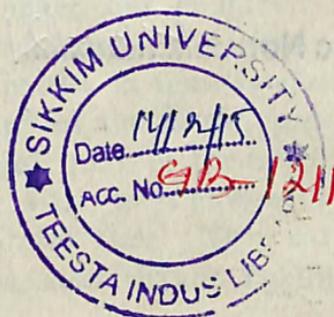




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NAGALAND

FROM A DISTRICT TO A STATE



By

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PREFACE

My contact with the Nagas first took place in 1943-44 during the last war when, while serving in the Army, I was posted along the axis Dimapur-Kohima. The Japanese, in a multi-pronged offensive against Eastern India, had made a fierce bid to conquer our country. The Nagas played a prominent role in various capacities in our defensive and counter-offensive battles in those fateful months. They served in the forward line of the Army, provided protective screen to our troops, took part in the intelligence network and in myriad other but vital ways gave help to the civil and military authorities at the time. They earned signal respect for their steadfastness, stamina and fighting prowess.

In 1954, when I came to serve our eastern frontiers, this time as a civilian, I was posted as Political Officer of then Tirap Frontier Division. This jurisdiction adjoined the Nagas and therefore, I was very close to the political developments which were then taking shape among them. I then cherished a hope to serve with them one day.

The opportunity came in 1957 when I was posted as first Commissioner under the Government of India to take charge of the administration of what is now Nagaland. This marked a constitutional change which raised the status of the erstwhile Kohima District/Tuensang Frontier Division to that of a Union Administration. By 1960, the Government of India decided to enhance its constitutional status to that of an autonomous State of the Union of India.

This little book deals with the various provisions, regulations and enactments which resulted in a succession of events to bring into being the present State of Nagaland. The book has only this limited purpose. Another day I hope to write a fuller account of the virile and creative people that Nagas are and the economic, political and other developments which have chequered their history.

In the writing of this book, I owe thanks to the Directorate of Research, Arunachal Pradesh, which helped me in locating records. I would like to convey my gratitude to Shri B. Das Shastri, former Director of Research and Shri S. R. Das, Deputy Secretary (Law), Arunachal Pradesh Administration who assisted me in many ways. The Librarian, Shri J. N. Chowdhury, a scholar in his own right, also helped me. Shri T. P. Khaund, Chief Public Relations Officer, N.E.C. and Shri M. P. Hazarika, Director of Information and Public Relations of Arunachal Pradesh are to be thanked for taking pains to publish this volume.

Shillong,
29th October, 1974

P. N. Luthra

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NAGALAND

FROM DISTRICT TO STATE

Varied movements in the pursuit of political aims have characterized the recent history of our country. The Indian National Congress worked for independence through a programme of nonviolence. Since Independence, certain states have come into being by adopting different measures. The creation of the State of Andhra Pradesh was the result of a fast unto death. The State of Maharashtra was formed through a combination of violent agitation and self-sacrifice. The Punjab emerged as a state through the assertion of linguistic identity backed by threats of self-immolation.

The history of the State of Nagaland presents yet another variant. It has a chequered history of travail and suffering which touched every home and hearth of its territory which presents a record of passionate drama of a people devoted to their land and their way of life. In Nagaland, the sentiments which inspired the people for a special political dispensation were not born of linguistic or religious identity but were inherent in their corporate feeling that as a people they had their own heritage of culture, of local self-government and a sociological distinctness.

It is proposed here to trace very briefly the events which led to the creation of Nagaland as the sixteenth state of the Union of India on the first of December, 1963. The study has been considered under three headings namely, political, administrative and constitutional. Although recorded as separate developments, they were each an inextricable part of the whole movement by a people, once primitive and self-reliant in the fastness of their jungle habitat, who rose to a full-fledged state to achieve equal status and partnership with the other constituent states of our country

Scope of
study

POLITICAL

The Naga resistance to any political change may be traced back to the year 1928 when a small gathering of Naga leaders at the Naga Club, Kohima, conveyed their disinclination for any political reforms to the Simon Commission which was at the time touring India to gather public opinion on the subject.

The next landmark is provided by the well-known Nine-Point Agreement contracted between the then Governor of Assam and the Naga representatives, in 1947, and in a way it symbolized the first confrontation between the people of Nagaland and the Government of India. The principal vein running through it was that the internal affairs of the Naga people should be left to themselves and that the Deputy Commissioner should administer in minimal spheres. Although the provisions of the Agreement were faithfully inserted in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution promulgated on the 26th of January, 1950, if in different phraseology, the Naga National Council seized the opportunity for declaring that Government had turned its back on the Agreement. Thereafter, the Naga National Council embarked upon a programme of mass agitation, open defamation of Government and a countrywide campaign to publicize the differences between the Naga people and the rest of India. It justified its claim on the ground that all through history, the Naga people had been independent of India and that only during the British rule had they been subjugated by force of arms. It contended that with the end of the British rule in India, the Naga people had undisputed right of reverting to their pristine political independence. So intense was the propaganda and so widespread was the hysteria generated that as a result, in 1952, its leaders claimed an unanimous verdict of the people in favour of independence in a universal plebiscite carried out by the Naga National Council. The highest watermark of the claim to independence

was demonstrated in March 1953, when the Indian Prime Minister visited Kohima. In token of their disaffection the people withdrew from a public meeting he was addressing.

But while busy with periodic attacks on the Government or floutation of administrative authorities or subversion in villages, the Naga National Council was forging, behind the scene, a militant wing as an adjunct to its political apparatus. This wing was forged by using the vast and varied number of weapons and ammunition abandoned in the jungle hideouts and cache's of the Patkoi Range by the American and British forces after the end of the Second World War. This irregular militant life appealed to the warlike Naga youth and very soon their number multiplied. Within a short time, it became a major force and the Naga National Council decided to head it with a commander-in-chief with four army commands under him on the pattern of the Defence set-up of the Government of India. In March, 1956, the Naga National Council framed a constitution also for the "free Naga people" which took the form of a federal republic with its entire apparatus of president, vice-President, prime minister, parliament and governors at the head of what were characterized as tribal provinces. This pattern, too, was on the model of the constitution of India. The Naga National Council thus completed its formalities to assert its self-styled political entity.

The year 1954 saw the mobilization of the hostile Naga war machine. The armed insurrection first erupted in Tuensang and within two years, the fire spread to the remaining two districts of Kohima and Mokokchung. Firstly, the police, and when the task became too much for it, the army, was deployed to put down the risings. Hot encounters between the hostile irregulars and the security forces continued during which much destruction was wrought. Witnessing the unavailing havoc of Naga wealth, a large body of the Naga people decided to rise above considerations of local politics. They felt that peace and progress were of greater significance than any immediate political aims and aspirations. This feeling led to the First

Naga People's Convention held in August, 1957, at Kohima at which the people resolved

- (i) that the political future of the Naga people lay within the Union of India ;
- (ii) that, pending a final solution, a single administrative unit comprising the Naga Hills District of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA be constituted, under the Ministry of External Affairs ; and
- (iii) that the Government of India might consider granting amnesty to the misguided underground elements who realized the futility of their claims.

The Prime Minister of India, at a meeting with a representative team of the Convention, agreed to these demands and the Naga Hills Tuensang Area was created on the First of December, 1957.

The Second Naga People's Convention was held in May, 1958, at Ungma, at which the delegates reiterated their previous stand coupled with the necessity of efforts to bring the hostile groups to a saner path.

The Third Naga People's Convention was held in October, 1959, at Mokokchung, at which they spelt out in concrete terms the settlement of the Naga political impasse. In July 1960, the terms were discussed by the Prime Minister of India with the Naga People's Convention leaders. This resulted in the Sixteen Point Agreement whereby the Government recognized that the political goal of Nagaland would be a full-fledged state within the Union of India. This state, the sixteenth in the Constitution, was inaugurated by the President on the first of December, 1963, at a formal ceremony at Kohima.

Sixteen
Point
Agreement:

ADMINISTRATIVE AND CONSTITUTIONAL

Administrative control, before the British

Prior to the occupation of Assam by the British, as indicated by their mutual relation, the Ahom kings looked upon the Nagas as their subjects. The Raja of Manipur also exercised control over parts of the Naga hills and reduced to submission several villages including Kohima.

Early British

The whole of Naga hills became a part of British India with the conquest of Assam in the early part of the nineteenth century. The early history of British relation with the Nagas was one of frequent conflicts. Several military expeditions were despatched to punish the Nagas for raids on the plains. It was not until the year 1866, that a district known as the Naga Hills District was formed with headquarters at Samaguting under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

Deregulationized : 1871-1872

The British relation with the hill tribes was guided by the policy of non-interference. In 1867, the Bengal Government prescribed rules in accordance with which the district was to be administered and the notification which created the district, declared that it should be administered by a Deputy Commissioner under the control of the Commissioner of Assam. In 1871, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal deregulationized the district by extending to it the Act XXII of 1869, and detailed rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice and police were notified in August, 1872. The Act XXII of 1869 was repealed in 1874 by the Scheduled Districts Act XIV of 1874 and the district from that year became subject to the ordinary regulations. In that year, the Naga Hills District as well as the Districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Garo Hills, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Cachar and Goalpara, were taken out of the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and were constituted into a separate

District of Province of Assam-1874

Province of Assam under a Chief Commissioner vide the Government of India, Home Department notifications, 379 and 380, dated 6th February 1874.

Kohima as
headquarters
1878

In 1878, the headquarters of Naga Hills District was shifted from Samaguting to Kohima, and effective administration began. An administrative sub-centre at Wakha was also established in 1888.

Regulation
III of 1884

It was not until the year 1881 that the Government of India finally decided, after several expeditions conducted to punish raids committed on the British territory, that the Naga Hills District should be brought under a regular system of administration. Accordingly in April 1884, the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation (II of 1880), as amended by Regulation III of 1884, was extended to the Naga Hills. The same notification laid down the boundaries of the District.

Mokokchung
Sub-Division,
1890

In 1890, the Mokokchung Sub-Division was created and added to the Naga Hills District by notification. The detailed description of the boundaries of the District and Sub-Division was modified from time to time, and by a series of notifications under the Scheduled Districts Act and the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation, the law in force in the Mokokchung Sub-Division has been assimilated to that in force in the Headquarters Sub-Division.

TUENSANG

Spread of
adminis-
tration

In the Tuensang area, gradual extension of control began from 1910 and although posts were opened at Wakching, Longleng etc, to control head-hunting raids, it was not till 1948 that Tuensang was established as an outpost of Mokokchung. It became the headquarters of the surrounding area with the posting of the first Political Officer in that area in 1951.

As unadministered Area, 1866

The legal history of Tuensang area is different from that of the Naga Hills District. Consequent upon the constitution of Naga Hills District in the year 1866, the residual hill areas of the Naga hills which lay between the external boundary of the Naga Hills District and the international boundary between India and Burma, continued as an Unadministered Area, the relation with the British Government of India being maintained by agreements with the chiefs and by show of force in order to prevent them from raids on the administered portion of the hills i.e. the area within the regularly constituted District of Naga Hills.

Under the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in 1902—1935 Council 1902, the jurisdiction over these territories was exercised on behalf of the British king through the Governor-General in Council or some authority subordinate to him, namely, the Governor of Assam.

The Government of India Act, 1935, came into 1937—1947 force on the first of April, 1937. In Section 311 of this Act, a difference was made between 'British India' and 'India'. "British India" meant the territories which were comprised within the Governors' provinces and the Chief Commissioners' provinces only whereas 'India' was used in a wider sense to include such provinces together with the Indian States, Tribal Areas etc, which fell within the geographical boundary of India. In that Section 'Tribal Areas' were defined as the areas along the frontiers of India or in Baluchistan which were not part of 'British' India or of Burma or of any Indian state or any foreign state. The Naga Tribal Area, which territorially was identical with the Tuensang Frontier Division of a later date, was by the provision of Section 313 of the Act of 1935, placed directly under the administrative control of the Governor of Assam and the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District on behalf of the Governor-General of India representing the British emperor.

With the lapse of British paramountcy in India on the 15th August 1947, the aforesaid sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, were repealed by an order issued under the Indian Independence Act, 1947. Simultaneously with the amendment of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Dominion Government promulgated the Act, 1947, taking powers similar to those conferred by the Indian Foreign Jurisdiction Order-in-Council of 1902, and in exercise of the powers conferred by the Act, the Government of India extended the necessary laws, rules and orders to the Naga Tribal Area for the purposes of administration.

In the Constitution of India, this area was included in Part B of the Table below paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule at Item 2, designated as "The Naga Tribal Area" and with the commencement of the Constitution, came to be administered by the Governor as agent of the President (along with the present North-East Frontier Agency) under Para 18(2) of the Sixth Schedule. The Naga Tribal Area was thereafter renamed as the Tuensang Frontier Division vide North-East Frontier Areas (Administration) Regulation, 1954.

Naga Hills District 1937—1950

After the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, Naga areas within the Naga Hills District were categorized as "Backward Tracts" and accordingly, the Governor of Assam was given the responsibility to bring them under closer administrative control so that in due course the responsibility of administration could be transferred to the Provincial Government. In 1937, the said Naga Hills District came to be known as one of the Excluded Areas of the Government of Assam, under Section 91(1) of the Government of India (Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas) Order, 1936. As an Excluded Area, the Naga Hills District came under the direct charge of the Governor who administered in his discretion under Section 92 of the said Act through the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima. As stated earlier, the Naga Hills District was comprised of two sub-divisions, namely, the Kohima (Sadar) Sub-Division and the Mokokchung Sub-Division. The posi-

tion as it stood in 1937 in respect of the Naga Hills District continued till the 26th of January, 1950, the date on which the Constitution of India came into force, subject to the variation that with effect from 15th August, 1947, the Governor of Assam was divested of his discretionary powers in respect of the administration of the District which, since that day, vested in the Provincial Government. With effect

from the 26th January, 1950, the Constitution of India brought about a change in the administrative set-up of the Naga Hills District. Under the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution, the Naga Hills District was treated as an Autonomous District under Part A of the Table appended to Paragraph 20 of the Schedule being a Tribal Area within the State of Assam. Although the Sixth Schedule provides for constitution of an Autonomous District Council for the district, no such district council was constituted as the Nagas were dissatisfied with the Sixth Schedule and boycotted the elections. Consequently, the administration of the District was carried on under the transitional provisions of Paragraph 19 of the Schedule, by the Government of Assam.

Under The Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act, 1957, the administrative unit called Naga Hills-Tuensang Area constituted with the Tribal Areas of the State of Assam under Part B of the Table which comprised the Naga Hills District of the State of Assam (the district being bifurcated by making the two subdivisions of Kohima and Mokokchung of the district into two separate districts under the same names) and the Naga Tribal Area known as Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency originally specified at Item 2 under Part B of the Table below Paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. The latter formed the third district called the Tuensang District in the new unit. In the year

Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, 1957

Nagaland 1961

1961 Regulation 1961, the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area came to be known as Nagaland and a Council for Nagaland under the name of Interim Body with an Executive

Council was constituted. The Interim Body had the right to discuss and make recommendations to the Executive Council on matters of administration involving general policy and schemes of development and any other matter referred to it by the Executive Council. The Executive Council's function was to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions as agent of the President in relation to such matters (other than Finance and maintenance of Public order) as might be specified by the Governor in that behalf.

The changes introduced by the Nagaland (Transitional Provisions) Regulation, 1961, continued till 1st December, 1963, when it culminated in the constitution of the full-fledged State of Nagaland under the State of Nagaland Act, 1962. With the formation of the State of Nagaland, the areas comprising it have been eliminated from the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution and the Governor of Assam has been divested of his personal responsibility and discretion in respect of the administration of the area as agent of the President of India and he has since then been functioning as a constitutional Governor of the new state like the governor of other states except that he has special responsibility in respect of law and order in the State vide the Constitution (Thirteenth Amendment) Act, 1962. This Act *inter alia* provides that :

- (a) no Act of Parliament in respect of
- (i) religious or social practices of the Nagas,
 - (ii) Naga customary law and procedure,
 - (iii) administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Naga customary law,
 - (iv) ownership and transfer of land and its resources,
- shall apply to the State of Nagaland unless the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland by a resolution so decides ;
- (b) the Governor of Nagaland shall have special responsibility with respect to law and order in the State of Nagaland for so long as in his opinion internal disturbances occupying in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area

immediately before the formation of that State continue therein or in any part thereof and in the discharge of his functions in relation thereto the Governor shall, after consulting the Council of Ministers, exercise his individual judgement as to the action to be taken.

Law The peculiar feature of the erstwhile Naga Hills District was that, although included in the province of Assam, it did not have the same enactments declared in force in, or extended to, it under the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, as had been declared in or extended to the rest of the province. Under the provisions also of the Assam Frontier Tracts Regulation of 1880, certain enactments which were in force *proprio vigore* before the passing of that Regulation such as the Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Stamp Act, were declared to have ceased to be in force, being considered unsuited to the backward state of the district.

Revenue The Assam Land and Revenue Regulation has not in general been extended to the District. Only certain sections and the Schedule (repealing previous Regulations and Acts) are in force there. At present there are generally no enactments or rules in force there relating to land revenue. The revenue procedure is simple, consisting only of the annual assessment by the Deputy Commissioner and the collection, through village headmen, of a house-tax, conducted by the district Officer under the executive orders and control of the State Government. Section 47 of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation lays down that the State Government may direct that in lieu of the revenue assessable on any land, there shall be collected an annual tax on each male person who has completed the age of eighteen years taking part in the cultivation of the land at any time during the year of assessment, or on each family or house or persons upon whom, and the localities and mode in which it may be assessed shall be determined by the State Government.

JHUM LAND REGULATION

The Naga Hills Jhum Land Regulation, 1946, safeguards and regulates the rights of the indigenous people to jhum lands. The Regulation lays down how a customary right to jhum land can accrue in favour of a village or a community or an individual and how such right can be transferred. It also provides for terraced cultivation and rights to forest produce in jhum land. All such rights under the Naga Jhum Land Regulation are subject to the payment by the person entitled thereto of such rents, taxes or any other dues as may be lawfully imposed vide Section 10 of the said Regulation.

LAND REVENUE

Sections 1, 2, 69, 94 and 144A and the schedule only of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation are in force in the Nagaland except in the Tuensang Area. Ordinarily land revenue is assessed only on some land round Dimapur in the plains, and may be also on land held by the foreign missionaries. For the plains mauzas, a special form of periodic lease has been prescribed. There are some coal bearing areas in the State which are held by a limited company under a periodical lease on payment of royalty.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

In Kohima and Mokokchung, as the Code of Civil Procedure and the Code of Criminal Procedure were not in force in the Naga Hills District, detailed rules for the administration of civil and criminal justice and police were made in the year 1872. These rules were revised and re-issued first in the year 1906, under the title "Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District", by Notification No. 12520J dated 29th November, 1906 and again in the year 1937, under Assam Government Notification No 2530(b)AP dated 25th of March, 1937. These rules regulate the procedure for police and trial of civil and criminal cases

in the erstwhile Naga Hills District and continue to be in force in the present districts of Kohima and Mokokchung as adapted or amended from time to time.

In view, however, of the different legal history of the area which now comprises the Tuensang District, the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945, applies there subject to the amendment made by Sub-section(3) of Section 10 of the Naga Hills Tuensang Area (Administration) Regulation, 1957. This Regulation of 1945 was extended to the Tuensang Frontier Division while it was being administered by the Governor of Assam as a part of the North-East Frontier Agency.

The Rules for the administration of justice and police in the Naga Hills District and also the Assam Frontier (Administration of Justice) Regulation, 1945, contain provisions almost similar to those contained in the rules on the same subject applicable in the hill areas of Assam, viz :

1. Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.
2. The Khasi Siemships (Administration of Justice) Order, 1950.
3. Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Garo Hills District.
4. Rules for the Regulation of the Procedure of Officers appointed to administer Justice in the Lushai Hills.
5. Rules for the Administration of Justice in the North Cachar Hills Subdivisions.
6. Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Sibsagar and Nowgong Mikir Hills Tracts.

All these rules were framed on the basic principle that the administration of the tribal communities needs simple codes and in the formulation of such codes and laws, the local customs and usages should be given due importance ; thus indeed adjudication of a

At the village level

vast majority of disputes and cases, both civil and criminal, in accordance with the prevailing traditional code of the tribal communities has been provided for. The Indian Penal Code was, however, introduced in all the hill areas in the early part of twentieth century for the purpose of holding trials by regular courts of law. The rules and regulations referred to above recognize the authority of ancient village councils, village headmen or the system of chieftainship which apply in a varying pattern among various communities. Thus at the basic level of village, the social, cultural and several legal affairs continue to be handled with complete freedom by the traditional village authorities.

While the administration at the lowest level is left to be carried on by the indigenous authorities, Above village level there is no indigenous structure or mode of administration to look after groups of villages or communities of tribes and sub-tribes. The gap is, therefore, filled by the Government by appointing circle officers, extra-assistant commissioners, assistants to the Deputy Commissioners, additional deputy commissioners in addition to the deputy commissioners. The pattern of territorial administrative jurisdiction above the village level follows the norm obtaining in the rest of India.

LEGISLATURE

Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution of India on 26th January, 1950, the Naga Hills District had no elected representative in the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Under the Constitution of India, the District was entitled to be represented both in the State Legislature and in the Parliament. But the first general election was boycotted by the people of the Naga Hills District although for some time they were represented in the State Legislature by two members elected uncontested in the general election of 1957. The Sixth Schedule to the Constitution provided for a miniature legislature at the district level in the name of District Council with powers to legislate on certain specified subjects of local importance; but the provision remained ineffective. With the constitution

of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area in the year 1957, the President and the Parliament of India came to be the legislative authorities for the whole of the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area which was represented in Parliament by one member in the House of the People, nominated by the President of India under the provisions of Section 3 read with Sub-section(1) of Section 4 of the Representation of the People Act, 1950. After its constitution, on the first of December, 1963, the State of Nagaland has been allotted one seat in the Council of States to be filled by an elected representative. Similarly, one seat has been allotted to the State in the House of the People and a Legislative Assembly at the State level has been constituted with the strength of 60 members to be chosen by direct election.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Except the Assam Tribal Areas (Administration of Town Committees) Regulation, 1950, there is no other law for the establishment of autonomous bodies for local self-government in the State of Nagaland. Neither the Assam Municipal Act nor any Panchayat Raj Act is in force there. The Regulation of 1950 provides for constitution of Town Committees for certain municipal purposes specified in the schedule to the Regulation. Necessary rules for the constitution of the Town Committees have also been framed and published in the Notification No TAD/LF/5/54/49 dated the 27th April, 1954, entitled the Naga Hills District (Constitution of Town Committees) Rules, 1954. The Regulation and the Rules are in force in Kohima and the Mokokchung Districts only.

The Nagaland State has now been in existence for some seven years but, as is well known, Nagaland remains an internal security problem. A large number of the security forces, army, Assam Rifles and the police remain deployed in various parts of the State under the operation Command of an Army General-Officer-commanding the entire force. The underground hostile elements continue to wage a hot war and this, inspite of the truce between the two sides which

solemnly avers that each side will desist from any provocation or resort to arms. The movement of the VIPs has to be escorted ; the security forces continue with their patrolling to ensure that the hostile elements do not indulge in any build-up of their armed strength ; also frequent ambushes and sharp skirmishes take place between the two sides. Simultaneously, development work is being rapidly extended in all directions in the way of more roads, schools, hospitals and industries. On the whole, the situation has an air of uneasy calm. It is not the purpose here to discuss the endeavours that have been made to reconcile the hostile elements and pave the way to permanent peace. This subject is indeed fit for a separate study because the efforts of the Government of India and the Indian people have included both conventional and unconventional methods hitherto unknown in the history of any other nation. The element of tolerance, the gestures of affection and the search for finding means to meet the other's viewpoint have been tireless and these do credit to the land of Gandhi. The struggle for a separate Naga nationalism on the one hand and the concern of Mother India, on the other, to keep the Naga people within her fold alongside myriad of other diverse communities, is in itself a golden chapter in the annals of India. The question may be asked whether the Naga people could have achieved their State without resorting to fighting. The answer to this question would require more space and time. One thing, however, is certain that the Naga rise to statehood has set a new pattern for our Constitution to accommodate varying political aspirations. A population, some four lakhs, in an area of 6, 600 square miles has been granted the same privileges and status as some 74 millions in an area of 1,13,654 square miles in the case of Uttar Pradesh.

In the end it may be said that the establishment of the State of Nagaland is a tribute both to its people and to Mother India—to its people, in the sense that they have been able to achieve their political aim on grounds of their oft asserted distinctiveness and to India for her power of accommodation and flexibility of outlook to ensure the happiness of a section of her diverse and large population.