

## **The Paradox of Religious Nationalism in the Production of Naga Identity**

*Abraham Lotha*

Religion and nationalism both construct an identity for their members, share common sets of collective symbols and ritual objects such as cross (a symbol for suffering), sacred sites, collective rituals (Smith 1986), create a horizontal solidarity, comradeship and imagine a communion with fellow-members even those they will never meet (Anderson 1983), and both evoke strong passions and commitment from the members. As a collective representation, “religious nationalism simply makes religion the basis for the nation’s collective identity and the source of its ultimate values and purpose on this earth” (Friedland 2001:139). Religious nationalism might occur, for instance, “when the population of a territory is religiously homogenous” (Rieffer 2003:225; Connor 1994). Examples of this are Poland, Ireland, and Nepal (as the last Hindu kingdom) nationalism. Religious nationalism can also occur when the territory inhabited by a population is given a divine sanction as a sacred site, as in Ayodhya by Hindus in India, Black Hills for Lakota, Bear Butte for Cheyenne and Sacred Mountains for Navajo, or those particularly associated with the population’s ancestral land, as in Jerusalem. Religious nationalism can also be a resistance strategy when a people’s identity is threatened by another dominant religion such as in Serbia and Kosovo. Or, religious nationalism can also arise as a form of liberation movement from the oppression of rulers who are ethnically and religiously different from the population (Rieffer 2003: 226-227). For instance, Irish nationalism was largely motivated by religious oppression and discrimination from the British (O’Brien 1988). Religious nationalism aspires for political self-determination according to religious beliefs/principles resulting in states where the religious beliefs provide the guiding principles for the legal and political institutions of a state.

In this paper, I will examine the role of religion in Naga nationalism and the production of Naga identity. First, I will argue that Naga traditional belief system was posited as different and incompatible with Hindu or Islam, the dominant religions of India. Secondly, Christianity, particularly Baptist Protestantism, has not only played a

complementary role but also partially provides the *raison d'être* for Naga nationalism. Christianity started out as an external factor but eventually became an internal factor when Nagas internalized the Christian faith and championed it as a Naga cultural marker different from what the nationalists perceive as Hindu India. Thirdly, Naga nationalism has overtones of religious nationalism in the sense that religious beliefs have influenced Naga nationalists, particularly the Undergrounds, who believe that Nagas are chosen by God to be a nation (even though the appointed time has not yet come) with a mission to evangelize the non-Christians in India and neighboring countries. This salient feature of Naga nationalism is encapsulated in the motto, 'Nagaland for Christ.' Fourthly, I will describe how local understandings of Baptist Protestantism by Nagas manifest a paradox in the production of Naga ethno-nationalism. Lastly, I will examine how the increasing level of global interconnectedness, especially with American Baptist churches, reinforces the performance stage for the production of Naga identity. I begin with a brief discussion of traditional Naga religion as best we understand it before the arrival of Christianity, and its continuing practice by non-Christian Nagas to the present day.

### **Naga Traditional Religion**

Prior to becoming Christians, Nagas practiced<sup>1</sup> a form of religious belief that may be referred to as Naga traditional religion which permeated every aspect of Naga life (Epao ud; Thong 1997). While there were minor differences in names, attributes and rituals from one village to another and from one group to another, the essential features of this belief were the same. Naga belief system had qualities such as equality, harmony and balance; traditional Naga religion was oriented towards a harmonious life, a primary Naga value. Chasie also gives examples of five values to which, he says, Nagas "owe our very souls" (2005:121). The words, *Kenyü* (taboo), *mhosho* (integrity, honor), *menga* (shame), *terhomia* (supernatural), *peyu* (wisdom) are in Angami, but they are values which shape the psyche of all the Nagas (Chasie 2005:122-123).

One wonders if Naga traditional religion plays any role in nationalism. For Pelo Lorin and Emil Spees, nationalism is "an ideological aspect of Naga life in which animism plays its part in the various Naga traditional communities" (1990:359). Lorin and Spees

---

<sup>1</sup> Many non-Christian Nagas continue to adhere to the traditional religious beliefs even to this day.

(1990) further claim that “Christianity would not have had an instant impact on the Nagas had there been no nationalistic elements in their traditional religion of animism” (1990: 369). However, Lorin and Spees do not explain this clearly. There was a general tendency to reinforce stability in the society (Durkheim 1912) such as family, clan, and tribal solidarity. Religious rituals were focused on local gods and spirits in order to strengthen the bonds at the local level. In so far as it reinforced local identities such as clan, village or tribe, Naga traditional religion also had obstacles that worked against unifying all the Nagas for nationalism.

But there were also unifying elements. Julian Jacobs also argues that feasting and fertility maximization are two principles that constitute the basis for Naga unity (1990:80).

Nagas’ belief in fertility, Jacobs states, “is a central element in the cosmology which unites the diverse Naga communities” (1990:117). At the initial stages of Naga nationalism, Naga traditional religion was used by the Naga nationalists in the memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929 by the Naga Club members as a diacritical marker that differentiated the Nagas from the Hindus or Muslims in the argument for Naga nationalism. Nagas’ attitudes towards Naga belief system began to change with the introduction of Christianity in the Naga society. Unlike other cases where nationalists are neotraditionalists for the revival of a group’s culture including traditional religion, such as German nationalism in the nineteenth century, nativistic movements (Linton 1943), Native Americans revitalization movements (Wallace 1956; McLoughlin 1990), ‘Cargo’ Cults and millenarian movements (Worsley 1957), or African religious movements (Fernandez 1978), Naga belief system is considered as an internal ‘other.’ Naga nationalists, particularly the Undergrounds, and the Baptists reject the traditional religion as backward whereas Christianity is seen as modern.

### **Nagas’ Encounter with Christianity**

The Christian population of the state of Nagaland grew from a mere 13 individuals in 1881 to 90.02 % of the population of 1.92 million in 2001 (Census of India 2011), gradually transforming Nagaland into a Christian state in India. Of the Christian population in Nagaland, 85% are Baptist, 10% are Catholic, and the rest are comprised of Christian Revival, Pentecostal, and Assembly of God. There has been no census taken of

the Nagas as a whole. The Nagas in Burma are mostly Baptists, evangelized by the Naga Baptist missionaries and the Naga nationalists. The Nagas in Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh are predominantly Baptists and Catholics. Among the Zeliangrong in Nagaland and Manipur, a small minority belong to the Haraka movement, a religious movement started by Jadonang in early 1930s combining nativistic elements with Hindu influences. The Catholic Church in the state of Nagaland began only in 1951 and has been very influential in the field of education and social services. The Catholic Church, officially, has had little or no say in Naga nationalism because of their emphasis on evangelization and, partly, because the Catholic clergy, most of whom are missionaries predominantly from South India, have stayed away from Naga nationalist issues. On the other hand, the Baptist church has been very pro-active and vocal in Naga nationalism. In order to examine further the role of Christianity in Naga nationalism in everyday life, I will investigate the Nagaland Baptist Church Council's (NBCC) role in Naga nationalism. In the next section I will describe a meeting of the NBCC for reconciling the nationalist factions at which I was a participant observer during this process.

### **Nagaland Baptist Church Council and Naga Nationalism**

The Baptist church in Nagaland has been proactive either as a staunch supporter of the Naga national movement or as a mediator to broker peace between the Naga armed nationalists and the Indian Government or between the Naga armed factions. In 1964, at the height of militarization of the Naga areas by India, the Nagaland Baptist Church Council (NBCC) brokered a cease-fire between the Indian Government and the Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN). The talks following the cease-fire did not bring about an amicable solution, but Nagas experienced a respite from the intense oppression by the Indian military. Again in 1975, following the resumption of militarization, the Shillong Accord was signed between some members of the Naga National Council (NNC) and the Indian government facilitated by the NBCC. In the 1990s and after 2000 the NBCC has again been in the forefront of trying to broker reconciliation, unity and peace between the armed Naga factions. I took part in one of the NBCC's peace initiative programs during my fieldwork. This provided important analytical insight into this process.

On September 14, 2006, I was in the Naga Hoho office chatting with Bendang, the president and other officials. A little after 2:00 P.M., Reverend Zabu Theruja, the NBCC Secretary, and Kari Longchar, the Head of the NBCC's Peace Committee walked into the Naga Hoho office. The two of them wanted to meet with the Naga Hoho and the officials of the Naga Students' Federation in order to garner support for a 'Healing and Reconciliation Movement' the NBCC was planning to launch in order to broker peace, unity and reconciliation between the Naga factions. Theruja and Kari provided copies of the NBCC proposal paper and Kari proceeded to explain. "It is a healing and reconciliation proposal," Rev. Kari said. "The civil society and churches are all working hard, but still now there is no breakthrough. The NBCC sat four times with the Executive Committee and Peace Committee and decided to start a movement – Healing and Reconciliation of Naga People." We (the NBCC) seek a right path in order to consolidate us as a great people of God. For all this the church (NBCC) came out with a paper... It will be a coming together of Nagas in reconciliation," Kari said.

On September 29, 2007, the launching of the Healing and Reconciliation Movement by the NBCC was held at the auditorium of the Christian Higher Secondary School in Dimapur, Nagaland's commercial city. I was part of the team of five that represented the Catholic Church. At the beginning of the function, The Reformation Singers and Imti John led the people in singing praise and worship songs as an overture to the program. "Don't be powerless Christians. Become powerful Christians," Imti said to the gathering of about two thousand people, "Jesus is going to finish the factions in Nagaland. We are the Lord's in life and death." The function felt like a typical Baptist Sunday worship service. What does all this mean? I asked myself. If Jesus is going to finish the factions, why even have the gathering at all? "From 'forgive and forget' to 'forgive and remember it well'" Zhabu Terhüja, the NBCC Secretary, introduced the proposal for Healing and Reconciliation to the gathering. "The church is not a political entity," he said. "It is the moral and spiritual guardian of the land. The priority is to create understanding between different leaders. And the basis of the [Healing and Reconciliation] movement is: We must accept one another." Theruja continued to exhort the gathering:

The national house of the Nagas is divided today. Nevertheless, the NBCC recognizes all different groups as having contributed to and sacrificed for the Naga national cause. Fully aware of the difficulties involved in the healing process, NBCC maintains that unless the factors dividing the Nagas are adequately addressed no real progress towards the needed solution will be possible. ... Will the Naga struggle become known to future generations for giving them a cursed legacy of vengeance, fear and bloodshed because its leaders used guns and greed instead of God's guidance to solve their problems? What the NBCC looks at is what the future generation will say on the actions taken today, and that whatever settlement is reached should be supported by all. The result will not be in a fortnight. It requires participation of every responsible Naga.

The function was highly charged with emotions. Rev. Kari the moderator of the NBCC Peace Committee said a prayer that symbolized the state of Nagas' confusion. Behind me, one man often responded, 'Amen' to Kari's prayer. Rev. V.K. Nuh, another prominent Baptist church leader, also wept and prayed: "Lord, heal our nation. Lord, heal our people." Chingmak Kejong, the Master of Ceremonies told to gathering: "Say sorry to each other for the sake (future) of the young people." The day's collective self-repentance was to echo in all the churches throughout Nagaland.

In response to the proposal, the Naga Hoho President, Bendang, said the Naga Hoho was committed to reconciliation and the Hoho supported the cease-fire between the Naga armed factions as well as between the Nagas and the Indian Government. The next speaker, the representative of the Eastern Naga Peoples' Organization (ENPO), also appreciated the initiative of the NBCC and pledged their support for healing and reconciliation among the Nagas. I thought it was well calculated that the ENPO representative was given a chance to be one of the speakers. I spoke on behalf of the Catholic Church in Nagaland, exhorting the gathering on the need to forgive and reconcile, "What we need today is more than platitudes. We live in a historic moment or a *kairos* moment with a golden opportunity to create a harmonious future. The most outstanding truth is that Nagas are united in their desire for Unity." I was conscious all the while not to set the agenda for the Catholic Church in Nagaland which, so far, has remained non-vocal in matters of Naga nationalism.

The launching ceremony of the Healing and Reconciliation was quite stretched out. There was a lot of prayer and preaching which, even though given a spiritual base, almost seemed to drown out the real purpose of the proposal - reconciliation. But it was not purely a religious function; the immediate concern was to address reconciliation through religion. The thrust was national and nationalistic in the sense of fostering unity among the Nagas to stand together for their common cause. The program did illustrate that the Baptist Church in Nagaland is pro-active in vocalizing the Nagas' political aspirations and smoothening the rough edges of the process. Perhaps the most obvious example of a nexus between religion and nationalism is Naga nationalists' justification of their positions based on the Bible. I shall dwell on this in the next section.

### **Synergy of Religion and Naga Nationalism**

In order to find out the motivating function of religion in Naga nationalism, I will trace how Christianity was used as one of the defining markers of the Naga struggle from early on. In the first official statement of Naga nationalism, the Memorandum to the Simon Commission in 1929, the Naga leaders wrote, "we have not (sic) social affinities with the Hindus or Mussalmans." Clearly, in their relationship with the Hindu and Muslim neighbors, the Nagas found no commonality and did not want to be ruled by Hindus or Muslims. A later document, NNC President, Phizo's Plebiscite speech May 16, 1951, contains one of the earlier articulated connections of Christianity with the Naga movement:

Someone may tell us that Nagas are Christians following a foreign religion. The Indians publicly say this. We do not take Christianity as foreign religion any more than we consider the light of the sun as foreign origin from outer world. There is a father-creator (*Ukepenopfi*) as we call it. He is God. The message of the Gospel fulfils our Naga conception of religion – *Nanyu* – which literally means "anguish of mind" for which we do worship. Once we came to know that there is a personal Saviour to whom one can talk to or pray directly, the real light dawned on us, and the weight of man's anguish of mind greatly vanish away. It is the end of the beginning of our personal realization in relieving the anguish of mind in this world and for the next world after death. Whatever the Indian may say of us, there is no foreignness in relationship between father and child, that is between God the Father and His children.

Influenced by such perception of Christianity, the Preamble of the Constitution (Yezabo) of NNC states: “We, the people of Nagaland, solemnly acknowledging that the sovereignty over this earth and the entire universe belongs to Almighty God alone, and the authority of the people to be exercised on the territory is a sacred trust from God, who sustained our forefathers, the national workers and our people through the years of trial” (NNC Yezabo; Luithui and Nandita 1984; Nuh and Lasuh 2002: 77). Article 136 of the Yezabo further states, “Protestant Christianity and Naga Religion are recognized religions in Nagaland” (NNC Yezabo). Later on, the NNC would affirm the connection of religion and nationalism. In a Joint Statement issued by Tatar Hoho for the Federal Government of Nagaland concerning Nagaland and the Church, on February 19, 1970, the NNC stated:

To say that Nagas are not Indians is God’s own creation. Man cannot go against it. ...After the second world war, the British government, overwhelmed with domestic and colonial difficulties, decided to pull out of Nagaland altogether and leave the country to her fate. So it was that on August 14, 1947, Nagaland declared her national independence with the motto, “NAGALAND FOR CHRIST”. It is quite probable that the heathen would have laughed at such declaration, but the national faith of Nagaland from the very first day of its national existence had acknowledged Christ as the Supreme Ruler of both heaven and the earth with a commitment, “Thy kingdom come to Nagaland.” This is a creditable proof that Nagaland has got Christ committed to herself. In a moment of trial, Nagaland may have been subjected at times to severe reverses and setbacks because of her disobedience and rebellion to God’s ways, and yet our nation cannot help believing that God, in His own time and by His divine power, will work out the destiny of this land before long. (Khodao papers)

After the split from NNC, the Manifesto of NSCN, adopted in 1980 also reads: “We stand for the faith in God and the salvation of mankind in Jesus, the Christ alone, that is "NAGALAND FOR CHRIST" (NSCN Manifesto).

### **‘Nagaland for Christ’: Between a Slogan and a Principle**

Perhaps the clearest expression of attempts by the nationalists to link nationalism with religion is encapsulated in the slogan: ‘Nagaland for Christ.’ In the past, I had always perceived the motto, ‘Nagaland for Christ’ as a naïve expression of aping the West, a simplistic spirituality, and a blind adoption of a slogan without understanding its meaning religious or social, and certainly not political. In the course of my fieldwork, I felt it was important to investigate the rationale for ‘Nagaland for Christ’ as a principle adopted by



the armed nationalists. Instead of dealing with just the reactions to the slogan, ‘Nagaland for Christ’ and the hypocritical actions of killings contrary to Christ’s teachings, I was interested in exploring more the background and the rationale for the adoption of such a slogan for a political agenda. I tried to find out how ‘Nagaland for Christ’ was understood and articulated by the nationalists in their everyday life and struggle. I wanted to get to the source of the supposed Christian foundations for Naga nationalism. Fortunately, interacting with the NSCN leaders allowed me to more fully understand the religious dimension of Naga nationalism.

### **Meeting with Isak Chishi Swu, the Chairman of NSCN-IM.**

January 22, 2007: I met with Isak Chishi Swu, the Chairman (President) of NSCN-IM, at Hebron Camp, the Headquarters for the NSCN-IM faction in Nagaland which functions as the administrative nerve center as well as the army headquarters of the NSCN-IM.

After the initial greetings, Chairman Isak Chishi Swu and I sat down to chat. His wife came in as well and joined us. President Swu motioned her towards a book on the desk. She took the book and sat to my right. She seemed to be reading it or so I thought. I sat across from President Swu. He looked aged and frail. He wore glasses with a white frame. His shirt was light gray, and over it he wore sleeveless sweater. His pants were dark blue. He had socks on and wore plastic slippers. On the desk, close to him was a copy of the NBCC Peace initiative booklet. “I am going through this,” Swu said. Next to that booklet was a Bible. To his right, there was a black laptop carrying case. Between us there was a portable *mephu* (charcoal heater).

“Which village are you from?” he asked me in a typical Naga way of introduction.

“From Lakhuti,” I replied.

I explained to him that I wanted to interview him concerning my research. But he replied:

“It is only with prayer that we will succeed. God is telling us in a vision and prayer.”

Swu told me the example of Brenda, a Jewish woman. According to Swu, there is a prayer house or something of the sort in Israel. Flags of every nationality are hoisted there. On one occasion at an international prayer session at the place, when all the flags were being hoisted, there was a Naga who tried to hoist the Naga flag. There was an Indian representative at the session who objected to hoisting the Naga flag saying that the

Nagas were within India and not a nation. At this Brenda, who was deep in prayer and apparently does not know the existence of the Nagas supposedly intervened saying, “Nagas will become a free nation so hoist the flag.” She emphasized that the Spirit inspired her. As a result of her prayerful intervention, the Naga flag was hoisted at this prayer house in Israel. Then Swu added that Grace Collins, Honorary Ambassador of NSCN-IM in the United States, informed him that a church of about fifteen thousand congregation in the U.S.A. has begun to pray for the Nagas every Sunday. “God’s spirit is leading us,” he said. He gave me a copy of the press release he gave out regarding reconciliation and forgiveness offered to the other factions. “We are all for forgiving and reconciling,” he said, “but that does not mean we have to accept the Shillong Accord. That will be stooping down very low. We need the church leaders to help us.”

“Do you have any plans to meet with Khaplang (leader of NSCN-K) to reconcile between the factions?” I asked him.

“Now we leave it up to the church leaders to do their work.”

We chatted for a few minutes more. Since he has other appointments, we decided to meet another day.

The next time I met Swu was at a meeting convened by the NSCN-IM leadership with the Naga church leaders on January 26, 2007, in connection with reconciliation with other factions. At the beginning of that meeting, Swu addressed the gathering:

Politically it [reconciliation] is not possible, but only through Christ it is possible. So we fasted with the reverends and explained in detail. We wish for reconciliation, forgiveness and compassion in our land in the name of Jesus Christ. Since Nagalim is for Christ, we have to show it through action because God has promised a [nation to the Nagas], and commissioned the Nagas to preach the gospel around the world. So we have to pray for India because India will be our evangelical field. But unless we are united, compassion is not possible. Because the Holy Spirit is working in us to proclaim to people around us, it is our duty and responsibility. The Philippines have sent 200,000 missionaries. Nagas have to send 10,000 missionaries but even that we have not succeeded.

What Isak Swu has done is to co-opt the mission of the NBCC’s Missionary Movement and make it a religious and political mission of the Nagas. The idea of sending 10,000 missionaries to evangelize South and South East Asia stems from the workings of the Nagaland Missionary Movement, the mission wing of the NBCC that began in 1962.

During the mid-1970s there was a revival movement in the Baptist churches in Nagaland, and the revival, as the NBCC says, “fueled the missionary sending vision of the ministry as many individuals surrendered their lives to God for service on the mission field” (NBCC 1997:121). From those revivals came about the idea of sending 10,000 Naga missionaries to evangelize. Apparently, Swu, who professes to be born-again Christian, has been influenced by the revival trend in the Naga Baptist churches and has taken upon himself and the NSCN-IM, the task of the Naga Missionary Movement, the mission program of the NBCC to evangelize Asia. But Swu goes even further to politicize and nationalize the NBCC’s mission program by claiming that God has given the Naga nation the task of evangelizing peoples from neighboring areas such as India, China, and Burma. More than just co-opting the mission of the Nagaland Missionary Movement, Isak Swu aims to make Nagaland a Christian state. As Sean O’Driscoll commented on Isak Swu’s interview with *The Washington Diplomat*, Swu’s “main preoccupation will be creating a Christian State, which comes higher on his list of priorities than socialism, nationalism or even democracy” (2003). Swu has also expressed that religion will not be imposed on people and the rights of other religions will be respected. But in his interview with the *Washington Diplomat*, he expressed his vision for Nagaland as a State where only Christianity will be tolerated (O’Driscoll 2003).

### **Meeting with Thuengaleng Muivah, General Secretary, NSCN-IM**

My next meeting was with Thuengaleng Muivah, the General Secretary of NSCN-IM. As the main intellectual force of the NSCN-IM, I was keen on interviewing him. He had come from Amsterdam in December 2006, and was stationed at Hebron Camp, the Headquarters for the NSCN-IM camp in Nagaland, for practically the whole of 2007. I was told by his assistants that Saturdays were the only days he was free for personal meetings. My chance came on Saturday, April 21, 2007. My appointment with Thuengaleng Muivah was supposed to be at 11:00 A.M. I arrived at 10:30 a.m. and decided to wait in the gazebo near the gate, but one of Muivah’s personal secretaries came to invite us to go inside and wait. About forty-five minutes later, I was called in. Muivah wore a short-sleeve white shirt, gray pants and brown shoes. He appeared a little foggy at first and didn’t sound optimistic about the meeting. He straightaway started

talking about religion. I let him talk only interrupting him occasionally. It was the subject I wanted to ask him, and I was not disappointed. Actually I felt that I was being given on a platter what I wanted. Muivah explained to me the religious rationale for Naga nationalism:

For me, God has created heaven and earth and in this creation a portion for the Nagas is also there because for the most of the people there is homeland and there must be a piece of land for the Nagas which can be called their home. This is most precious. To me what is most precious is what God has given to us. That is most precious. God has given to you your homeland. Do you think God has created heaven and earth without a portion for the Nagas? .... And that portion particularly is this Patkoi range because we were made to settle down there. This becomes very clear to me. So Nagaland becomes homeland, this Patkoi ranges. Most precious. Why we cannot tell this?

Muivah's argument sounded like the present land inhabited by the Nagas is a promised land and their reaching this place, the purpose of an unseen God. He sees the hand of an unseen force (God) guiding for the Nagas. Muivah's argument smacked of a predestined political theology as he continued:

So God has given us two things, let me say: eternal salvation through Jesus Christ, and then if it is so, then Christ died for the Nagas also, for Nagaland also. So Christ must be chosen. This is the reason why for me Nagaland for Christ. ... But our leaders, they do not say Nagaland for Christ on this basis, on the basis I am explaining but according to their understanding, their interpretation of the Bible, I mean from the preachers. But that is not enough. To make yourself totally committed to the cause, we must be fully persuaded of this. It is not their will; it's not my will, but the will of God. This must be. *Achhhh itu ki?* (what is this?) *Pani to nije te keru thakishe apna laka kushi kote ase?* (The water is flowing downstream, where is your wish?). See, everything is conditioned according to God's will. So when we think of all these things, tradition, customs, traditional practices all these things, God is not against it, but the will of God is the first. But here on earth we cannot help talking about identity. I don't want to be everybody. Even Jesus himself said, I am a Jew. So something of that is to be done. For what? For identification. Even God called night, night, light, light, day, day. ... So now applying this to the case of the Nagas, there is nothing wrong when we say that the Nagas are one. ... So the basis [is], God has created for our existence ... [it] must be ... then God's will.

A: Any story of God's plan for the Nagas in the story of the Nagas?

M: For me I am convinced, Naga *mati* to Indian *manu pana nahoi to, britishkhan pana nahoi to, naga nijor bi pana nahoi to. So kaun ha kaun banaishe to malik*

*thakiboto* (Naga land was not created by Indians, not created by the British, not created by Naga people too).

A: Besides this religious perspective what else drives Naga nationalism?

M: Naga nationalism is good but it is raw. During NNC's time it was raw... The Nagas in the beginning said 'Nagaland for Christ.' Very good. I agree with them. But when I dug into it that was not out of understanding, not out of conviction, [and] not out of persuasion. Naïve. Because they were Christians and so they want to make Nagaland Christians. But here the greater question is, if Nagaland is part and parcel of God's creation and God's purpose is to save this, then we are becoming a part of God's plan. And Christ also died for Nagaland also. So Nagaland becomes highly essential, very indispensable because it is created, God has purpose to save this for eternal salvation.

It is clear from Muivah's explanation that the rationale for Naga nationalism, at least for NSCN-IM, is a process towards the fulfillment of God's will for the Nagas which is to achieve the goal of a Naga nation, a Christian state, and ultimately to glorify God in the next world. As a people, Naga nationalism was being oriented towards this vision. I realized that Muivah's vision was very much influenced by a Christian ideology of purpose and meaning in life. Just as an individual is supposed to have a purpose and meaning in life, so too the nation is supposed to have a purpose. According to Muivah and Swu, God was saving them for a purpose – Naga nationhood. In the NSCN's reasoning, the purpose of Naga nation is not just to be independent but also to glorify God (for Muivah) and to evangelize Asia (for Swu).

I wanted to find out if Muivah's own religious upbringing and personal experiences had any influence on his religious rationale for Naga nationalism. He went on to explain to me his understanding of God, and the role of God in the life of the Nagas.

Muivah: My experience is this. One day while I went out into the jungle and I prayed. I fell into a trance and I saw Jesus standing a [distance] away, dressed in white cloth .. almost same as in the picture. A boy was there clenching, holding his hand and his arms. I said, this is Jesus, this is Jesus. I wanted .. but at that time earthly force, like the Indian army [was at] my side, [so I] could not go. I was scared. There were so many. Jesus turned and looked at the armed forces. They became nothing, frightened, as if [they had] no spirit at all, as if dry leaves and they just shivered back. I said, what is this? Then Jesus turned to me, looked at me and I saw the boy [was] not frightened. So I just wondered why this boy is so strong? Even in this situation I could see through his heart. ... Armies came again

and I was frightened again. Jesus turned again and they became frightened. Jesus looked at me tenderly and they just left. I thought, mmm why Jesus should come? What is this? That made me to think a lot for a long time, more than 30 years. Now I have completely understood the purpose of God, the purpose of Jesus in saving.

A: Have you experienced in real life what you saw in the trance?

M: Yes I have. You know when Khaplang attacked our forces, ... just before the sunrise, ... started firing from two directions. I walked out, I thought I was finished but fortunately ... did not get hurt... It is not possible for human being to escape from such situation. ... And in case of Khaplang also it is like that. ... How many times he came and ambushed to kill ... asshhh this is too much. ... And [again] when I was saved from the terrible ambush from the Burmese, no way out, no way out there, but it did not hit me. I escaped then I promised to God. Why He saved me? ... International communities did not save me. You have come to my rescue, you have saved me. Thank you so much. ... Then I promised to God, I will seek your kingdom first, your righteousness first... so I promised. After that I became the strongest man. As if I could defeat... That kind of feeling came.

A: What about being saved from India Army?

M: And whenever Indians ambushed, ... a feeling came to me - must be from God. Some feeling would come and I would at once warn my friends... and somebody would come running, "Indians are waiting here." [It was] this way most of the time. So though I am a fool, cannot understand anything, God knows. God is working and he cares for me. ... God has saved me because he has a purpose for me.

I tried hard to understand the religious element of Naga struggle, and it occurred to me that it is not so much the NBCC or institutional religious organizations that are setting the agenda, but the nationalists' personal convictions and experience of God that is motivating the movement. Muivah pointed out the religious experiences of people like him, of being protected and saved by God in the jungles and in their encounter with enemies in warfare. Many of the armed nationalists have lived in the jungles fighting the enemy for years with no proper food, no security and no comfort. Many of them have cheated death on a number of occasions. Muivah and other nationalists attributed such saving experiences as miracles by the power of "our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

Conversations like the ones with Swu and Muivah provide insight into the rationale of the slogan ‘Nagaland for Christ.’ On numerous issues, Muivah, Swu and other nationalists stressed the fact that Nagas are Christians and so ‘Nagaland for Christ’ is not a misnomer. But, how were such convictions played out in the NSCN-IM’s daily struggle for Naga self-determination? Among many examples, there was one consultative meeting called by the NSCN-IM leadership that I was invited to attend.

### **Religiosity Permeates Naga Political Issue**

On July 27, 2007, the Sixth Naga Peoples’ Consultative Meeting was held at Hebron Camp called by the Collective Leadership of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN-IM). The main agenda for the meeting was whether the ceasefire between the Government of India and the NSCN-IM should be extended or not since the political talks that had been going on for the last 10 years had produced no solution. The next round of talks was to be held from July 30-31 in Dimapur, the commercial city of Nagaland.

At 9:05 A.M. Isak Chishi Swu, the Chariman of NSCN-IM arrived accompanied by Thuengaleng Muivah, the General Secretary, and their wives, secretaries and bodyguards. “Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord!” Swu said, introducing the agenda for the meeting. “The ceasefire should be extended or not. If yes, for how long? We need to know. What does God want to do with the Naga people? We have to do it all in the name of Jesus Christ. If we don’t do in the name of Jesus Christ, we will face big problem. We offer it all into God’s hands. If we don’t understand ‘Nagaland for Christ,’ we can’t [succeed]. Praise the Lord!” Immediately following Swu, Muivah spoke:

What the Nagas want, Nagas have to decide. I don’t have doubt that God gave Naga land to Naga people. This is God’s promise. I believe in Nagaland; I believe in God, too. We can do all things through Jesus Christ. We are not a people without [a] promise. Have no confusion; we have been shown the way. ... If we believe in Jesus Christ, we will be shown our way everyday. ... Who will represent the Nagas? God created the Nagas; He gave them land. God called me to represent the Naga cause. God did not forsake the Nagas. We need to understand each other. We cannot make mistake. Let us try to understand together how much we have done and the position of India. If we don’t understand our position, there is no saving Nagaland. ... Nagas have to realize that our faith in

God is weak. We need to examine ourselves now. Israelites faced the problem of crossing the Jordan. “Sanctify yourselves today, I will do wonders tomorrow” God told them. God helped Israelites cross the Jordan. Problem with God and Nagas: How much do Nagas have faith in God? ... Let us examine the problem like the Israelites. Can we come forward to sanctify ourselves? Perhaps that is the demand. ... Your weakness is standing in the way if you want to be free. Confess your sins then God will fight for us.

What was interesting was that other than whether the cease-fire should be extended or not, neither Swu nor Muivah said on what point the Naga people should be consulted. From the tone of what was said by Swu and Muivah, it felt like a religious meeting rather than a political consultative meeting. What was clear was that a fundamentalistic understanding of the Bible and the religious convictions of the leaders provide a powerful motivating force in the way Naga nationalism is being articulated. Negative reactions by the Nagas against the motto, ‘Nagaland for Christ’ has not been unfounded. Many Nagas see the increasing factional violence and the loss of many lives as actions contrary to the Christian principles of love and forgiveness. ‘Nagaland for Christ’ continues to be seen as an empty rhetoric, and many Nagas have developed an aversion to the slogan. However, despite these unChristian-like evidences, religion continues to be a legitimizing device for Naga nationalism.

### **Nationalism as a Resistance Strategy**

Broadly, it may be argued that for the Nagas Christianity is a tool of opposition to the Hindu mainstream. For most Nagas, especially those in what was known as ‘Free Naga’ area, their first introduction to India and Indians was through the Indian Army, and albeit some Nagas’ experience of Hindu customs in neighboring Manipur and Assam, most Nagas did not experience the oppressiveness of the Hindu caste system in India. In some ways, their antagonism was brought on by Nagas’ experiences of relating to Hindus. For Yonuo, there were two religion-related reasons that helped in the rise of Naga nationalism: First, the “separatist tendency had evolved mainly because of the treatment meted out to them by the converted Hindus and Muslims in Assam and Manipur who regarded them as ‘untouchables’ or ‘dirties’ for their religion and food habits<sup>2</sup> since the

---

<sup>2</sup> For Hindus and Muslims, food has religious sanctions. Thus difference in food habits in this case is not only cultural but also religious.



Hindus in the plains of Assam and Manipur despised them for their eating beef and the Muslims pork, for the Nagas ate both”, and secondly, “the Christian missionaries whipped up the inveterate prejudices against the Hindus, describing them as inimical to animism and Christianity, since many Nagas had lately embraced Christianity as a superior and more civilized religion than Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam” (Yonuo 1974:168). At a deeper level, according to Pelo Lorin and Emil Spees, Naga nationalism is based on “the fear of Hindu domination over Christianity” (1990: 357).

On a closer examination insecurity may be described as thick signifier (Huysmans 1998; Kinnvall 2004) for Naga nationalism. Even today, one of the reasons that continue to motivate the Naga nationalists to bank on the Christian factor for protecting Naga identity is the fear that assimilation into the dominant Indian (Hindu) society would result in the loss of Naga identity. Annie, a college lecturer told me in an interview:

Basically [we are protecting] our distinctive identity, cultural identity, the Naga identity. We don't want to be assimilated into the great Indian culture, ... we realize the smallness of our minority in comparison to India. ... and this is one reason why we took to Christianity in a big way so quickly because India is basically Hindu.

This fear of assimilation into India (Hindu) is clearly a primary factor that motivates Naga nationalists such as Muivah and Phantia. For Muivah, assimilation is “the most dangerous insidious word.” Illustrating a parallel experience from the Old Testament, Muivah argued that God knew this very well, so he warned the Israelites, “when you reach Canaan, you have nothing to do with this or that” [Deuteronomy 7, 8, 11, 12, 14:2]. “How does it parallel with the Nagas' case?” I asked him. To which Muivah responded:

In our case, ... we gradually realized the danger from outside, especially assimilation. So in order to be free from the danger of assimilation, nationalism is also very essential. ... I am very much moved by what God said to the Israelites when they were to reach Canaan: “You have nothing to do with the people living there,” he said (in reference to Exodus 19:5-6; Deut. 7; 8; 11; 12; 14:2). Because He knew what would happen. The struggle will always be there between the evil force and the forces which are the fear of God. *Hotai thakibole ase to, na?* (Won't such struggles will always be there?) It is eternal in its nature. Therefore it will be wise for you and me to see into the danger of this and keep ourselves, our people guarded against this kind of danger. Hinduism, we know the good and the bad of Hinduism. Muslims, we have heard, or any religion alien to us, very strange or

new to us. Forces will come and those forces will have influence over the Naga people. This is very dangerous.

Nagas' fear is not unfounded given the recent anti-conversion laws passed in some Indian States. On February 19, 2007, the Governor of Himachal Pradesh, Vishnu Sadashiv Kokje signed the state anti-conversion law that was passed by the State legislature on December 19, 2006, making it the eighth state in India to pass anti-conversion law. According to the Himachal Pradesh anti-conversion law, which was targeted primarily towards the Christians in the state, a two-year prison term and a fine of Rs. 25,000 will be imposed on persons found guilty of conversion to Christianity (*Nagaland Post* February 22, 2007). In addition to such laws going against the fundamental right to religion in India, what makes the Himachal Pradesh anti-conversion law discriminatory is that in "case of conversion of women and persons belonging to Dalit and tribal communities, the punishment will be three years of rigorous imprisonment and a fine for Rs. 50,000" (*Nagaland Post* February 22, 2007). Nagas interpret such instances as a fulfillment of what their forefathers feared. In an interview, Humsha, a Naga scholar, clarified this for me further: "Yes, ... someday they [Hindus] may force the Muslims or even tribals to follow the Hindu code. Because in India the uniform civil code may be coming from Hindu ethos may not be exactly dormant because Hindus will impose and those who oppose will be just like a dog barking because they (Hindus) have the number in the parliament. We don't have the number. So these are the things our forefathers sensed." For Nagas, then, resistance strategy or the defense of their Christian faith is a crucial factor in their nationalist struggle to protect their culture and identity from the assimilating forces of Hinduism and the dominant political forces of India.

### **Role of Christianity in Naga Nationalism**

Christianity fostered a greater solidarity and interaction among the Naga Christians of different communities (Yonuo 1974; Lorin and Spees 1990). As a global religion, Christianity (Protestantism in the Nagas' case) shed Naga local identities by strengthening solidarity among different groups and unified the Nagas. Charles Chasie said in an interview, Christianity has been instrumental in "bringing our people together, removing the barriers, creating more fellow-feeling" among the Nagas. Or as Yonuo

points out, “it can also be said that Christianity was an inward machinery which brought modernization, western ways of life, education, the renaissance of Nagaism and unity among Nagas” (1974:120). Han, a Baptist pastor, described in an interview the changes brought on by Nagas’ conversion to Christianity and the resultant influence on nationalism in a more down-to-earth fashion: “Those days we were headhunters, satanic people, warrior people, seeing other people we come to realize to retain our human dignity – respect our own life, and automatically become nationalist.”

Secondly, Christianity was responsible for introducing western education and ideas to the Naga society that ultimately produced educated Nagas who were influential in beginning the nationalist movement. As Udyon Misra summarizes the impact of Christianity on Nagas nationalism: “Christianity and western education brought a section of Naga youth into contact with the liberal ideas of the West and, in the process, helped the growth of nationalistic forces by reducing to a great extent the rivalry among the various tribes (Misra 1978: 621 in Lorin and Spees 1990:360).

Thirdly, Christianity played an important ethnic marker for defining who Nagas are. This self-identification of Nagas as Christians became an ethnic marker that further unified the various Naga communities for the formation of a pan-Naga Christian nation state. At the onset of the nationalist movement, Naga nationalists added Christianity as another marker to posit their ethnic identity as ‘Christian Nagas’ different from ‘Hindu India.’ In this discourse, pan-Naga identity is positioned in terms of ‘Christian Nagas’ *vis-à-vis* what the Naga nationalists perceive as ‘Hindu Indians.’ Christianity is, in this sense, deeply implicated in Naga identity and nationalism. But while religious nationalism may be a thick signifier in response to ontological insecurities (Kinnvall 2004), ethnic nationalism need not always be in response to insecurities created by globalization or the nation building of a state. The question lies in the agency of those involved in it.

### **Village Councils and Their Resolutions**

In 1973 and 1996, the Village Council and Citizens’ Union of Anatongre village in Kiphire district passed resolutions “restricting establishment of any denomination in the

Village barring the Baptist church in order to uphold the unity of the Village.” On July 9, 2010, the Village Council, Village Citizens’ Union and the Village Students’ Union of Anongre village pulled down the roofing materials of the Catholic Church which was under construction. Incidentally, this was third time that the Catholic Church was pulled down in Anongre; the first time in 1973 and the second time in 2001. The Deputy Commissioner, C.M. Tsanglao, issued a memorandum on July 23, 2010 to the Village Councils in the district stating such resolutions as “without the legal sanction under the Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution” (D.C. Kiphire, Memorandum July 23, 2010).

In a separate incident, on May 24, 2010, the Village Council of Phokhungri in Phek District, also made a similar resolution: “In reference to Res. No. 2, 2004 of the Phokhungri Village Council, who try’s (*sic*) to bring other denomination in the Village will be seize (*sic*) all their properties and withdraw citizenship from the Village. No consideration will be made to the main agent and campaigner for the denomination.” Following this resolution, two members of the village were expelled on June 24, 2010 for attempting to become Catholics. Their wives and children were allowed to remain in the village on condition that they remained Baptists. In spite of the order from the Additional Deputy Commissioner that such unauthorized resolutions by the village councils “were against the well being of the general public of the Sub Division ... [and] are without the legal sanction under the Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution,” the Phokhungri Village Council, on May 28, 2011, seized the properties of one of the accused members, levied a fine of Rs. 10,000, and burnt down the Catholic Church that was under construction. The Phokhungri Village Council even claimed they were pursuing their “own interest for which every citizen with our full mandate, given our signatures to be abide (*sic*) and to be bound by our council’s resolution and with our ancestral traditional land, violating our constitutional right or is against the law does not arises (*sic*)” (*Nagaland Post June 26, 2011*).

Till date, the problem in both of these villages continues to simmer. What is interesting about the resolutions is that in both cases, the Village Councils claim that their actions

were legitimate under the law because Article 371A of the Indian Constitution respects the customary laws of the Nagas and gives right to the Naga Village Councils to make resolutions that deny the fundamental rights of the citizens. Such an interpretation of Article 371A was even supported by the *Nagaland Post*, a popular daily, which argued that Article 371A of the Constitution accords and recognizes the Anantongre village council's decision because Naga villages "are still deeply rooted to traditional culture and practices" (25/7/2010).

The paradox lies in how Naga Village Councils claim legitimacy of their resolutions based on Article 371A of the Indian Constitution, while the Catholics claim that the Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Indian Constitution guarantees their religious freedom. Another paradox is that neither the present day administrative system of Village Councils in Naga villages nor the Baptist denomination are traditional nor customary Naga practices. The Village Councils in Nagaland came into existence only by an Act in 1978. Baptist Protestantism came to Nagaland only in 1876 during the British colonial rule and to both of the above villages only after Indian independence in 1947. Thirdly, in terms of ethnicity and identity issues, Naga nationalism has been founded on the claims that Nagas are not Indians historically, ethnically, or politically. In trying to assert their independence from India, the Nagas such as in Anantongre and Phokhungri use Indian laws to provide a legal foundation to their resolutions and indirectly, affirm their being Indians. Therefore, the resolutions of Naga villages such as Anantongre and Phokhungri undermine the very foundations of Naga nationalism.

The increasing level of global interconnectedness, especially with American Baptist churches, also reinforces the performance stage for the production of Naga identity. Nagas are going global particularly through church related activities – theology, music, youth ministries, and missionary movements – creating Naga diaspora in the process and increasing interconnectedness. Incidentally, the American Baptist church also lends into this discourse from the evolutionist perspective of Nagas journey as "From Headhunters to Evangelists" (American Baptist International Ministries). Globalization has opened the

borders of Nagas' identity constructions but at the same time reinforces the Christian aspect of Nagas identity construction.

### **Challenges**

In the Nagas' case, religion as a cultural marker provides part of the rationale that substantiates and reinforces the claims of Naga nationalism. Even though Christianity united the Nagas at a national level by superseding local identities, it has also served as a cause for divisiveness amongst the Nagas. Baptist Protestantism plays a divisive role among the Nagas in two ways: First, Baptist Protestantism reduplicated the Naga structure. As Gordon Pruett points out, "the Baptist polity meshes happily with Naga tribal policy... Both polities are 'congregational' and solidly committed to the concept of local autonomy" (Pruett 1974:60). When Baptist Protestantism's individualism, based on the priesthood of all believers and personal salvation, is transferred to the priesthood of all political believers, (i.e. Naga nationalism), the result is the potential fragmentation of the nationalists into different factions, unable to unite because of personal agendas such as power, prestige, and economic opportunism as seen in the Nagas' case. It is ironic then that the Baptist church in Nagaland which is ontologically individualistic and local in character, is in the forefront of spearheading a homogenous Christian Naga nationalism.

As illustrated by the current heightened factionalism, the means to achieve the political aspiration is anything but united; at the implementation level, Naga nationalism is dictated by the politics of power and guns. As far as achieving the nationalist aspiration is concerned, the Christian ethics of 'turning the other cheek,' as Weber says, is an 'ethics of indignity' fit only for saints (Weber 1946:119). In claiming to follow the 'ethic of ultimate ends' (Weber 1946:120), the NSCN members don't feel they have to be responsible for their immoral actions or 'unprincipled opportunism.' Naga nationalists may claim 'Nagaland for Christ,' but Naga nationalism is not religious but political in which the power dimension (violence as the decisive means) co-opts the Christian ethics (of indignity). At the level of power play, Naga nationalism is still guided by traditional ethos of tribalism, power and might, status, prestige, contemporary forces of money, and 'floating culture' (Sakhrie 2005). In the struggle for power and domination and turf war

among the Underground factions, the AK-47, it seems, is more effective than the Bible. For the commandment of politics as vocation is: 'thou *shalt* resist evil by force,' or else you are responsible for the evil winning out" (Weber 1946:119-120). In their attempt to achieve their plans, parties, for whom politics is a vocation, follow the path of violence because Christian ethic such as the one found in the Sermon on the Mount or 'turning the other cheek' is an ethics of indignity fit only for the saint (Weber 1946:119). Social groups, then, achieve their planned, rational goals not just by an ideology that inspires the groups but in practice, through power play and the decisive use of force and violence. Localizing forces of clanism, tribalism, and factionalism are crippling elements that have continued to define contemporary Naga nationalism. As a Naga friend told me in jest, "We claim we are saved by the blood of Jesus, but Naga blood is thicker than the blood of Jesus." The challenge is to go beyond the tribalism and factions.

### References

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991 [1983]. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso.
- Chasie, Charles. 2005. *The Naga Imbroglia: A Personal Perspective*. Kohima: Standard Printers & Publishers.
- Connor, Walker. 1994. *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Durkheim, Emile. 1995 [1912]. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press.
- Epao, Veprari. 1993? N.d. *From Animism to Christianity*. Nagaland.
- Fernandez, James W. 1978. African Religious Movements. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 7:195-234.
- Friedland, Roger. 2001. Religious Nationalism and the Problem of Collective Representation. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27(1):125-128.
- Jacobs, Julian, with Alan Macfarlane, Sarah, Harrison and Anita Herle. 1990. *The Nagas: Hill Peoples of North East India*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Huysmans, J. 1998. Security! What do you mean? From concept to thick signifier. *European Journal of International Relations*, 4, 226–255.

- Kinnvall, Catarina. 2004. Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security. *Political Psychology*. 25:4, 741 – 767.
- Linton, Ralph. 1943. Nativistic Movements. *American Anthropologist* 45:30-40.
- Lorin, Pelo Shwenilo and Emil R. Spees. 1990. Religion: Backbone of Naga Nationalism. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. 14:355-363.
- Luithui, Luingam and Nandita Haksar. 1984. *Nagaland File: A Question of Human Rights*. Delhi: Lancer International.
- McLoughlin, William G. 1990. Ghost Dance Movements: Some Thoughts on Definition Based on Cherokee History. *Ethnohistory*. 37(1):25-44.
- Nagaland Baptist Church Council. 2006. *The Nagaland Baptist Church Council's Proposal for Healing and Reconciliation of the Naga People*. Kohima: NBCC.
- Nuh, V.K. and Wetshokhrolo Lasuh. 2002. *Naga Chronicle*. New Delhi: Regency Publications.
- O'Brian, Connor Cruise. 1988. *God Land: Reflection on Religion and Nationalism*. London: Harvard University Press.
- O'Driscoll, Sean. 2003. Religious Fervor May Dominate Emerging Indian State of Nagalim. *The Washington Diplomat* Oct. 2003.
- Pruett, Gordon. 1974. Christianity, history, and culture in Nagaland. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*. 8:51-65.
- Rieffer, Barbara-Ann J. 2003. Religion and Nationalism: Understanding the Consequences of a Complex Relationship. *Ethnicities*. 3(2):215-242.
- Sakhrie, Ahu. 2005. Issues for Socio-economic Growth of the State. Paper presented at "vision North East Region – 2020 with special reference to Nagaland." organized by Nagaland University, December 10 – 11, 2005. Kohima.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Basil: Blackwell.  
2003. *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thong, Joseph S. 1997. *Head-Hunters Culture: Historic Culture of Nagas*. Tseminyu, Nagaland: Khinyi Woch, Chunlikha.
- Wallace, Anthony F.C. 1956. Revitalization Movements. *American Anthropologist*. 58(2):264-281.



Weber, Max. 1991[1946] Politics as a Vocation. *In* From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Trans. Ed. By H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Worsley, Peter. 1957. The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia. London: Macgibbon & Kee.

Yonuo, Asoso. 1974. The Rising Nagas: A Historical and Political Study. Delhi: Vivek Publishing House.