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The identities of those Nagas from within and outside Nagaland who have provided information and photographs for this document have been withheld at their request.
INTRODUCTION

This document is a general survey of the history and present conditions of the Naga peoples who live in Nagaland on the borders of India and Burma. It is a collection of material from a variety of sources which an IWGIA editorial board has put together under guidance from several Nagas. Although the book reflects no particular position within the Naga struggle, it draws different types of documentation into a broad-spectrum account of what has been happening in Nagaland.

Nagaland may not reach the headlines frequently, but it nevertheless constitutes an important part of Asia where oppression is still in evidence after forty years of Indian rule and where resistance to Indian domination is strong. India appears to be very sensitive about the Naga issue. The "State of Nagaland" is practically sealed off, for most purposes, to the outside world, and it is difficult to get any open information as to what has been taking place there over the last ten years.

IWGIA has received the information in this document from a range of sources, and it has been structured to reflect these differences. Part I provides a background to the history and ethnography of the region. Colin Johnson's task of writing Naga history is particularly difficult considering how much previous historical writings are biassed against Naga nationalism. Andrew Gray's article uses similar biasses in the ethnographic writings on the Nagas as a basis to look at the ideas behind colonial oppression and repression.

Part II of the book comes from a series of tapes which has been transcribed into one personal account of life in Nagaland today. Although the sources are many and confidential, they have been formed into a continuous statement. When the tapes were obtained, there was absolutely no indication of the identities of the speakers. However, IWGIA has been able to confirm unequivocally that they are genuine and verify the information to a high degree.
Part III of the book presents a wide variety of documentation on specific issues which have arisen in Nagaland over the last forty years. The first section on human rights traces the record of violations from the 1950s to the present day by a series of reports and contemporary documentation. The second and third sections are mainly reference documents on agreements and special laws which are referred to in other parts of the book. Part III is mainly drawn from published sources in a book called the Nagaland File. It was published in India nearly two years ago but has not reached a non-Indian audience yet. For this reason IWGIA has reproduced several of the most important chapters. Luithui & Haksar, eds.1984, Nagaland File, Lancer Int.

This book does not reflect the official position of the Naga National Council, which has been the major voice of Naga resistance over the last forty years, nor does it speak for the Naga Students Federation, which represents students from Nagaland. Nevertheless, IWGIA has been in contact with members of the NNC who consider that this raising of the Naga issue is timely.

Throughout this document it is possible to see that the genocidal and ethnocideal destruction of the Nagas is not just a matter of history but is going on at the present time. The burnings of villages have been replaced by permanent army occupation by Indian troops. The charting of Indian occupation of Nagaland inevitably brings to the fore the Naga right to self-determination and their frequent statements that this means recognition of their independence.

Far from being an extreme or exaggerated claim, Naga independence was being discussed in 1929 and was supported by no less than Mahatma Gandhi. It is perhaps worth ending this brief introduction to the document by quoting in full what Gandhi said to a Naga delegation on 19th July, 1947 with a commentary which a delegation of Nagas made to the President of India, ten years later in November, 1957.
"Nagas have every right to be independent. We did not want to live under the domination of the British and they are now leaving us. I want you to feel that India is yours. I feel that the Naga Hills are mine, the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I do not believe in force or forced union. If you do not wish to join the Union of India, nobody will force you to do that."

A memorandum of the Nagas to the President of India on 1st November 1957 says of that meeting:

"On that historic day, the Naga delegation discussed the affairs of the Nagas fully with the father of the Indian nation, and they made the Naga position clear to him without ambiguity...What he said was not a sudden impulse of the willingness of the Father of a great nation trying to be obliging. He was sincere. He saw the inalienable right of the Nagas which should not be violated. We took his word as final as far as Nagaland and India were concerned. Gandhiji interpreted not only his own good nature, but it was in full confirmation of the politically and publicly avowed policy of the great Indian National Congress not to be a party to coercion. And in this he was undoubtedly upholding the attributed national tradition of India as a country which claims to love not peace alone but "she had never waged war against any nation". The glory and the pride of India was more important to Gandhiji, and thus he laid the corner-stone to build up a greater heritage for future India."

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