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NAGA NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF NAGALAND

D Caroline Patton

Research Scholar (SRF), Department of Sociology, Himachal Pradesh University, Summer Hill, Shimla-5, India.

ABSTRACT

Nagaland is a state grappling with issues of national movement led by several factions and many other developmental challenges. Today there are at least five factions claiming to fight for the same goal of independence. Caught up between insurgency movements led by the factions and counter-insurgency operated by the security forces are the ordinary people. Added to that, people have not experienced a single decade of peace since India's independence due to incessant divisions and rivalry among various factions. The movement originally started in the form of non-violence and stood for the entire Naga solidarity has become a threat to the society at large today. It is in this backdrop that this paper tries to explain the extent of crises and predicaments created due to the prevalence of national movement and its implications on development in the state of Nagaland. However, since a proper understanding of the background of the movement is necessary, it also seeks to explain the historic origin and the birth of various factions.

KEY WORDS: National Movement, NNC (Naga National Council), NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland), Development, and Tribes.

Introduction

Nagaland has a special identity in India's national life. The state is the 16th state of the Indian Union and is one of the most underdeveloped states in North East India. As the name indicates, it is the homeland of the Nagas, a group of tribes racially and culturally distinct from other tribal groups living in North-East (D' Souza 2001). Known for its insurgency, the state has come a long way passing through constant strife and turmoil in which "generations of Nagas lived in blood and sacrifices" (Govt of Nagaland-Souvenir 1999:18). In the political parlance of India today, the very term Nagaland or North-East has almost come to denote a region characterised by ethno-political movement and violence (Rizal & Yokota 2006). Since Independence the North East region has been one of the soft underbellies of India and the other being Jammu and Kashmir (**Das** 2002, chap 3). Naga National movement perhaps is recorded as one of the first secessionist demand in the history of post-colonial India (Srikanth and Thomas n.d.). As Vashum says, "Naga National Movement is a complex one with many factors contributing to its formation and development. The movement can be said as the outcome of various accumulative forces of the socio-cultural, ethnic, historical, political, religious and geographical factors which are inextricably linked with each other to give rise to what we know today as "Naga nationalism" and "Naga national movement" (2005:199 chap 12).

Perhaps, the Nagas of Nagaland are a group of tribes differing from one another, speaking different dialects and occupying specific mountain ranges. They found Nagaland their dwelling place permanently on which they have lived from time immemorial. It has been estimated that there are more than 50 Naga tribes of which only 15 are in Nagaland. The rest are in the neighbouring states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Manipur and in Myanmar as well. Faced with the problems of nation building since the time of division of their families and their territory by the separation of two nations of India and Burma the Nagas live in a constant civil unrest in the name of a separate nation. Perhaps, it was the British who conquered the Nagas and brought under their regular administration, had directly or indirectly created a feeling of isolation and separateness of the Nagas from the mainland Indians and Myanmarese, and gifted the Nagas a sense of unity among the various Naga tribes (Vashum 2005, chap 12). This concept of unity and awareness of their distinct identity as a result of the experience during the World War I and II unwittingly persuaded the idea of forming a separate Naga Nation which later gave birth to the Naga National Movement. However, in the course of time the movement which began with a

good prospect turned out to be a major obstruction and created tremendous implications on the society as a whole. In this backdrop, the paper attempts to highlight the emergence of the Naga national movement and the birth of various factions and the consequent crises and predicament faced during the course of time and their implications on the development of the state.

Problem of the Study

The Naga National Movement has never intended to bring bloodshed and obstruction to society nor has it ever intended to be a terrorist organization as many may look at. It was non-violent in nature but the leaders in power at the centre curbed their voices by military repression rather than offering them a sympathetic hearing with patience. As a result the movement turned into a violent revolution. The result was not only confined to conflict, violence, constant operation and instability between the Indian Security Forces and the Naga Nationalists but also hatred and fragmentation between the Naga Nationals. And today with many outfits emerging to claim the same goal, multiple problems have emerged. Increase in the number of factions has compounded the problems to a large extent which resulted in the backwardness of the state. There also prevailed rivalry and struggle among them for survival. Despite ceasefire and peace talk since 1997, there is little progress in the state. Be it for political, social or economic the implications of the movement and also the impact of the incessant fragmentation among the national outfits are being felt very acutely today. Currently Government of India has entered into ceasefire agreement and peace talks with most of the major factions in the state. This had in fact reduced drastically the hostile atmosphere in Nagaland, but the hardship of the people in the state continues (Moangtoshi & Sinha 2014). Rivalry and prejudice, disunity and divisions against other groups, involvement in illegal activities and imposition of taxation and extortion by each rebel group further remained an obstacle and complicated a lot in the growth of socio-economic development of the state. Since India's Independence the people have not experienced even a single decade without violence and conflict. With the ongoing struggle the question of speedy development hence, remains a dream.

A brief description of the Emergence of Naga National Movement

There is no denying fact that Naga movement begins before India gained Independence from the colonial rule. By the time India attained Independence in 1947, as early as 1918 an organisation known as 'Naga Club' was already formed with the joints efforts of government officials, village

headmen and the Nagas who returned from France (Vashum 2005, chap 12). The Club which was the first of its kind submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929 with the demand that Nagas should be excluded from the proposed "Reformed Scheme" of India and to leave them alone like they were before (ibid). Charles Pawsey, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills formed Naga Hills District Council (NHDC) in 1945 to unite the Nagas (Singh 1972). This soon became a political organisation as awareness of the struggle for Independence in India and Burma grew and on 2nd February 1946 NHDC converted into Naga National Council (NNC) (Htpp://www.satp.org/satporgtp/publications/faultlines/volume3/fault3 GenpillaiF.ht). Further, when India achieved Independence in 1947 from British rule, the Naga Hills District remained a part of Assam Province and in fact Nagas were the first ethnic group from North East India to rise up against accession to India. This became the forerunner of the Naga National Movement which advocated for an Independent Naga Nation. It moved forward to declare Naga Independence on 14th August, 1947 a day before India declared her independence, under the leadership of Zapu Phizo who is known as the 'Father of Naga Nationalism' today. The NNC further formed the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) in March 1956 and organised an Army called the Naga Army (Imnayongdang 1990). Unfortunately, the Indian Nationalist leaders instead of handling the Naga resistance with patience and maturity, took the Naga revolt as an affront and used repressive measures to suppress the Naga movement (Srikanth and Thomas n.d.). Consequently, the Naga Army went underground and in the ensuing struggle between the Naga undergrounds and the Indian security forces high level of devastation was imposed on the state. Indeed, until 1980 Naga National Council was the only organised movement demanded for Naga sovereignty.

Formation of Nagaland

The struggle between the two opposing troops continued. With the increase in hostile activities from the Naga insurgent group and the counter-insurgency operations by the India Army created a very hostile atmosphere in the Naga Hills (**Moangtoshi & Sinha 2014**). And at this point of time deeply pained by the sorrow of the land "a few people with courage and a vision had dared to voice the concept of Statehood as a way out to ease the pain and to fulfil the aspirations of the People" (*Govt of Nagaland-Souvenir* 1999:18). The instance was the initiative of Naga People's Convention (NPC). Subsequently, NPC held in 1957, 1958 and 1959 prepared the 16th point agreement proposal for the formation of a separate administrative state. The Government of India

agreed to the proposal and in July 1960, an agreement arrived between the Government of India and the Naga People's Convention (*Govt of Nagaland -Souvenir 1999*). Hereupon, statehood was created on 1st December 1963 as the 16th state of the Indian Union. However, 16th point agreement was not accepted by a significant section of the NNC (**D'Souza 2001**). Violence reerupted and the movement continued.

Birth of Various Factions

It is not surprise to see the existence of many National outfits among the Nagas. In the absence of common 'lingua franca' and homogeneity there is little possibility for the Nagas to remain under one umbrella for a long time, no matter what, solidarity for all Naga tribes was the main motive when the movement initiated. To quote Mukherjee "there has never been generic consciousness amongst the proclaimed Naga tribes" (2008: 215-216 chap 11). Even the statement submitted to the Simon Commission by the Naga Club says "we have different languages which cannot be spoken by each other....We have no unity amongst us and it is only the British government that is keeping us together" (ibid). Furthermore, historical evidence shows that there was no unanimity amongst the Nagas from the very beginning of the movement. Their opinions were divided into three groups. First, the extremist group demanded complete independence from the Republic of India. The second group considered that it was better for Nagaland to continue in the Indian Union as part of it and the third group preferred Nagaland to be under the British as a Mandatory state (Imnavongdang 1990). The same predicament somewhat persists even today. The NNC the only organised movement that fought tirelessly for Naga Independence since its inception has given birth to four factions in the course of the time. Presently of the five factions only three are active and are at ceasefire with the centre.

The first instance of division was the aftermath of historic Shillong Accord. At the Shillong Accord on 11th November 1975 a section of the NNC agreed to accept the solution of the Naga problem within the frame work of the Indian constitution and signed with the Government of India. In fact signing of the Shillong Accord elicited hopes for a lasting peace but on the other hand a section of NNC rebelled, led by Thuingaleng Muivah, Isak Swu and SS. Khaplang who condemned the Accord and continued the movement leading to the formation of a new organisation called National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) on 31st January 1980 which "marked beginning revolutionaries" the of factionalism among the

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Naga people). However, the NSCN lasted only for eight years. On 30th April 1988 differences of opinions among its leaders led the NSCN into two factions namely NSCN (IM) led by Isak and Muivah and NSCN (K) led by S.S. Khaplang (**D Souza 2001**). Both these factions continued their movement with an objective of establishing a sovereign state "Nagalim" (Greater Nagaland) comprising all Naga inhabited areas of four states in North East India namely Nagaland, Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and neighbouring Naga inhabited areas of Myanmar. In the mean time the original group (NNC) which spearheaded the movement continued under the leadership of Phizo. However, at his death in 1990, the NNC also suffered a split namely NNC(A) led by Adinno, daughter of Phizo and NNC (K) Khadao Yanthan, an old associate and follower of Phizo (**ibid**) However, the latter has reportedly joined the NSCN (IM) and the former, is inactive at present.

The next important event was the formation of NSCN (Unification). On 23rd November 2007, several NSCN (IM) cadres led by its one-time 'home minister' Azheto Chopey broke away from the group and formed a new outfit called NSCN (Unification). The two groups, the newly formed NSCN (U) and the NSCN (K) both rivals of the NSCN (IM) signed an inter-factional 'truce agreement' declaring the unification of the two factions for a common goal. It was clear that the **NSCN** (U) and the **NSCN** (K) had become allies. (http://www.cdpsindia.org/nagaland mgp.asp).

The last reported faction was NSCN-Khole -Kitovi formed on 7th June 2011 when a section of the NSCN (K) faction dissented under the leadership of Khole Konyak and Kitovi Zhimoni. The former alleged 'dictatorial leadership' of S.S Khaplang. They described S.S. Khaplang as a 'Burmese national' and asked him not to interfere in 'Naga affairs'. The Khole-Kitovi faction tried to reconcile with the NSCN (IM) but differences between Muivah and Kitovi failed this to happen. (http://www.cdpsindia.org/nagaland_mgp.asp). This dissonant tradition further dissuaded the Naga Peace Process and with more factions taking birth would mean more clashes making the solution to the Naga Problem uncertain. What more is the growing unemployment problem in the state that has not been tackled and as a result many of the youths in frustration turn to insurgency as an alternative employment.

Naga National Movement-An implication on Development

Formation of statehood brought many changes in Nagaland. When the state was born in 1963 there were hardly any development and the people were very illiterate, backward and ignorant. Agriculture remained untouched by modern method. There were only about ten high schools in the whole of Naga Hills apart from a mission school and there was no road communication worth the name except National Highway 39 linking Dimapur and Imphal via Kohima (Govt of Nagaland- Souvenir 1999). However, Nagaland began to receive grants from the Central Government as a state of the Indian union, as a result there has been a general improvement in some areas such as infrastructure and education but socio-economic development as a whole has not taken place (D'Souza 2001). The living conditions of the rural poor in general have not changed up to the expectation. The various indicators of development prove that the state has failed to achieve the expected level of development. Further, the state still depends on the Government at the centre for financial requirements as the limited resources generated from the rural economy which largely depends on traditional agriculture method could not move forward towards self-sufficiency. Even the available resources such as Oil, Coal, Limestone, Iron Ores and other minerals could not be tapped due to the very nature of the problem in the state. Under the present system the state could neither utilise the potential resources available at her disposal nor has any scope to invite an investor or company. As a result non-plan expenditure is high in the state. In all North East states including Nagaland, the ratio of expenditure on administrative services to total revenue expenditure is on the higher side than the all India average as a political compulsion to encourage employment opportunities in the government administration, the easiest option (Agarwal 2006, chap 7). According to Aier, Nagaland has the highest number of government servants in India (Aier 2002, chap 9). This makes consume 70 percent or so of the total state budget in Government servant salaries and administrative works and only 30 percent of the budget is embarked for development works (Iralu 2002, chap 2). Furthermore, the state handles a peculiar political culture because of the existence of two governments, namely Government of the state of Nagaland and the so called Underground Government, with its factions and divisions coming down from NNC and FGN (D'Souza 2001). This also complicates the situation because every activity in the society whether it is political, social and economic requires the involvement of the State Government as also all existing factions. As seen in the following the implications of the movement are viewed from three perspectives. The first presents the implication on development due to Conflict and Violence, second due to multiple taxation and extortion and the third involvement in corruption and illegal activities.

Implications on Development due to Conflict and Violence

No society has been able to develop in the midst of violence and conflict. Historical evidence shows that conflict prone countries are economically and socially backward and their socioeconomic development is very slow (Moangtoshi & Sinha 2014). It is only with peace, development takes place. Failure to maintain peace and unity has been the greatest obstacle to achieve development; as in an atmosphere of fear and tense, doubt and fear, violence and war development could neither be thought nor be put to practice. The present state of Nagaland for the reason of constant confrontation with conflict, tensions, encounters etc has failed to catch up with many opportunities in almost all fields. It is a state with high rate of unemployment, poor infrastructure, corruption and many other developmental challenges. Since the year of statehood till date the state has been in a constant challenge. Singh has remarked the year 1963 "the dark phase of Naga history" because "instead of getting development people lost their houses, granaries, prestige and peace" (2008:212). In fact, in his book Panger resonated the dark phases that Naga society experienced in the history of Naga struggle. He writes, "Inhuman treatment, rape and molestation of women and children; torture of innocent people; ring and chase hunt of Naga nationalists, tight security measures for students; burning down Naga villages and property with heavy loss of wealth; destruction of homes and paddy fields; unwarranted arrests, detainments and beatings becomes daily activities. The Naga case is totally closed to bearings from the outside world such as press, news media, etc. The world little knows the actual case and occurrences in this small country where a fine people live who love peace and humanity. Nagas will give away anything but freedom and liberty in their fatherland. Newsman, photographers, voluntary social workers and human rights organisations are restricted from entering the country and if they are permitted they are agents of the Indian government who bring tales suppressed by military authorities" (1993:22). Under such atmosphere there was no scope for any development to take place in the Naga society. It was so unfortunate that due to armed hostilities the benefit of the first, second and part of the third Five Year Plans could not get to be utilised for infrastructure development and even the benefit of the Fourth Five-Year plan effected marginally (Sema 1986, Saleh 1989). Economic development of the state "suffered

a lot due to absence of required peaceful environment for reason of constant fight between the underground freedom fighters and the arms forces of the government of India" (Singh 2008: 212). The Naga Movement continued to fight with the hope that they would achieve the goal but "circumstances proved that to achieve freedom was to crack the hard nut, which was not practically possible" (ibid).

Further, in a state that is struggling to survive because of the struggle between the Security Force and the various Naga movements, disunity and incessant divisions within the Naga Nationals further compounds the situation. In the recent past factionalism has been emerged as an obstacle to development. With many groups emerging now and then it is not difficult to imagine the atmosphere of the state. At present there are at least five factions. Often the cadres disagree with one another and desert their faction to join one group or the other. This results in a situation of confusion and bitter rivalries. Consequently, several incidents of factional clashes take place in the state creating violent atmosphere and inconvenience to the innocent civilians. Indeed, the general public also often agitate against the alleged atrocities committed by the Naga factions while on duty and outside duty. There were occasions in which the public have burnt the nationalists' vehicles, destroyed properties and houses and ostracized them from their colonies and localities. Furthermore, the people of the state face carnage very often whenever the security forces and the Naga militants engage in violence and encounters not only in the absence of ceasefire but even in ceasefire leading to loss of properties and hundreds of innocent lives. In such situation it creates an atmosphere of suspicion, tension and distrust in the society. To an extent the political authorities in the state overwhelmingly pre-occupied in responding to the activities of the movement (Das 2002, chap 3) rather than development activities. This is a big challenge in the state. Moreover, thousands of crores which are meant to channelize various projects are also going wasted for the maintenance of so-called law and order in the state. For instance the total amount expended in 1956 for the law and order problem amounted to Rs. 85,855,266 (Iralu 2002, chap 2). And if such amounts are multiply into to date or so, one will get the figure amount of the stupendous amount of money spent in the small state of Nagaland (ibid). At present the centre is at ceasefire with the various factions but no one knows how long it will last. Whether it is a hiatus occurrence or prolongations, this long drawn movement certainly has hampered and will continue to hamper development activities in the state.

Implications on Development due to Taxation and Extortion

With the existence of parallel power base in the state citizens bear a heavy taxes in the state. The ongoing ceasefire with the factions and the peace process has done little to solve the problem in the state. The movements continue to maintain with the state sanction, whereby activities like extortion defined by the factions as 'tax collection' and interference in the state matters continued (Moangtoshi & Sinha 2014). Government employees, contractors, business men, development funds and even a small shopkeepers etc., pay taxes to all factions. The burden of tax imposition by every faction in the state is beyond. At the beginning the drive of money collection from the people by the movement was not harsh and forceful but as the years pass by the interest of the factions in money increased. The method of money collection became rough and painful causing 'untold miseries' for the people in the state (Singh 2008). It is for this reason people's movement called Corruption and Unabated Taxation (ACAUT) was formed in 2013 by fellow citizens to protest against the taxation by various factions and corruption in the state government. Undoubtedly, 'high power committee' formed by the ACAUT and backed by the State Government found that separatist groups impose taxes on government employees, except the armed and paramilitary forces, and the amount roughly estimated is found to be two months worth of an employee's salaries. Addition to these, all factions have a lion share in other developmental funds. Considering to this fact when one considers the amount of money being taxed from almost all sources for the so called freedom fighters (undergrounds) it is not difficult to presume where all the money has been pouring into. In this concern as Das has stated "it is difficult to quantify the impact of insurgent activities on the economy of the state" (2002:31, **chap 3**) yet, it is not hard to be pointed in qualitative terms. It may be quoted the statement made by Das. In his words, "a huge amount of fund collected annually by the insurgent groups through their system of taxation and other means regularly goes to buy arms from the south-east Asia markets as well as to maintain their organisational bases overseas. It is even difficult to guess as to how much money flows out on this count. However, it is believed that the annual budgets of the two factions of NSCN added together almost equal to the budgetary amount of the state of Nagaland. As both the factions of NSCN have their organisational network spread beyond Nagaland, it is unlikely that the entire amounts of their budgets are extracted from within the state. Since the lion's share of their budget is spent for buying arms, they are persistently bleeding the economy of Nagaland into white through unilateral of resources" (Das 2002:31-32,

chap 3). Further, apart from the two factions that Das has mentioned, with the birth of two more factions such as NSCN (Unification) and NSCN (K) and with the incessant divisions it is not hard to imagine the additional thousands of crores of rupees flowing out from the state.

It may also be noted that with the increase in the number of the underground outfit groups and the incessant divisions and each group demanding their percentage of taxes and donations legally or illegally, often at gun point discourages entrepreneurs to invest in the state. There are only few wanting to take a risk into business. Multiple taxes imposed by every separatist group discourage entrepreneurship. Outsiders are afraid to come for investment in the state. This is also one of the main constraints which do not allow industries to progress in the state. Perhaps, people are also now aware that industrial development will never be possible unless the various issues involved are settled (Ao 2002, chap 11). The prices of the goods and commodities in the state are extremely high. Apart from the high transportation cost that pushes up the prices of the goods and commodities imported from outside, the good tax, service tax, professional tax, trade tax, protection tax, etc imposed by the several factions' further fillip the price level as it has to cover the profit margin and the burden of such taxes is ultimately bears by the consumers (Das 2002, chap 3). Moreover, the taxes they collect are heavy for the general public and are usually harsh and not voluntary payment (Singh 2008). Business and enterprises failed to move forward due to frequent extortion. This hampers the economy of the state and in every aspect the welfare of the state and its citizens are at stake.

Impediments on Development due to the Factions involvement in Corruptions and Illegal Activities

Albeit may not please some section of the people, it is also a fact that in some way the freedom movement has also given birth to an affluent class within the underground factions. On the one hand there are many who sacrifice their lives and family at large for the good cause but on the other hand with the increase in avenues and with so much of sources that provide more than the required to maintain the movements, many vested individuals in the factions have been tempted to take advantage and misuse the power and sources. The undeniable truth is that movement has made some underground individuals to become affluent and rich by succeeding to amass huge amount of wealth. There is so much concentration of wealth that some even began to have more than enough, possessing acres of land in towns and cities, multi-storeyed buildings with all modern amenities and maintain comforts and luxurious life while the state sits at the back seat

and the citizens cry on the illegal multiple taxes. Such inclination towards materialistic prosperity has demoralised not only the goal of the movements but is a reverse of development as the taxes paid by the public do not allow to generate revenue but leads to an unproductive expenditure by flowing out for personal gratification and benefits.

Further, not all who joined the outfits are honest enough to surrender to the goal. Some outfits take advantage of the legitimate power and misuse whether consciously or unconsciously, making the situation to turn ugly and creating problems to the innocent citizens and the society as well. It is a common knowledge that activities like extortion, coercion, abduction have become as means of collecting taxes and have become a common practice in the state. For instance Ezung (2012:2) has rightly noted, "there are many freedom fighters standing for the good cause of the people. However, there are many black sheep among the freedom fighters and their influence on the electoral process, allocation of contract work and jobs is very significant in the state. They select inefficient candidates who often become their puppets and together they siphon off developmental funds without doing any work. This also leads to the appointment of ineffective persons in particular departments through the backdoor. In many cases, freedom fighters become the scape-goat of corrupt officials and contractors. Moreover, some public, in the guise of freedom fighters, indulge in corrupt activities like collecting taxes and donations from the people and businessmen" (www.vri-online.org.uk/ijrs). Similar view has been expressed by Angami, "in the long run of the Naga political struggle and after the death of the Naga common goal and formation of many factions, they began to kill each other and collect heavy taxes etc., from Nagas for their own interest and benefit" (Nagaland Post 17th May 2013 Pp. 6). Moreover, some corrupt politicians who are in collusion with the cadres also provide them with money out of the funds allocated to developmental projects and welfare funds, thereby effects the state in the process (Moangtoshi & Sinha 2014). Further, "plan and budgetary allocations for rural development as well as other developmental projects are often routed through a class of contractors either drawn from the close aides of the insurgent groups or from their commission agents. These contractors very often act as middle man between the power elites and their insurgent counterparts and are instrumental in diverting public fund to the coffer of their mentors" (Das 2002:33-34, chap 3). Now a common feeling among the general masses is that 'national movement' has indeed become a money making industry (Singh 2008). With the rampant extortion, drive in the name of taxation is causing a heavy burden on the citizens, traders

and business community (Moangtoshi & Sinha 2014). Whatever the situation, a conflict situation or ceasefire, the tactics and strategies that have been adopted by the various underground to maintain the movement and consequent state encounters have tremendous implications for the overall development in the state (Das 2002, chap 3).

Conclusion

Today, practically, every state in the entire North-East is not without troubles fighting for the establishment of varied goals ranging from creation of homeland within the India Union to outfight secession (Rizal &Yokota 2006). Perhaps, Naga Problem which is the first of all secession demands is in a stalemate. With the forging of unity and conception of a Naga nation, as distinct from the main Indian body (Anand 1980) the movement and its factions hold the rigid demands but remain unsolved till today. Formation of Nagaland with the 16 point agreement engineered by the Indian Intelligence Agency in collaboration with the handful of Naga mediators between the Government of India and the Naga National Council (Kiewhuo 2002, **chap 5**) also failed to fulfil the demands and aspiration of the movement nor has it made any substantial development in the state. Five decades on but the state is still underdeveloped. Considering the geographical location and many other problems all projects in the state are lumpy and big but all get disappeared. Basic public utilities requirements like law and order, justice, health and education, water supply and sanitation, motorable roads etc are not able to be delivered (Rizal &Yokota 2006) to the expected level. Corruption is pervasive and unchecked. Much of the budget are diverted to maintain law and order and also to meet the demands of the factions. Administrational activities are disturbed and encourage corruption. Consequently, government becomes ineffective and welfare policies cannot simply be worked out (Sanatomba 2011, chap 5). The choice of personal by the centre and assigning the responsibility of dispensing funds also make no effect as crooks discover a commonality of interest with the factions (Rizal &Yokota 2006). In addition to this problem, the leaders of the factions are losing their control over the greedy soldiers who are indulged in money collection drive even without the permission of their commanders (Singh 2008). In this situation substantial development and peace remain a question in the state. Whatever be the reason, to bring a lasting solution to the problem is a laborious process. Hence, it is important for the Naga Nationalists Movements and their various factions, as an integral part of the people's welfare, to discourage its members from indulging in illegal activities, conflict and violence, extortion etc to help allow

the state to progress. It is also an urgent need for every citizens be that undergrounds or civilians to adopt the path of love, peace, forgiveness, unity and non-violence.

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