

From Phizo to Muivah

The Naga National Question in North East India

A. Lanunungsang Ao

A MITTAL PUBLICATION

FROM PHIZO TO MUIVAH

—THE NAQA NATIONAL QUESTION IN NORTH-EAST INDIA



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MITTAL PUBLICATIONS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I know my limitations and also the intricacy of the theme of this book. The juncture during which I have chosen the theme is also fully known to me. This is the first volume in which the author takes interest to share his burden with the people with all his limitations. It is a modest contribution of an un-welcome indigenous scholar addressed to the generations through this humble book. The object of writing this book is expressed in the first chapter. With due apology for whatever omission and error the book may carry, I am solely responsible for the opinions expressed in the book that, I shall, with open mind, accept suggestions, comments and constructive criticism that may educate not only the author but help many people in redefining the concepts. Errors and misquoting if any shall be rectified in the next volume.

I am extremely thankful to all the well wishers who inspired me to write this book. To the people and the nations, I consider this as a positive contribution of many like-minded scholars in this hour of confusion for which credit goes to them. If anything good is found in the book that is all, because of those people, whose names I have mentioned or from whom even without mentioning their names have taken moral support and advice. However, for all shortcomings, and limitations I have kept enough rooms to accommodate them.

I love India because I belong to India, but I love Nagaland more than India because I am a Naga, born there and shall die there whether in shame or with national dignity. I wish to contribute my best to Nagaland and India for solving the on-going conflicts that had taken many precious lives. I am against this un-declared war between two big brotherly nations, India and the Nagas. They should settle this amicably without further delay to avoid imminent bloodshed that will not be sweet for

both the parties. There should be peace and tranquility between them. This is the main theme of this book, written during the ceasefire period with great desire for more peace and final political settlement with India.

For this end, the author expresses his thankfulness to all concerned people who love India and Nagaland who are contributing their best for peace and striving for a final political settlement. Sharing his deepest sorrow and pain with those who have been suffering for the cause of their nation, the author expresses his indebtedness to all the concerned thinkers who have contributed their wisdom in form of discussions, suggestions, and reading the manuscripts with constructive criticism. I owe my deepest gratitude to all of them for making this national contribution a success after struggling through many difficult situations. Their names would be too many to mention here. I cannot leave without acknowledging those writers, scholars and mass media personnel, the patriots and Naga leaders from whom I got lessons for enriching these materials though their names are not mentioned here. Their wisdoms have been incorporated in this book and the sources had been duly acknowledged with thanks. Their names are mentioned throughout our discussions and also in the bibliography.

I honor and express my regard to all the persons, places and organizations, which I have used in this book. Indeed, the book is written in honor of them sharing my deepest sorrow and happiness, saying KUKNALIM and JAI HIND.

The name Phizo and Muivah, whose names were used (though without permission) were so sweet and monumental to the author after knowing their selfless sacrifices in their nation's building struggle like Gandhi.

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A. LANUNUNGSANG AO

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

To write a book on Indo-Naga political conflict at this time of critical juncture is a challenging task. Many writers hesitate to write anything on such theme and also the prevailing situation do not allow them to exercise even the basic fundamental rights as guaranteed by the law of the land due to fear of bullets or threats. For such reason hardly anyone, dare to speak out the truth boldly and therefore hesitate to talk honestly over such sensitive issue. Thus, the reality of Naga political problem is kept hidden from the democratic agenda of free world of transfer of information and also from the world of conscience people.

Freedom of press and expression of one's opinions freely has no room because of fear-psychosis under such a strange system of anarchism in Naga society. This is one of the reasons as to why human rights do not grow in Naga society. As a result, the masses in general use to suffer and they become the victims of the wrong system in which they have been forced to live.

Whatever the situation may be, it was felt painful to leave the true story of a Nation unheard, untold, unwritten, and unattended. In fact, the present Indo-Naga politics is a very complicated issue. This may be the reason as to why many writers are just watching the situation from a distance without sharing their opinions. This is unfortunate.

Nagas are politically over conscious rather than developing economic consciousness in their minds and in actions. They are

made to be confused politically which has a direct bearing on their economic growth and development. In their madness with Indian currency flown from New Delhi through Kohima, the state capital, they are forgetting not only themselves but also their own birthrights. It is true to note, "it is easier to win over the minds of the Nagas with Indian currency than the bullets" as commented by Indian policy makers who have tested this method and found perfectly working in contemporary Naga society. Yet, they fail to realize this.

A total confusion is noticed in Naga society on all fronts mainly because of the present Indo-Naga political conflict without finding a concrete solution till today. The so-called Naga leaders, representing different organizations are found to be more confused having no clear vision and directions to lead the masses. Many youngsters are also found confused with a feeling of greater amount of frustration. The cry of the people for peace, justice and a final political settlement with India are observed on its highest degree of demand; shouting from different corners though many are found to be state sponsored slogans. Yet, they are wondering without finding a path of salvation, experiencing the real taste in all spheres of life.

Many strong governments have come and gone both in the Centre as well as in the state, but they failed to deliver justice to the suffering people. All of them have failed miserably to solve the Naga political problem. Now, people are seriously watching as to which government or which of the Indian political parties or under whose leadership; the Indo-Naga political conflict, one of the oldest political unsettled questions would come to an end. In this context, it will be highly interesting to see the political champion in solving this century old political conflict between India and the Nagas as friendly nations.

The literatures that are so far available on Naga political history are found to be very scanty and most of them are one sided and misreporting carrying the viewpoints of outsiders. Sometimes they carry twisted information ignoring the real aspects of the true history. Many new developments and direction of change have also been noticed on Naga Movement. This attracts many contemporary writers and researchers especially those who are watching the on-going situation carefully from a closed range.

This book is a theoretical analysis of Indo-Naga political issue. It has its own limitation and therefore its neither exclusive nor comprehensive. This is only a theoretical analysis of the Naga political problem that needs extreme care to solve it. The founding members of the Naga Club, the Tribal Council and Naga National Council originally advocated it. They inherited this philosophy from their fore parents, and now it is being transmitted from generation to generation.

While writing this book, doubts came up in the initial stage considering the complexity of the problem. But because of the constant encouragements from native thinkers representing different walks of life; they had been overcome and finally decided to compose this book and present to the readers, with a hope that this could serve as an instrument of light in search of freedom in such a given situation of confusion.

In deed, this book is an outcome of many years of continuous research on the problem. The materials contained in this book are both from primary and secondary sources of information. Four methods of data collection were used namely, discussion and interview; participant observation and non-participant techniques. These were found to be more suitable for this exercise. Some of the required secondary materials have been collected since 1980 onward keeping in view that they would be useful one day, and those were incorporated in the present volume. New information have been collected in recent years (1990-2001) from different sources through different techniques that were necessitated during the course of data collection, discussion and interview method continued from beginning to the ending part of writing and presentation. The information collected by way of attending seminars and workshops at different levels, discussion with the leaders of national workers and scholars at different point of times are incorporated in this humble study. Small group discussion at different levels at different places under different situation was found to be more effective. This book addresses the suffering peoples of the world like the Nagas in India, Myanmar, and the likes whose existence is threatened and still unknown to the world.

As stated above, this book is a study of Naga political theory and practice, undertaken from sociological perspective. After

tracing the origin of 'Naga Movement' as a 'Peoples' Movement' in search of their national identity desiring to live as they were, and, in the world of human society as they are; makes this study a great challenge of sociological inquiry. It asks, who are the Nagas, what problem do they have and why? This study not only tries to identify the problem but sincere remedial measures have been addressed to the problem in order to pave the way towards solving the issues in human terms. Making a documentary work, based on objective reality, a bold attempt had been made adding series of thoughts for further inquiries.

THE POINTS OF CONFLICT

In sociological literature, studies of social movements like that of the Nagas are by and large critical by nature. The patriots and nationalists generally write true story of such movements. Their writings are generally sentimental, radical, heart searching and emotional by nature. For such reasons, many such writings are misunderstood and sometimes they are rejected by the society. Many ups and downs may experience in the process of such movement characterized by loss of human lives, properties and divisions within the organizations. The Naga movement has been demonstrating all such characteristics in the past and at present.

Throughout the course of civilization, the revolutionary writing normally comes from the suffering people. Their writings are often found to be more critical because they are based on truth and historical reality. Yet, they are not free from academic criticism and debates needing continuous inquiries, redefining the concepts and their possible applications in modern society that take a longer way to understand by the society. However, many people do not welcome many of such positive writings. The author is well aware of this implication.

Study of any given people movement (like the Naga Movement) is not free from criticism. In the process towards achieving their goals, they will definitely experience controversy, division, conflict, bloodshed, misunderstanding, even war and so on. This is inevitably associated in any social movement around the world. The Naga Movement is not an exception as one may find today.

It may be added that political identity of the Nagas to have reached the national level from the village or tribal level was turning point. This is one of the greatest achievements of the Naga National Movement. Any given people's movement is bound to struggle in order to reach its ultimate goal and all the ups and downs are equally important to understand the movement. The Nagas, no doubt belong to a Nation of their own, whatever limitation there would be. However, New Delhi does not accept this notion. This is the first point of conflict between India and the Nagas.

The Nagas as 'a group of people' had constituted themselves as an organized community like other people of the world. They are fighting for their collective rights through Naga People's Movement. This movement is a Nationalist Movement, addressing from slavery to freedom and a movement desiring to live together as family members, free from alien interference or imposed rule to 'self-rule'. This is definition of Naga Movement for freedom. Yet, their movement is very often miss-understood and misquoted. It is to be noted that the Naga People's Movement is neither an underground Movement nor an insurgency or secessionist one though many people may understand differently. However, in many of the government reports, and also in certain Indian Journalists writings, one will find different connotations. However, such usages have been clarified right from Phizo's time. This concept is the second point of conflict. Those who do not know the real history may even say that it is a terrorist movement, but that is not correct. Throughout the history, Nagas have been claiming that they are not Indians. They are not Indians because they are not Indian origin like the Aryans and the Dravidians. Indians and Nagas do not look alike because they are from different sources of origin and racial stock. Nagas are Mongolians by racial stock and origin too. The Indians cannot become like the Nagas and *vice versa*. The Nagas are neither Hindus nor Islam by religion too. They are Christians by religion and follow Naga Christian cultures. They do not follow Indian culture, customs, traditions, language and so-on. The Naga way of life in a casteless society unlike Indian caste, base society is quite different. The Nagas may not want to become like Indians socially, culturally nor politically by force. This is the third point of conflict.

The Nagas claim that their Independent hood is their birthright. To live independently free from foreign interference is their legitimate right. They are independent people who have been living independently in their territory since time immemorial. However, India does not recognize what Nagas are claiming for. This is the fourth point of conflict.

India claims that Nagaland is absolutely an integral part of India. It was automatically handed over by the British authority at the time of transfer of power to India in 1947 after the War. However, the Nagas do not accept this arbitrary transfer of their land without their knowledge and consent. The Nagas have been objecting this action through various democratic means that a civilized nation could do, saying that their territory was invaded by the colonizers at that point of time. It was a question of forceful occupation. Since the British colonizers have left now, they should be set free. However, India does not agree to it. This is the fifth point of conflict.

On the question of constitution, India claims that no settlement can be possible outside the framework of Indian Constitution. Anything or everything could be worked out honourably only under Indian Constitution. However, the Naga Movement for freedom fighters do not recognize nor accept Indian Constitution for they do not see it any relevance for the Nagas. The Nagas are saying that they have had their own constitution and no alien force like India can enforce an alien constitution to the Nagas against their will. This is the sixth point of conflict.

The Government of India says that 'a full-fledged state had been granted to the Nagas according to their wishes. They had demanded this status through Naga People's Convention by signing a Charter of 16-Points Agreement between the Government of India and Naga People's Convention. This fulfils the political aspiration of the Nagas and they have nothing to claim more than this.' On the other hand, Nagas are saying that 'granting of a statehood has no relation with Naga National struggle for freedom. This Indian state is not their claim. It is a puppet state government against their wishes. Expansion of Indian state structure, installing a state in certain part of Naga territory strategically is a political trap created by New Delhi, which divides the Nagas. Therefore, this temporary political

arrangement by force is the greatest obstacle in search of Naga political freedom.' Indeed, installation of an Indian state in certain part of Naga territory was a great mistake. This state is operating at the cost of Naga freedom fighters. This is a success story on the part of National Integration of India, but a failure story on the part of Naga National Integration and also in the history of Naga National Liberation Movement. Having accepted or rejected this forced state structure is the seventh point of conflict, which creates further division amongst the Nagas.

Now, the question of Naga sovereignty is not free from controversy. The Nagas have been saying that they will never give up their legitimate right. They have been reiterating that their sovereignty will never be surrendered to any authority. It was/is and will be their right to enjoy the birthright of their sovereignty. In addition, all the Naga factions have been saying that the Naga sovereignty is not negotiable. On the other hand, the Government of India is saying that the Nagas should not talk anymore about their sovereignty. All the Indian Prime Ministers have already said this in clear terms that Naga sovereignty is ruled out. "If they are insisting for their sovereignty, there is no question of negotiation", said by all the Indian Prime Ministers right from Jawaharlal Nehru to Atal Bihari Vajpayee. This is the eighth point of conflict.

The above eightfold conflict is the crux of the Indo-Naga National question today. This book attempts to analyze those conflicts throughout the course of discussion. Leaving the solution to the nation builders and decision makers, this book examines as to why such points of conflict have developed between two nations; and for how long they would continue in future. This study also enquires as to whether there is possible means of solving those conflicts on human terms. It is believed that without recognizing those conflicts, solution cannot be brought. It also enquires as to why the people should suffer because of such an unattended issues as debated above. The recognition of one's national identity and their rightful existence should not be a problem that should have been solved long ago without wasting time and costing too much of human lives. Whatever the conflicts may be, there should be solution on this earth through peaceful means of negotiation, which may hammer out accepting and honoring possibilities and impossibilities under

human laws and on human terms. Answers to such issues are debated in this humble book.

THE BOOK AS AN EYE OPENER

This book begins with an introductory chapter. It provides a fundamental methodological framework. Two prominent personalities of the Naga National Movement for freedom namely, A.Z. Phizo and Th. Muivah's name have been used as the main title of this book. Their names have been purposefully identified as the symbol of Naga political philosophy. A critical attempt has been made to understand the Naga political thought as advocated by them. It is indeed, the central theme of this book. It begins in this introductory chapter, highlighting their brief biography and contributions. The Indo-Naga conflict is a question of historical fact. Had there been no such historical fact, the stand of the Nagas would have no fundamental basis. The Anglo-Naga relation during pre-independence period and Indo-Naga relation during the post-independence period on the question of their respective rights have become a debatable question. Historical records will remain unchanged whatever and in what manner the people may understand and use them for their own interest. This is an undeniable fact.

Chapter two is a brief review of rise, growth and development of the Naga People's Movement in search of their identity. The Naga political legacy, which is the fundamental basis of Naga issue, is discussed in this chapter. It asks, 'what', 'when', 'how' and 'why' of the Naga Movement in search of their rights, which they claim to be their legitimate and just demand. This chapter provides answers to such queries. It says, 'facts are facts and truths are truths'. This chapter examines what are those facts then. They remain alive today.

All these events are providing them lessons with variety of tastes. Certain mistakes have also identified that have been committed at different levels of building their nation as in case of other nations history. For all these, they are found to have been regretting silently.

Chapter three is a systematic collection of lamentations from which they should learn lessons. It is composed as a political mirror to Naga National struggle for freedom.

In chapter four, various aspects of human rights have been brought forward assembling different concepts and events systematically in the context of Naga situation. These are based on U.N. Universal Declaration on Human Rights and other U.N. Human Rights Documents including the constitutional background and their principles. After defining human rights from different perspectives, general principles of human rights are systematically proposed in the light of U.N. Charter on Human Rights Documents. The principles of human rights are debated keeping in view the Naga political issue, and their legitimate rights. It claims that the Indo-Naga conflict is a question of human rights and an open denial of human rights. It makes the book too hot to handle. Thus, this chapter is the fundamental basis of our points of argument throughout the course of debate.

Chapter five deals with human right violations and abuses as case study. We have examined the violation of human rights committed both by Indian Security Forces and Naga Army or the Nagas themselves in the name of National security and National struggle for freedom. Whether the killings of Indian soldiers by Naga soldiers, factional killings and other means of inhuman actions meted out against the innocent populace is the main discussion in this chapter.

As a case study, four districts have been selected namely; Mokokchung, Kohima, Dimapur and Phek districts of Nagaland to examine some of the incidents occurred in recent past. The nature of human rights violations as reported from those districts are produced in this chapter as a frame of reference. They are based on primary information collected from different sources.

Chapter six deals with the peacemaking approaches relating to Indo-Naga conflict in search of peace and a final settlement through democratic means. What the Naga people desire today is to have peace in their land. They have been suffering for so long devoid of peace and justice in their society. Various attempts have so far been made to bring peace and political settlement. They have experienced how costly the peace is. Yet, whatever the cost may be they have decided to fight for it and work for the same. This is a positive step where the Christian Organizations are taking the lead. This chapter asks, 'are the Nagas on the

move in search of peace? If so, how far and in what direction they are moving?

In search of peace, various political agreements have been made between New Delhi and the Nagas in the past, and at present too. There are many stories of both success and failures on such attempts. The emphasis of this chapter is on the need for a total peace in the land. It attempts to give direction in the process of searching for peace.

The seventh chapter is a critical analysis on the need for Naga Unification without which their attempt towards achieving their ultimate goal may not be possible. 'Naga Unification is a must', that they all say in unison. They all say AMEN, for Naga Unification. All the groups or factions including general masses agree to have peace and reconciliation. This chapter discusses the need for Naga Unification at different stages. It invites for a National Unification; firstly between the warring Naga factions. It also examines the voice of people who are crying for Naga unity move and reconciliation. This chapter discusses about the need for their unification whatever the cost may be, for safety of Naga Nation. It attempts to make an overview on such an intricate issue with appropriate suggestions and with critical observations.

Chapter eight is another most crucial one. It attempts to clarify a number of controversial concepts like the Naga People hood; the Naga Nationhood; the Naga Indigenous peoples and self-determination that are of highly debatable concepts both in academic circles and in political levels. The question of Naga hood as to whether and how far they belong to a Nation or not and what kind of Naga nation would be is critically discussed here. The question of indigenous and non-indigenous people is still a debatable term. The legitimate right of the Nagas under the principles of indigenous people's rights and self-determination in the context of Indo-Naga conflict is the main discussion in this chapter. In fact, this book begins with a big question from chapter one and ended in chapter nine with a bigger question left unanswered. Logically, the book is ended without an end; leaving more questions unsolved in this volume. It is anticipated that as we bring out the next volume, much of the issues that are discussed in the present volume would speak to us differently.

Certain points of fundamental stands of India versus Nagas have been identified and brought forward for open debate in future course of academic inquiries. Interestingly, there is a unit on various questions and answers pertaining to Indo-Naga political conflict, which would go a long way of debate to get the real answers to such questions. Based on the available and most relevant documents, we have critically reviewed various political proposals on the Indo-Naga political issue to pave the ways towards finding a final political settlement that would be good for India as well as the Nagas. This chapter proposes that the Nagas should have a concrete 'Political Charter' that could be placed before the round table if they are really in need to have a final settlement. No political talk can be had unless there are political agenda items that should come out from the people themselves. A set of critical models has been brought forward with our humble observations that would help while preparing a people's based national draft agreement.

Thus, this book has been written with the following objectives:

- (i) To examine as to how far the Naga Nationalist Movement is a genuine base movement or not. For this query, we have examined various inter-connected issues that have been taking place from one stage of development to other stage. In order to know the genuineness of their Movement, we have critically examined some of the major historical events as well as their political legacy.
- (ii) To create human rights awareness education amongst the people and its importance in their society. Many are afraid of taking on the question of 'human rights' because of the fear of existing situation in the land. In deed, they are facing untold suffering all the times just because of ignorance about the human rights value and its application in day-to-day life. Violation of human rights and its abuses are taking place in the highest degree in their land, but they are immune to it because of many factors. Generation of human rights education will definitely be helpful for them as a kind of protectional measure as well re-defining their National identity in the context of global change.

- (iii) In addition to our second objective, it is our academic interest to know as to whether the Indo-Naga political conflict is a question of human rights or not. For this, concept of human rights and its principles have been identified. All these have provided answers on the question of their political conflict with India. To verify our quest, it was our intention to take up a few cases of study of human rights violation occurred in the recent past in support of our objectives.
- (iv) Our fourth objective is to facilitate the peacemaking processes and their agencies that are involved in it. To this end, we tried to analyze various steps taken so far by them for facilitating effective peace efforts in future. Indeed, it was our objective to redefine various concepts rather than giving suggestions from academic viewpoint paving the way towards bringing peace to the land through the wisdom of God where the church organizations can play pivotal roles in bringing not only the peace but for creating a greater Naga identity in future.

The book attempts to identify the points of conflict and argues, 'whatever the conflict, it must be sorted out first within the Nagas themselves before their national political agenda is placed before New Delhi in India or outside India for discussion to reach a point of agreement for bringing final settlement'. This is the central message of this book.

When the author was convinced to write a book on Indo-Naga political struggle in the beginning of 1990; and collection of specific materials was started since April 30, 1990 the expiry news of A.Z. Phizo was announced on the same day in London. The author was nominated to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee for Chakro Area at Medziphema Station to receive the dead body of their departed leader.

After satisfactory readings, observations and collection of adequate materials, the author sat on his shaky chair as usual; a half termite eaten wooden table in his Dimapur rest camp, SALEM HOUSE, a place popularly known as SIGNAL BOSTI. While meditating himself as to what should be the title of this book, another strange news came to him about the arrest of

Th. Muivah, another Naga patriot, on January 29, 2000 in Bangkok by Thai Police. He immediately picked up his birthday gift, a ball pen and wrote just Phizo's and Muivah name on the front page of a daily local Newspaper, 'Nagaland Post'; that was in his hand at that very moment. He continued thinking a bit serious for a while. This led him to use a sketchy title like the need for study of Naga political history FROM PHIZO TO MUIVAH: THE NAGA NATIONAL QUESTIONS IN NORTHEAST INDIA.

Phizo died before solving this question and Th. Muivah was also arrested during ceasefire period. Meantime, he decided the book to be dedicated to the suffering people of the world when it is published. This convinced him to keep the title of this book as it is. On the same morning i.e., January 29, 2000 A.D., the first grandson of the author was born at Salem House, and they named him MERENKOKBA, which means 'glorious victory'. The author expected that a day of victory would come one day sooner or later to the Nagas by way of solving their internal and external conflicts with glorious victory, which perhaps will be a day of happiness both for India and the Nagas.

With this imaginative thought, it was our special interest to use two names of the Naga prominent leaders as the main title of this book with due apology and great honor since they are the foundation of Naga National Movement. For the purpose, we have followed three criterions to identify them (Phizo and Muivah) basing on the following three conditions namely; the tribal identity (Angamis and Tangkhul, the territorial identity (Nagaland and Manipur state) and the organizational identity (NNC and NSCN). Accordingly, Phizo and Muivah's names appeared on the card to be used their names as the symbol of Naga political philosophy and their movement for freedom. These fulfil the above three conditions more appropriately to be used for the purpose. In order to know what had taken place in the past and what is actually taking place at present, we have tried to know who was that Phizo and who is this Muivah in the context of Naga National history. It is in fact, an academic exercise with positive thinking about the issue attempting to visualize the past, present and the future of the Naga political destiny. It is not only a short term political capsule siding a particular organization/faction or group in any way; but it aims

to highlight what is truth behind the Indo-Naga political issue. It attempts to understand the issue from a wide range aiming towards bringing for a tangible solution base on ground reality. This philosophical thought may definitely pave the way towards solving the century old political conflict between India and the Nagas. It may be a good message of thought for both the parties. With its own limitations leaving to the readers and users, this book proceeds further.

ANGAMI ZAPU PHIZO

Angami Zapu Phizo, son of Krusietso was born on May 4, 1904. He came from a line of leaders and patriots who had distinguished themselves in the service of their village and in their resistance to the British advancement in the region. Born in a remote village call Khonoma, Phizo rose to become the acknowledged leader of the Nagas. His integrity, dedication and fierce commitment to his ideals led his name to be synonymous with the Naga cause throughout the world. The Nagas call him 'FATHER OF NATION'.

His early childhood was spent in his native village. He started his early education at Kohima Mission School and Shillong government high school, and he did his further studies at Yangon, Myanmar (Rangoon, Burma). Reverend S.W. Rivenburg baptized him while in middle school. His name was registered both at Khedi Baptist Church, Kohima as well as in Kohima Baptist Church. He married Jwene in August 1930. Reverend Nisier Meru at Tseminyu administered his marriage ceremony. His wife died on May 2, 2000 when the writing of this book was on. Phizo died at the age of 85 on April 30, 1990 and his wife Jwene died at the age of 86 who was born in 1914, leaving four sons and four daughters and many grand children.

Academically, Phizo was not a good student. At one stage, he had failed in matriculate examination. He was reported to have passed High School Leaving Examination from Government High School, Shillong in the year 1927 though some say that he never passed that examination. Once upon a time, he served as an agent of Thomson's Chain Reference Bible of Indianapolis, U.S.A. In 1929, later he became an agent of the Life Insurance Company Limited, Canada in its Calcutta Branch. He kept restless and over anxious to do something more than the

opportunities that were available around him. Phizo left for Burma in 1933 and his wife joined him in 1935. Ever adventurous, he embarked on a number of ventures though without much success. When he was working in banking service as General Manager for a short time in Life Insurance Company, he floated a small company called Gwiz Products, manufacturing balms, face creams etc. He experimented even the mushroom cultivation during those days. He also started a business on tyre retreating company in Kohima, but failed because there were hardly very few vehicles at that time in Kohima needing retreating. When in Rangoon, he stayed in one Hotel from where he tried to establish another venture more successfully. Among his varied experiences and ambitions, he had a stint at infantry training. He had as many as complaints against him under a cloud of accusations of cheating. He himself became a debtor at one time as he failed to repay money borrowed for his business, which failed miserably. Then he became an unsuccessful person on many fronts. Due to constant allied bombing, Phizo with his family had to move to Taikkyi during the last week of December 1943. He had an attack of facial paralysis and erysipelas. Some said that his unusual facial mark was due to a bullet injury during the war in Rangoon. According to his personal information, the British caused this due to extreme torture during World War II as he was fighting for survival of his people and his country (see Appendix VI).

It was during this period that the beginning of his philosophy of life took shape, yet he was still to be confronted with the events that had changed his outlook and catapult him into his life's mission.

In 1943, the Japanese entered Yangon. His encounter with war, directed his thought towards the political and his interest focused on the Naga people and their destiny. The Indian National Army (INA) under the leadership of Subash Chandra Bose particularly impressed him. He then became the close associate of S.C. Bose since 1943. With great expectation, Phizo requested him to recognize the sovereignty of the Nagas, to which Bose replied that he would consider it depending on the outcome of the war. When Phizo heard that Subash Chandra Bose had liberated Kohima in 1944, he immediately wrote to him to arrange transport facility for his return to Nagaland from

Yangon to fight together against the British imperialist. He then worked with the Japanese Auxiliary Wing of Hikari Kiken, the force looking after the interests of Provisional Free India. He convinced them of the military advantage of entering India through Naga Hills, instead of crossing over the Arakans Hills. Because of his involvement with the Japanese, Phizo was imprisoned at the close of the war in Insien and in Rangoon Jail along with the other INA and pro-Japanese prisoners of wars.

He was released in 1946 and returned to Kohima in the same year. It so happened that when he returned from Burma to his homeland with a new political thought and aspiration for the future of Naga people, and upon entering Kohima, the sight of a beautiful rainbow stretching over the town struck him. He, immediately, decided that rainbow colour should be included in the Naga National Flag as a symbol of 'peace' and so as the Nagas to be the children of God Almighty and partakers of His Covenant. The appearance of rainbow was again significantly repeated in 1956 at Remensinyu village in Rengma region, when the Naga National leaders were discussing on the design of Naga National Flag, led by Phizo. With great rejoicing, they finally approved to take the rainbow colour as Naga National Flag.

Phizo was one of the founding members of Naga Club, which was elevated as the Naga National Council in 1946. On his return from Burma, Phizo wholeheartedly immersed himself with the activities of NNC. The awakening of the Naga National identity was already spreading throughout the whole of Naga territory. The ravages of the second World War, the imminent withdrawal of the British power from Asia; the Gandhi's Movement of Non-violence *vis-à-vis* Netaji's violent means of Nationalism, and the dawn of a new era in the whole world; all these shaped his political philosophy. He visualized the Naga political destination from that time with clear vision. He redefined the Naga political identity in the light of what was taking place around the world. He formulated the Naga political stands with clearer objective and decided to fight for it till the ultimate goal is achieved. For this cause, Phizo foremost objective was to work for unification of all Naga tribes. He became the champion of the first Naga tribal unification coming together under one single political identity. He travelled day and night on foot,

meeting people and visiting villages through length and breadth of the Naga Hills, even crossing the Saramati-Patkoi mountain ranges.

In 1947, prior to the Indian Declaration of Independence, Phizo headed the Naga Delegation members who met Mahatma to reiterate the stand that the Nagas were an independent people even before the arrival of British; and that when the British left, they wished to revert to this position without joining Indian Union. On hearing their expression, Gandhi assured them that the Nagas were free to choose their own political destiny and that under no circumstances would they be forced to join the Indian Union. Phizo once formed the People's Independent League in the month of May 1947 to lead the Nagas fight for their rights. He mobilized mass involvement in Naga Independence Movement for freedom. Launched Anti-Indian, non-cooperation movement and took a firm decision through NNC to declare Naga Independence Day on August 14, 1947, just one day before the Indian Independence Day on 15 August 1947. Because of his active involvement openly fighting against the British imperialists, he was arrested on July 9, 1948, but released later on with a condition that he should stop anti-national movement and its propaganda, misleading the people. In the same year, he was again re-arrested and detained in Bengal.

On December 4, 1948, his two years old son was killed in a motor accident near Khonoma, his own village. At that time, his wife was holding another child who was seriously injured in the same accident. On December 18, 1948, he was released from jail just for a period of one month on compassionate ground. It was again extended for one more month. The Government of Assam decided to take his wife to Shillong for better medical treatment at Government expenses, and his family stays at Shillong.

The Advisor to Governor of Assam, Shri N.K. Rustomji wanted to release him from jail, since the real thunder of the independent movement had cool down. Phizo's movement was then relaxed. After a stern warning with red ink, to remain as a good Indian citizen and not to start any movement against India, Phizo was asked as to whether he would again involve in anti-Indian

activities. On family ground, Phizo was compelled to accept the terms dictated upon him, which he did not like most. Ironically, Phizo himself said to the Advisor to the Governor of Assam that he would keep the words of N.K. Rustomji. During his short stay, the government paid all the expenses of his family members at Shillong up to December 15, 1949. He was then lured with many high posts, like Governor, Chief Minister and Indian Foreign Ambassador, but he refused to accept any offer. After that, he was unconditionally released from jail.

After his release, he came home with heavier political burden. He noticed that the NNC having two opinions; i.e., the moderates and the extremists. He found many people confused and took a firm decision to correct it drawing the attention of the people towards extremist philosophy. He disagreed with moderate policy of siding with India.

On December 11, 1950, Phizo was elected as the President of NNC, and took the famous oath of office as the President, the most prestigious post to lead the Nagas. He then started the real political mission thereafter. He did much to strengthen and consolidate its position with clear political objective. He laid down the foundation of Naga Nationalist Movement for freedom, soon after he became the President. He then overshadowed the moderate leaders and started the real political momentum like wild fire making a turning point in Naga political history. He noticed that Indian Government getting busy in reorganizing her mighty country after the war. Phizo also did the same thing to reorganize the Naga Nation and her people. Under his dynamic leadership, the most famous historic event took place on May 16, 1951. On this National Plebiscite Day, 99.9% of the Naga population voted for Sovereign Republic of Nagaland. In one of his messages on that historic day, he said:

“The white government has gone, a black government has come. This black government will take away your land; they will tax your houses, your cows; your pigs will be counted and you will be asked to pay according to the number of pigs you keep. You will not be allowed to eat beef or pork. You will not be allowed to drink. Do you want such a government or indepentti (meaning independence)? If you are independent, you will enjoy life as we had before the arrival of the Britishers”¹

In 1952, Phizo left his homeland and went abroad via Burma and Pakistan to survey the international support on Naga cause. He carried as many as important documents including a draft memorandum addressed to the U.N.O. In January 1953, he was intercepted by Burmese Police and detained him there. He was then released soon and came back home the next year in 1954. He talked non-violence means for solving the Naga issue, but he himself was not convinced with the means he adopted after seeing the situation.

Phizo became the key person in organizing violent means and to bring arms to fight out the Naga cause like his friend Netaji; whom Phizo respected most.

On July 12, 1956, at Sanis meeting, the NNC resolved to send Phizo, their leader, abroad to put forward the Naga cause before the UN and with the help of Reverend Michael Scott, Phizo arrived in London on June 12, 1960. He wanted to make a base in London though he did not support the British Government during the war. From there he tried to internationalize the Naga case but his credential was not fully recognized by the British Crown because he did not recognize the British Crown, and stood against it siding with the Japanese force during the World War II. In London, Phizo lived in exile as the President of NNC. He also formed an exile government there in London to popularize the Naga cause. Some said that British Government gave him only the status of political asylum. Practically, Phizo was kept under "undeclared house arrest" in London, because of his complicity against the British Government during the war, siding with Subash Chandra Bose in collaboration with Azad Hind Fauj and the Japanese Army against the British troops. Phizo was known as "troublemaker" in the circle of Indian Government. In addition, the British Government was more suspicious about the credibility of Phizo in London. At the same time the Government of India convinced the British Government to keep watch his activities while he was in London.

Indeed, Phizo acted so boldly and guided the Japanese and German troops during the war. Moreover, Netaji promised him that the Naga sovereignty would be recognized depending on the outcome of the war. Unfortunately, the outcome of the war

was not so favorable (see his involvement, keeping the Japanese force siding with Subash Chandra Bose in Appendix VI).

Many people may ask, 'what Phizo had been doing in London for such a long time?' 'What he did during his stay in London for his people?' As stated above, the British Crown gave no importance to an undeclared political prisoner like Phizo, the Naga leader in England except to keep him under 'undeclared house arrest'. This was necessitated as per desire of the Free Indian Government due to two reasons, namely: (i) Phizo did not support the British Crown during the World War II and (ii) he was considered anti-national and a trouble shooter in India against the British Government. As a political prisoner, his free movement was restricted and no political platform was given to him when he was in London. These were the main factors as to how Phizo had failed his mission in London. As such, he could not do much significant work for his people when he was in London.

Many people did not welcome Phizo's stay in London. Pawsey, the last British Deputy Commissioner in Kohima, did not support him because of his anti-British attitude prior to Indian Independence. Phizo insulted him on many occasions in his home. He even warned him to vacate his office and British Bungalow, and to go back to England with shame. It is said that Phizo had given a good kick on the luggage of the British Deputy Commissioner, Kohima, when he was packing his luggage for transporting to England. Sir Pawsey took it as an insult to the British Crown as a result he did not show any respect to Phizo while he was in London. This was another setback for him. From all corners, he was compelled to remain silent while in London. Yet, as a leader, Phizo did not lose his hope to fight for the cause of Naga till his expiry on April 30, 1990.

Like Mahatma Gandhi, Phizo was the legendary godfather and champion of Naga Nationalism. If Phizo were an Indian, Indians would have called him 'Phizoji'. Phizo was a courageous man like Gandhi. Gandhi was truly an Indian patriot and the founder of the Indian Nationalist Movement like Phizo. Gandhi was given the title of 'Father of the Nation' in Free India. Thus, Phizo was the architect and founder of the Naga National Movement for freedom, and hence deserved to be called the

'Father of Naga Nation' without any reservation. The contribution of Phizo in Naga National Movement is immeasurable that needs due recognition.

In one of the fortnightly Magazines, *Deshprem Desh Droh* (The Patriots and Traitors) one Goure Kishore Ghose; rightly commented, "Phizo is the source of Naga political history. Without him, Naga Nationalist Movement could not have been achieved up to this level what they have today. Without any doubt, he should be called as the father of Naga Nationalism Movement. He gave the birth to Naga Unity"². Once Raj Mohan Gandhi also said, 'he was born as a hero, lived as a hero and died as a hero'. Phizo was a man of indomitable spirit, inexhaustible energy and sharp intelligence, possessing great political acumen and he directed all his qualities in the pursuit of his one simple aim, i.e., the advancement of Naga National Independence. His vision of a Free and independent Nagaland sustained him in his solitary and lonely crusade in foreign lands.

Phizo was certainly a man of principle, with a certain dose of stubbornness, iron made and an intrepid person in the world of politics, a thorough villain in the eyes of those who did not like him and opposed his political philosophy. Nevertheless, he was a real hero, and a Naga patriot who dreamed for Naga National Liberation, worked for it, and died for it. He was perfectly a real self-made politician, a statesman, an authoritarian, and a true native genius. Like Nixon, the former American President, Phizo was a man of strong adamant character. He failed to believe anybody and did not trust even his close relatives. Many world political leaders found difficult to win over him on world politics of his time. He was in fact, a very clever charismatic leader and a strategist in the world of politics but not a man of transparent on Naga political front. He fought for the cause for which he gave his life as promised by him until his last breath. To the very end, he was fully conscious of his responsibility as the representative of his people and true to his commitment. He was faithful unto the last with all the limitations in him. As the father the of Naga Nation, he gave his life for his people and nation for which he was prepared. The coffin, containing the mortal remains of Angami Zapu Phizo, was received from London by his people with tears and emotion and buried near

the New Secretariat Building at Kohima, the state capital town of Nagaland.

TH. MUIVAH*

Thuingaleng Muivah, a Tangkhul Naga was born on March 22, 1935 in a remote village of Somdal in Ukhrul district of Manipur. He is the third son of Shangkathan, born in a Christian family. His mother was Rümangla who brought him in strict Christian discipline. He did his early education in his own Village Mission School. Muivah was an exceptional boy right from his boyhood. He proved himself different from many of his contemporaries. His leadership quality could be identified right from his boyhood career. One day, he gave a social punishment even to his father when his father went out in search of the lost cattle breaking village norms on a special day. Despite his poor family background he managed to go to Shillong to study there and joined St. Anthony College with the support of some senior Naga students. While in High School, two of his teachers Mr. B.C. Roy, Science teacher, and Mr. P. Das, mathematics and geography teacher took special interest on Muivah after seeing his talent. As a brilliant student, he maintained the status of meritorious scholar throughout his academic career. He passed B.A. with honors in second division in 1960. He was a student leader both in Shillong as well as in Guwahati. He kept himself occupied meeting people of his calibre. He had a strong determination to join the Naga underground movement right from his adulthood. He took a final decision sometime in 1960 when he was in the college (perhaps in B.A. final year). Muivah and his one Ao friend, General J. Saney, pierced their fingers with alpenes administering an unofficial pledge with blood that they must join the Naga underground. At that time the momentum of Naga National Movement was in its highest degree, inviting educated persons. It was in one Chinese Restaurant, that General J. Saney and Th. Muivah took this strong commitment. They promised to each other that they would join the Naga National service as soon as they finish their studies. His Ao friend then left the college earlier than Muivah, joined in national service, and waited for his friend Muivah to come anxiously. Muivah wanted

* Much information on Muivah's early life was collected from Mr. R.V.S. Zatrang retired S.D.O (PHED) that are thankfully acknowledged.

to take up further study to enhance his knowledge before joining in Naga underground. He did post-graduation in Political Science from Guwahati University in 1962, and joined in National Service on September 12, 1964. Soon after his joining, he occupied the vacant post of the Secretary NNC, that was left by T. Sakhrie Angami, a young Naga brilliant leader. NNC was fortunate to have a man like Th. Muivah, another brainy person to be the Secretary of the Council just in time having higher educational qualification. He continued in that prestigious post many years until the formation of NSCN in 1980. He then became the Executive Secretary of NSCN, since its inception till today.

It can be said that amongst the Naga intellectual, Muivah is one of the pioneers who have been deeply influenced by Marxist philosophy in the College as well as in the University. Both in Shillong and in Guwahati, he was called 'Naga Mao-Tsetung' by many of his friends jokingly. He took keen interest in reading revolutionary literatures, world history and the life story of great men of all generations. His friends and relatives were surprised to see two boxes, full of such books apart from other textbooks that he brought home after completion of his studies. Greatly influenced by Marxist philosophy of socialism and Mao-Tsetung's philosophy of Communism, he tended to become a revolutionary leader since his early youth days. Marxist philosophy became the guiding principle for the rest of his career. As a diplomat and political thinker, he was fully aware about philosophical thoughts and its implication in making Naga political history in future. His imaginative thoughts and revolutionary vision was greatly enhanced by studying Political Science as his main subject in M.A. He has a tremendous strength and knowledge on International Politics that gives him firm understanding with deep philosophical commitment. In later part of his career, Th. Muivah travelled worldwide fulfilling his boyhood imagination in national service. Like Phizo, Th. Muivah was stubborn and intelligent having clear concepts of anything on what he wanted to say. Nevertheless, unlike Phizo, he was talkative and outspoken as he belongs to the school of radicalism. Right from adulthood, he was rated as an extraordinary fellow having charismatic personalities with vindictive nature of character. A man of strong principle like Phizo,

Muivah was a suspicious man with a preconceived mind, which makes difficult for him to believe anyone except his very close relatives and associates.

While in the College, he was hardly defeated even by his senior colleagues on any given issue of debate. His approach was highly convincing and logical. This made him to be more popular amongst the galaxies of his contemporary. Th. Muivah was then a fine political orator and a critic, perhaps with emotional flow of thoughts as a revolutionary leader. To be very precise, his career in national service can be viewed from three major epoch makings. His first experienced began from NNC to NSCN office. The second experience is the circumstances leading to the formation of a new organization. And the third stage is his larger foreign mission tour during which he was arrested on January 29, 2000 in Southern Thai Songkhla. He was released in 2001.

1. Soon after he joined in national service, he was assigned a big responsibility by NNC to lead the first batch of Naga Army to China for training there. Since India continued pouring Indian Military forces to Naga territory to suppress the Naga Nationalist Movement through militarism, the NNC non-violent method that was adopted before became ineffective. Therefore, the Federal Government took a strong decision in Tatar Hoho to seek support from any foreign country in arm struggle. After successful contact with Pakistan, the Chinese route was also surveyed and decided to send another Naga Army contingent to China for guerrillas training and procurement of arms and ammunition. For this, they considered that since China being the big brother-country should be approached for support in Naga political cause. That was the ray of hope expected from big brother-country, China. This assignment was then given to Muivah to lead a band of dedicated Naga soldiers at the earliest. By nature, Muivah is an adventurous person. He then gladly accepted this responsibility as a great challenge for the interest of National service.

In 1965, Muivah and his comrade Mr. Thinoselie proceeded to China on foot from Naga jungle with more

than a hundred dedicated young men. They travelled through Northern Burma following the Japanese route. On reaching China, the Naga soldiers were given political and military training in secret camps in Yunan, while Muivah himself was taken to Beijing where he remained as an unofficial Naga representative for four years. He received vigorous training both political and military tactics. He was then greatly inspired by Mao-Tsetung's philosophy of communism and from there; he tended to become a revolutionary leader. The second batch of Naga guerrillas led by General Mou and Isak Chishi Swu arrived China in 1968.³

Having successfully established the political channel, the Chinese government informed Isak and Muivah to invite Phizo, the NNC President to China who was in London to be the official head of their organization in China. While in China, they tried to indoctrinate Maoism in the minds of the young Nagas, but having found difficult in winning over their minds, both in China and in their homeland, the Chinese authority gave them two options to be chosen either to take military aids or political support. Muivah and Isak had chosen to take military aids from China. At that time, Isak was the Foreign Secretary to the Federal Government of Nagaland and thereby, they made long term arrangement to receive military aids on instalment basis.

When Isak and Muivah cabled to Phizo in London conveying the new political development that was offered by the Chinese government, Phizo was greatly impressed and congratulated his colleagues in China. They insisted Phizo to come over to China with a great expectation that only China would support the Naga cause. They wanted to re-organize their movement worldwide from there with their President sitting in China.

However, in course of their discussion over cable, Phizo told that, "let the Chinese Government invite me over there officially".⁴ Phizo expected that the Chinese government would take necessary steps to invite him there. Phizo then told Muivah, his Secretary to wait for

sometime. However, neither the Chinese government nor the Naga leaders took instant initiative on this pertinent issue. On the part of Chinese government, it was only a proposal to be executed by Naga National Council. Therefore, they did not take it so seriously and left the matter to the Nagas. Isak and Muivah waited anxiously for Phizo's arrival at China. Nevertheless, no information or any political direction came from their leader from London office. It cost them heavily and in great dismay, they impatiently decided to reject Phizo's leadership. It was so painful on the part of NNC Secretary and the foreign Secretary, FGN who took it as a political blunder on the part of Phizo's leadership. They felt being deceived and cheated on this foreign relation and took it very seriously with a feeling of disappointment.

After experiencing the limitations with their leader and considering the retrospective and prospective aspect of Indo-Naga political issue, it was found invariably imperative to change the leadership and form a new political organization. Muivah thought that only a communist country like China, the big brother country would be more helpful in getting their needs. Moreover, by that time he could penetrate China well for the cause of the Nagas, who have assured to extend military aids. His calculation was that, after forming a socialist type of government in homeland, its Chairman should stay in Beijing instead of sitting in London. The NNC President, A.Z. Phizo who was in London, did not favor this idea. He could well visualize the practical difficulties to enter Naga country into the fold of the interest of bloc countries in future (Communist/ Socialist). Muivah realized this limitation in later stage.

Isak and Muivah with the Chinese trained Naga Army returned from China and established their base in Burma-Naga territory in March 1975. In January 1975, Imkongmeren, the vice president of NNC was captured and detained by the enemies. The real political upheavals started taking place both in underground organizations and in state political fronts. Muivah watched all those

political development carefully including the surrender of Arms brought from China and signing of Shillong Accord on November 11, 1975 under Indian constitution between the representatives of NNC-Federal Government and Government of India⁵.

This gave another setback to Naga Nationalist Movement. This accord had created much confusion amongst the Nagas and heated debate cropped up in the rank and file of national workers. Isak, Muivah, and others from Eastern part of Nagaland out rightly rejected the Accord. The pro- and anti-Accord then sharply came up opposing each other. They demanded Phizo to denounce it but he kept silent over it watching from London. Isak and Muivah considered this accord as treason and the signatories representing NNC-Federal government were declared as traitors. They sent seven men delegation abroad to urge Phizo earnestly to condemn the accord without further delay. However, their voice went unheeded. Isak, Muivah, and other NNC leaders from eastern sector pleaded for Phizo's guidance and direction to NNC for several times during 1975, but he remained silent. Had Phizo uttered a word of direction and guidance, Naga unity and political movement would have taken a positive turn⁶. Thus, this compelled Muivah to disapprove Phizo's leadership and form a new organization as against the NNC principles. After having a series of consultation meetings, they were compelled to take a drastic political decision by condemning Phizo's leadership as well as NNC and Shillong Accord that was signed in 1975. Meantime, they found no alternative except to form a new organization for national survival, as it was a question of live or die. However, NNC also denounced the infamous Shillong Accord as demanded in later stage.

As per the available record⁷, the President and Vice President of NNC also rejected the Accord, the General Secretary of NNC Th. Muivah, and all other authorities. The regional authorities and Army officers had unanimously condemned the Accord on August 16, 1976 in Eastern Nagaland. Since the stand of NNC, FGN was

very clear and there was no question of misunderstanding on the matter of Shillong Accord as reported from the NNC and FGN circle. In fact, NNC-FGN had not signed the Accord, so it was not necessary or its business to disown or abrogate the said Accord as claimed by NNC-FGN. The rejection of this Accord by General Assembly on November 30 to December 2, 1975 session at Dihoma Camp was re-affirmed on March 21, 1989 in the Tatar Hoho which is the supreme authority in the federal set up either to declare war or peace and to decide treaty and agreement with foreign countries⁸. However, one can say that denouncement and reaffirmation made by the NNC-FGN on this issue was rather too late.

In the formative stage of NSCN, many people were murdered especially those who opposed forming of another organization. However, Muivah was strongly determined to form a new organization whatever the cost it may involve. Thus, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was born which is the brainchild of Muivah, the former General Secretary of NNC. There was strong opposition by larger section of the National workers especially in the Eastern sector. The people in the Western Nagaland were not fully aware of the formation of this council in its formative stage. This was perhaps the greatest challenge for Muivah to take a strong decision to live or die under many circumstances. Under his able leadership, he dictated the terms of references to form the organization making Isak Chishi Swu as Chairman, S.S. Khaplang as Vice President and he himself as its General Secretary in the said organization. He made the manifesto of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in January 30, 1980.

In the beginning, there was serious objection raised from different corners for forming this new organization. As a result, Muivah and Isak Chishi, the NNC General Secretary and Vice President with some other National workers were arrested on August 30, 1978 and kept under house arrest declaring 'Military Rule' imposed upon them for their fervent attempt to form a socialist government.

They were released in May 1979⁸. Thereafter, he did not leave any stone unturned towards successful formation of NSCN in 1980.

2. After the formation of NSCN, Muivah again took another 200 Naga army contingent to China. They proceeded on August 2, 1986 on foot but that time, many of his men and women felt sick due to adverse climatic condition in the plain areas and many of them died there due to scarcity of food and drinking water. Moreover, the Burmese army launched major attacks on almost all the K.I.A. Headquarters. They were forced to return back home reaching homeland on December 17, 1987 from half way⁹. In fact, Th. Muivah led Naga army contingent several times to China. When the Chinese Government came to know the formation of a Socialist Government and especially about the new development of Naga National politics in homeland, she lost her faith with the Nagas and decided not to extend further military supports in future for Indo-Naga cause. The NSCN became a divided house since 1988 tragedy. This re-affirmed the Chinese government's the earlier decision not to extend any more support to the Naga guerrillas. Serious fighting inside the Naga guerrillas' camps took place on the issue of political ideology.

In 1988, he escaped from a subsequent *coup d'etat* launched by Naga guerillas within their organizations. In spite of two consecutive *coups d'etat*, Muivah's life was saved miraculously. After the split, Muivah and his group found no security to stay in Eastern part of Naga country for long. The longer he stayed there, the more imminent danger was foreseen for him and his party. From such eventful incidents, the NSCN (I.M) and NSCN (K) emerged.

Muivah left Eastern Nagaland and moved to Kachinland. From there, he landed in western Nagaland and reorganized his government. When one read the real story of Muivah between the lines especially the period of seventies and eighties, one can say that it was the most tragic one. It is characterized by military coup and counter coup exhibiting the real talent of a revolutionary leader.

In fact, this was the most painful and unforgettable period in his life. This period was the turning point in his career after joining the national service.

3. The third phase of Muivah's career is his foreign Mission at large. He started this mission just after landing in the western part of Nagaland in a larger perspective. During his continuous political mission abroad, he was then arrested while on his foreign mission tour in Thailand. Today, Muivah is regarded as one of the living survivors amongst the Naga leaders. Many people call him as the 'Naga Revolutionary Champion' in contemporary Naga political struggle. He is also known as 'War Lord' of the Naga guerilla revolutionary movement as used in Indian Journalists circle and in Army level. Many of his followers have never seen him yet; the young Nagas follow him in great numbers as commented by one Deepak, Chief Editor, Bureau of *Sun Magazine*.

India believes that Muivah is the man behind, not only in facilitating arms and ammunition from abroad but in delivering the voice of the Nagas in the west. He is the most widely travelled Naga leader with the message of Naga liberation from slavery. Under the leadership of Isak Chishi Swu and Th. Muivah, the Naga political struggle for freedom and their voices have been heard more from the west. Admitting Naga Nation as one of the members of UNPO in 1993 is one of the significant achievements in the history of Naga Political Struggle for freedom. In this regard, the author of this book in 1993 stated in one of his articles that:

"In the galaxy of World Nations, it appears that Nagaland has become one of the bonafide members of UNPO since January, 1993. On the historic occasion of its Third General Assembly held in Hague, Capital of Netherlands in the month of January 19-24, 1993, UNPO accepted Naga Nation as its member and Nagaland flag was hoisted among many other Nation. This facilitated the suffering of the Nagas and their struggle for self-determination that was timely presented by Mr. Isak Chishi Swu and Th. Muivah, the Chairman

and the General Secretary opening a new chapter in its history. It is indeed, a significant achievement in the history of Naga Nation's struggle for self-determination. Naga people should therefore, extend their thankfulness to UNPO and Naga leaders who have alleviated the Naga political identity in the international level organization like UNPO¹⁰.

Muivah's foreign mission is well highlighted in chapter two (see recognition of Naga struggle in global level). In fact, Muivah is the key person in internationalizing the Naga issue in the West. Through his untiring initiative, the Ceasefire Agreement of 1997 had been brought about making another milestone pending political dialogue towards a final political settlement.

After 1997 Ceasefire Agreement Muivah became the key person for peace talk and political negotiation between the Government of India and the Nagas. Unfortunately, he was reported to have been detained at Bangkok Air Port on January 19, 2000 for travelling on a fake South Korean passport when he was on another foreign mission tour. He then jumped bail and was re-arrested on January 29, 2000 while he was trying to fly to Malaysia again on a false Singaporean passport as reported in the local dailies¹¹. He was tried in the Southern Thai town of Songkhla on the second passport violation and sentenced to a year imprisonment. Muivah appeared in a Thai Court first on May 25, 2000 for the first hearing and on July 7, 2000 for the second hearing. At last, his case was dismissed in July 2001 after, which he flew to the West for the same mission. The present Ceasefire period that expires on July 31 every year. People are watching what new development will take place thereafter.

His arrest in the midst of peace negotiation and putting him under bar during ceasefire period after the November 29, 1999 incident where the life attempt on Chief Minister, of Nagaland, Mr. S.C. Jamir occurred near Phephima post turned to be a great question of debate. The blame was then heavily loaded to NSCN (I.M) under the leadership of Th. Muivah and Isak. However, they did not admit the charges of assassination attempt unlike other occasions. Muivah had clearly disclosed that 'there is an indirect involvement of New Delhi and Kohima on his

arrest.' This led the great drama to continue leaving the question of peace talk and negotiation unattended. Muivah's early release was then demanded by many NGOs including UNPO and many other international level organizations. Even three former Prime Ministers of India namely Chandra Shekar, V.P. Singh and H.D. Deve Gowda demanded for his early release through a joint statement. They stated, "these developments are not helping to create conducive environment to maintain ceasefire meaningfully or continue dialogue to find out a lasting solution to 50 years old problem between the Nagas and the Government of India." ¹²

It appears that Muivah believes in arms struggle for buying National freedom because arms are required to make a strong foundation of a nation. Arms are very essential he said. That is why he had procured many arms to defend the country. But at the same time he said, 'arms are not the deciding factor if the people are not determined, arms will be of no use. What is most essential is people's determination . . . where there is no political philosophy; there is no future of a nation. We, in NSCN can stand and fight anywhere, with anyone. We are not afraid of anyone. We will, not go down, even if we go down, we have the capacity of rising again. We are not afraid of Indians or the Burmese . . . We can make the mighty Indian armed forces run back and forth.'¹³ As a revolutionary leader, he is a man of optimism and a brave Naga soldier with clear vision unlike many others. He said "a day shall come . . . Nagas will never remain divided. They are bound to come closer one day". On Naga question he said, "If there can be a problem, there can be a solution also". In one occasion, Th. Muivah has rightly pointed out "Nagas are not yet sufficiently prepared for what they are required".¹⁴

Out of many talented Naga leaders, Phizo and Muivah are the two exceptional Naga revolutionary leaders. The future Naga distinguished leader is yet to come up like Dr. Nelson Mandela. Both Phizo and Th. Muivah are the Naga genius, the rare gems from the soil. Phizo's contribution is immeasurable in making Naga political foundation. He made the first phase of Naga unification into one in his time leaving the second phase to the living ones, the great Naga leaders. This is a great

challenge on the part of Naga leaders like Th. Muivah, Isak Chishi Swu, S.S. Khaplang, Kitovi, Imkongangshi, Adino, Khodao Yanthan and many others representing both over ground and underground organizations who should use their wisdom to salvage the suffering Nagas in the wilderness.

The identification of these two Naga leaders in this book in particular has its own reason. Their names were not just identified in terms of seniority or their contribution for the cause of Naga Nation. There could be many other people whose contributions might be greater than Phizo or Th. Muivah. There could be many other senior patriots and soldiers than these two persons whose names would be too many to mention here. Many Naga soldiers died on the way before reaching their homeland from China and Pakistan during sixties and seventies. Phizo and Muivah are often called the Giant Naga leaders. Indeed, they are the most criticized Naga leaders and wanted persons. At one time during fifties, a sum of Rs. 5,000 was fixed on Phizo's head as reward and rupees one lakh on Muivah's head by Indian Government during 1990s, and it was perhaps increased to Rs. 10 lakh at one time or even much more than that as reward to those who would arrest or finish them.

Both Phizo and Muivah are Naga patriots and National workers worth recording in Naga National history. They are equally important leaders during their own times. It was under Phizo's leadership, the real Naga political seed was sown in Naga blood and in Naga soil. Today, this fully grown Naga political tree is being protected alive, under the collective leadership of many people like Isak Chishi, Swu, Th. Muivah, S.S. Khaplang, Rev. Merhupfu Kent, Khodao Yanthan, Imkongangshi, Kitovi Zhimomi and many others. However, nobody knows under whose leadership the fruits of their suffering, hardship, sweat, blood and whole life sacrifices shall be reaped by the common Nagas. They are all Naga leaders who are worthy to be praised and honour for their selfless sacrifices and contributions made for the Naga National cause. Today, many people are enjoying the best of life at the cost of Naga freedom movement yet; they feel shame to hear the voice of the suffering people and respond to the national call address to them.

One may find sharp contrasting characteristics between

them. As leaders, both Phizo and Th. Muivah may have human weaknesses and limitations. We are aware about that. However, it is not the interest of this book to make an assessment about Phizo and Th. Muivah. There are certain interesting points that the author wishes to mention in this book. That Phizo died when he was under 'undeclared house arrest' in London for the cause of his people. He was once a prisoner of war in Burma jail like Th. Muivah in Thai jail, Bangkok, as a prisoner of war for the same cause. Nagas have received a coffin containing the dead body of Phizo from London. Nobody knows what would happen to Th. Muivah, the Father of Naga Revolutionary Movement and when his coffin shall be placed before his people one day.

There is no argument on the first phase of Naga Unification during 20th century that was achieved under the leadership of Phizo, paving the way for Naga National Movement towards achieving their ultimate desired goal. Now, the second phase of Naga National Unification in 21st century lay on the wisdom of the collective leadership of a host of Naga leaders. The Naga people knew well who was that Phizo and who is this Th. Muivah. It will be quite interesting to watch what scenario takes place towards solving the Naga unsolved question.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Murket Ramuny, *The World of Nagas*, p. 35.
2. Gour Kishore Ghosh, Patriots and Traitors (*Deshprem Desh Droh*, Forthnightly Magazine Issue, 1993.) Also Prof. Lanunungsang's Home Library Collection 'Peace Movement in Nagaland, 1990.
3. Bertil Lintner, *Land of Jade - A Journey through Insurgent Burma*, 1990, p. 82.
4. *Ibid.* Interview and discussion with concern citizens and elderly people of Mokokchung town knew this background well. Discussions with him on many other points were very rich. They are incorporated elsewhere.
5. Tajenyuba, British occupation of Naga country, 1993, p. 229
6. Tajenyuba, *Ibid.*, p. 299.
7. W. Shapwon Heimi, *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 62
8. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

9. Tajenyuba, *Ibid*, p. xxxiii Appendix-11.
10. See, *Nagaland Post Friday* issue March 1993, p. 6, Postmortem column, an article by A. Lanunungsang; on what is UNPO?
11. See, *Nagaland Post*, July issue 2000.
12. *Ibid.*, July 28 issue, 2000.
13. See, *Sun Magazine North-East*, Dec. 18-24, 1993 issue.
14. Muivah interview with Deepak, Chief Bureau, *Sun-Magazine*.