

Discourse on Geo-Body of Nagalim From Social Exclusion

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Abstract: A historic peace accord was signed between the Centre and the NSCN – IM at the residence of Prime Minister Modi, New Delhi on August 3, 2015, in the presence of P.M. Modi, Home Minister Rajnath Singh, Centre's Interlocutor R. N. Ravi and National Security Advisor Ajit Doval. This historic peace accord between Delhi and NSCN-IM is popularly known as Framework Agreement. The details of the Framework Agreement are not disclosed publicly. However, the Accord has been welcomed from many quarters especially from all Naga civil organisations. It is not the first time that NSCN-IM has claimed to have reached an agreement with the Indian Government. P.M. Narendra Modi recently says that the Naga issue should not be dragged further and it should be settled in time bound manner. And R.N. Ravi also works very seriously to settle the Naga problem in a comprehensive long term solution. In the meantime, P.B. Acharya, the Governor of Nagaland in a statement on the 29th August 2016 after meeting with his counterpart S.C. Jamir, the Governor of Odisha, says that time is ripe for final settlement of peace in Nagaland. Unfortunately, the prevailing atmospheres in Nagaland and among the Naga outfits tell otherwise. Since the terms of the Framework Agreement remain unclear to everyone till date even after more than one year was lapsed after signing of the accord, there emerge some doubts about the outcome of this Accord from other groups of Naga insurgents. Now, it is found that a great deal of works still needs to be done for the smooth and peaceful solution of Naga issue. But the hegemonistic attitude of NSCN-IM mainly in the form of 'geo-body of Nagalim' and social exclusion approach adopted by all factions of Naga insurgents and some Naga Civil Organisations seem that this hard earned peace accord may derail. This paper is an attempt to theorise the above mentioned facts.

Keywords: Geo-body, Geo-economics, Interlocutor, Nagalim, NSCN-IM and Social Exclusion.

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I. Background of The Paper:

The Naga demand for self government or independence has a long history. It was started on the eve of the British departure from India. The momentum and the urgency of the demand became more prominent with the announcement of British withdrawal from India and the prospect of coming under the Indian rule. It assumed a more institutionalise character with the establishment of Naga hill District Tribal Council in 1945. Later, it was transformed into a political organization and renamed as the Naga National Council (NNC). Its birth represents a land mark in the history of Nagas political mobilisation. For the first time in the history of Nagas, there was an attempt to bring the desperate Naga tribes on a common political platform. (Amer 2013:41-42) The four point Memorandum given by the NNC to the British Government; in the support of the demand for self determination (February 20, 1947) states "A constitution, drawn up by the people who have no knowledge of the Naga Hills and the Naga people will be quite unsuitable and unacceptable to the Naga people... Thrown among the forty crores of Indians, the one million Nagas with their unique system of Nagas for a separate form of interim government to enable them to grow to a fuller Stature."

In June 1947, there was a demand for the separation of the Naga Hills district from India. The demand for separation was by no means unanimous. There were three main groups. One favoured the immediate severance of ties from India and the declaration of Independence for the Naga Hills; the second desired the continuance of the Government of India in the Naga Hills till it was in a position to take over the administration of the country; the third group wanted Nagaland to be a mandatory territory under the British for period of ten years. (Rao 1975:311-12)

After several rounds of negotiations on 27th June 1947 the moderate leaders of the NNC signed a Nine point Agreement with Akbar Hydari, the then Governor of Assam, wherein it was agreed that " the present administrative divisions should be modified so as to bring into the Naga Hills District all the areas inhabited by the Nagas under a single administrative unit as far as possible.' and " at the end of ten years period, the NNC would be asked whether they require the above agreement, regarding the future of Naga Hills, be extended for a further period or a new agreement be arrived at." (Rao 1975:312)

As the date of Indian independence approached and with no concrete agreement in sight the NNC took the ultimate step of declaring independence on the 14th August 1947 which was, later ratified by 99 percent affirmative vote in a referendum held in May 1951, On September 18th, 1954, the NNC declared Free Nagaland as Sovereign Republic, and on March 22nd, 1956, the NNC under Phizo declared the establishments of Federal Government as de facto government in 'Phensinyu' village. Thus, the Naga freedom movement, slowly, become as organised insurgency. (Amer 2013:92)

A section of Nagas organised the Naga people Convention and entered into an agreement with the central government on 30th July 1960 for the establishment of a Naga state within the Indian Union. Nagaland became the sixteenth state of the Indian Union on 1st December 1963 with a number of protective measures for its people. (Rao 1975:317-19) These measures included the provision that no act of Parliament in respect to the religions or social practice of the Nagas, Nagas customary laws and procedure, ownership and transfer of land and its resource would apply to the state of Nagaland unless the Nagaland Legislative Assembly so decided.

The statehood failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Naga independentists who would not settle for anything less than complete independence. On November 11th, 1975, an accord was signed between the representatives of the underground organization and the GOI which came to be known as Shillong Accord, According to it, the underground representatives agreed to accept the Indian Constitution and surrender their arms. However, the Shillong Accord was denounce and considered as a sell out by Isak Swu, Th. Muivah, S.S. Khaplang and other prominent leaders of NNC. Th. Muivah, S.S. Khaplang and Isak Swu broke away from NNC and formed their own National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) in January 1980. to carry forward the goal of Naga independence movement. But differences within the NSCN split the organisation, further into Khaplang fraction and Isak Swu-Muivah group in 1988. The two factions had been engaged in a sustained internecine feud. However, with the down ward spiralling of the conflict and an upswing in violence, there was an outcry from the Naga people for peace negotiation. This led to the signing of cease-fire Agreement between the Government of India (GOI) and NSCN (IM) in 1997 starting from August 1, 1997.

However, it did not mention clearly the cease-fire area. The situation came into a dramatic turn after a joint statement issue in Bangkok on June 14, 2001, signed by K. Padmanabhaih, the representative of the GOI and the Th. Muivah, the General Secretary of NSCN-IM. In this joint declaration, it is clearly mentioned that the cease-fire agreement between the GOI and NSCN as two entities without territorial limit.

There was widespread repercussion in the whole North East India, after the extension of cease-fire without territorial limit. Assam was furious, Arunachal Pradesh strongly reacted against it and there was a widespread violence movement against it in Manipur. In this mass uprising against the extension of cease-fire, 18 people became martyrs in Manipur. So, due to pressure from all Chief Minister of NE states (except Jamir, the Chief Minister of Nagaland), the word, 'without territorial limit' was deleted from the June 14 Agreement and status quo ante June 14 be restored, by the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on July 27, 2001. This decision of P.M. of India shattered the dream of forming a Nagalim or Greater Nagaland of NSCN-IM. (North East sun Vol.6.No.24, 2001:8)

Then, there is a series of talk between the centre and the NSCN-IM. Fortunately, As a result of such talk, on August 3, 2015, a historic peace accord was signed between the Centre and the NSCN-IM at residence of Prime Minister Modi, New Delhi in the presence of P.M. Modi, Home Minister Rajnath Singh, Centre's Interlocutor R.N. Ravi and National Security Advisor Ajit Doval. This historic peace accord between Delhi and NSCN-IM is popularly known as Framework Agreement. The Accord has been welcomed from many quarters especially from all Naga civil organisations. It is not the first time that NSCN-IM has claimed to have reached an agreement with the Indian Government. P.M. Narendra Modi recently says that the Naga issue should not be dragged further and it should be settled in time bound manner. And R.N. Ravi also works very seriously to settle the Naga problem in a comprehensive long term solution. In the meantime, P.B. Acharya, the Governor of Nagaland in a statement on the 29th August 2016 after meeting with his counterpart S.C. Jamir, the Governor of Odisha, says that time is ripe for final settlement of peace in Nagaland. Unfortunately, the prevailing atmospheres in Nagaland (and the three states of North East India, namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur), and among the Naga outfits tell otherwise. Since the terms of the Framework Agreement remain unclear to everyone till date even after more than one year was lapsed after signing of the accord, there emerge some doubts about the outcome of this Accord from other groups of Naga insurgents. Now, it is found that a great deal of works still needs to be done for the smooth and peaceful solution of Naga issue. But the hegemonistic attitude of NSCN-IM mainly in the form of 'Geo-body of Nagalim' and social exclusion approach adopted by all factions of Naga insurgents and some Naga Civil Organisations seem that this hard earned peace accord may derail. This paper is a humble approach to theorise the above mentioned facts.

II. Methodology of The Paper:

The present paper is an exploratory as well as at the same time theory building in nature. The main material for the present study is secondary sources. Secondary data were collected from reliable sources through

books, research papers, reputed journals, newspapers, websites etc. The present paper is written before the demises of Issak Swu, Chairman of NSCN-IM and Khaplang, Chairmain of NSCN-KK and Khole's loyalty changes from NSCN-KK to NSCN-IM, however, the facts and views mentioned in this paper are tried to remain the same.

Objective of the Paper:

The main objectives of the present work are:

1. To highlight a brief history of Naga movement till date.
2. To analyse the changing characters and ideology of different Naga insurgent groups.
3. To theorise the concept of Geo-Body of Nagalim of NSCN-IM
4. To theorise social exclusion policy adopted by almost all factions of Naga insurgents led to counter the Geo-Body of Nagalim.

III. Results And Discussion:

A : Concept of Geo-Body:

In 1983, Benedict Anderson agreed in his book 'imagined communities: Reflection on the origin and spread of nationalism' that nations are 'imagined', and that one of the ways they are imagined is through the mass media of print. According to him, before there were newspapers in which people could read about events throughout their country, it was difficult for them to conceive of all of the people in a given area s being the same. People identified with their locality more than with any larger entity.

Inspired by this argument, in 1994, Thongchai Winichakul, a prominent leader of student movement in Thailand in 1970s and later became an academician with doctorate in History from Sydney University in 1988, published his book 'Siam Mapped: A History of a Geo-Body of a nation' in which he noted the importance of modern maps in creating a national consciousness. (Geo-Body of Vietnam)

According to Thongchai Winichakul, the Geo-Body of a nation is a man-made territorial definition which creates effects by classifying, communicating, and enforcement on people, things, and relationships (Winichakul 1994:17).

It is merely an effect of modern geographical discourse whose prime technology is a map. Geo-body describes the operations of the technology of territoriality which created nationhood spastically. And, territoriality [is] the attempt by an individual or a group to effect, influence or control people, phenomena, and relationship, by delimiting and asserting control over geographical area. (Winichakul 1994:16)

Territoriality involves there basic human behaviours: a form of classification by area, a form of communication by basic geographic expression of influence and power, territoriality is always socially or humanly constructed.... Because it is a product of social context. (Winichakul 1994: 16-19) Thus, in the concept of geo-body, a map was model for, rather than a model of, what it purported to represent. (Winichakul 1994: 130)

B: Geo-Body of Nagalim:

Unification of Naga inhabited areas into one administrative area is the main agenda of the most of the Naga outfits. Presently Nagas are living in India and Myanmar (since 1937, after Burma-now Myanmar was separated from British India in 1937). In India, Nagas are living in four states of North East India, namely Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh.

Among the Naga insurgent groups, NSCN-IM is the main protagonist for the establishment of Nagalim a unified region of the Naga inhabited areas of India and Myanmar. The claimed areas of Naga can be termed as 'the Geo-body of Nagalim' which if become a reality, will need redrawing the boundaries of three North Eastern States of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur as well as Saigang region of Myanmar. To justify the existence of Nagalim, the following geo-economics – modern version of geo-politics – principles are used by the NSCN-IM. They are briefly examined as follows:

I. The Seduction of Maps:

The seduction of maps is the phenomenon where nation-states heave deployed geographical arguments to make claims, just as the modern state use statistics to support its policies (Søilen: 27) for the possession of territory..... there has been a need to draw maps..... we have demanded more order in our surroundings not only in our own garden and neighbourhood, but ultimately in relation with other nation states. Maps provide that order but they can also sharpen conflicts with others. (Søilen:29)

The NSCN-IM has now projected a map indicating the Naga inhabited areas know as 'Nagalim' which includes inhabited areas of other ethnic groups claiming that they were ancestral lands Nagas. The areas claimed by the NSCN-IM, thus in conflict with other ethnic groups settled in the areas of Nagalim as well as from three

neighbouring States of Nagaland, namely Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur; and also from Myanmar Govt. as their claimed area include a large part of North –western Myanmar.

2. The Seduction of History:

The politics of a nation is in its geography, meaning: just by looking at a map we can tell what a country's policy must be. Mankind gone to war on such deterministic assumptions for as long as there have been maps, even when these were just scratches in the earth. Leaders have wearied themselves with completion of how powerful their ancestors used to be, how much land they have lost, forgetting or refusing to see that there may have been good reasons for the alteration of borders. (Søilen:30-31) So the seduction of history may mean that using of historical facts for in support of arguments or for defending unjust actions.

In the seduction of history principle, every smooth tongued orator knows which historical references to select to support his own arguments and which ones to ignore, just as he knows which statistics to include and which to omit, or how to display a graph, for instance by showing a short or especially favourable time interval. (Søilen:31)

So, it is imperative to study the claim of the unique history of Naga which means the Nagas are a free people and they have never been a part of Union of India or Burma (Myanmar) or any other power either by conquest or consent, and areas claimed by the NSCN-IM as the land of their ancestors from the principle of the seduction of history.

3. The Seduction of Current Events:

The seduction of current events can be as threatening as the seduction of history. According to Klaus Solberg Søilen, politicians and their foreign policies are frequently influenced by stories running in the mass media which often ignore historical facts clear geopolitical analysis would have reveals their [ignorance of historical facts], and indeed it did; but politicians in democracies are continuously forced to moods on the part of the general public respects to military defence[Søilen: 35] So, the seduction of current events simply may mean talking decisions or actions taking in consideration to what are reporting in mass media of the general public without analysing historical facts and reality of facts.

The present peace accord between the Centre and NSCN-IM is from the outcome of the seduction of current events, because the people of Nagaland including various civil organisations, Churches' Bodies and so on want to prevail peace in Nagaland. So they demanded unification of all Naga outfits and come to the negotiation with the Centre to bring peace in the Nagalim.

4. The Doctrine of the Nareland:

According to Klaus Solberg Søilen, with the shift from geopolitics to geo-economics the focus is no longer the heartland or Rimland, or any coherent geographical economically important natural resources, what we shall call the 'Nareland' (Natural Resource Lands).

About the Framework Agreement, Isak Chishi Swu, the Chairman of NSCN-IM said, "... with a view to solving the Indo-Naga political problem both the parties agreed to share sovereign power for enduring peaceful co-existence of the two entities. The agreement also says that land and its resources of both below and above the earth totally belong to the Nagas. The Nagas will have the right to exercise their sovereign power over their territories; Nagas are the master of their land". (Sangai Express March 1, 2016: 6) This view of Chairman Isak to some extent may be based on the doctrine of the Nareland.

Social Exclusion Policy adopted by different insurgent groups and civil organisations of the Nagas:

Bringing all the Naga inhabited areas of Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh under one administrative unit in one of the major demands of the NSCN-IM and a major hurdle in finding a settlement. The leaders of the NSCN-IM and its frontal organizations like United Naga Council (UNC) believe that the peace process has dragged on for the last 17 years with no tangible result for want of political will on the part of the Government of India and refusal of the Government of Manipur to their demand for unification which include the Naga inhabited areas of Manipur. So, they blame the Government of Manipur is the main hurdle to bring an amicable and honourable solution vexed Naga issue.

If we study in deep, the gradual development of factionalism in Naga insurgency movement , it will notice that social exclusion¹ policy adopted by almost all factions of Naga groups is the main hurdle in finding a final solution to the prolong issue of Naga insurgency.

Before formal split of the NSCN, Khaplang blamed Muivah for what he called "preparing for peace talks within the framework of constitution of India." While Muivah termed Khaplang's charge as a "sheer departure concoction of pretext for his ulterior design." He said Khaplang was trying to over throw the NSCN leaders and control the organization by himself. An interesting point which can be mentioned is that NSCN was composed of different Naga tribes such as Angamis, Pangmi, Ao, Konyaks, Tangkhuls, Sema etc. As it was

learnt later that the dominance and control of the organization by what they called 'a minority tribe' was resented by some other tribes. (Tarapot 1996:206-207). The minority tribe mentioned was Tangkhuls from Manipur. In fact, the majority of the rank and file of the undivided outfit was Konyaks, while the administrative function and command section of the organization was mainly controlled by the Tangkhuls as Muivah was from Tangkhul tribe. Again, there was also apprehension among the Konyaks and the Myanmaris Naga that Tangkhuls were about to strike a deal with the GOI. Thus, these factors resulted in split in the NSCN in 1988 into NSCN-IM and NSCN- Khaplang (Chandrika 2004:179). The two groups traded charges and counter charges that ultimately led to the bloody clashes.

Under the 'Operation Mid Thunder', which was launched since 30 July 1993, the NSCN-K tried to bring about a unity of all factions under one umbrella for fighting against the common enemy India, and to end domination of one tribe over the other in any Naga underground organization. (Tarapot 1996: 208) In the meantime, under this operation, Captain Keyekhu Awami moved over from NSCN-IM to NSCN-Khaplang. Keyekhu Awami was a Sema tribal. He said he had joined the NSCN-K to bring back "confidence and respect within the Sema tribe by reconciling" with the Deputy Kilonser of NSCN-K, Kitovi Zhimomi-a Sema tribal. (Tarapot 1996:209) under this operation, it led to the worst ever clash between the two factions involving near death of NSCN-IM- supremo-Muivah. Luckily he and his family members and his close associates were saved due to timely information given by a close associate R.K. Meghen, Chairman of United National Liberation Front (UNLF), a valley based militant organization of Manipur. (From undisclosed source)

After this accident, the policy of social exclusion adopted by Muivah became more stringent and any decision taken by other tribes other than led by the Tangkhuls became suspicious. So, he made all his personal bodyguards from Tangkhuls, and he started mass recruitment of NSCN-IM members especially from the Zeliangrong Community, Anals etc. from Manipur.

Two factions had been engaged in a sustained internecine feud. Due to the upswing in violence, there was an outcry from the Naga people for peace negotiation. This led to the signing of Cease-fire Agreement between the GOI and NSCN-IM in 1997 and then its subsequent extension of agreement period. In this series of Cease-fire agreement, the NSCN-IM try to exclude other Naga outfits, for example the joint statement issue in Bangkok on June 14, 2001 between K. Padmanabhaih, the representative of the GOI and negotiator of NSCN-IM and NSCN-IM, Th. Muivah signed as General Secretary of NSCN instead of the Secretary of NSCN-IM. This indicates that NSCN-IM's want to dominate exclude all other Naga outfits from the ongoing peace process. At the same time, the NSCN-IM also does not like to involve the Government of Nagaland in the peace process, and there is no transparency and sincerity on the parts stake holders which have sowed the seeds of distrust among the groups involved and the general public. In this regard, S.C. Jamir, the former C.M. of Nagaland says, "The statements made regarding the process have no clarity on transparency. The GOI should tell the Nagas about the real status of the ongoing political dialogue. It should also make the parameters and constitutional boundaries clear so that there is no confusion.....The Centre must open the doors to all other Naga militant groups as well." (Telegraph December 22, 2012:17)

The trend of factionalism and social exclusion policy on ethnic line is continuing in Naga insurgency movements as indicated by the recent emergence of a new NSCN-K faction known as NSCN- Khole -Kitovi or NSCN-KK. Khole is a Konyak Naga from Nagaland and Kitovi Zhimoni is a Sema tribe. The main reason for the split in NSCN-K is that Khaplang being a Myanmar Naga, wanted an independent Nagaland which covered Naga inhabited areas of Myanmar, while Khole - Kitovi, being Naga from Nagaland eager to settle the Naga issue within the State of Nagaland with the GOI, so the split is natural which is an outcome of ideology differences within the group based on politics of ethnicity, and it is also seen that NSCN-KK also like to exclude NSCN-K from the current Naga peace process. (Seven Sisters Post, April 28, 2012:5 & Huiyen Lanpao October 25, 2012:4)

As the tension of domination or exclusion of one group by another group was running high, the difference crop up among the members although they belong to the NSCN-IM camp. Some members belonging to different of a particular tribe (i.e. the Tangkhul from Manipur). Due to their hegemonic and exclusion policy adopted by the functionary of NSCN-IM, a breakaway faction known as Zeliangrong United Front(ZUF) was formed on February 25, 2001 in Tamenglong area of Manipur to protect Zeliangrong people and their resources. In a statement issue by its Information and Publicity Cell, ZUF said,

"Zeliangrong people have been exploited and intimidated by the Isak-Muivah faction for so long. We no longer can tolerate so we have acted upon them... In the name of nationalism these NSCN-IM cadre have been using the Zeliangrong people as their toys...Our forefathers had sacrificed a lot for the Naga cause but the NSCN-IM still refused to acknowledge and they continue exploiting the Zeliangrong people.. We will never retreat but to fight and drive out completely these NSCN-IM cadres from our Zeliangrong areas." (Huiyen Lanpao, 22 March 2013:1)

The ethnic political clash within the Naga integration process is a big question in the light of claim for forming of a separate state of Frontier Nagaland comprising of four border district of Mon, Tuensang, Kiphire and Longleng of Nagaland, and Tirap and Changlang districts of Arunachal Pradesh. Demand for a separate Frontier Nagaland is spearheaded by the Eastern Nagaland People Organization (ENPO). (Sangai Express April 6, 2012:1) The ENPO had submitted a memorandum before the Prime Minister of India in 2010 in support of its demand, asserting that only a separate state for six tribe viz. Konyak, Chang, Sangtam, Phome, Yimchugere and Khiamnung, inhabiting the frontier areas, would bring the socio-economic development in the border neglected region. (Seven Sisters Post June 4, 2012:5) Nagaland Government appealed to the ENPO to re-consider its demand for a separate state. However, ENPO rejected the request and intensified its demand for "Frontier Nagaland" or "Eastern Nagaland". In the Naga Reconciliation Meeting held in Dimapur on March 1, 2013, the President of ENPO P. Pongam Khiamniungam said that the organisation's demand for a separate state is not against any political groups whether underground faction, civil or Naga political group, tribes or leadership but a movement against injustice and should be given support and solidarity. At the same time, he also said that the ENPO could continue to support the efforts of the honourable final political settlement if so desired by the Naga people based on the histories and political right of the Naga through a peaceful and meaningful re-conciliation. (Morung Express, March 22 :2013)

According NSCN-Khole-Kitovi, as the GOI is against sovereignty and integration of Naga inhabited areas, any solution involving GOI and NSCN-IM will not cover outside Manipur. The present talk between the GOI and NSCN-IM is only for the Naga of Manipur. So, alternative arrangement of Nagas of Manipur has no relationship with those Nagas who inhabit in Nagaland, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. (Naharolgi Thoudang, November 12, 2012:1)

Now, in the history of Naga insurgency, there is , slowly, emerging sub-ethnic nationalism within the Nagas mainly due to alleged hegemonic attitude and social exclusion policy adopted by the NSCN-IM, which is also mainly controlled by a minority Naga tribe. Recent emergence of an outfit name Manipur Naga Revolutionary Front (MNRF) which opposes the NSCN-IM activities in Ukhrul District, Manipur, is a pointer to the issue of ethnic nationalism which may redirect the current agenda of Naga Peace Process. (Sangai Express July 6, 2012:1)

Recently on the 28th March 2014, under the Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR), top leaders of Naga outfits signed the Lenten Agrument at Dimapur to form a Naga National Government which will be people-centred and guided by the common aspiration of the people and not by any particular group. The Naga outfits will work with the FNR in the spirit of the Lenten Agreement and thereby demonstrate their willingness to work for the Naga people in one accord which will help a political settlement with India.(www. marung express.com. accessed on 30:5.2014)

Now the emerging question is that whether the top leaders of the Naga outfits are good only at signing statements or can they walk the talk and deliver on what they may say or agree on paper. It is up to them to convert their thought process into political action as far as the issue of forming a Naga National Government goes. However such dream seems to a distant dream because (i) earlier, a Naga Concordant was also signed on 26 August 2011 for the same purpose without a sincere follow up initiatives, (ii) NSCN-K is not a signing group and excluded from this Forum, and (iii) each Naga outfit has its respective brand of uncompromising sovereignty for the Nagas.

So, to bring a final solution for Naga issue is a still a hurdle area. And each outfit has its own area of influence with particular Naga tribes. For examples:

- i) NSCN-IM is predominantly a Tangkhul Tribe of Manipur having little compromise with other Nagas not withstanding its Pan Naga Nationalism and internalization of Naga issue and being the most influencing outfits among the other Naga factions.
- ii) NSCN-K holds sway over almost the entire eastern Nagaland nearly half the State and its people-and resonates with the locals including the Konyaks, the largest of Naga tribes.
- iii) NSCN-KK is essentially a militia of the Sumis i.e. Sema , one of the larger Naga tribe. It controls a large swathe of Nagaland adjoining Manipur and also has large presence in Dimapur District.
- iv) NNC (Naga National Council) deeply resonates with the Angamis, the second largest Naga Tribe, and their kin tribes of Kohima District and adjoining areas.

IV. Conclusion

The decades longed Naga issue is on the roadway to a final solution after signing the peace accord on August 3, 2015. However, due to hegemonic attitude of the NSCN-IM despite signing of a series of cease-fire agreements with GOI since 1997, the NSCN-IM leadership has failed to build a workable resonance with the Naga society. Instead, it used the 'ceasefire' to augment its weapons inventories, its promiscuous killing machine to terrorise people into submission and establish its military hegemony over all tribes. That is why NSCN-K against the NSCN-IM dominating attitude and exclusion of Eastern Nagaland which include Nagas

living in Myanmar from NSCN-IM's charter of demand to the GOI. The NSCN-KK is also against the NSCN-IM and it wants any solution involving GOI and NSCN-IM confine to Manipur. ZUF also wanted to protect the interest of Zeliangrong people. MNRF also oppose the NSCN-IM activities in Ukhrul District, Manipur. At the same time, NSCN-IM tried to excludes inconvenient Naga government at home i.e. Nagaland State. Such dominating character and exclusion policy adopted by the NSCN-IM led to the factionalism and a distant hope for the early solution to vexed Naga issue. On the basis above ground realities which included opposition from Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh regarding unification all Naga inhabited area, inhabited area in 2012, the then P.M. Manmohan Singh is reported to have told Neiphio Rio, the then C.M. of Nagaland that, "If it is impossible to solve the Naga political issue now, it will also not be possible to solve it a hundred years later." (Seven Sisters Post May 5, 2012:5). However, recently, P.M. Narendra Modi said, "the (Naga) issue should not be dragged further and it should be settled in a time bound manner." (Telegraph December 2, 201:6) So, it can be said that the main hurdle to bring an amicable solution for Naga issue is due intra-factional rivalry as well as social exclusion policy adopted by almost all factions of Naga outfits especially the NSCN-IM, and failure to bring out a United Naga ideology among the different regions and tribes of Naga.

Note 1:

Social exclusion is the process in which individuals or entire communities of people are systematically blocked from (or denied full access to) various rights, opportunities and resources that are normally available to members of a different group, and which are fundamental to social integration within that particular group. Exclusion consists of dynamic multi- dimensional processes driven by unequal power relationship interacting across four main dimensions- economic, political, social and cultural, and at different levels including individual, household, group, community, tribe, etc. (www.wikipedia-social-exclusion)

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