

NAGA

A PEOPLE STRUGGLING FOR SELF-DETERMINATION



BY
SHIMREICHON LUITHUI



NAGA

Since more than 50 years, an indigenous people living in the mountainous Northeastern corner of the Indian Subcontinent has fought a silent war. Silent because this war has been largely ignored by the world .

Ever since the Nagas have been in contact with outside powers they have fiercely resisted any attempt of subjugation. The British colonizers managed to control only parts of the rugged Naga territory, and their administration in many of these areas was only nominal. But the Naga's struggle for self-determination is still continuing. Divided by the international boundary, they are forced to oppose both the Indian and the Burmese domination.



Stereotypes about the Nagas

The stereotype of the Nagas as a fierce people, further distorted by overstating the importance of traditional "head hunting" in the past, is still widespread these days. On the other hand, Nagas have often been pictured as "noble primitives". Indeed, after an initial reaction of antipathy, many of the British officers who came in contact with the Nagas developed a deep affection and spoke fondly of them. Like J.H. Hutton, who wrote in 1921: "Nagas have fine qualities. They are simple, cheerful, colourful, humorous, courteous and hospitable people", they are a people with "a sense of honour and generosity at home, at work and at gathering; laughter is the food of the society and hospitality is overwhelming. Nagas are honest and truthful people..."

Nagaland — Nagalim

The Nagas occupy a mountainous country of about 100,000 square kilometers in the Patkai Range between India and Burma. About two thirds of the Naga territory is in present day India, divided among the four states Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. The rest lies in Sagiang and Thangdut states in Burma. It is believed that the ancestors of today's Nagas migrated to the Patkai Range from an unknown area in Southwestern China thousands of years ago.

When Nagas refer to Nagaland they mean the entire area inhabited by Nagas which have been partitioned by the British between India and Burma. The Indian Union created a State in 1963, named **Nagaland** comprising of only one third of the land inhabited by Nagas. Since 1997 Nagas have started using the word „**Nagalim**“ in place of „Nagaland“. „Lim“ simply means „land“ in Ao Naga language.



Tribes:



A o



Poumei



Lotha

Diversity and Unity

The total Naga population is about 3 million, consisting of more than 40 tribes. They speak over 30 different and sometimes mutually unintelligible tonal languages of the Tibeto-Burman language family. In spite of the bewildering diversity in language and culture, all the Naga tribes share a set of core cultural elements that set them apart from other peoples living in the region. But the idea of being "one people" that wants to be recognized as a nation has not existed until fairly recently.

Tribes

A tribe as understood by anthropologists is a type of human social organization in which a group of people larger than a family have a common identity based on common descent, shared language, culture and ideology. Tribes usually consist of a number of smaller, politically autonomous units like villages. In some cases there may be chiefs whose authority reaches beyond one single village. But while tribes may share a tribal name and a contiguous territory, or coordinate joint endeavours such as trade or ritual events, there is no encompassing political authority over a whole tribe.

Naga

As much as the origin of the Naga people remains lost in the mist of history, both the meaning and origin of the name "Naga" is unknown. There has been considerable speculation on that, but all that can be said for sure is that the name was coined by outsiders and that it usually and for a long time has been loaded with prejudices. Only since a few decades have the Nagas adopted the name themselves and they now carry it with self-confidence and pride.

The Origin of the Nagas

Most of the Nagas believe that their ancestors came from a place somewhere far North, in present-day China. They first migrated to the village of Makhrai-Rabu (also known by the name „Makhel“) from where they dispersed to the various directions that they are living now. Makhrai-Rabu is located in the land of the Mao tribe in present-day Manipur state. Several historic symbols associated with the dispersal of the Nagas are still existing there: a big stone called *Tamratu*, which means “stone of dispersal”; an ancient wild pear tree called *Chutebu*, planted at the time of dispersal by the Naga elders. It is said that the Naga ancestors took an oath to unite again one day.

Linotu



The ancestors of the Nagas also erected three stone monoliths in the village of Makhrai-Rabu. They are called *Linotu*. The three monoliths represent Tiger, Man and Spirit, symbolizing flora and fauna, human society and the spiritual world. It is believed that if the stones representing man and spirit tilt or fall, it is a sign that human society and the spiritual world have degenerated dangerously. The stone representing the tiger has already fallen. And indeed, the wild flora and fauna in Nagalim have been heavily depleted in recent decades.



Angami-Naga in festive dress

NAGA SOCIETY

Self-sufficient communities

The Nagas have usually built their villages on mountain tops where the climate is healthier. Until half a century ago, Naga villages were almost fully self-sufficient in whatever people needed for their life. The village's fields and forests provided a wide range of food and spices, and raw material for all kinds of crafts. They built wooden houses, wove clothes from their own cotton, made baskets, clay pots and all kinds of tools and weapons. It was basically only iron that had to be imported from the lowlands, or salt from those Naga villages that had access to salt springs. But trade nevertheless encompassed a much wider range of goods. Goods which were not a necessity, but which were highly appreciated and brought from far-away places like shells, semi-precious stones and glass beads etc .

Sharing and gift giving

Sharing and giving gifts amongst kin people is very important in Naga society. It is an expression and reinforcement of kinship solidarity, of the rights and duties connected to kinship relationships. For example, among the Tangkhul Nagas, whenever there is festival like *luira phanit* (the spring festival which marks the beginning of a new agricultural year) pigs are slaughtered, the brothers/ male cousins give a hind-leg or front leg or another portion of the meat to their married sisters or female cousins. And gifts, which were received on occasion of a wedding are being redistributed to close relatives.



Tangkhul Naga celebrating the spring festival luira phanit

Traditional crafts

Nagas are masters of jewelry making and weaving. Especially the traditional shawls are an expression of each tribe's identity, with each of them having developed their distinct pattern. Although today all Nagas wear factory clothes, shawls and for women, traditional wrap-around skirts, are still worn and highly valued by everyone. And they play an important role in gift giving.



Shawl of the Sema tribe

Naga land use

Today, most Nagas are still farmers, producing most of the food and many other things they need themselves. They practice two types of farming: wet rice cultivation on terraced fields and shifting cultivation. Both are adapted to the mountainous environment. Where the terrain allows, land is terraced, and irrigation channels are dug. Terraced land is almost exclusively used for rice that grows in flooded fields. Shifting cultivation fields are made on forested slopes for varieties of rice that do not need standing water. Although rice is the most important crop for the Nagas, they cultivate a large number of other crops such as maize, millets and other cereals, yam, potatoes and other roots crops, and a large number of vegetables and spices. These are grown in shifting cultivation fields and home gardens. Forests also are still an important provider of wood and other building materials, herbs and wild vegetables, honey and game.



Women preparing the paddy fields

Shifting cultivation

Shifting cultivation is often also called swidden farming, or slash-and-burn agriculture. It is a farming system found in forest areas all over the tropics and sub-tropics. It is based on a cyclical alteration between a short cropping period and a long fallow. The natural forest or bush vegetation is cut and burned to prepare a new field. The ash adds valuable nutrient to the soil. The Nagas plant their shifting cultivation fields with upland rice, maize, millet or other cereals together with root crops and vegetables. After one to three years, they let the field rest. It is rapidly overtaken by fallow vegetation, first weeds and grasses, then young shrubs and trees. The re-growing forest or bush vegetation restore the fertility of the soil, and after a five to ten years it is again ready for cultivation.



Land under shifting cultivation

Land ownership

Almost all the Naga villages know three different kinds of land ownership: usually, only terraced fields and homesteads are privately owned by individual households. Terraced fields continue to be the most prized possession. Land for shifting cultivation, forests and pastures belong either to the village or different clans. The community land is under the care of the village chief; the clan land is under the care of the clan leaders.

Clan

A clan is a kinship group of fundamental importance in the structure of many societies. Membership of a clan is socially defined in terms of actual or purported descent from a common ancestor. This descent is unilineal, that is, derived only through the male (patriclan), like among the Nagas, or the female (matriclan). Normally, but not always, the clans are exogamous, marriage within the clan being forbidden and regarded as incest.

Clans may segment into subclans or lineages, and genealogical records or myths may be altered to incorporate new members who have no demonstrable kinship ties with the clan.



Rice terraces of the Tangkhul tribe



Traditional Naga religion

The traditional Naga religion is often called "animism". Animism is the belief in the existence of spiritual beings inhabiting the natural world. Traditional Naga religion is however somewhat different from other forms of religion called "animistic" in that they also believe in gods. All Naga groups know of three types of gods and spirits: a high, creator God (sometimes there are several), the spirits living in the sky, and the earth spirits. But gods and spirits usually interfere only indirectly in human affairs, through influencing positively or negatively the natural cyclical flow of "fertility". Sacrifices to gods or spirits are therefore done to ask for their positive intervention in order to maximise fertility: good harvests, many and healthy children.



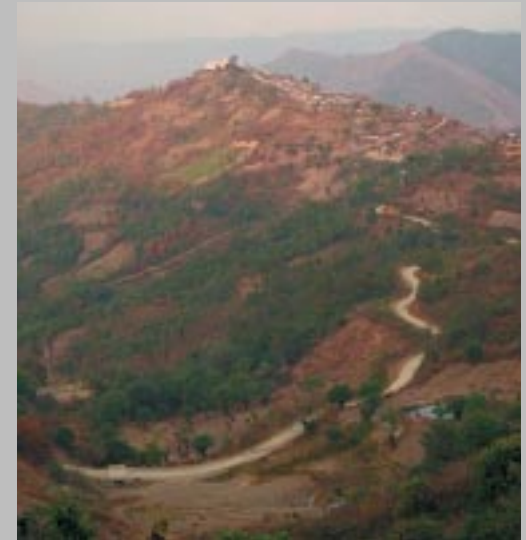
The religious life

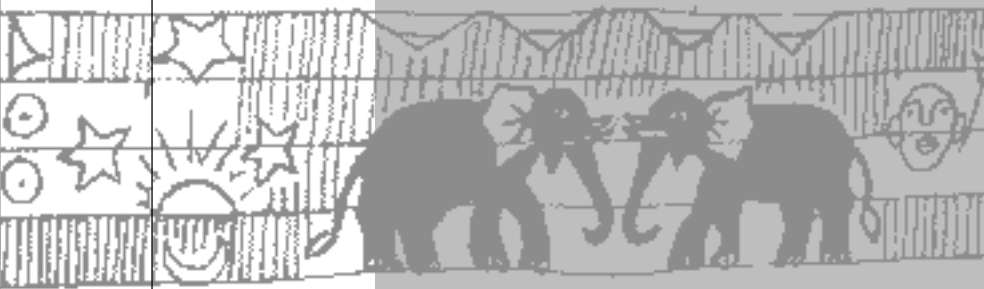
Today, 90% of the Nagas are Christian, most of them Baptists. But although the missionaries were deliberately trying to replace key institutions and beliefs which they thought to be incompatible with Christianity, many elements of the traditional religion and worldview are found also among the Christian Nagas. They have merged with the new belief to create something new. Therefore, there is no clear-cut division between them and the so-called "animists". And the important

traditional festivals, especially those connected to the agricultural cycle, are celebrated by both Christian and "animist" Nagas. Even though the spiritual meaning may be different, as a social event they are of the same importance to both. In some villages, Christians also observe *genna*, everywhere they consult traditional healers, and the belief in spirits is very common among all Nagas.

Village republics

Until not very long ago, Naga villages were not only economically largely self-sufficient, they also were self-governing, independent political entities. That is why they are often called "village states" or "village republics". Much of this autonomy has been retained until today. Each village still has its own well-defined village territory. Within this they have their own land tenure system, land use administration, court of justice and, nowadays, a church.





Sema-Nagas



Traditional warfare

Until well into the British colonial period, Naga villages also settled their conflicts with each other autonomously, if necessary through war. When disputes could not be resolved with peaceful means through the village councils and the regional councils, war broke out. One form of traditional warfare, the “guerilla war”, implied the taking of heads. This practice has attracted the attention and stirred the imagination of so many outsiders. However, in the so-called “general warfare”, which consisted of open and agreed-upon

confrontations of warring groups, head taking was strictly forbidden. Warfare, in whatever form, was regulated by conventions that prevented heavy casualties and abuse.

Like in all cases of a state’s attempt to establish its control over indigenous peoples, one of the first measures the British took when expanding into Naga territory was to try and stop traditional warfare, and to establish the monopoly over the use of force. This and the introduction of Christianity eventually led to the disappearance of traditional war.

Clans, chiefs and village councils

In their social and political organization the Nagas show much variety, but it is a variety created by different combination of basic common elements: the clan, the chief, the village council and, in the old day, the Murong, today replaced by the age groups.

Naga villages usually consist of two or more clans. Traditionally, each clan occupies a clearly defined area in the village, known as *khels* (locality), and functions as a unit of collective responsibility.

Not all tribes have chiefs. The Angamis for example have neither

chiefs nor formal village councils but village elders who are consulted on difficult issues. Among those tribes with chiefs, the amount of power they have varies. In the past, the Semas and Konyaks had very powerful hereditary chiefs with almost absolute authority. But among most of the Naga tribes, it is the village council together with the hereditary chief that governs the village.

The village council regularly convenes village general assemblies. Usually, it is traditionally presided over by the chief. However, in Angami tribe, any member of the village

enjoys the right to call a public meeting and a person with good standing moderates the meeting. All the adult male members of the village have the right to participate as equals in the discussions. The village meeting decisions are by consensus so the discussions tend to be very lengthy.

Social status

In some Naga tribes all people are considered equal by birth, no matter of what clan or family they are. People were and still are respected for their individual personal qualities. In these communities, higher status could be gained above all through feasts of merit. Today, it is through education, being in a government position, or becoming a pastor. In other Naga tribes, however, one can have a higher status already by having been born into a noble family, a family in

which one male member has the privilege – and the duty – to act as chief of a village.

Feasts of merit

Like all people, Nagas love to feast. During festivals and weddings, there is a lot of singing and dancing and playing of popular games and sports such as wrestling, javelin throw, tug of war. In pre-Christian times, wealthy families gave special feasts in connection with fertility rituals. Giving such feasts raised the social status of the feast giver. This means that wealth was redistributed in the community in return for high ritual and social status. Feasts of merit were optional feasts and could be given by anyone. It implied feeding the entire village by slaughtering lots of cattle and pigs, and serving huge amounts of rice beer for days. The feasts were ranked in importance and

Chiefs

A chief is a political leader in a tribal society. His authority can extend over one or several villages. It basically rests on the voluntary recognition of his decisions by the members of the society. Chiefs seldom have coercive means to impose their will. Among those Naga tribes that have chiefs, their authority rarely extends beyond one village.





scale, each stage carried rights to new kinds of personal adornment like special kinds of shawls, and house decoration apart from erection of stones and Y-shaped wooden posts outside the feasts giver's house. Today, big feasts are given during wedding and name giving ceremonies, but they are not related to achieving prestige or status of the family.

Morung

The Morung was a key institution in Naga society of the past. It was a kind of "youth dormitory", a large building decorated with elaborate carvings. But its function went far beyond providing separate shelters for adolescent boys and girls who lived and slept in it until marriage. It was also used as a guard-house during times of war when warriors stayed in it. That was why the Morung was built next to the village gate or at the strategically most advantageous place. But more important is that it was in the Morung that traditional knowledge skills and customs were transmitted from generation to generation.

Duties of the youth

The youth living in a Morung fulfilled various social functions delegated by the village council. They perform important duties such as overseeing the observance of genna, entertainment during festival, village function or a wedding. They also helped the needy and old people and kept the village clean. And the members of each generation or age-set that lived in the Morung developed strong mutual ties, a strong sense of unity that lasted the whole life. Belonging to a specific age-set constituted as

Preparations for a wedding feast



Genna

The word *genna* has its roots in the Angami-Naga word *kenna*, which means „it is forbidden“. During a *genna* period much of what is part of every-day life comes to a standstill: It is forbidden to travel, to have sexual intercourse or to eat certain types of food. A *genna* period can last several days, and, depending on the occasion, has to be observed either by the whole village or only by certain individuals. A collective *genna* was for example connected to feasts of merit, or, still today, with annual festivals like the spring festival that marks the beginning of a new agricultural cycle. *Genna* is found among all Naga tribes. The custom is still practiced, though to varying degree, even among Christian villages.



much part of a persons's identity as belonging to a specific clan. Morung as a social institution therefore established strong ties cross cutting clan membership and therefore contributed to the unity of a village.

Christianity and schools

In the past few decades Morungs as a physical structure disappeared in most villages. Only a few old Morung have been maintained and have now become a much looked-after part of the cultural heritage of the respective village. The introduction of schools and Christianity have brought about the demise of the Morung as a social institution, and the magnificent houses were abandoned. But even though the Morung as a social institution does not exist in its original form any longer, it has somehow, though in a less conspicuous form, survived.

Duties today

Today, age groups are still an important part of the identity of the Nagas and they are still continuing to play an important role in village life, being responsible for the same tasks as during the times of the Morung: Present day Naga student organizations show many traits similar to the traditional institution of the Morung. They serve as forums for sharing concerns, building common understanding and solidarity, training for leadership, or assisting persons in distress. They have become indispensable part of their social life. Even in far away places like Delhi they have their own students' union, which take care of the students' needs and acts in solidarity, or as opinion makers.



In a village school



16

New centres of power

The arrival of British colonizers, christianization of the Nagas, and then the military occupation of the Naga country by the modern Indian state, brought about new power centers within the Naga society. Army camps are today found all over the area at strategic locations and the army enjoys almost unrestricted freedom to use its power. Since several decades, Nagas have lived under martial law and have been severely suppressed. Added to all this are the changes introduced with the imposition of the state administration, police, an alien judiciary system and the political party system. Further, the church with its large membership and extensive network has become an important organisational factor in modern Naga society. These institutions have seriously weakened the traditional institutions, including the village council. However, in recent years, the traditional institutions have regained much of their past importance. Naga villages now manage most of their internal affairs through these institutions. In 1997, the tribal hohos (councils) came together and formed a Naga *hoho*, the supreme council for all Nagas.

Urban professionals

A good number of Nagas now live in towns, work as clerks or administrators in offices, as teachers, or nurses, medical doctors, engin-

ers, lawyers or in other professions. Many Nagas have migrated to their "urban" centers like Dimapur, Kohima, Mokokchung, or Ukhru in search of jobs, or to take care of their children who attend schools there. In the last few years, the populations of these towns have grown at great speed, causing problems with water provision or sewage systems.

Every year, thousands of Naga girls and boys leave their villages for far away cities in India to take up higher education. Nagas have a high literacy rate and education level compared to other people in India. Many of them have joined the Indian civil service. However, even when living far away in towns and cities, they all maintain strong ties with their village. In the community-based Naga society, kinship relationships still play a very important role.



Thangkul chief

NAGA WOMEN AND POLITICS

Women and men

Most Naga tribes are fairly egalitarian. In these tribes all people are considered equal. However, a clear distinction is made between men and women in all the traditional Naga societies. Nevertheless, Naga women have enjoyed a fairly high status when compared to other societies. Even after marriage, their clan always stands behind them, ready to back them up if their husbands do not treat them well or if ill fortune befalls them.

Peace makers

In the past, during war, women could play the role of peace-makers. For instance, among the Tangkhul it is reported that when a pitch battle going on between a woman's natal village and the village she had moved to after her marriage, she could interfere and bring the war to a halt. Holding a long Y shaped stick she could enter the battle field between the two groups and force them to stop the battle. Since she was related to both the parties by blood and through marriage neither of the side could harm her.

Inequality

Although women were highly respected, they were and are still not equal to men in Naga society. Traditionally, women could not inherit land. And political decision making has been firmly in the hands of the men, too. Women very, very rarely are members of the village council or become chiefs. And since tribal hohos are composed of representatives of village councils, and the Naga hoho summit is made up of the tribal hohos, there is no woman found in any of these bodies, too.

Naga women's organizations

Nevertheless, girls are as much welcome to parents as boys and are given equal access to education. Therefore, Naga women often have high positions in government services or work as highly educated professionals. And Naga women have begun to build their own political organization. Today, almost all Naga villages have women organizations, often under the local church. And these local organizations have created tribal level organizations in each of the Naga tribes. Side by side with the all-male tribal hohos and the Naga hoho, these tribal women organizations are playing very important roles in the present-day social and political life of the Nagas.





THE STRUGGLE FOR A NAGA NATION

"Before the British Government conquered our country in 1879-80, we were living in a state of intermittent warfare with the Assam valley to the north and west of our country and Manipur to the south. They never conquered us, nor were we ever subjected to their rule.... we pray that we should not be thrust to the mercy of the people who could never have conquered us themselves, and to whom we are never subjected but to leave us alone to determine for ourselves as in ancient times"

Memorandum submitted by the Naga Club to the Simon Commission of the British Colonial Government in 1929.

Life in fear

Since August 1997 a fragile cease-fire has allowed the Nagas to get a sense of what it is like to live in peace. For almost half a century life in Naga villages was overshadowed by insecurity, even constant fear. At the height of militarization, in the most affected areas of Nagalim there was one Indian soldier per adult Naga. And the so-called Armed Forces Special Power Act gives the Indian security forces extensive powers with impunity. Thousands of Nagas were detained and tortured, women raped, they have been wounded or have died in what most Nagas see as a foreign state's violent suppression of their legitimate demand for self-determination. For the Indian and the Burmese state it is part of their fight against what they call „insurgency“ or „terrorism“.

A colonial legacy

The roots of the conflict between the Nagas and the Indian and Burmese government can, like in many other countries of the South today, be traced back to colonial times and especially the de-colonization process. For the Nagas it started when the British took control of the plains of the Assam and Manipur kingdoms in the early 19th century. The Naga territory lies right between the two, and their animosities with the plains people posed a threat to the economic interests of the British. Therefore, from 1830s onwards the British sought to extend their control over the Naga Hills.

Early resistance

The Nagas fiercely resisted but could not hold them back for long. One village after the other had to give in to the British's superior force. And by the end of the 19th century, about one thirds of the Naga territory came under British rule. However, British control was fairly superficial. And in most places the Nagas were able to retain control over their lands.

A special status

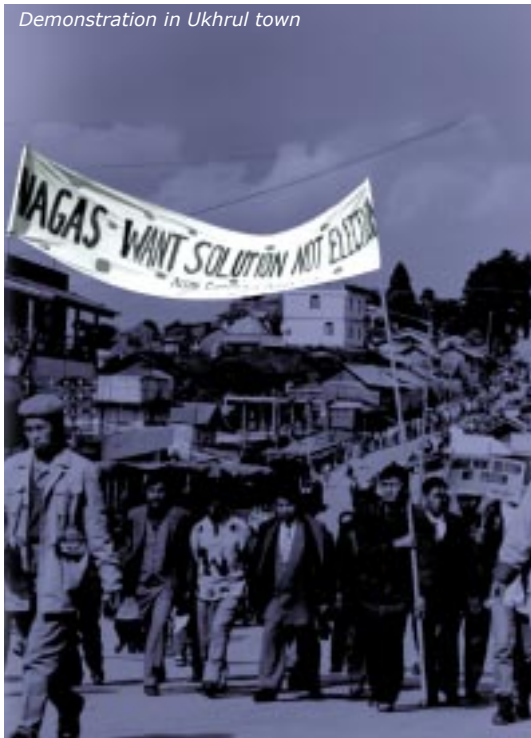
Once the British consolidated their control over the Naga area, they came to know how different in all respect the Nagas were from the plains peoples. So they decided to keep the two under different administrative systems. Already in 1873, the British enacted the Inner Line Regulation which, among others, prevented influx of plains people into the hills . This meant that the Nagas were by and large still on their own, and could continue living according to their own traditions and customs.



Soldiers of the Naga resistance movement



Demonstration in Ukhrul town



Emerging unity

It was on the basis of these realities that the first pan-Naga organization, the Naga Club, urged the British to leave them alone once they decided to withdraw from the subcontinent.

The Nagas did not develop a conscious pan-Naga identity until the beginning of the 20th century. The work of missionaries, which brought most Nagas into the folds of Christianity, and the increasing awareness of their cultural commonalities and shared antagonism with the plains people forged unity among the Naga tribes. The idea of the “Naga Nation” itself is said to have been born in the battle fields of the 1st World War in Europe.

Naga nationalism

During World War I, many Nagas from different communities went to France as labour corps. Thus they became aware of the wider world beyond their mountains and also saw how the „civilised” nations fought their own cruel wars. Far from home, Naga soldiers from different tribes and communities came together for comfort, developed a sense of belonging and discovered their many commonalities. On their return in 1918, they formed the Naga Club together with village chiefs and Naga officials who were serving the British government.

Breach of the agreement

In 1946, The Nagas formed a full-fledged political organ: the Naga National Council (NNC). A year later, NNC was recognized by the Interim government of India as the sole national political authority of the Nagas.

The so-called Nine Point Agreement was signed with the NNC in June 1947. This agreement also foresaw that after a 10 year period within the Indian Union, that was about to be born, the Naga people could decide freely on their own future. However, before long India launched state repression to crush Naga nationalism. In violation of the agreement, NNC leaders were arrested and detained.

The Nagas take up arms

India ignored the result of the plebiscite held in 1951 by NNC in which the Nagas voted unambiguously for independence. The massive but still largely peaceful protests by Nagas was met with stepped-up army presence and repression. Ultimately, in 1956 the Nagas took up arms.



Martial law

In the four decades since then, the Government of India has tried everything to break the Naga resistance movement. This includes a divide and rule policy, signing of agreements with some groups, pouring in of money and the promulgation of repressive laws such as the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA). The AFSPA among others, gives the Indian security forces the right to shoot to kill, and to arrest without warrant. And under this act, no prosecution, suit or other legal proceedings can be brought against them. Most of the Naga areas have been under this martial law since its promulgation in 1958.

Negotiations with the Indian government

Twice the Government of India has made an agreement with groups of Nagas who either claimed to represent their people or were pressured to sign it on behalf of their people. Naturally, these agreements were not recognised by the Nagas.

In connection with the first, the so called 16-Point Agreement of 1960, a new Union State, called "Nagaland" was created on about one third of the Naga inhabited areas in India. This brought division among the Nagas and led to even more violence.

In rejection of the second agreement, the so-called "Shillong Accord" (named after the town of Shillong, where it was signed), a new organisation was formed: the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN), which has become the leading force of the Naga resistance movement.

The future...

Although disagreements and divisions exist and sometimes severely hinder the Nagas on their way to achieve self-determination, they have managed to withstand the pressure from the Indian State. Finally, in 1997, the Government of India agreed to enter into unconditional peace talks with the NSCN. A cease fire was agreed upon shortly afterwards, which has until now been extended several times. However, negotiations are proceeding very slowly. While writing these last few lines, the Nagas still cannot be sure of their future as a people free to determine its own destiny. Their struggle will continue, but they all hope: that they can do it with peaceful means.





Angami children

Text: Shimreichon Luithui
Photos: Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), IWGIA archive
Layout: Jorge Monras

@ Shimreichon Luithui and IWGIA, 2001

REFERENCES

Ao, Alemchiba. *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*, Naga Institute of Culture, Kohima, 1970

Elwin, Verrier (ed). *The North-East frontier in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1959.

Haksar, Nandita & Luithui, Luingam. *Nagaland File, A Question of Human Rights*, Lancer International, New Delhi, 1984

Horam, M. *Naga Polity*, Low price Publication, Delhi, 1992 (1975)

IWGIA. *The Naga Nation and Its Struggle Against Genocide*, Copenhagen, July, 1986

Jacob, Julian. *The Nagas: Society, Culture and Colonial Encounter*, Edition Hansjörg Mayer, Stuttgart, 1990

Mills, J.P. *The Rengma Nagas*, Spectrum publications, Guwahati, 1980 (1937)

Shimray, R.R. *Origin and Culture of Nagas*, Delhi, 1985

Recommended web-sites: www.kuknalim.com; www.angelfire.com/nf/npmhr/



**INTERNATIONAL
 WORK GROUP FOR
 INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS**

Classensgade 11E - 2100 København

Tlf.: 35 27 05 00 - Fax: 35 27 05 07 - E-mail: iwgia@iwgia.org - www.iwgia.org