihezhe Sema	NNO	-do-
15	Kihoto Sema	NNO	-do-
16	Khelhoshe Sema	NNO	-do-

⁶ . Nagaland is born, Op.cit. pp.118-119

17	Kiyelho Sema	NNO	-do-
18	K. Yeshito Sema	NNO	-do-
19	Lalkholam Kuki	NNO	-do-
20	Langkam Kuki	NNO	-do-
21	Lhisetsu Venuh	NNO	-do-
22	Neitsutso Theyo	NNO	-do-
23	Nihovi Ayemi	NNO	-do-
24	Pudenu Demo	NNO	-do-
25	Suzumar Imsong	NNO	-do-
26	T. Tsanthungo Ngullie	NNO	-do-
27	T. Kikon	NNO	-do-
28	Wezulhi C. Krome	NNO	-do-
29	Zulutemba Ao	NNO	-do-
30	Kilong Piri Yimchunger	Nominated by Tuensang Regional Council	-do-
31	Litingse Sangtam	-do-	-do-
32	Lipikyu Sangtam	-do-	-do-
33	Tochi Hanso	-do-	-do-
34	Shangyu Y. Konyak	-do-	-do-
35	Imsumeren	DPN	-do-
36	I.Kajenkaba	DPN	-do-
37	Lhousouhe Angami	DPN	-do-

38	Longbe Meru	DPN	-do-
39	Neiteo Angami	DPN	-do-
40	Ngurohie Zao	DPN	-do-
41	Nsemo Ovung	DPN	-do-
42	R. Lisen Ao	DPN	-do-
43	Tajenyuba	DPN	-do-
44	Vizol	DPN	-do-
45	Viyekha Rengma	DPN	-do-
46	Bendangangshi Ao	DPN	-do-

Note:

#NNO: Naga National Organisation

##DPN: Democratic Party of Nagaland

Tuensang Regional Council: All 6 (Six) members elected by Tuensang Regional Council joined with NNO party.

Bibliography

Primary

List of the some politicians, political party members and prominent public figure persons that I had interviewed

Dr. Shurhozelie Liezietsu, President NPF and Convenor of DAN government on 5th September 2014.

K. G. Kenye, NPF Central Secretary General on 6th August 2014.

S. Akho Leyri, NPF Central General Secretary on 5th August 2014.

Lepshi Ao, Vice-President NPF (Minority Cell) on 24th October 2013.

Basu Damani, General Secretary (Finance) NPF on 15th September 2013.

Lipok Pongen, Secretary NPF on 19th October 2013.

Dr. V. C. Kanito, Advisor to NPF on 12th October 2013.

Kethoyepo Pucho, former Vice-President NPF Dimapur Div. on 17th October 2013.

Chunlubo Chawang, Secretary Youth Wing NPF Dimapur-II on 17th October 2013.

Meren Ao, Youth Wing President NPF Dimapur Ward-9 on 24th July 2014.

N. Temjensoba Ao, former regional party (United Democratic Front) member on 26th July 2014.

Bendangangshi Ao, founding member of DPN party and first DPN, MLA in 1964 on 28th February 2015.

S.I.Jamir, MLA and President Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC) on 12th October 2013.

Thomas Ngullie, MLA on 13th October 2013.

K. L. Chishi, former Chief Minister of Nagaland on 24th July 2013 & 11th February 2015.

I. K. Sema, former Deputy Chief Minister of Nagaland on 11th August 2014.

Chubatemjen Ao, ex-Minister on 15th September 2013.

T. A. Ngullie, ex-Minister of Nagaland on 23rd October 2013.

Ihezhe Sema, ex-Minister of Nagaland on 22nd July 2013.

K. Holohon, ex-Minister of Nagaland on 15th February 2014.

Hezheto Chishi, former Dimapur Municipal Council Member on 24th July 2014.

Kughato S. Aye, President Dimapur District Congress Committee on 26th February 2014.

Meren Ao, General Secretary, Dimapur District Congress Committee on 26th February 2014.

L. Inazhe Sema, former Congress (I) party candidate on 23rd October 2013.

Joseph Sema, ex-JD (U) party candidate on 24th July 2014.

L. Chingkhu Phom, ex-Congress (I) party candidate and Naga Council, Councillor on 3rd March 2014.

Vitokhe Assumi, former Sumi Hoho President and ex-candidate on 3rd October 2014.

Prof. H. John Sema, Department of Political Science, Nagaland University.

Prof. Arun Kumar Singh, Department of Political Science, Nagaland University.

Prof. M. J. Vinod, Department of Political Science, Bangalore University on 19th November 2013.

Razhukhrielie Kevichusa (Rtd. IAS), son of A. Kevichusa the founder of regional political party in Nagaland on 18th October 2013.

Dr. Hokuto Zhimomi, former member of Nagaland Public Service Commission (NPSC) on 3rd October 2013.

Dr. Hesheto Y. Chishi, Director Indigenous Cultural Society, Dimapur on 20th July 2013.

Nagaholi Sumi, wife of Late. Huska Sumi (ex-Minister of Nagaland and ex-President of NPC party) on 11th February 2015.

Topang Ozukum, President Naga Students Federation (NSF) on 27th August 2013.

R. S. Jollyson, NSF Speaker on 27th August 2013.

Akum Longchari, Editor Morung Express, Dimapur on 22nd July 2013.

Pilato Sumi, Journalist, Freelancer on 10th February 2015.

Imto Ao, regional political party supporter on 10th February 2015.

Itovi Sema, regional political party supporter 23rd July 2014.

Z. Zhevishe Aye, former Naga underground and Rtd. Commandant NPS on 9th December 2014.

Khehuto Zhimomi, Congress party supporter on 9th February 2015.

Sanen Ao, Congress party supporter on 9th February 2015.

Khatovi Swu, Church worker on 9th February 2015.

Khekiye Sema (Rtd.) IAS on 23rd June 2014.

Secondary

Books

Achumi, Piketo (2012), **British Policy and Administration in Nagaland (1881-1947)**, Scholars Publishing House, New Delhi.

Ahuja, M. L. (1998), **Electoral Politics and General Elections in India: 1952-1998**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Ahuja, M. L. (2000), **Handbook of General Elections and Electoral Reforms in India: 1952-1999**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Aier, Imo Lanutemjen (2006), **Contemporary Naga Social Formations and Ethnic Identity**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Alemchiba, M (1970), **A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland**, Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima.

Anand, V. K. (1984), **Nagaland in Transition**, Associated Publishing House, New Delhi.

Ao, A. Lanunungsang (2002), **From Phizo to Muivah: The Naga National Question in North East India**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Aosenba (2001), **The Naga Resistance Movement: Prospect of Peace and Armed Conflict**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.

Ao, Chubatemjen (2012), **General Elections to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly (A Profile): 1974-2008**, Eagle Press, Kohima.

Ao, Chubatemjen (2013), **General Elections to the 12th Election Nagaland Legislative Assembly 2013: Details of Votes Polled**, Eagle Press, Kohima.

Ashraf, Ali and L. N. Sharma (eds) (2010), **Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics**, University Press Pvt. Ltd. Hyderabad.

Axford, Barrie, Gary K. Browing, Richard Huggins and Ben Rosamond, et al, (eds) (2002), **Politics: An Introduction**, Routledge, New York.

Banerjee, G. D. and Srijeet Banerji, (2010), **Nagaland: The Land of Immense Potential**, Abhijeet Publications, Delhi.

Banu, Zenab (ed) (1999), **Decline and Fall of Indian Politics**, Kanishka Publishers & Distributers, New Delhi.

Barpujari, H. K. (1998), **Problem of the Hill Tribes North-East Frontier: 1843-72**, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

Baruah, Sanjib (ed) (2010), **Ethno Nationalism in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Baxi, Upendra and Bhikhu Parekh (eds) (1995), **Crisis and Change in Contemporary India**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Bendangangshi, (1993), **Glimpses of Naga History**, Naga Patriots, Guwahati.

Bhambhri, C. P. (1991), **Political Process in India**, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Bhatnagar, S and Pradeep Kumar (1988), **Regional Political Parties in India**, Ess Publications, New Delhi.

Bhattacharya, Ruma (ed) (2011), **Identity Issues in Northeast India**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Bhuyan, B. C. (1989), **Political Development of the North East**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi.

Biswas, Prasenjit and Chandan Suklabaidya (2008), **Ethnic Life-Worlds in North-East India: An Analysis**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Borah, Swapali, Deke Tourangbam and A. C. Meitei, etal, (2010), **Encyclopaedic Studies of North-Eastern States of India: Nagaland**, New Academic Publishers, New Delhi.

Bose, T. C. (ed) (1987), **Indian Federalism: Problems and Issues**, K. P. Bagchi Publications, Calcutta.

Brass, Paul R. (1997), **The Politics of India Since Independence**, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi.

Chadha, Vivek (2005), **Low Intensity Conflicts in India: An Analysis**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Chakhesang, Zapra (2002), **A Brief Biography of Vamuzo**, N. V. Press, Kohima.

Chakrabarty, Bidyut (2006), **Forging Power: Coalition Politics in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Chakravorty, Birenda Chandra (1981), **British Relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam: Since 1858**, Firma Klm Pvt. Ltd. Calcutta.

Chandhoke, Neera and Praveen Priyadarshi (eds) (2011), **Contemporary India: Economy, Society and Politics**, Dorling Kindersley Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Chandra, Kanchan (2004), **Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India**, Cambridge University Press, UK.

Chandran, D. Suba and P. R. Chari (eds) (2008), **Armed Conflicts in South Asia (2008): Growing Violence**, Routledge, New Delhi.

Chandran, D. Suba and P. R. Chari (eds) (2010), **Armed Conflicts in South Asia (2009): Continuing Violence, Failing Peace Process**, Routledge, New Delhi.

Chasie, Charles (1999), **The Naga Imbroglio: A Personal Perspective**, Standard Printers & Publishers, Kohima.

Chatterjee, Partha (ed) (2008), **State and Politics in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Chaube, S. K. (1985), **Electoral Politics in North East India**, University Press, Madras.

Chaube, S. K. (2012), **Hill Politics in Northeast India**, Orient Blackswan Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Chowdhary, Rekha (1991), **Ideology & Politics of Ruling Parties in India**, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi.

Das, Gurudas (2012), **Security and Development in India's Northeast**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Das, Hari Hara (1998), **Political System of India**, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Das, H. H and B. C. Choudhury (1990), **Federal and States Politics in India**, Discovery Publishing House, New Delhi.

Das, Rajat K and Debasis Basu (eds) (2005), **North East India in Perspective: Biology, Social Formation and Contemporary Problems**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Desouza, Peter Ronald and E. Sridharan (eds) (2006), **India's Political Parties**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Dhaka, Viabhav (2008), **States of India: Nagaland**, Kunal Prakashan, Delhi.

Dutta, P. S (1986), **Electoral Politics in North East India**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi.

Ezung, E. T. (2002), **Government of Nagaland: Road to Progress**, Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Ganguly, Sumit, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, et al, (eds) (2009), **The State of India's Democracy**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Gassah, L. S (ed) (1992), **Regional Political Parties: In North East India**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi.

Ghosh, S. K (1997), **Indian Democracy: Derailed Politics and Politicians**, APH Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.

Glance, Jonathan (2011), **Nagaland: A Journey to India's Forgotten Frontier**, Faber and Faber Ltd. London.

Grover, Verinder (ed) (1997), **Foundations of Political System and Sociological Aspects**, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi.

Grover, Verinder (ed) (1997), **Electoral System, Behaviour and Elections**, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi.

Grover, Verinder and Ranjana Arora (eds) (1995), **Multi-Party System of Government in India: Defeat of Totalitarianism and Coalition Development**, Deep & Deep Publication, New Delhi.

Gupta, Susmita Sen (2009), **Radical Politics in Meghalaya: Problems and Prospects**, Kalpaz Publications, Delhi.

Hasan, Zoya (ed) (2000), **Politics and the State in India**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Hasan, Zoya (ed) (2008), **Parties and Party Politics in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Hasan, Zoya, S. N. Jha and Rasheduddin, etal, (eds), (1989), **The State, Political Processes and Identity: Reflections on Modern India**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Hawkesworth, Mary and Maurice Kogan (eds) (1992), **Encyclopaedia of Government and Politics: Volume 1**, Routledge, London.

Horam, M (1992), **Naga Polity**, Low Price Publications, Delhi.

Iralu, Easterine Kire (1986), **A Historical Geographical Study of Nagaland: Vol.II**, Directorate of School Education, Kohima.

Jaffrelot, Christophe and Sanjay Kumar (eds) (2009), **Rise of Plebeians? The Changing Face of Indian Legislative Assemblies**, Routledge, New Delhi.

Jamir, Rosemary (1988), **Nagaland 25: Silver Jubilee Souvenir on Completion of 25 Years of Statehood, December 1, 1988**, Eitben Publication, Dimapur.

Jayal, Niraja Gopal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (eds) (2010), **The Oxford Companion to Politics India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Jena, B. B and J. K. Baral (1989), **Election Politics and Voting Behaviour in India: A Study of Orissa**, Discovery Publishing House, Delhi.

Jimomi, V. Hokuto (2009), **Political Parties in Nagaland**, Graphic Printers, Dimapur.

Joshi, Hargovind (2007), **Nagaland: Past and Present**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Kashyap, Subhash C. (ed) (1997), **Coalition Government and Politics in India**, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi.

Kaul, S. N (2001), **Dynamics of Kashmir Politics**, Rajat Publications, New Delhi.

Kaviraj, Sudipta (ed) (1999), **Politics in India**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Kaviraj, Sudipta (2010), **The Trajectories of the Indian State**, Permanent Black, New Delhi.

Khan, Adeel (2006), **Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Kothari, C. R. (2013), **Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques**, New Age International (P) Limited, New Delhi.

Kothari, Rajni (2013), **Politics in India**, Orient Longman Limited, New Delhi.

Kothari, Rajni (1990), **State Against Democracy: In Search of Humane Governance**, Ajanta Publications, Delhi.

Kothari, Rajni (1990), **Politics and the People: In Search of Humane India**, Ajanta Publications, Delhi.

Kothari, Rajni (ed) (2010), **Caste in Indian Politics**, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi.

Kumar, Ashutosh (ed) (2011), **Regions within Regions: Rethinking State Politics in India**, Routledge, New Delhi.

Kumar, B. B. (2005), **Naga Identity**, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.

Kuper, Adam and Jessica Kuper (eds) (2004), **The Social Science Encyclopaedia, Vol.2**, Routledge, New York.

Laishram, Dhanabis (2007), **North East in Benthic Zone**, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi.

Lanunungsang, A. (2005), **The Architect of Nagaland State: A Biography of I. Sashimeren Jamir**, Naga Scholars Society, Jorhat.

Lanunungsang, A, and Athungo Ovung (2012), **Nagaland: Land of Festival**, Heritage Publishing House, Dimapur .

Mackenzie, Iain (ed) (2005), **Political Concept: A Reader and Guide**, Edinburgh University Press, UK.

Malla, M. (ed) (1998), **Nationalism, Regionalism and Philosophy of National Integration**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.

Mao, Ashikho Dali (1992), **Nagas: Problems and Politics**, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.

McNabb, David E. (2009), **Research Methods for Political Science: Quantitative and Qualitative Methods**, PHI Learning Pvt. Limited, New Delhi.

Mehra, Ajay K. (ed) (2010), **Emerging Trends in Indian Politics: The 15th General Election**, Routledge, New Delhi.

- Mehra, Ajay K, D. D. Khanna and Gert W. Kueck, etal, (eds) (2003), **Political Parties and Party Systems**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Miller, David (1995), **On Nationality**, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Mishra, B. B. (1978), **The Indian Political Parties: A Historical Analysis of Political Behaviour up to 1947**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Mishra, Udayon (1998), **North East India: Quest for Identity**, Omsons Publications, New Delhi.
- Mukhopadhyay, Amal Kumar (1997), **Political Sociology**, K. P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta.
- Nagla, B. K. (1984), **Factionalism, Politics and Social Structure**, Rawat Publications, Jaipur.
- Nag, Sajal (1998), **India and North-East India: Mind, Politics and Process of Integration (1946-1950)**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.
- Nuh, V. K. (1986), **Nagaland Church and Politics**, Vision Press, Kohima.
- Nuh, V. K. (2007), **The Naga Chronicle**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.
- Nuh, V. K. (2008), **50 Years Peace Work in Nagaland Churches**, OM Publications, Dimapur.
- Nunthara, C. (1996), **Mizoram: Society and Polity**, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi.

Padhi, A. P. (ed) (1985), **Indian States Politics: A Case Study of Orissa**, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi.

Pai, Sudha (ed) (2013), **Handbook of Politics in Indian States: Regions, Parties and Economic Reforms**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Pakem, B. (ed) (1993), **Regionalism in India: With Special Reference to North East India**, Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.

Pakem, B. (1999), **Coalition Politics in North East India**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.

Palekar, S. A. (2006), **Political System in India**, ABD Publishers, Jaipur.

Palshikar, Suhas, K.C. Suri and Yogendra Yadav, et al, (eds) (2014), **Party Competition in Indian States: Electoral Politics in Post-Congress Polity**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Pandey, Jawaharlal (1982), **State Politics in India: A Study of Coalition Politics in an Indian State**, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi.

Paulose, Thomas and Gurpreet Kaur (eds) (1996), **Parties Politics and Parliamentary Democracy**, Anmol Publications, New Delhi.

Pfaff, Joana Czarnecka and Gerard Toffin (eds) (2011), **The Politics of Belonging in the Himalayas: Local Attachments and Boundary Dynamics**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Phukon, Girin (1996), **Politics of Regionalism in North East India**, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati.

Phukon, Girin (ed) (2000), **Political Dynamics of North East India**, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi.

Phukon, Girin and N. L. Dutta (eds) (1997), **Politics of Identity and Nation Building in Northeast India**, South Asian Publishers, New Delhi.

Ralhan, O. P. (ed) (1999), **Encyclopaedia of Political Parties Series: Various Political Parties (Small Groups)**, Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Ray, B. Datta and S. P. Agrawal (eds) (1996), **Reorganization of North-East India Since 1947**, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.

Rizivi, S. H. M. and Shibani Roy (2006), **Naga Tribes of North East India**, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi.

Roy, Menu (2000), **Electoral Politics in India: Election Process and Outcomes, Voting Behaviour and Current Trends**, Deep & Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Rubinoff, Arthur G. (1998), **The Construction of Political Community: Integration and Identity in Goa**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Saika, Jaideep (2010), **Documents on North East India**, Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, New Delhi.

Samanta, R. K. (ed) (1994), **India's North-East: The Process of Change and Development**, B. R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi.

Sayari, Sabri and Yilmaz Esmer (eds) (2002), **Politics, Parties & Elections in Turkey**, Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc. Colorado.

Sema, H. John (2013), **Traditional and Modern Political Institution of the Nagas**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Sema, Hokishe (1986), **Emergence of Nagaland: Socio-Economic and Political Transformation and the Future**, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi.

Shakir, Moin (1986), **State and Politics in Contemporary India**, Ajanta Publications, Delhi.

Sharma, Sadhna (1995), **State Politics in India**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi

Shastri, Sandeep, K. C. Suri and Yogendra Yadav, etal, (eds) (2009), **Electoral Politics: In Indian States**, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Shimmi, Y. L. Roland (1988), **Comparative History of the Nagas: From Ancient Period till 1826**, Inter-India Publications, New Delhi.

Shimray, U. A. (2007), **Naga Population and Integration Movement**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Shively, W. Phillips (2005), **Power and Choice: An Introduction to Political Science**, McGraw-Hill, New York.

Sillis, David L. (ed) (1972), **International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. II**, The McMillan Company & Free Press, New York.

Singh, Chandrika (2004), **Naga Politics: A Critical Account**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Singh, Chandrika (2004), **North-East India: Politics & Insurgency**, Manas Publication, New Delhi.

Singh, Chandrika (1989), **Emergence of Arunachal Pradesh as a State**, Mittal Publications, Delhi.

Singh, Kanwar Randip (1987), **The Nagas of Nagaland: Desperadoes and Heroes of Peace**, Deep & Deep Publications, New Delhi.

Singh, Mahendra Prasad and Anil Mishra (eds) (2004), **Coalition Politics in India: Problems and Prospects**, Manohar Publishers & Distributers, New Delhi.

Singh, M. P. and Rekha Saxena (2003), **India at Polls: Parliamentary Elections in the Federal Phase**, Orient Longman, New Delhi.

Singh, Ravindra Pratap (1981), **Electoral Politics in Manipur: A Spatio-Temporal Study**, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.

Sonowal, Paramananda (ed) (2007), **Insurgency and Economic Development in North-East India**, DVS Publishers, Guwahati.

Subba, T. B. (ed) (2012), **North-East India: A Handbook of Anthropology**, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi.

Thomas. C. Joshua, R. Gopalakrishnan and R. K. Ranjan, et al, (eds) (2001), **Constraints in Development of Manipur**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.

Thomas. C. Joshua and Gurudas Das (2002), **Dimension of Development in Nagaland**, Regency Publications, New Delhi.

Thong, Joseph S. (2011), **Glimpses of Naga Legacy and Culture**, Society for Naga Students Welfare, Kerala.

Varma, B. (1988), **Insurgency and Counter Insurgency**, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi.

Vashum, R. (2005), **Nagas' Right to Self-Determination: An Anthropologist-Historical Perspective**, Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

Verma, S. L. (1989), **Research Methodology in Political Science: Theory and Analysis**, Rawat Publications, Jaipur.

Wallace, Paul and Ramashray Roy (eds) (2011), **India's 2009 Elections: Coalition Politics, Party Competition and Congress Continuity**, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Weiner, Myron (1990), **Party Politics in India**, Low Price Publications, Delhi.

Wezah, Yiepetso (2004), **Prospect of Decentralised Gandhian and Christian Ethical Perspectives**, Cambridge Press, Delhi.

Zhimomi, Kuhoi K. (2004), **Politics and Militancy in Nagaland**, Deep & Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.

Journals

Bhattacharya, Alak (2007), “***Tribal Politics of Tripura: A Study in Electoral Behaviour***”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, July-September, Vol.LXVIII, No.3, pp.577-587.

Bhattacharyya, Arundhati (2012), “***2011: Bengal Shows the Way***”. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, January-March, Vol.LXXIII, No.1,

Buwa, Raturaj (2011), “***Performance of the State Level Parties in Lok Sabha Elections***”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, October-December, Vol.LXXII, No.4, pp.937-942.

Chandola, Harish (2008), “***Nagaland Talks Going Slow***”, *Mainstream*, Perspective Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, May 2-8, Vol.XLVI, No.20, pp.18-19.

Dalal, Ranbir Singh (2012), “***Recent Trends in Indian Politics: An Introspection***”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, April-June, Vol. LXXIII, No.2, pp. 311-320.

Duggal, K. S. (2007), “***Peace and Development***”, *Mainstream*, Perspective Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, May 5, Vol. XLV, No.20, p.27.

Gupta, Barun Das (2013), “***Tripura Votes for CPI-M Again***”, *Mainstream*, Perspective Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, April 5-11, p.6.

Haokip, Thongkhohal (2012), “***Political Integration of Northeast India: A Historical Analysis***”, *Strategic Analysis*, Routledge, UK, March, Vol.36, No.2, pp.304-314.

Joshi, Devin K. (2012), "***The Impact of India's Regional Parties on Voter Turnout and Human Development***", *Journal of South Asian Development*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, October, Vol.7, No.2, pp.139-160.

Kaur, Amandeep (2012), "***Issues of Reform in Electoral Politics of India: An Analytical***", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, January-March, Vol. LXXIII, No.1, pp.167-174.

Maongtoshi and Mithilesh Kumar Sinha (2014), "***An Evaluative Study of Agricultural Progress in Nagaland***", *EPRA International Journal of Economic and Business Review*, EPRA Trust, Tamil Nadu, November, Vol.2. Issue.11, pp.27-33.

Mohapatra, Biswajit (2012), "***Ethnic Conflicts, Politics of Regionalism and the Demand for Nagalim: Perspectives on the Politics of Regional Accommodation and Autonomy***", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, April-June, Vol. LXIII, No.2, pp.311-320.

Naga, M. Gariangmei R. (2013), "***Analysis on Expansion of Naga People's Front Beyond Nagaland State***", *South Asia Politics*, Abhaya Kashyap, New Delhi, August, Vol. 12, No.4, pp.32-38.

Nayar, Kuldeep (2013), "***Prospect of Next Polls***", *Mainstream*, Perspective Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, October 26, Vol. LI, No.45, p.6

Oktem, Karem Gabriel (2012), "***A Comparative Analysis of the Performance of the Parliament Left in the Indian States of Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura***", *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Routledge Journals, UK, June, Vol. XXXV, No.2, pp.306-328.

Perumal, C. A. (1987), “**Regionalism and Political Development**”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Madras, January-March, Vol.XLVIII, No.1, pp.1-11.

Rajagopalan, Rajesh (2007), “**Force and Compromise: India’s Counter-Insurgency Grand Strategy**”, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Routledge, UK, april, Vol.XXX, No.1, pp.75-92.

Rao, K. Sreedhar (2009), “**Insurgency in the Northeast: Ills and Remedies**”, *Strategic Analysis*, Routledge Journals, UK, March, Vol.33, No.2, pp.208-213.

Sadanandan, Anoop (2012), “**Bridling Central Tyranny in India: How Regional Parties Restrain the Federal Government**”, *Asian Survey*, University of California Press, California, March-April, Vol.52, No.2, pp.247-269.

Sarkar, Paromita (2012), “**Recent Trends in Indian Politics: An Introspection**”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, January-March, Vol.LXIII, No.1, pp.45-50.

Sattar, Salma Abdul (2011), “**Regionalism: A Great Threat to National Unity of India**”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, July-September, Vol.LXII, No.3, pp.759-764.

Sema, H. John (2011), “**Naga Politics: Issues and Problems**”, *South Asia Politics*, Abhaya Kashyap, New Delhi, September, Vol.10, No.5, pp.24-33.

Sema, H. John (2012), “***Electoral Politics in Nagaland: Debate on the Issue of Interim Government and Alternative Arrangement for Nagas in Manipur***”, *South Asia Politics*, Abhaya Kashyap, New Delhi, December, Vol.11, No.8, pp.19-29.

Sezhiyan, Era (2005), “***Political Parties in Federal India***”, *Mainstream*, Perspective Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, August 12-18, Vol.XLIII, No.33, pp.15-17.

Sharma, K. M, Jivan Devi and Anjali Verma (2012), “***Impact of Religion, Caste and Political parties on Tribal Voters of District of Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh***”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, January-March, Vol.LXXIII, No.1, pp.175-184.

Shastri, Lal Bahadur (1962), “***Reflections on Indian Politics***”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Delhi, January-March, Vol. XXII, No.1, pp.1-7.

Shimray, U. A. (2008), “***Some Reflections of Naga Ceasefire***”, *Mainstream*, Perspective Publications Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, September 6, Vol. XLVI, No.38, pp.27-28.

Singh, Chandrika (1980), “***Nagaland-From District to State: Culmination of Political and Democratic Process***”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Chandigarh, December, Vol.41, No.4, pp.815-832.

Singh, Gurinder (2007), “***A Decade of Ceasefire in Nagaland***”, *Strategic Analysis*, Routledge, UK, September, Vol.31, No.5, pp.815-832.

Swain, Pratap Chandra (2008), “*Dynamics of the Indian Party System: The Emergence of Competitive Multi-Party Coalitions*”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Meerut, January-March, Vol. LXIX, No.1, pp.59-70.

Ufen, Andreas (2012), “*Party Systems, Critical Junctures and Cleavages in Southeast Asia*”, *Asian Survey*, The University of California, California, May-June, Vo.52, No.3, pp.441-464.

Umapathy, M. (1977), “*Challenges to the Indian Political System*”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, The Indian Political Science Association, Bihar, July-September, Vol. XXXVIII, No.3, pp.395-412.

Government of Nagaland Publications

Official Report, **Proceeding of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly**, Assembly Secretariat, Kohima.

Nagaland: 25 Years of Growth and Development (1988), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Nagaland: 25 Years of Progress and Development (1988), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Nagaland is Born, Directorate of Information & Publicity, Government of Nagaland, Kohima.

Nagaland Uncovered: Tracing a Journey (2012), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Democratic Alliance of Nagaland: A Record of Achievement Since March 2003,
Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

**Democratic Alliance of Nagaland 2nd Ministry: A Record of Achievement of the
Government of Nagaland 2008-2012,** Directorate of Information & Public
Relations, Kohima.

Nagaland (1963-2013): Fifty Years On, The Coffee Table Book Publications
Committee, Government of Nagaland, Kohima

Nagaland State Human Development Report (2004), Department of Planning &
Coordination, Government of Nagaland.

**A Collection of Speeches and Statements of Shri. Hokishe Sema, Chief Minister
of Nagaland 1969-1974 (1984),** Directorate of Information & Publicity, Kohima.

Vizol Speeches & Address, Directorate of Information & Publicity, Kohima.

Speeches of the Chief Minister J. B. Jasokie (June 1980-June 1981), Directorate
of Information & Publicity, Kohima.

**Speeches of Shri. Vamuzo Chief Minister of Nagaland, June 1990-November
1990,** Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

**Speeches of Shri. Vamuzo Chief Minister of Nagaland, December 1990-
November 1991, Vol.II,** Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

**Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (March 2003-December
2003),** Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2004-December 2004), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (2006), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2007-December 2007), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (March 2008-December 2008), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (2009), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (2010), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2011-December 2011), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Speeches of Neiphiu Rio Chief Minister of Nagaland (January 2012-December 2012), Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Kohima.

Magazine

Celebrating 50 Years Naga People's Front (1963-2013), NPF, Kohima.

10 Years of NPF Misrule in Nagaland, NPCC, Kohima.

Frontline

Booklets

Shurhozelie Liezietsu (2011), **Lest We Forget**, N.V. Press, Kohima.

The Nagas Among the Nascent Nations: A Discourse on the Indo-Naga Peace Process (2006), The Concern Senior Citizens' Forum, Mokokchung.

Lecture Delivered by Nagaland Chief Minister, Neiphiu Rio at the India Habited Centre, New Delhi (18.02.06), NPF, Nagaland.

The Constitution of United Democratic Front (UDF) 1977.

The Constitution of Naga National Democratic Party (NNDP), 1980.

The Constitution of Nagaland People's Council, 1990.

Nagaland People's Front (July, 2005), The Constitution, Fifth Amendment.

Naga People's Front (2009): The Constitution, Sixth Amendment.

Common Minimum Programme of Democratic Alliance of Nagaland (2008).

Nagaland People's Front: 2003 Election Manifesto.

Nagaland People's Front: 2008 Election Manifesto.

NPF: 2013 Election Manifesto.

Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC): 2013 Election Manifesto.

Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (I): The Black Sheep of Naga Society.

Internet

<https://newsphilosophy.wordpress.com/2012/01/29/ethnic-democracy-and-regional-political-parties-in-north-east-india/>

<http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/naga-women-approach-supreme-court-for-reservation-of-seats-in-local-bodies-40206>

<http://www.easternpanorama.in/index.php/2009/25-2009/july29/282-nagaland-road-show-2009>

<http://www.nagalandpost.com/ShowStory.aspx?npoststoryiden=UzEwMzY2OTM%3D-dD2lDJZ4h6g%3D>

Newspaper

The Hindu, Chennai

Times of India, Bangalore

The Telegraph, Calcutta

The Nagaland Post, Dimapur

The Morung Express, Dimapur

The Eastern Mirror, Dimapur