

ANNEXURE 1

The Sixteen Point Agreement Arrived at Between the Naga People's Convention and The Government of India in July, 1960

1. The Name

The territories that were heretofore known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act 1957, shall form a State within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as Nagaland.

2. The Ministry Incharge

Nagaland shall be under the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India.

3. The Governor of Nagaland

- (1) The President of India shall appoint a Governor for Nagaland and he will be vested with the executive powers of the Govt. of Nagaland. He will have his headquarters in Nagaland.
- (2) His administrative secretariat will be headed by a Chief Secretary stationed at the headquarters with other Secretariat Staff as necessary.
- (3) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to law and order during the transitional period and for so long as the law and order situation continues to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities. In exercising this special responsibility, the Governor shall, after consultation with the Ministry, act in his individual judgement. This special responsibility of the Governor will cease when normalcy returns.

4. Council of Ministers

- (1) There shall be a Council of Ministers with a Chief Minister at the head to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions.
- (2) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Naga Legislative

Assembly.

5. **The Legislature**

There shall be constituted a Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary representing different Tribes. (Further a duly constituted body of Experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis).

6. **Representation in Parliament**

Two elected members shall represent Nagaland in the Union Parliament, that is to say one for the Lok Sabha and the other for the Rajya Sabha.

7. **Acts of Parliament**

No Act or Law Passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in the Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly:

- (1) The Religious or Social Practices of the Nagas.
- (2) Naga Customary Laws and Procedure.
- (3) Civil and Criminal Justice, so far as these concern decisions according to Naga Customary Law. The existing laws relating to administration of civil and criminal justice as provided in the Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District shall continue to be in force.
- (4) The ownership and transfer of land and its resources.

8. **Local Self-Government**

Each tribe shall have the following units of rule-making and administrative local bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas:

- (1) The Village Council;

- (2) The Range Council; and
- (3) The Tribal Council.

These Councils will also deal with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages.

9. Administration of Justice

- (a) The existing system of administration of Civil and Criminal justice shall continue.
- (b) Appellate Courts:
 - (1) The District Court-cum-Sessions Court (for each district), High Court and Supreme Court of India.
 - (2) The Naga Tribunal (for the whole of the Nagaland) in respect of cases decided according to Customary Law.

10. Administration of Tuensang District

- (1) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of 10 (ten) years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District area capable of shouldering more responsibility of the advanced system of administration. The commencement of the ten-year period of administration. The commencement of the ten-year period of administration will start simultaneously with the enforcement of detailed workings of the constitution in other parts of the Nagaland.
- (2) Provided further that a Regional Council shall be formed for Tuensang District by elected representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang District, and the Governor may nominate representatives to the Regional Council as well. The Deputy Commissioner will be the Ex-officio Chairman of the Council. The Regional Council will elect members to the Naga Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District.
- (3) Provided further that on the advice of the Regional Council, steps will be taken to start various Councils and Courts, in those areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institutions.

- (4) Provided further that no Act or Law passed by the Naga Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specifically recommended by the Regional Council.
- (5) Provided further that the Regional Council shall supervise and guide the working of the various Councils and Tribal Courts within Tuensang District and wherever necessary depute the local officers to act as Chairman thereof.
- (6) Provided further that Councils of such areas inhabited by a mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific Tribal Council to be affiliated to shall be directly under the Regional Council for the time being. And at the end of ten years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desire the period will be further extended.

11. **Financial Assistance from the Government of India**

To supplement the revenues of Nagaland, there will be need for the Government of India to pay out of the Consolidated Fund of India:

- (1) A lump sum each year for the development programme in the Nagaland; and
- (2) A grant-in-aid towards meeting the cost of administration.

Proposals for the above grants shall be prepared and submitted by the Government of Nagaland to the Government of India for their approval. The Governor will have general responsibility for ensuring that the funds made available by the Government of India are expended for purposes for which they have been approved.

12. **Consolidation of Forest Areas**

The delegation wished the following to be placed on record:

The Naga delegation discussed the question of the inclusion of the Reserve Forests and of continuous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one State to another.

13. **Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Areas**

The delegation wished the following to be placed on record:

The Naga leaders expressed the wish for the contiguous areas to join the new State. It was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the areas of any State, but that it was not possible for the Government of India to make any commitment in this regard at this stage.

14. **Formation of Separate Naga Regiment**

In order that the Naga people can fulfil their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of India the question of raising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.

15. **Transitional Period**

- (a) On reaching the political settlement with the Government of India, the Government of India will prepare a Bill for such amendment of the Constitution, as may be necessary, in order to implement the decision. The Draft Bill, before presentation to Parliament, will be shown to the delegates of the NPC.
- (b) There shall be constituted an Interim Body with elected representatives from every tribe, to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of the Nagaland during the transitional period. the tenure of office of the Interim Body will be (three) years subject to re-election.

16. **Inner Line Regulation**

Rules embodied in the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 shall remain in force in the Nagaland.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

North East Council, *North East Region at a Glance*, (Shillong: NEC. 1994).

Report of the South Commission - *The Challenge to the South* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Responses to the Report of the South Commission, *Facing the Challenge* (London: Zed Books the South Centre, 1993).

The Challenge to the South Report of the South Commission, (Oxford University Press, 1990).

Naga Students' Federation, *Seminar Paper on 'The Naga Problem : An Overview'*, Presented at the Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi, December 14, 1995.

Naga National Council, *Unpublished Letter*, Ref. No. NNC-E/91, 3 June 1991, Wokha, Nagaland.

Government of India

Census of India 1961, Volume XXIII, Nagaland, Part II-C, Cultural and Migration Tables, (Delhi: The Manager of Publications, Civil, 1969).

Census of India 1971, Series-15, Nagaland, Part II-D, Migration Tables, (Nagaland: Directorate of Census Operation).

Census of India 1981, Series-15, Nagaland, Part V-A & B, Migration Tables, (Nagaland: Directorate of Census Operation).

Census of India 1991 (unpublished), Migration Tables, (Nagaland: Directorate of Census Operation).

Census of India 1991, Provisional Populations Totals, (Nagaland: Directorate of Census Operation).

Census of India 1961, V.3, Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste, (Assam Hill Division, 1964).

Gazettes of Bengal and North-East India (Delhi: Mittal Publication, 1979).

Imperial Gazettes of India, Vol.II, (New Delhi: Today and Tomorrow's Publication).

Nagaland '94 (Kohima: Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland).

Nagaland Basic Facts 1993, (Kohima: Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland).

Nagaland Basic Facts 1994, (Kohima: Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland).

Nagaland Basic Facts 1995, (Kohima: Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Nagaland).

Projected Population of Nagaland From 1982 to 1991, (Kohima Directorate of Economic and Statistics, Govt. of Nagaland).

Statistical Atlas of Nagaland, 1991, (Kohima: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Govt. of Nagaland).

Statistical Information Relating to the Influx of Refugees from East Bengal into India till 31st October 1971, (Calcutta: Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation, Govt. of India, 1971).

Secondary Sources

Books

Abbi, B.C., *North East Region : Problems and Prospects of Development* (Chandigarh: CRRID, 1984).

Acharyya N.N., *A Brief History of Assam* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1987).

Anand, V.K., *Conflicts in Nagaland* (Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1981).

Ao, Alemchiba, *Brief Historical Account of Nagaland* (Jorhat : Janambhomi, 1970).

Bennett, Robert and Stall, E. Robert, *Global Change and Challenge: Geography for 1990's* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

Bergman, E.F. *Modern Political Geography*, (Lowa: WMC Brown Company, 1975).

- Bhambari, C.P., *The Foreign Policy of India* (Delhi: Sterling Publication, 1987).
- Bhat, Sudhakar, *The Challenge of the North-East* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Private Limited, 1975).
- Bhattacharjee, T.K., *Enticing Frontiers*, (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1992).
- Bhattacharjee, J.B., *Sequences of Development in North-East India* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1989).
- Bhuyan, B.C., *Political Development of North East, Part I* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1992).
- , *Political Development of North East, Part II* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1992).
- Blij, Harm J., De, *Geography Regions and Concepts* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1971).
- , *Systematic Political Geography* (New York: John Willy and Sons, 1973).
- Brake, Michael, and O'Hare Greg., *The Third World : Diversity, Change and Interdependence* (Edinburgh: Olive and Boyd, 1987).
- Brass, Paul, R., *Ethnicity and Nationalism : Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991).
- Brown, A. Lawrance, *Place, Migration and Development in the Third World* (London: Routledge, 1991).
- Burnett, Alan D., and Taylor, Peter J., *Political Studies from Spatial Perspective: Anglo-American Essay on Political Geography* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1981).
- Champion, T.C., *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- Chaube, S.K., *Electoral Politics in North-East India* (Madras: Universities Press India, 1985).
- Chaudhury, D.P., *North-East India 1865-1914* (Calcutta : The Asiatic Society, 1978).

- Chhabra, K.M.L., *Assam Challenge* (Delhi: Konark Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1992).
- Cohen, S.B., *Geography and Politics in a Divided World* (London: Methuen, 1964)
- Cox, R.K. *Locational Approachess to Power and Conflict* (New York: Wiley, 1974).
- Das. Amiya Kumar, *Assam's Agony* (New Delhi: Lancers Publication, 1982).
- Das, N.K., *Ethnicity, Identity and Social Stratification in North-East India* (New Delhi: Inter India Publication, 1989).
- Datta B.S., *North East As I See It* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1994).
- Dickson, J.P., Clark, C.G., and Others, *A Geography of Third World* (London: Methuen and Co., 1983).
- Dikshit, R.D., *Political Geography: A Contemporary Perspective* (New Delhi: Tata Mc Graw Hill, 1985).
- Dubey, S.M., *North East India: A Sociological Study* (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1978).
- Dunn, John. *Contemporary Crisis of the Nation State* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995).
- Dutta, P.S., *Electoral Politics in North-East India* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1986).
- Dutta, P.S., *North East: A Study of Mobility & Political Behaviour* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1991).
- East, W.G. and Prescott, J.R.V. *Our Fragmented World: An Introduction to Political Geography* (London: Macmillan, 1975).
- East, W.G. and Moddie, A.E. *This Changing World* (London: Harrap, 1956).
- Fisher, Charles, A., *Essay in Political Geography* (London: Methuen and Co. 1968).
- Fishlow, Albert, Diaz. F. Carlos, Alejandro, Fogen, R. Richard and Hansen, D. Roger, *Rich and Poor Nations in the World Economy, 1980's Project Studies, Councils of Foreign Relations* (New York: McGraw - Hill Book Co).

Frank, A.G., "The Development of Under Development". in M. Smith, R. Little and M. Shackleton (eds.), *Perspectives on World Politics* (London: Groom Helm, 1981).

———. *Latin America's Underdevelopment or Revolution* (New York: Paperback Edition, 1970).

———. *On Capital Development* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975).

Frank, Andre Gunder., *Dependent Accumulation and Under Development* (London: Macmillan Press, 1978).

———. *Critique and Anti-Critique: Essay on Dependence and Reformism* (New York: The Macmillan Press, 1984).

Frobes, D.K., *The Geography of Underdevelopment* (New Delhi: Select Book Service Syndicate, 1985).

Glassner, H.T., *Systematic Political Geography* (Canada: John Wiley and Sons, 1973).

Gopalakrishnan, R., *Ideology, Autonomy and Integration in the North East India*, (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1990).

———. *North East India: Land, Economy and Peoples*, (Delhi: Har Anand Publications, 1991).

Gottmann, Jean, *Centre and Periphery* (California: Sage Publication, 1980).

Guha, Amalendu, *Planters Raj to Swaraj, Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam* (New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House, 1988).

Havner, Milan, *What is Asia to US; Russia's Asian Heart land Yesterday and Today* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1992).

Hazarika, Sanjoy, *Strangers of the Mist* (New Delhi: Penguin, 1995).

Hector, Michael, *Internal Colonialism : the Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1936-1966* (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul).

Henry, Paget, *Peripheral Capitalism and Under Development in Antigua* (New Brunswick, N. Jerley: Transaction Books, 1985).

- Horam, M. *Social and Cultural Life of Nagas* (Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1992).
- Isreal, Milton, *National Unity: The South Asian Experience* (New Delhi: Promilla and Company Publishers, 1983).
- Jack, W.A.D. and Marwyn, S. Samuels, *Political and Geographic Relationship (Towards a New Focus)* (England: Englewood Cliffs Inc, 1971).
- Kasperson, E. Roger and Minghi, V. Julean, *The Structure of Political Geography* (London: University of London Press, 1970).
- Khasbulatov. R.I., *Imperial and Developing Nations* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1987).
- Kliot, Nurit and Waterman, Stanley. *Pluralism and Political Geography: People, Territory and State* (London: Croom Helm, 1983).
- Knox, Paul and Agnew, John, *The Geography of the World Economy* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1989).
- Kothari, Rajni, *Politics in India* (Delhi: Orient Longman, 1970).
- Kumar, D.P., *Challenge to India's Unity* (Delhi: D.K. Publishers, 1990).
- Learmonth, Andrew, *Approaches to Political Geography for the Social Sciences Foundation Courses* (Walton Hall Bletchey Buchs: The Open University Press, 1971).
- Linge, G.J.R., *Peripheralisation and Industrial Change* (New York: Croom Helm Ltd., 1988).
- Mackenzie, A., *The North-East Frontier of India* (Delhi: Mittsal Publications, 1989). Third Edition.
- Marwah, Ved, *Uncivil Wars, Pathology of Terrorism in India* (New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1996).
- Mathew, T., *North Easter Hill Regions of India: Problems and Prospects of Development*, (New Delhi: Agricole Publishing, 1981).
- Medhi, Kunja, *State Politics in India: A study of Assam Legislative Assembly* (Guwahati: Omsons Publication, 1988).
- Mishra Udayon, *North-East India: Quest for Identity* (New Delhi: Omsons

Publication. 1988).

Muir, Richard, *Modern Political Geography* (London: Macmillian, 1975).

Mukherjee, S. Hussain, F. Indad and others. *Demographic Profile of North-East India* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1994).

Nag, Sajal. *Roots of Ethnic Conflicts, Nationality Question in North East India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 1990).

Naorem, Sanajaba, *Manipur Past and Present*. Vol.1 (Delhi: Mittal Publication, 1988).

Nehru, Jawaharlal. *The Discovery of India* (New Delhi: Double day Anchor , 1960).

Nibedon, Nirmal, *North-East India: The Ethnic Explosion* (New Delhi: Lancers Publishers, 1981).

—————, *The Night of the Guerillas* (New Delhi: Lancers Publications, 1978).

Pakem, B., *Nationality, Ethnicity And Cultural Identity in North-East India* (New Delhi: Omsons Publications, 1990).

—————, *Regionalism in India: With Special Reference to North-East India*, (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1993).

Parker, Geoffrey, *Western Political Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Sydney, NSW: Groom Helm Ltd., 1995).

Parpujari, H.K., *Assam in the Days of Company 1826-1858* (Guwahati: Spectrum Publications, 1980).

Peet, Richard and Thrift, Nigel, *New Model in Geography; The Political-Economy Perspective*, Vol.II (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

Pearcy, G., Etzel, et al., *World Political Geography* 2nd Edition (New York: Crowell Company, 1958).

Pinkney, Robert, *Democracy in the Third World: Issues in the Third World Politics* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993).

Prescott J.R. V., *Political Geography* (London: Methuen and Co. 1972).

_____, *The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries* (Chicago: Aldine, 1965).

Ramunny, Murkot. *The World of Nagas* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1988).

Rastogi, P.N., *Ethnic Tensions in Indian Society*, (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1986).

Ray, B. Datta, *The Emergence and Role of Middle Class in North-East India* (New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1983).

Reid, Robert, *History of Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam 1883-1941* (Delhi: Eastern Publishing House, 1983), Revised Edition.

Saikia P.D., and Bora, D., *Constraints of Economic Development in North East India* (New Delhi: Omsons Publication, 1992).

Sarin, V.I.K. *India's North-East in Flames* (Ghaziabad: Vikas Publishing House, 1982).

Sathyamurthy, T.V., *Nationalism in the Contemporary World : Political and Sociological Perspective* (London: Frances Publishers, 1983).

Satyanarayan, P., and Rao, T. Surya Narayana, *Perspective on National Integration* (Hyderabad: Book Links Corporation, 1982).

Sema, Piketo, *British Policy and the Administration in Nagaland, 1881-1997* (New Delhi: Scholar Publication 1992).

Sen, Debabrata. *Principles of Geopolitics and History* (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1975).

Sengupta, Sarthak, *Tribes of North-East India; Biological and Cultural Perspective* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1994).

Short, J.R., *An Introduction to Political Geography* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Singh, B.P. *The Problem of Change* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1989).

Singh, Somorendro, *Integrationist and Secessionist Trend in Manipur Politics* (M.Phil. Dissertation, SSS, JNU, 1994-95).

Singh, K.S., *Tribal Movement in India*, Vol.I (New Delhi: R.J.M. Publication,

1982)

_____, *The Tribal Situation in India* (Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972).

Smith, Anthony, State and Nation in the Third World: The Western State and African Nationalism (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1983).

Stamp, L. Dubley, *India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma* (London: Methuen and Co., 1966).

Stoessinger, John. G., *The Right of Nations* (New York: Random House, 1969), Third Edition.

Sukhwai, B.L., *India: A Political Geography* (Bombay: Allied publishers, 1991).

Tarapot, Phanjoubam, *Insurgency Movement in North-Eastern India* (New Delhi: Vikas Publication, 1993).

Tarron, Sidney, *Between Centre and Periphery; Grass roots Politicians in Italy and France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977).

Timothy, George. Etc., *Security in Southern Asia: India and the Great power*, International Institute for Strategic Studies (England: Gower Publishing Co., 1984).

Vashum. R., Alube, Nehemiah P. and Lanu Longkumer, Nagas At Work (New Delhi: NSUD Publication, 1996).

Verier, Elwin, *Nagas in the Nineteenth Century* (Bombay: 1969).

Wallerstein, Immanuel, *Geo-politics and Geo-culture Essay on the Changing World System* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Weigert, Hans. W., *Principles of Political Geography* (New York, USA: Appleton - Century - Crafts Inc., 1957).

Weiner, Myron, Sons of the Soil, Migration and Ethnic Conflicts in India (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

William, Mc Neil, H. and Ruth, Adam *Human Migration-Pattern and Policies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

Wright, Yves M'eny Vincent and Allen George, *Centre-Periphery Relations in Western Europe* (London: Unwin Publishers, 1985).

Yonuo, Asoso, *The Rising Nagas* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1974).

ARTICLES

Acharya, A. Sunil, "Insurgency in Nagaland", *The Administrator*, Special Issue on North-East, vol.xxxix, October-December, 1994, pp.131-35.

Agnihotri, S.K., "Reorganisation of North East India" *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies*, vol. 26, no.1-4, Jan-Dec 1992, pp. 141-157.

Alam, K., "Status Problems and Research of Socio-Economic Research in North-Eastern Region", *Journal of N.E. India Council of Social Science*, vol.24, no.1, April-June 82, pp.1-22.

Baboo, Bal Govind, "The Naga National Movement: An Analysis", *Third World Concept*, vol.1, March-April, 1979, pp.46-51.

Bailay, Adrian. J., "Migration History, Migration Behaviour and Activity", *Annals of Regional Science*, vol.27, no.4, 1993, pp. 315-26.

Banerji, Aset, "Issue in Development Strategy for the North Eastern Hill States", *State and Society*, vol.7, no.3-4, July-Dec 1987, pp.1-13.

Basu, Pradeep, "The Naga Problem : An overview", *Asian Studies Journal*, vol.6, no.2, 1988, pp.31-47.

Bhat, R.l., "Internal Migration of Human Capital in India", *Manpower Journal*, vol.28, no.2, July-Sept 1993, pp 1-24.

Bhushan, Mani, "Demography and Politics", *Teaching Politics*, vol.15, no.1, 1989, pp.23-34.

Bora, Phani, "Communal Danger Spreads to Assam", *Party Life*, vol.27, no.9, Sept. 1991, pp.1-7.

Burchardt, A., "The Core Concept in Political Geography : A difinition of terms", *Canadian Geographers*, vol.xxiii, no.4, October 1969, pp.349-53.

Cannon, T.G.. "Geography and Underdevelopment". *Area*, vol.7 no.3, 1975, pp.212-16.

Chand. Gian, "Role of N.E. Council in the Uplift of the Region". *Yojana*, vol.26, no.15, August 16-31, 1982, pp.9,12.

Chandra. Sudhir "Regional Consciousness in 19th Century India: A Preliminary Note", *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 7, 1982, pp.1278-82.

Chakravarty, D.N., "Population trends in N.E. Region: A Study of 1981 Census". *Yojana*, vol.26, no.14-15, August 16-31, 1982, pp.50-52.

Chaube, S.K., "Nagaland: Its Place in India", *Mainstream*, January 3, 1970.

Cohen, S.B., "The World Geopolitical System in Retrospect and Prospect". *Journal of Geography*, vol.89, no.1, Jan.-Feb., 1980.

Dasgupta, Malabika, "North-East: Regional, Unbalances and Seventh Plan". *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 28, 1986, pp.528-529.

Deundey, Daniel, "Whole Earth Security: A Geopolitics of Peace", *World Watch Paper* 55, July 1983, pp.5-20.

Dikshit, R.D., "The Retreat From Political Geography", *Area*, vol. 9, no.4, 1977, pp.234-239.

Geographical Review, vol.84, no.1, 1994.

Gohain, Hiren, "Assam: Yesterday and Today", *Frontiers*, vol.24, no.21, January 4, 1992, pp.4-8.

_____, "Assam: Terrorism and Youth Unrest", *Frontiers*, vol.23, no.33, March 30, 1991, pp.11-12.

Hartsthorne, Richard, "The Functional Approach in Political Geography", *Annals of Association of American Geographer*, vol.XL, no.2, 1950, pp.95-130.

Hazarika, Sanjoy, "Far Eastern Himalayas, the Search for Distance and the Dignity". *Himal*, May-June 1993, pp.19-21.

Honna, Stephen P., "Finding a Place in the World Economy, Core-Periphery Relations, the Nation-State and Under Development of 'Garrethe Country Mary

Land", *Political Geography*, vol.14, no.5, July 1995.

Hundra, Ratan, "Latest Trend in Nagaland," *Mainstream*, September 27, 1969. pp.33-36.

Hutton, J.H., "Problem of Reconstruction in the Assam Hills", *Man in India*, vol.26. nos.1-4. 1946, pp.98-100.

Knight, David, B. "The International Geographical Union Study Group on the World Political Map", *Political Geography Quarterly*, vol.8, no.1, January 1989, pp.87-93.

Luithui, Luingam. "Violation of Human Rights in Nagaland," Paper Presented to the General Meeting of the Asian Forum of Human Rights (Hong Kong, 23-30 April 1978).

Krishnan, T.N., "Planning and Population Growth in India", *Link*, vol.35, no.32. March 21, 1993, pp. 8-11, 13-19.

Means, Gardon P., "Ceasefire Politics in Nagaland", *Asian Survey*, vol.11, October. 1971, pp.1005-1028.

Means, Gordon P., and Means, Ingunn N., "Nagaland : The Agony of Ending A Guerrilla War", *Pacific Affairs*, vol.39, 1966-67, pp.290-311.

Maxwell, Neville. "India and the Nagas", *Third World Unity*, vol.5, June, 1978. pp.11-45.

Mishra, Udyan, "The Naga National Question", *Economic and Political Weekly*. April 8, 1978, pp.618-23.

Moor, Tyrer G., "Core-Periphery Model: Regional Planning Theory and Appalachian Development", *The Professional Geographer*, August, vol. 46, no.3, 1994.

Narain, Iqbal, "Cultural Pluralism : National Integration and democracy in India", *Asian Survey*, vol.xvi, October 1976, p.903.

Nayar, Kuldip, "Nagaland: A State Under Siege" *The Hindustan Times*, October 20, 1995.

Nieprov. Tom, "Macro Region and the Global Institutional Network, 1950-80". *Political Geography Quarterly*, vol.8, no.3, July 1989.

"North-East Ho", *Grassroots Options*, December 1995.

O'Loughlin, John. "Political Geography Attempting to Understand a Changing World Order", *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 14, no.3, 1990.

Prabhakara, M.S.. "States of Insurgency", *Frontline*, February 11, 1994, pp.25-28.

Ray, Ashok, K., "Ethnicity and Policy Alternatives: A North-East Experience", *Journal of North-East India Council of Social Science Research*, vol.15, no.1, April 1991, pp.40-50.

Rieser, R., "The Territorial Illusion and Behavioural Sink: Critical Notes on Behavioural Geography", *Antipode*, vol.5, no.3, pp.52-57.

Roy Burman, B.K., "Impact of Establishment of Urban Centres and Introduction of Improved Technology in the Hills of North-East India", *The Highlander*, vol.1, no.1, March 1974, pp.1-2.

—————, "Problems and Prospects of Tribal Development in North-East India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.4, no.1, Jan-Jun 1981, pp.34-41.

—————, "Bangladeshi Issue in Perspective", *Mainstream*, vol.31, no.24, April 24, 1993.

Sharma, R.C., "Contemporary Focus in Geography", *Employment News*, 16-12, March 1991, pp.1-3.

Shir, Prakash G., "Demographic Pressures and Migrants: A Case Study of Meghalaya", *Manpower Journal*, vol.25, no.2, April-Sept 1989, pp.1-26.

Singh, L.P., "The Problem", *Seminar* 336, February 1990, p.15.

Smith, Neil, "Political Geographers of the Past, Isaiah Bowman: Political Geography and Geopolitics", *Political Geography Quarterly*, vol.3, no.1, January 1984, pp.69-76.

Subramanyam, K., "India's Security: The North-East Dimension", *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 1986, pp.1-25.

Tandon, Amrit, "Towards Permanent Peace in Nagaland", *Swarajya*, January 10, 1976, pp.21-22.

Vitkousala, G.S. and Kocharian, A.V., "Forced Migration as a Social Problem", *Sociological Research*, vol.32, no.5, Sept-Oct 1993, pp.30-48.

Weiner, Myron, "Political Integration and Political Development", *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 356, March 1965, pp.54-59.

—————, "Rejected Peoples and Unwanted Migrants in South Asia", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.28, no.34, August 21, 1993, pp.1737-46.

Wood, John R., "Secession: A Copmparative Analytical Framework", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol.14, March 1981.

Yogi, A.K., "Employment-unemployment Problem of the North Eastern Region". *Manpower Journal*, vol.24, no.1 April-June 1988, pp.1-22.

Newspapers

The Statesman (Delhi)

The Hindustan Times (Delhi)

The Economic Times (Delhi)

The Deccan Harald (Bangalore)

The Assam Tribune (Guwahati)

The Nagaland Post (Kohima)

The Journal (Kohima)

The Telegraph (Calcutta)

The Sentinel (Guwahati)

The north eastern region of India is also home to a host of cultural and religious festivals, as well as many that stem from touristy pursuits or simply those that celebrate the rich legacy and abundant beauty of the region. Here are 31 of the most popular festivals of North east India you need to experience at least once in your lifetime-. Assam Tea Festival. Source: EastMojo. Source: Adotrip. Another of the agrarian festivals of north east India is Nagaland's popular Hornbill Festival. The ten day extravaganza in the capital city Kohima is a fest of cultural vibrancy and heritage and is named after the state's most admired bird, the Hornbill. Tribal dances and folk songs, local food and indigenous crafts are showcased widely during the course of the festival, which also hosts a night market! This article examines centre-periphery relations in post-colonial India and Pakistan, providing a specific comparative history of autonomy movements in Nagaland (1947-63) and Baluchistan (1973-7). It highlights the key role played by the central government particularly by Jawaharlal Nehru and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in quelling both insurgencies and in taking further steps to integrate these regions. 11 For a range of works on Nagaland, see Franke, War and nationalism in South Asia; Udayon Misra, India's north-east: identity movements, state, and civil society (New Delhi, 2014), section B; Chandrika Singh, Political evolution of Nagaland (New Delhi, 1981); R. Vashum, Indo-Naga conflict: problem and resolution (New Delhi, 2001).