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Ethnicity and Nationalism: The Emergence of Class Consciousness of Pan-Naga Ethnic Community and Nationality Question as an Ethnic Boundary Marker in North-East India

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Abstract:

Man is by nature self-egoistic creature, John Locke once coins. But at the meantime, he himself cannot live happily because he is both social and political animal as Aristotle views. With this prime instinct invoke the very inception of emergent identity assertion. Later, again, this was unsatisfied to him lead to in search of commodious living as conscious group (s) craving for power, glory and achievements. Thus, R. Paul Brass's studies of ethnicity and nationalism covered a broad range of theoretical framework to understand the full length of the emergence of class consciousness. Keeping this R. Paul Brass's contribution as a theoretical framework, an attempt is made to study the pan-Naga ethnic community and nationality question as an ethnic boundary marker in North-East India. For the methodology study, the Social Scientific method based on Instrumentalists like class based theories and Social Constructivists models have been applied to find it out the evidences and research analysis for the article.

Key words: *Ethnicity, Nationalism, Class consciousness, pan-Naga Ethnic Community, Ethnic Boundary and North-East India*

1. Introduction

Man is by nature self-egoistic creature, John Locke once coins. But at the meantime, he himself cannot live happily because he is both social and political animal as Aristotle views. With this prime instinct invoke the very inception of emergent identity assertion. Later, again, this was unsatisfied with him lead to in search of commodious living as a conscious group (s) craving for power, glory and achievements. Thus, R. Paul Brass's studies of ethnicity and nationalism covered a broad range of theoretical framework to understand the full length of the emergence of class consciousness. Keeping this R. Paul Brass's contribution as a theoretical framework, an attempt is made to study the pan-Naga ethnic community and nationality question as an ethnic boundary marker in North-East India. For the study methodology, the Social Scientific method based on Instrumentalists like class based theories and Social Constructivists models have been applied to finding it out the evidences and research analysis of the article.

2. Concept and Theoretical Framework

The most dependable theory for pan-Naga ethnic study could be Brass' theory. Brass's study shows whether or not an ethnic group, mobilized by its disgruntled elites to a growing sense of communal solidarity. It goes on to make essential political demands. Brass's rationalizes how far it would succeed that depend principally on four cardinal factors. Such as the persistence or the perception of the persistence of an unequal distribution of resources either against the advantage or to support advantage of the group, the degree to which the process of building communal consciousness has involved the creation of the organizational resources important to build a political movement, the response of the government to the demands and grievances of the group, and the general political context.ⁱ Having laid down the essential characteristic of asserting communal solidarity, He goes on to further arguments in favour of the opinion of Chong-do Hah and Jeffrey Martin that many theories of the politicization of ethnicity or of the development of nationalism in ethnic groups stress the significance of inequality in the distribution of available resources, social benefits, and opportunities between distinct ethnic groups. In its simplest form, the argument contends that nationalism arises in response to the objective exploitation of an indigenous group by an alien group, or of one social class by another.ⁱⁱ

However, Brass, critically cross examining and analysis by the realization that many contemporary scholars of ethnicity and nationalism that the simple existence of inequality, on the one hand, is insufficient to produce a nationalist movement and, on the other hand, that nationalist movement sometimes arise among dominion groups has led to somewhat more elaborate evident facts of this nationality question, he asserted.ⁱⁱⁱ

Having study the numerous works on ethnicity and nationalism by different Scholars and writers, Brass tries to fix it in his own theory by began questioning. "What place, then, does inequality occupy of nationalism?" Having threw a curiosity question to scholars' minds and academic. He clarified by stating that the objective existence or subjective perception of inequality is indispensable to justify nationalism. He further asserted, it is not in itself an explanation for it. The only certainty is that every nationalist movement has always justified itself in terms of existing oppression or anticipated oppression by a rival group, he pointed out. For instance, he cited critical arguments existence in U S both on objective side and subjective perception. The, Black Nationalist in United States (that is, point to objective economic and status inequalities to justify their demand) that exist and Afrikaaner nationalist (that is, point to subjective side by arguing that their inequality of numbers would lead to their suppression by a black African majority in a system in which blacks were given equal political rights with Whites and they mobilize national sentiment toward off the perceived threat of inequality and to justify their dominances.^{iv}

Thereafter, Brass tries to bring critical meeting point knowing from his predecessor Scholars and Writers' study on ethnicity and nationalism and with his experienced critical observation of ethnicity and nationality question. He observes that in most situations of ethnic group conflict that lead to competing nationalisms fall somewhere in between these two opposite examples of disadvantaged and privileged groups. Sometimes rival ethnic groups face each other directly in ethnically heterogeneous urban areas, but conflict situations may also arise between ethnic groups unevenly distributed between urban and rural areas or between different regions of a country.^v

Brass also predicted nationalism is most likely to develop when new elites arise to challenge a system of ethnic stratification in the cities or an existing pattern of distribution of economic resources and political power between ethnically distinct urban and rural groups or ethnically distinctive regions. He further predicted one moment at which such challenges tend to arise most forcefully is when industrial development and political centralization have led to concentrations job opportunities in key urban centres and to the need for trained personnel to fill the new opposition. He also observes further, that in plural societies the issue of language becomes critical focal point because the choice of the official language and the medium of education determine which groups have favored access to the best job.^{vi}

Next, Brass predicted nationalism may also arise when there is a sectoral division of ethnic groups with one dominant in the countryside and another in the cities. He cited the analogue study of Karl Deutch that one of the typical cases of national conflicts occurs when rural groups move into urban sectors dominated by linguistically and culturally distinct urban ethnic groups. In this case, Brass's observes that either the newly mobile groups must be assimilated and taught the language of the ruling group or the dominant group itself will be replaced in power by the newly mobilized and culturally different elements or some sort of complex pluralist solution will have to be devised to make multilingualism compatible with the technological and administrative requirements of the modern state.^{vii}

Next, Brass observes that the kind of elite of competition that precipitates a major nationalist movements bears a testimony of family resemblances to, but is different both in degree and in quality from, the communal job competition engendered in the early stages of modernization. It has become a case not merely of competition for a few privileged positions, but of a challenge by one group to the entire distribution of resources or to the division of power between two whole societies or potential societies. It is not longer a question simply of who shall certain jobs, but who shall determine how jobs and other resources are distributed.^{viii}

Thereafter, he assessed critical contact points in ethnic nationalist confrontations are the educational and political arenas- the schools and colleges, on the one hand, and the institutions of power and governance, on the other. He observes a disadvantaged minority will demand control over schools first if it is dispersed or will contest for the schools and for local political power in a particular region if it is geographically concentrated. He defended schools and colleges are critical contact points for two reasons. They provide a source of high status employment for new elites and they are also an instrument of control over the ethnic group. Whosoever, controls the schools determines whether or not the ethnic group will maintain its cultural distinctiveness and thereby be available for ready political mobilization on ethnic grounds.^{ix}

Brass also elaborated little further that if disadvantaged ethnic is a minority concentrated in a geographical area, its elites will also demand the use of the regional geographical area, and its elites will also demand the use of the regional language as the principal language of administration in the area. They will also call for some form of political-administrative devolution or decentralization of political power, or in some cases, for outright secession. A disadvantaged majority will, of course, demand the democratic right of power in the political system as a whole.^x

Therefore, Brass observation to ethnic nationalism and conflict are most likely to develop when the educational, technological, and administrative requirements of an industrializing, centralizing state and the democratic demands of previously disadvantaged mobilizing groups make it increasingly complicated to maintain a system of ethnic stratification or a particular regional or urban-rural distribution of economic and political opportunities controlled by the dominant group. The widespread of the competition and the more intransigent the dominant elite, the more likely it is that disgruntled elements from the disadvantaged group will turn to nationalism.^{xi}

Brass also observed that nationalism is a political movement by definition. It requires political organization, skilled political leadership, and resources to gain support to make essential demands in the political system. Furthermore, he observed the movement must be able to complete effectively against alternative political groups and must be strong enough to withstand government efforts to suppress it or to undercut its political support. Effective political organization and political leadership and the resource base to maintain them are independent variable that profoundly influences the outputs.^{xii} He suggested four main political factors below.

First, Brass shares the important of political organizations that can command some community resources are likely to be more effective and successful nationalist organizations have been able to build and draw upon resources created during a previous period of communal organization. To make it clear understanding, he cited in the 1940s and 1950s the National Council of Nigeria

and the Cameroons in Nigeria based organization on the tribal unions created 1980s of Ibo ethnic consolidation and advancement as the James S. Coleman's study shows.^{xiii} Second, Brass also shares about the importance of identification with the community and popularized that a political organization that succeeds in identifying itself with the community rather than merely representing the community or pursuing its interests is also likely to be more effective against external political competition and potential internal rivals. He says the important goal for nationalist movements in this regard is exclusivity, the drive to become the sole political representative of the community so that the community may act cohesively and united. He says this is especially important if the group is a minority, for a cohesive minority may be able to achieve its goals against a larger, but more fragmented group, whereas organizational division in a minority ethnic group may be fatal to its interests.^{xiv} Third, Brass shares that not only identification but also purpose of the organization. He says the more effective ethnic nationalist movements are their ability to shape the identity of the groups they lead. Fourth, Brass shares leadership qualities. He says, to be effective in the pursuit of nationalist goals, must be able to provide continuity and must be able to withstand changes in leadership. Most successful nationalist movements are led by strong, dynamic, and sometimes charismatic leaders, but such leadership may not be sufficient to sustain a movement to the end. He asserted, prominent leaders may die or be killed or may return away from nationalism before the group's goals are attained. There must, therefore, be clear successor or a second rung of leaders, who can affect a succession without dividing the movement. Finally, Brass shares that dominant group to lead the rivals. He says it is critical importance in the success of nationalist movements that one political organization be dominant in representing the demands of the ethnic group against its rivals.^{xv}

To cut it short, Brass's observation that political organization, then, is both an instrument of an ethnic group in achieving, and evidence of the achievement of, multi-symbol congruence. His critical view that the most successful nationalist political organizations have succeeded in shaping the boundaries of their groups to conform to the political goals they set for them. Thereby, he says a group becomes defined not only by its language and or its religion and or its claimed territory, but by the political organization that pursues its interests.^{xvi}

Brass shares that government policies and institutional mechanisms may be critical factors in influencing a group's capacity or desire to survive as a separate entity, its self-definition, and its ultimate goals. The policies available to governments, to prevent the maintenance of separate ethnic identities or to limit the influence of ethnic groups range from the most extreme forms of repression, including genocide and exploration, to policies designed to undercut potential bases for ethnic groups mobilization through assimilation in the schools or through the integration or cooperation of ethnic group leaders into the structures of power and wealth in the society.^{xvii} First, for instance, he shows how separate autonomy is carved out. Thus, institutional mechanisms that may influence the development of separatist movements are the demarcation of administrative areas to conform to presumed ethnic boundaries, the establishment of systems of separate confessional autonomy, and the creation of a federal system of government based upon cultural-linguistic-territorial groups.^{xviii} Second, he also further shares that among the institutional mechanisms available to multiethnic or multinational states for satisfying national demands within a common political framework is federalism. Federalist solutions to nationality conflicts are usually viewed with trepidation by the central authorities in such states who see their primary purpose as the maintenance of the unity and territorial integrity of their states because they fear that federalization is but a step away from secession and disintegration.^{xix} Third, Brass also shares language policies. The State-nation relations are often viewed as a zero-sum-game in which state concessions to ethnic nationalist demands are conceived as invitations or steps on the road to secession and the disintegrations of the state. He shares government may adopt one or many official languages. They may adopt one or more languages for administrative use at the federal level and other at the provincial level. They may adopt special language requirements for entry into government service or they may permit the use of several languages as media of examination and require on the job language training in other languages after admission. In the schools, governments may recognize some languages and not others either as media of education or as languages of instruction.^{xx} Brass further shares that the kind of language policies chosen may be very important in influencing whether or not an ethnic group becomes assimilated or demands recognition as a nationality. He observes language and employment, particularly government employment, are closely interconnected, groups whose languages are recognized earlier than others as language of administration and media of education will derive a competitive advantage, Groups whose languages are not recognized then have two broad choices. They may give up their mother tongue or use it only at home and choose education through the medium of the language that provides access to employment or, if the community has the resources; it may develop its own network of private schools to maintain its language and culture and simultaneously work to change government policies towards its language.^{xxi} Fourth, Brass also shares distribution of economic resources and public services job policies. This is another type of government policy that may influence the development of nationalities from communities is the way in which the state distributes the economic resources and public service jobs at its command.^{xxii}

Next, Brass also shares political context. The movement from community to nationality involves an inevitable struggle for power between competing ethnic groups. The ebb and flow of nationalism in an ethnic community, the intensity of its drive power, and the particular form that its demands take are influenced by the political context. According to Brass it has three aspects and essential. Such as the possibilities for realignment of political and social forces and organizations, the willingness of elites from dominant ethnic groups to share power with aspirant ethnic group leaders, and the potential availability of alternative political arenas.^{xxiii}

To cut short in a sentence, Brass shares the term ethnic category is an objective one that implies that one can, in principle, at any point of time, divide the peoples of the world or of a particular society into categories distinguished by cultural characteristics and symbolic referents.^{xxiv}

Another most influential theory for the pan-Naga ethnic study could be the Marxist theory of ethnicity. Where Marxist approached of ethnicity influenced too many scholars from the view of classes' base concept and class interests. Marxian versions of ethnicity

perspective ethnic development as by-product of the antagonisms of class split societies. Generally, the role of ethnic, racial and nationalist groups is given less significance by Marxist scholars. Classical Marxism considered that adherence based on ethnicity, race, caste and tribe would decrease with the development of modernization. In place of them, classes would presume central place and with the increases of class antagonisms, ethnic awareness gives way to class-awareness. Since prediction by Marx did not outcome work well, the scholars adopting Marxist line of ethnicity were forced to explicate the continued persistence of ethnicity in the modern world. The internal working of wide Marxist paradigm, some of them came out with interesting theories on ethnicity.^{xxv}

The Split-Labor Market approach is one such theory, which analyzes ethnicity from the view of class based.^{xxvi} This theory places labor competition at the focal point of racist or nationalist movements. The theory conceives ethnicity as markers used by employers, particularly the bourgeoisie class, attempt to exploit and split the working class. According to this theory, society is split into three classes: those who possess the means of production, that is, the bourgeoisie class, the highly paid laborers and the lowly paid laborers. The bourgeoisie class the labor market in order to make stronger their position in the system. This able for the dominant bourgeoisie class to gain vast profits from the more oppressed classes and pay more for the richer among the working section. The bourgeoisie class maintains the system by procuring the support of the richer working class by making use of ethnicity.^{xxvii}

The Split-Labor Market approach believes ethnicity as created or fostered by the bourgeoisie class of the dominant ethnic group or nationality. It is made used off to, super-exploited, class as inferior, and to bind the more favoured workers to the ruling class through the ideology of ethnic solidarity, thereby covering antagonizing class interests within that group. Under the banner of ethnic solidarity, the capitalist class carries the richer workers to support the system and to align themselves against other workers.^{xxviii}

Another class based theory is Middleman Minority theory. According to this theory, society is classified into three classes namely, the dominant rich capitalist class, the middleman minority and the poor workers. The theory searches to explain the social, political and economic relations that exist among these three classes of people in an advance capitalist society. This theory presumes that certain groups of people in society occupy middle run position in the social and economic work place. Immigrants communities or backgrounds are mostly traced in these categories. While bulk of the immigrants communities are poor, unskilled workers, there are also some who are highly skilled workers. Due to their sheer numbers, some of the ethnic groups are over-represented in some business. For instance, during the 1900s most American Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe were poor workers and small merchandisers. They were at the beginning employed in the garments industry, building and retail trades. However, by 1905, a significant number of them emerged as big enterprisers and even had a toehold in law, medicines and dentistry.^{xxix} Similarly, according to Jacob Lestchinsky stated that due to their enterprising skill and capital, American Jewish immigrants' community becomes largely owners and employers as compared to other ethnic groups. Consequently, a disproportionately large numbers of them were self-employed.^{xxx} Notwithstanding their success in commercial pursuits, they were often denied social recognition and political power that success ought to have brought.^{xxxi} They were even perceived by the host society to have no political commitment in the host society, but only financial interests. Consequently, the workers and the capitalists of the host society come together against the temporary settler middlemen community. The capitalists soon monopolize middlemen position and thus, the middlemen become subject of discrimination by the host society. The middlemen status and position in the society is that they are unwelcome by either the dominant group or subordinate groups. They are trapped in their middleman minority status. Any attempt made by middlemen to move into the economic niches controlled by the dominant group is perceived as an intrusion into the domain of the dominant group. Per se, the dominant group's attitude towards middlemen is that they pose a threat to their economic and political interests. The workers also harbor resentment and hostility towards middleman minorities and blame them for their lack of access to power and resources. This perspective by the lower classes assists the dominant group ignore its responsibility for the cycle of exclusion and maintenance of power and resources in the social, political and economic set up.^{xxxii} They serve as distribution links between the producers of goods and those who buy them. Per se, they fall in the category of classes between the capitalists and the subordinate working classes.^{xxxiii} As result of such marginalization and discrimination faced by the middleman minority was the growth of ethnic economy based on ethnic ties and the subsequent emergence of ethnic market.

The growth of ethnic nationalism according to Tom Nairain can be noted here.^{xxxiv} Nairain highlights the close link between the bourgeoisie and ethnic nationalism. According to him, the bourgeoisie are the instruments of nationalism. Using the belief of uneven development to account for the growth of ethnic nationalism, he argued that ethnic nationalism comes out only when the problem of underdevelopment is reflected in a given society, perceived in a certain way, and then acted upon. The response to such feelings of deprivation is manifested in the first place among the intelligentsia, who are the most conscious and awakened section of the middle classes. Nairain view on the fight against the domination of foreign rich bourgeoisie is that the relatively poor middle class and intelligentsia of the less advanced countries mobilize the people along cultural lines and dwelling on their ethnic varieties. This follow, Nairain shows that the intelligentsia can construct the feeling of ethnic nationalism by making use of social means available to them. Whatever differences among the Marxian protagonists' interpretation of ethnic hostilities, they share the view that ethnic movements are not basically political, or primordial, but one that have material roots in the relations of production. The class-based explanations have cogency in advanced capitalist societies where forms of alignments and conflicts are based on class interests. Unlike the developed countries where society has been divided into antagonistic classes, in the northeastern region of India, the communities are not yet divided along lines of antagonistic classes and class ideologies. Major forms of social and political alignments and conflicts in the region are still based on ethnic considerations.^{xxxv}

3. Pan-Naga Ethnic Community and Class Consciousness

Numerals works by scholars and writers show that prior to the arrival of the British and some of the Nagas till went for Corp Labour in foreign countries during the Great World War in 1917-1918 and return home, the Nagas have not class consciousness. Therefore, not common identity called Naga Identity. No doubt, there was political organization, but this political organization was limited to village level only because each and every Naga village has independent unit.

As the British arrived first time 1881 and ruled for about more than six decades, that is, from 1881-1947 in the southern western part of the Naga territory, but the northern and eastern parts the larger part of Naga territory, was left untouched, uncontrolled and not administered. With them, came along with education, Christianity and trade policy. Thereby, introduced currency, established educational institutions and set out mission for missionary evangelization ignited the individual self-valued and socialization on the one hand and on the other, Corp Labour went outside, saw world view with self identity or village identity and come back with the concept of nationality. Thus, along with the guidance of British administrative officials in the Naga Hills formed the first club called 'The Naga Club' went back in 1918 at Kohima. The club comprises of a few elites class of individuals consisting of Headmen, Dobashis, government servants and Nagas Corp Labour to French (1917-1918) delegates. This group of individuals was the first class consciousness group. As they were class conscious individuals, they mobilize mass and led the first formation of common or pan-Naga identity on ethnic line. Withstands of the Naga Club (1918) as parental class consciousness organization, the later different Nagas' organizations do join the Club for the assertion of common Naga identity. This was the initial step of formation of Naga identity construction and expansion continuity to till date.

Next, the Naga National Council (NNC) which formed in 1946 make a turning point to Nagas' history by demanded complete independence from Indian Union. The organization's actors organized plebiscite on 16 May, 1951 in the Naga Hills district led by the NNC leaders and where Nagas voted for 99.9% to be separated independence country from India and aptly pronounced the declaration as:

'Nagas belong to a distinct people and live in a country entirely of their own. We want to remain outside the influence of any other nation, be it white or brown. We want to develop our own culture unhampered in the way we like, without having to worry for a possible mixture of alien blood. We want to direct our own education through the establishment of our own universities. We want to keep our land in the possession of our own people for our own people. We want to keep our own lives. There should be no room for any possible interference, directly or indirectly, whether now or in days to come. We want to keep in our possession heritage something which is exclusively of Nagaland; something which is bound to vanish and be lost to Nagas if they were to live under an alien direction; these are our national institutions of - (a) community organization. (b) people's sovereignty over ownership of property and land (c) our culture, a culture of love with a true respect for individual personality, society which admits no strata of social class, caste or creed, religions or race....'^{xxxvi}

On this declaration, distinct common characteristic could be seeing why Nagas claiming for their rights after British left for good in this subcontinent and power paradigm shift to India. Thereafter, unfortunately, Nagas come under India's administrative governance, but there have been perennial points of contested between India and Nagas over this issue. These unsolved problems of conflicts and challenges lead to continuous struggle of construction and expansion of pan-Naga Ethnic boundary.

By critically examining and studying of numerous Scholars and writers, prior to colonialism, a sense of common identity was absent among Nagas. The Naga Club that formed in 1918 and its organization's structure, aims and objectives, powers and functions and jurisdiction will show the evident fact. The primary objectives of the Club were: (i) to consolidate their Socio-political identity, (ii) to make a distinct Naga Nationality above the scattered tribal identity, (iii) To develop fraternity feelings of various Naga tribal communities, (iv) to look after the welfare and unity of all Naga tribes. Therefore, the formation of Naga Club paved the way towards establishing the most needed organization with political motives as expressed by the founders. This was the first socio-political organization formed by the Naga elites and ever representatives' organization of Naga tribal nations in the form of a coarse 'common wealth of tribal nation'. Thus, the Club brought all the isolated Naga tribes together with common goal and common political identity. It had created a sense of what Nagas are feeling amongst 'us' from 'them' that ever experienced by the pan-Naga ethnic community. Mentioned may be also made here that before the formation of the Club, it was the Labour Corps Naga heroes who brought Nagas together to fight unitary for their common cause to achieve their desired goal.^{xxxvii}

As the Club established, the working functionary could see that the first encounter of the Naga Club on ethnic line was with the British authority in 1929. During which they had submitted a memorandum on January 10, 1929 to the Statutory Commission who visited the Naga territory to show that Naga are different. This was their first expression desiring to restore their independence country as before when the British force withdrew their power from their forceful occupation of Naga territory. The Nagas were fully aware that the British rule would be withdrawn from Asia one day. They were also aware about the proposed 'New Reformed Scheme' against the wishes of the Nagas. This scheme turned to be the Government of India Act of 1935. This was the British India Statutory Commission, under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon who visited Naga Hills with Clement Attlee as one of the members of the Commission. They landed at Kohima to ascertain the wishes of the Nagas as to whether they would like to join in the proposed 'New Reformed Scheme'. The Naga representatives under the aegis of Naga Club demanded adequate safeguards from any possible rule by Indian or Burmese, right from that day onward. The Nagas expressed that after the British left their land; the *status quo ante* (the previous state of affairs) should be maintained, as it was existed before the advent of the Britishers. They expressed this in clear terms that the Nagas should be left alone as they were before the British rule so that they could continue to live independently as before. In this encounter, the question of nationality or self-determination was placed clearly before the Simon Commission for consideration of their genuine case. This gave another strengthen foundation to the growth of Naga Nationalist Movement^{xxxviii} continued to struggle for her rights.

Again, as per recommendation of the Simon Commission the Naga Hills district was declared constituted on March 3, 1936 and it was kept aloof as 'Excluded Area' as mentioned above discussion and analysis. This also rationally implies that the Naga Hills to

be kept outside the British India previewed as initiated by the British India Act of 1935. The Governor of Assam was then empowered to administer over this area in his own discretion. It had provided that no Act of the federal Legislature or Assam legislature was apply to the Naga Hills; and thus, the Nagas were not brought within the fold of British Indian new reformed scheme^{xxxix} on the one hand. On the other hand, it is encouraged Nagas to come together as one and to construct and expand her pan-Naga ethnic boundary for common goal.

By carefully observing and critically examining, one could notice that the Club led to the formation of Naga National Council (1946) as next strong based organization actor. The organization ignited strongly the feeling of the spirit of Naga nationalism. This became stronger amongst the Nagas significantly after the World War II. It became necessary to recognize the Naga Hills in the high-level decision making bodies. It was Lord Wavell, the Governor-General of India who informed Claw, the Governor of Assam and Amery, the Secretary of the State through an official letter that they should help the staunchest Nagas who did magnificent jobs in keeping the British and Allied Forces during the World War II. This information was sent to C.R. Pausey, the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills at Kohima. In responded to this acknowledgement, he called the Naga leaders to his official Bungalow to discuss the future political issues. This Bugalow became the meeting place of Naga leaders on many occasions to discuss about their political destiny. At the meantime, the Naga themselves also established a political institution called the Naga Hills District Tribal Council (NHDTTC) in 1945. Later on, the nomenclature was altered into the Naga National Council (NNC) in a meeting held at Wokha on February 2, 1946. Thus, an Apex Body of the Naga National political organization was reconstituted to fight for their independence. T. Aliba Imti and T. Sakharie were elected to be the first President and Secretary of this organization. Subsequently on June 19, 1946, the Naga National Council adopted four aims and objectives such as: (i) This National Council stands for the solidarity of all Naga tribes including the un-administered area, (ii) this Council strongly protects against the grouping of Assam with Bengal, (iii) the Naga Hills should be continuously included in an autonomous Assam in a free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interest of the Nagas; and (iv) the Naga tribes should have a separate electorate.^{xl} The Constitution of the Naga National Council was adopted on 10 and 11 October 1946 at Mokochung meeting and resolved to have a National Flag and National Anthem^{xb}. The Preamble of the Constitution reads:

“This constitution to be known as the constitution and laws of the Naga National Council is adopted to provide a way of working for peace and agreement between all the Naga tribes, of preserving and developing what is good of their own culture and customs, and to promote the growth of democratic self-government and the materials welfare of the Naga”.

Studying the constitution and resolution of the NNC, one may reasons out the following clear objectives: (i) to stand for the solidarity of the Naga tribes including those of the Naga tribes living in un-administered areas, (ii) To stand for a complete political autonomy of the Nagas, (iii) To stand for unification of all the Naga tribes living in free India as well as in Burma (now Myanmar), (iv) To have a separate Naga judiciary system with nominated Naga tribal judges, etc.^{xliii}

The four objectives of Naga National Council (NNC) clearly shows it is significantly implies nationalistic spirit incorporated with purely Constructivists spirit of ethnicity study in organizational perspective of pan-Naga ethnic community into ethnic web by the Nagas' educated individual elites along with organization's actors.

When the British Government sent a Cabinet Mission to India to study the political situation, the NNC representatives met the Cabinet Mission members on April 9, 1946, reminded them that in future, the Nagas would not be bound by any arbitrary decision of the British Government nor did recommendation would be accepted without proper consultation from the people of the Nagas.^{xliiii} Having established the most wanted organized apex body of political organization at national level by NNC, the Nagas became more politically conscious about their political future in the course of dynamic political scenario around the ethnic globe. Thereafter, subsequently, different pan-Naga ethnic community's organizations come into existence in military, civil, religion. In Naga civil organizations, there are some prominent organizations such as Naga Hoho (Council), Naga Students' Federation (NSF), Naga Mothers' Association (NMA), Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), United Naga Council (UNC), All Naga Students Association, Manipur (ANSAM), Naga Women Union, Manipur (NWUM), Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights, Manipur (NPMHRM), Naga People's Organization (NPO), etc., are some of chief organizations' actors now in construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary. Of them, some organizations will be highlighted in brief discussions with their Constitutions references to know structures, aims and objectives, membership attachments. And in collaborations with of all the 66 tribes' Hoho (council) organizations joining hand in hand and working side by side continue construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary.

To begin with, first, the Naga Hoho (Council) is a pan-Naga ethnic tribal federal apex body of the Nagas under the traditional system and practice. This apex organization was formed on 24th June, 1994 at Wokha and its Constitution was adopted from 11-12 March, 1998 sessions at Zunheboto. The main aims and objectives of organization reads:

‘To uphold the solidarity of the Nagas, to rebuild the Naga family, to safeguard and protect the Naga system and tradition, to promote the social, culture, economic and political heritage and to facilitate early settlement of the Naga issues’^{xliiv}

The aims and objectives of the Naga Hoho, significantly show that it is very much working on ethnic line. For instance, by citing one activity of the actor, that is, the Naga Hoho, the apex tribe based organization of all Nagas would give clearer picture. It declares that irrespective of territorial boundaries passed the resolution on Naga Integration during its 6th Session at Dimapur on 11th & 12th March, 1999 and reconstituted as follows- ‘the Naga hoho put it on record that it stands committed for integration of all Naga territories and its people under one political roof; and also it considers the present Nagaland state as a temporary measure pending final political settlement of the Naga peoples aspiration which shall be a bounden duty of the Naga Hoho to strive for’.^{xliiv}

Second, the Naga Students' Federation (NSF) was formed in 1947 as the apex body of the pan-Naga ethnic community students' organizations. The 66 tribes' students' organizations federal units are attached to this NSF. The Preamble of the amended Constitution of the Naga Students' Federation (NSF) 20th October, 1984 reads:

“We, the Naga Students, having solemnly resolved to constitute ourselves into a federation to: cultivate and preserve our cultures, customs and traditional heritages; ameliorate social and moral activities; safeguard common interest, integrity and co-operation amongst ourselves all over the Naga inhabited areas. Further the Constitution under Art.5 (2,3,4) stated as, “All bonafide Naga Tribe Students’ Organization(s) shall be a member of the Federation and of the Federal Assembly and shall be called the ‘Federal unit’ of the Naga Students’ Federation. Art.6 (1, 2, 3) deals about jurisdiction thus, “The territorial jurisdiction of the federation shall extend to all Naga territory and to wheresoever’s any Naga Students’ inhabits/resides. The Executives Jurisdiction of the Federation shall extend over all the Federal Units and Sub-ordinates bodies and there shall be no Co-ordinating Naga Students’ Organizations other than the Sub-ordinate bodies”.

Like the Naga hoho, the aims and objectives of the Naga Students’ Federation (NSF), one can clearly understand that it is very much working on ethnic line. For instance, when Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC (I)) by spearheaded S.C. Jamir, Chief Minister of Nagaland and his teams NPCC (I) published a pamphlet, *Bedrock of Naga Society* in 2000 instigated by a few party politician opportunists to tarnish Naga unique history of long struggling for the right to self-determination, the Naga Students Federation (NSF) projected vehemently and bonfire those pamphlets and observed mourning on the 30th November, 2000 at Oking Kohima. Thereafter, the NSF also published a pamphlet *The Naga Foundation: Toward fulfillment of a Peoples Unwavering Aspiration* in 20 September, 2002 to restore the Naga’s image damaged by political opportunists of NPCC (I).^{xlvi} Further, on 3rd of May, 2010 a team of the Naga Students’ Federation, the umbrella student body of all Naga tribes of India and Myanmar, led by its President was heading to Oinam Hill of Poumai village, Senapati District for a preparatory meeting of their Federal Assembly stated for the 7th May, 2010. They were prevented from proceeding by Manipur State Armed forces deployed at Mao Gate of Ememei dominated areas. It was an insult and an outright provocation to the Naga student community when they were disallowed to go even to their own lands. The NSF demanded an apology from the Government of Manipur (GoM) pending which a total ban on Manipur vehicles was enforced in the entire Naga area.^{xlvii}

Third, United Naga Council (UNC) came into being on 16th February, 2003. The Preamble of the Constitution of the United Naga Council (UNC) reads:

“We, the Naga people in the present Manipur State, having resolved to organize ourselves into a tribe based organization under the name of the United Naga Council to uphold the solidarity and unity of the Naga people, to protect our land, our identity and our history, to preserve and promote our culture and traditional heritage and to secure all round growth of our people, do hereby adopt this (Amended) constitution in our council assembly this 16th day of February, 2003”. Further, Art.3 (a, b) deals the jurisdiction of the Council and thus, “Federal Representation: the president and Secretary of the tribe or their authorized representatives, i.e. two from each tribe. Representation in population: for every 10,000 population of a constituent tribe, there will be one representative.”

By reading the aims and objectives of the organization, one could clearly get an idea that the organization is one of the main actors working in the regional level in ethnic line in construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary. For instance, on 1st July, 2010, the Nagas in the present State of Manipur resolved in its highest decision making forum in the Naga People’s Convention (NPC) under the active aegis of UNC, that Nagas sever all political ties with the communal Government of Manipur (GoM), and therefore, the vacuum in governance and administration created. Thereby, the organization stand their own position and asserted that it must be filled with an alternative arrangement by the Government of India (GOI) in consultation with the Naga people at the earliest possible time. It was also declared that the District Councils will not be allowed to function in the Naga areas.^{xlviii} The UNC also further stated that the Nine Point Agreement of June 1947 signed between Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, and the Naga National Council (NNC), clearly envisaged and recognized the right of the Nagas to live together under a single united administration. Furthermore, the thirteenth clause of the Sixteenth Point Agreement, 1960, between the Government of India (GoI) and the Naga Peoples’ Convention testified to India’s standing commitment to the consolidation of contiguous Naga areas.^{xlix}

UNC argues and states that the Nagas in Manipur have always opposed their inclusion within Manipur. As far back as 1948, the Nagas in Manipur under the Naga National League (NNL) had made their stand clear that they will not be part of Manipur since the latter had never conquered the Nagas; that it would be impossible for the Nagas to preserve their cultures, traditions, customary laws and political practices and their strong desire to merge with the Naga Hill District of Assam through the boycott of the preparation of electoral rolls in Naga areas in Manipur. The Nagas further launched the ‘No House Tax Campaign’ refusing to pay the annual House Tax to the Government of Manipur and instead submitted their annual house tax to Charles Pawsey, D.C. of Naga Hills of Assam at Kohima. The campaign was forcibly suppressed resulting in the death of three Nagas and the wounding of many. It may be recalled that, for the second time, the Hill House Tax-2006 of Naga households living in the present state of Manipur was not submitted to the Government of Manipur (GoM) but to the Hon’ble Prime Minister’s Office on 7th July 2006 to show the Nagas’ strong desire to live together as one people.ⁱ Nagas do not desire conflict arising out of ethnic and communal divide. However, when the dominant community is using the same as a basis for discrimination and suppression it becomes inevitable that the divide, which created by such discrimination and suppression, is accentuated to an irreparable point. ‘Hao’ the derogatory term meaning ‘untouchable’, ‘uncivilized’, or ‘inferior’ is still commonly used by the Meiteis against tribals; such attitudes and prejudices play decisive roles in shaping and informing the policies of the GoM and the interaction of the Meiteis with the tribals in Manipur.ⁱⁱ

Further, some of the contention points and arguments of UNC Memorandum submitted to Government of India (GoI) and Government of Manipur (GoM) can be cited. First, UNC clarified that the arm conflict between India and Nagas continued over the decades and has finally culminated in the second Indo-Naga peace process marked by the second Indo-Naga Cease-Fire that came into effect on 1st August, 1997, which today offers to bring about a lasting and honourable solution to the Naga issue which is about their land, the people and their rights. Second, in the wake of the violent agitation in Imphal valley supported by the

Government of Manipur (GoM) following the extension of Indo-Naga Cease-Fire agreement area coverage beyond territorial limits on 14th June 2001, the Naga people of Manipur under the aegis of the United Naga Council UNC, held its special session of the Naga Peoples' Convention (NPC), the apex decision making platform of the Nagas of Manipur on 8th and 9th August, 2001 at *Tahamzam* (Senapati) and declared "That our identity and history have to be defended and preserved at all cost, and the firm political stand of the Nagas of Manipur is to uphold the resolution of the Naga People for integration of all Naga areas under one administration". Third, however, the State Government of Manipur, in brazen disregard to the sentiments of the Naga people conferred 'Martyrdom' to the 18 rioters who died in the violent rioting in which the Indian National Flag and the State Assembly Secretariat was burnt and attempt were made to raze down the Raj Bhavan. That day of rioting and ironing was declared a State holiday and christened as 'integrity day'. To make known UNC strong resentment over the attempts to glorify and legitimize the suppression of Nagas' rights with brute majority, an economic blockade of 52 days from 19 June- 11 August, 2005 was also put into force by All Naga Students' Association, Manipur (ANSAM). Fourth, as desired by the Naga people of Manipur, another NPC was convened by UNC on the 4th of November, 2005 at Taphou village, Tahazam (Senapati), which reiterated the 8th and 9th August, 2001 Declaration. To further, the realization of this declaration, the NPC also declared the launching of Non-cooperation and Civil disobedient movements against the Government of Manipur. Fifth, in the subsequent 'declaration and memorandum' submitted to the prime minister of India on 15 December, 2005 at new Delhi, the Chiefs/Chairman/ Headmen of Nagas villages in the present state of Manipur stated in no uncertain terms. "That any honourable solutions to the Naga peace process must begin with the unification of the Nagas areas". Sixth, in pursuance of the 4th November, 2005 NPC declaration, the Naga chief, village authorities in Manipur returned the red blankets to the State Government. The names of villages, districts, etc. have been changed to indigenous names. Hill house tax for the year 2006 of all the Naga households in Manipur have not been paid to the Government of Manipur but have instead been collected under the aegis of the UNC and submitted to the office of the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India on 7th July, 2006. Seventh, when the dominant community imposed Manipuri language and the Meities Mayek (Script) as compulsory subject in the school syllabus, ANSAM took up the issue and moved for affiliation of school and colleges in the Naga areas of Manipur to the Nagaland Board of School Education (NBSE) and the Nagaland University (NU) to secure a common syllabus for a unified vision, and Eighteenth, the Nagas of Manipur have organized rallies, sent delegations to Delhi, submitted representations to the Government of India, and held press conference to highlight Nagas' position and lobbied for support from Indian political leaders and also eminent members of the Indian Civil societies. The Naga people have also had several consultative meetings and also round of talked presented the Naga case in various international fora. All forms of democratic means have been explored to bring the plight and situation of the Nagas to the notice of the world in democratic and pacific means.

Fourth, the Naga People's Organization (NPO) formed 15th September, 1994. The Preamble of the Constitution of the Naga People's Organization (NPO) reads:

"We, the Naga People of Senapati District, Manipur having resolved to organize ourselves under the name and style of the Naga People's Organisation, Senapati District, Manipur do hereby adopt this constitution in our constituent Body this the 15th Sept., 1994." Further, the Constitution under Art.1 (1, 2, 3, 5, 6) stated, "To strengthen the bond of unity and fraternity; to enrich the cultural values and traditional heritage; to encourage reforms and codification of the Naga customary laws; To foster the spirit of secularism, harmonious co-existence; to promote the cause of women and youths and of language and literature; to protect the right of the people and of land". The Article 3 (i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi) deals Constituent Units and general body thus, "Poumai Naga Union, Memei Council of Mao, Maram Naga Union, Thangal Naga Union, Zeliangrong Naga Union (Senapati) and any other Naga tribes of Senapati District. The General Body consists of 15 Delegates from Poumai Naga Union (PNU), 10 Delegates from Memei Council of Mao (MCM), 7 Delegates from Maram Naga Union (MNU), 5 Delegates from Thanagal Naga Union (TNU), 5 Delegates from Zeliangrong Naga Union, Senapati Zone (ZNU-SZ)"

This Naga People's Organization (NPO) based on Senapati district also shows that in order to extend complementary and supplementary support to the construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary in area-wise or regional level established to bring communication networking to the pan-Naga ethnic community's organizations.

Apart from the above discussions organizations, the Naga Mothers' Association (NMA), the Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR) in secular wing; Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC), Catholic Federation of Nagaland and Manipur (CFNM) in religions wing; Naga National Council (NNC), Naga Federal Government (NFG), National Socialist Council of Nagalim Isaak-Muivah (NSCN(I-M)), National Socialist Council of Nagalim Khapalang (NSCN (K)) in defence wing; All Naga Students Association, Manipur (ANSAM), etc in students wing. All together have very strong networking system links from grassroots level to higher level. Therefore, one could that all these organizations work hand in hand and stand as ethnic organizations Constructivists perspective for constructing and expanding of pan-Naga ethnic boundary in all levels from regional to national level and national level extend to even international level called Naga International Support Centre (NISC).

4. Conclusion

To cut it short, in pan-Naga ethnic community's Organizations Units with the formation of the Naga Club in 1918 to till dawn. There was so called not class consciousness and working on ethnic line and construction and expansion of pan-Naga ethnic boundary till the Club formed. Later, lead by this parental organization linked to the formation of different Nagas's organizations; in tribal level, regional level, national level and even extends to international level. Therefore, by critically examining and analyzing, one could clearly understand that pan-Naga ethnic identity is socially constructed in Constructivist's model bring further to social capitalism of pan-Naga ethnic nationalism in the North-East India. Apart from R. Paul Brass working on ethnicity and nationalism, the pioneering transitional Constructivists authors of Fredrik Barth and Andreas Wimmer contributed great aspirations working on this ethnic line and ethnic boundary.ⁱⁱⁱ

Through perception and persisting of pan-Naga ethnic community way of construction and expansion of ethnic boundary one could easily also understand that political aspiration is stronger than social and cultural aspirations that link to formulation of different organizations in different levels. Keeping this uniqueness in mind, the focal point has been overviewed and analysis of different pan-Naga ethnic community organizations actors' roles and individual roles of different elites groups merging for constructing and expanding of pan-Naga ethnic boundary in Constructivists perspective. Thus, tracing the real foundation and development of pan-Naga ethnic identity formation and simultaneously construction and expansion of her ethnic boundary began first with, by the formation of two Parental Organizations, that is, the Naga Club (1918) and Naga National Council (1946) during the two great world wars and spearheaded by them for continuity of Nagas mass mobilizations and developments. Thereafter, since these two organizations comprises of different Naga elites start mobilizing the Naga public through social networks and collective forces of building social capitalism cum nationality building of pan-Naga ethnic community. Thereby, through different pan-Naga ethnic community's organizations formed which come into forces for the construction and expansion of its ethnic boundary making and maintenance as a commonality based. Through social networking system and social interactions in all Naga dominated and inhabited regions conducted time to times of workshops, symposiums, lectures, seminars and conferences, trainings, campers and recruitments in civil, religion and military organization as awareness campaigning. Therefore, the article has been attempted to see some of these mains different organizations how it works and contributes for the construction, expansion and maintenance of pan-Naga ethnic boundary from the past to the contemporary times.

5. References

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