



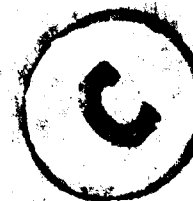
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EDITOR-GAZETTEERS

24Q & 1980

EGMORE, MADRAS



NAGALAND DISTRICT GAZETTEERS



ZUNHEBOTO

By
Dr B. B. GHOSH, M. A, B. T, Ph. D.
E d i t o r

NAGALAND DISTRICT GAZETTEERS,
GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND
KOHIMA
1979

AVAILABLE FROM NAGALAND DISTRICT GAZETTEERS UNIT KOHIMA,
NAGALAND

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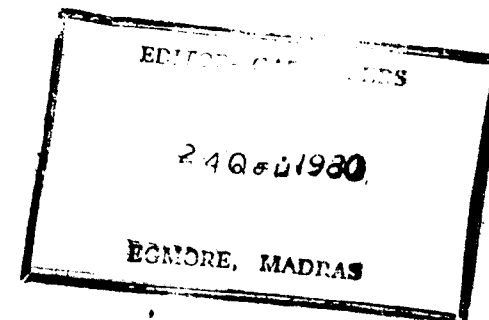
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FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in introducing this Gazetteer on Zunheboto District, the Second in the series of Nagaland District Gazetteers. The present volume is the result of the hard labour of Dr. B. B. Ghosh, Editor and his team-mates as well as the keen interest taken by Shri K. S. Puri, Secretary to the Government of Nagaland, Education and Art & Culture Departments and Shri. M. Alemchiba Ao, Joint Director, Art & Culture.

Except one monograph written in 1921 by Dr. J. H. Hutton an administrative officer, there is no published materials to make possible a thorough study of the historical, cultural and social life of the people of this District. The present Gazetteer thus fills to a certain extent the gap of our knowledge of this District. I hope, this volume will serve as a useful guide to all those engaged in administration, welfare and research etc.

H. ZOPIANGA

Chief Secretary and Advisor to the
Government of Nagaland.

Dated, Kohima,
The 4th October, 1977.

PREFACE

Zunheboto District Gazetteer is the second in the series of District Gazetteers of Nagaland, the first being Kohima by my predecessor Dr. H. Bareh, M. A. D. Phil, in 1970.

The gap of long nine years in bringing out the second volume of district gazetteers is due to the fact that for many years the post of Editor was lying vacant for all practical purposes. I joined in July, 1975, and have completed this gazetteer and two others also within September, 1977. Then it has taken several months for approval and printing.

Unlike other States, materials in respect of any district of Nagaland are scarce, and so about this district too. Therefore, it was necessary for us to collect more data from the field situation than usual, but since the time was short because it has to be brought out within March, 1979, we could not devote as much time as necessary for collection of materials from the fields.

We have made best use of the materials available and my personal knowledge about the land and the people, still I am afraid, the treatment in this gazetteer has not been exhaustive to the extent it is expected. I blame none for this lapse but the time which was at my disposal.

We have used as much official reports and statistics as available, but yet we could not make it perfectly a district gazetteer because in many cases we have used the statistics of former Mokokchung district out of which this Zunheboto district and two others viz Mokokchung and Wokha, have been created in December, 1973. We had to take recourse to the Statistics of former Mokokchung, the parent district, because separate statistics for this district, or for that, the two other districts, viz Wokha and Mokokchung, are not yet available. But wherever it has been possible we have worked out the statistics of this district out of the combined figures of former Mokokchung district, particularly in respect of population etc.

The draft of this gazetteer was scrutinised and commented upon by Shri S. B. Chetri, the then Deputy Commissioner, Zunheboto District and the draft has been revised in light of his comments. Thereafter the draft has been approved by the State Advisory Board in September, 1977.

I will be failing in my duty, if I do not express my thanks to Dr. P. N. Chopra, M A, Ph. D., Editor, District Gazetteers and the staff of the Central Gazetteers Unit, Union Ministry of Education, New Delhi, for their effective role in planning and co-ordinating the work of preparation of the District Gazetteers. The Unit scrutinized the draft of this volume with great care and made several helpful suggestions with a view to improving the standard and quality of the publication. It may also be mentioned here that a portion of the expenditure incurred on the compilation and printing of the District Gazetteers is being met by the Government of India.

I am thankful to my Controlling Officer, Shri M. Alemchiba Ao, M. Sc., Joint Director, Art & Culture, Government of Nagaland, for his valuable suggestions from time to time. I am thankful to Shri Allem Longkemer, B. A, and Shri N. M. Ngullie, B. A, my two Compilers, for the assistance rendered by them. My thanks are also due to various departments of the State Government for various help, particularly to Information, Tourism and Publicity Department, Agriculture Department, and Forest Department.

I am also thankful to my staff, for their co-operation in various works, whose names are given below with reference to their work, direct and indirect. The persons mentioned under Direct group deserve special mention because they were directly connected with the work of preparation of this gazetteer.

(a) Direct

1. Shri P. K. Deb, B. A, Stenographer.
2. Shri T. Peseye, B. A. Proof Reader.
3. Miss Watila Ao, Typist.
4. Mrs Visekhou Typist.

(b) Indirect

1. Shri J. C. Sharma, B. A, Head Assistant
(Now Superintendent).
2. Shri R. Sekhose, Accountant.
3. Shri Imkong Ao, B. A, Upper Division Assistant.
4. Mrs Ane Angami, Lower Division Assistant.
5. Shri G. D. Limbu, Driver.
6. Shri Khriesevi, Peon
7. Shri Krunio, Peon
8. Shri A. Panger Aier, Chowkidar.

In fine I place this volume, Zunheboto District Gazetteer, to the reading public at large, and the people of Zunheboto district in particular for their judgement as to how much usefull it is.

Kohima,
The 14th March, 1979.

B. B. GHOSH
Editor,
Nagaland District Gazetteers.

CONVERSION TABLE**Length**

- 1 inch = 2.54 centimetres
- 1 foot = 30.48 centimetres
- 1 yard = 91.44 centimetres
- 1 mile = 1.61 kilometres

Area

- 1 square foot = 0.093 square metre
- 1 square yard = 0.836 square metre
- 1 square mile = 2.59 square kilometres
- 1 acre = 0.405 hectare

Volume

- 1 cubic foot = 0.028 cubic metre

Capacity

- 1 gallon (Imperial) = 4.55 litres
- 1 seer (80 tola) = 0.937 litre

Weight

- 1 tola = 11.66 grams
- 1 chhatak = 58.32 grams
- 1 seer = 933.10 grams
- 1 maund = 37.32 kilograms
- 1 ounce = 28.35 grams
- 1 pound = 453.59 grams
- 1 English ton = 1,016.05 kilograms
- 1 metric tonne = 1000 kilograms

Temperature

- Fahrenheit = $\frac{9}{5}$ Celsius or Centigrade + 32
- Celsius or Centigrade } = (Fahrenheit minus 32) $\frac{5}{9}$

Metric Weights & Measures**Length**

- 10 millimetres = 1 centimetre
- 100 centimetres = 1 metre
- 1,000 metres = 1 kilometre

Area

100 square millimetres=1 square centimetre
 10,000 square centimetres=1 square metre
 100 square metres=1 are
 100 ares=1 hectare
 100 hectares or 10,00,000 square metres=1 sq. kilometre

Volume

10,00,000 cubic centimetres=1 cubic metre

Capacity

1,000 millilitres=1 litre
 1,000 litres=1 kilolitre

Weight

1,000 milligrams=1 gram
 1,000 grams=1 kilogram
 100 kilograms=1 quintal
 1,000 kilograms=1 tonne
 200 milligrams=1 metric carat

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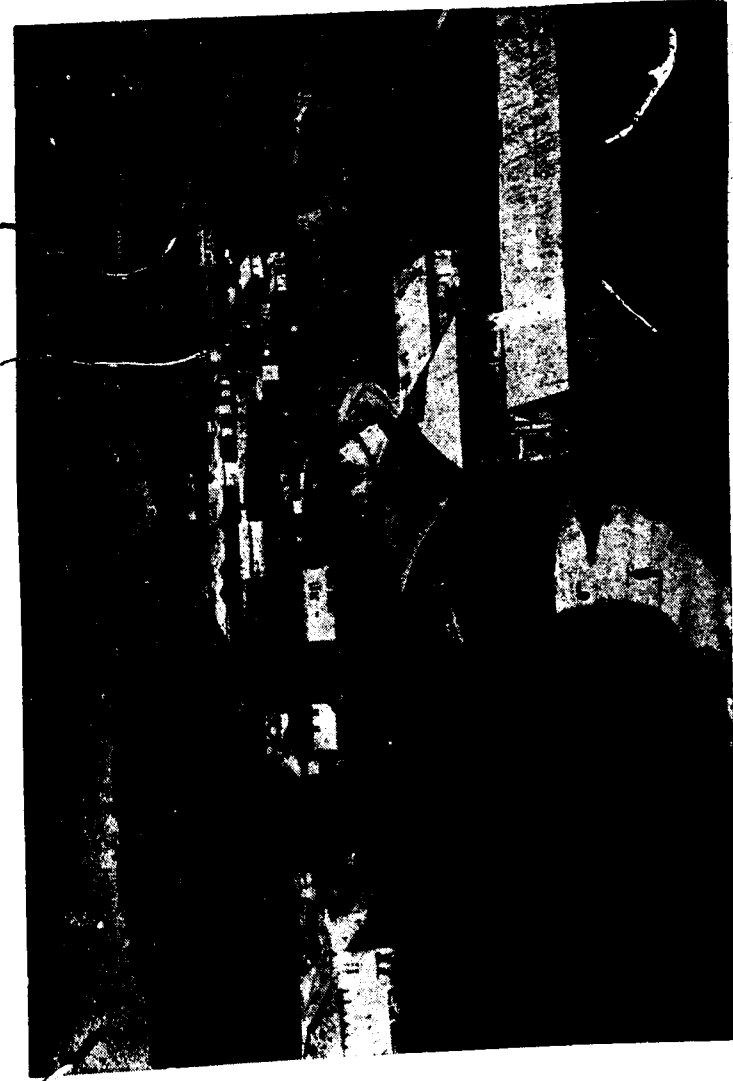
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A modern Sema women.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

Introduction

Zunheboto is one of the present seven districts of Nagaland and is centrally situated in the State. Formerly Nagaland had only three districts, such as Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. Later, in December 1973 it was divided into seven—Kohima was divided into two, such as Kohima and Phak; Mokokchung was divided into three, such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto; and Tuensang was divided into two, such as Tuensang and Mon. Thus the former Mokokchung has been divided into three districts. But though it has been divided into three districts, their boundaries have not yet been demarcated. Therefore the area of the present Zunheboto district, or for that the areas of the other two districts, cannot be given here. However the former Mokokchung district was 3852 square kilometre¹ in area and since the present Zunheboto district is little less than one-third of the former Mokokchung district, it will be in the neighbourhood of 1200 sqkm.

The population of the present Zunheboto district, according to 1971 census, is 47,093². Sema is the most important tribe of this district.

Origin of the name of the district

The area now known by the name Zunheboto district was never known by a single nomenclature before. It was Sema area and so it was known as Sema country or Sema land, but more often by the names of different villages or groups of villages.

After the Second World War which ended in 1945 there was a great awakening for education among the Nagas and so also among the Semas. As a result of their growing enthusiasm for education and consequent demand for Schools, several Middle English Schools

1. Source, 1971 Census, District Census Hand book. Mokokchung District, p-3. (part B)

2. Source 1971 Census, (Figures supplied by the Deputy Director of Census Operations, Nagaland, Kohima, in his No. SCO-3/14/71 vol II dated 9th September 1976.

(M.E. Schools) were opened all over Naga Hills and one was opened in a place which is now known as Zunheboto town. When the School was set up it was necessary to give a name to it. The people did not want to give any old name which might show favouritism to any particular village or clan. To avoid this difficulty they decided to name it after the plants which grow abundantly there. The name of the plant is *Zunhebo* and so the place was named Zunheboto, meaning the 'range of *Zunhebo* plants'. *Zunhebo* is a kind of thorny flowering shrub, bearing flowers during winter. Its leaf is green on the obverse and whitish hairy on the reverse.

Most of the names of the modern administrative out-posts of Zunheboto district, such as Satakha, Atoizu, Aizuto, Akuluto etc have originated in like manner.

Thus the M. E. School compound was the nucleus of the future administrative headquarter. Gradually offices were established there and the administration was meant for the entire Sema area. Naturally through a gradual process the entire Sema area came to be known as Zunheboto area. Later, when Zunheboto was made into a Sub-division it meant the entire Sema area. Still later, when in 1973 it became a district, the name Zunheboto became the name of the district, as it was the name of the Sub-division.

Topography

Zunheboto district is bounded by the Mokokchung district on the north, Tuensang District on the east, Phek district on the south and Wokha district on the west.

Zunheboto is in Nagaland which is in Naga Hills and Naga Hills is a dismembered branch of the Eastern Himalayas. From the eastern side of Himalayas some ranges have risen and gone through Naga Hills, Manipur and Mizoram etc to Bay of Bengal. Zunheboto district being situated in this Hills has got its mountain ranges spread from north-east to south-west, though occasionally some ranges have gone to other directions also.

The District is hilly. The hills vary from 1000 to 2500 metres and the average height of the district is 1800 metres. Of course occasionally there are higher hills and lower places. Most of the people live between 1500 and 2000 metres altitude.

There are several ranges and they are more or less parallel and have gone from north-east to south-west. Between the ranges there are glens and gorges through which flow the hill streams.

River system and water resources

The most important river of this district is Dayang which has originated in Japfu mountain in the south, in Angami area and has flown northward through Sema area, then westward and then southward in Lotha area and has fallen to Dhansiri in Sibsagar district of Assam. Dhansiri has joined Brahmaputra which in turn has joined Padma in Bangaladash which has fallen to the Bay of Bengal. This Dhansiri with its tributaries is the biggest drainage system of this district and drains its western part. There are two other rivers also. One of them is Tizu which has risen in the north in Tuensang district, and has flown southward through this district and joined Ti-Ho which has joined Chindwin of Burma. The other river is Tita. It has risen in the north-east, and has drained the eastern part of the district and has joined Tizu.

There are no well demarcated ranges in this district though some administrative circles are called ranges. However from the standpoint of temperature, the people have divided the district into two, such as warm and cold, which they call Ghabo and Azho respectively. The warm area, that is Ghabo area, lies in the west of the district and the eastern part being higher is cold and is called Azho. The people of warm area are called Ghabomi (mi=people) and those of cold area are called Azhomi¹. The district town Zunheboto (1874 metres)² lies in Azho area

GEOLOGY³

The Zunheboto district of Nagaland is situated in the central part of the State. The landform of the district is marked by a series of sub-parallel hill ranges running in a north-east to south-west direction rising one after another towards east with intervening valleys.

1. Hutton also has mentioned these two words in his book. *The Sema Nagas*, P-4, published second edition in 1968 by Oxford University Press, London.
• First published in 1921 by Macmillan and Co, London.
2. Source : Report on the Agricultural Census of Nagaland (1970-71), published by the Directorate of Agriculture, Government of Nagaland.
3. *Geology and Minerals etc have been compiled from the notes supplied by Shri R. N. Kacker, Special Officer, Directorate of Geology and mining, Government of Nagaland, Dimapur and Dr. S. N. P. Srivastava, Ph. D., Director of Geological Survey of India, Manipur, Nagaland Circle, Dimapur. It relates to former Mokokchung district of which Zunheboto was a part.*

which at times are fairly wide. They are comprised of Tertiary Sequence the rocks of which belong to a fairly young mobile belt of the earth.

The rock sequence is represented by the Disang Group of lower and middle Eocene age, the Barail Group of upper Eocene and Oligocene age, the Surma and the Tipam groups of Miocene age and the Namsang beds of Miopliocene age. The successive lithologic units as found in different sections are as follows.

Age	Geosynclinal sediments of Nagaland (and as such of Zunheboto district)	Thickness in metres
Recent & Pleistocene	Alluvium and high level terraces	
	unconformity	
Pliocene	Dihing Group	400
	unconformity	
Mio-Pleiocene	Namsang beds	800
	unconformity	1800
Miocene	Tipam { Girujan clay Group { Tipam Sandstone	2300
	Surma Group	900
	unconformity	
Oligocene	Barail { Tikak Parbat Group { Baragolai Naogaon	600 3300 2200
Eocene	Disang Group	3000

The general geological sequence of the area is as follows.

Older Alluvium	- Clay, coarse sand, gravel and boulder deposit
Tipam group	- Tipam Sandstone formation— Girujan clay formation
Surma group	- Surma sandstone formation
Barail group	- Barail sandstone formation
Disang group	- Disang shale formation

The Disang Group which is the oldest group of rocks consists of sequence of hard splintery shales of dark grey colour with thin sandstone beds and are exposed in the western part of the district. The rocks of this group are much crumpled. Quartz veining and pyrite dissominations are common. The Naogaon formation at the base of Barail group comprises of mostly well bedded

sandstones with shale intercalations. The Baragolai formation includes sandstones and shales with several thin coal seams. The overlying Tikak Parbat formation shows the same lithology but is marked by thick coal seams. The coal bearing Barails occur as sub-parallel thrust slices within the Tipams. The Surma group presents alternation of shales and sandstones occasionally with conglomerates. The Tipam sandstones are characterised by hard ferruginous sandstones with minor shales. They invariably occupy the high ridges in the district. The Girujan clay formation overlying the Tipam is made up of typical blue and mottled clays and argillaceous sandstone beds. The broad Desai river valley, west of Changki, is occupied by Girujan clays comprised of blue and mottled clays, sandstone, conglomerates, grits etc. The Dihing group resting over the Namsang beds is represented by clays, sands and pebble beds. The Alluvium comprises of clays, coarse sand, and gravels.

The age of the oldest formation i.e. Disang, occurring in Zunheboto district is approximately of 54 million years (?). The major structural units of the area comprise of a number of sub-parallel thrusts arranged in an imbricate manner dipping in a south-easterly direction. The parallel traverse faults have affected the entire sequence resulting in a north-westerly shift of the Barail coal measures and the overlying Tipams. Sub-parallel minor reversed faults are also observed parallel to the crest of the hills affecting the Tipam sandstones.

Mineral occurrences

No particular minerals have yet been discovered in this district. But however it is believed that like other parts of Nagaland, petroleum and coal may be available in this district also. In this connection it may be mentioned that coal deposits have been located in various places of Mokokchung district. Oil and gas have also been found along the foot-hills region of Mokokchung district. Besides coal, prospects of glass and clay are fairly good in the former Mokokchung district. Sandstone suitable for road metals also occur in abundance in the district.

In this connection the letter of the General Manager, ONGC, Eastern Region, Nazira, Assam, is reproduced below. Here the survey refers to former Mokokchung district which has now been divided into Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto. The survey was conducted in 1973 and the district was divided into three in December that very year.

"This part of Nagaland has been surveyed in details by Assam Oil Company and they had undertaken drilling in this area on Barsila, Bondersulia, Tiru Hills and Nichugard structures without any success, although in some of the wells, it is reported that they had obtained hydrocarbon indication. Subsequently, geological and survey have been carried out by ONGC in parts of this district and also in the adjoining terrain. It is revealed that a large thickness of sedimentary rock sequence of Tertiary age is exposed in this area. The boundary between the Naga Hills and Upper Assam plain is marked by a thrust fault—Naga Thrust. The rocks underlying the Naga Thrust are in general undisturbed. On the basis of these surveys alongwith the laboratory analysis of rocks samples it was assessed that this part of Nagaland holds good hydrocarbon prospects, particularly within the lower Tertiary sequence. Accordingly in 1973, ONGC had drilled a well in the Mokokchung District which proved the existence of commercially exploitable hydrocarbon. With this success both extensive and intensive exploration plan has been drawn up which it is hoped will locate further hydrocarbon pool within this district. We propose to drill a few wells in western parts of this district in near future. However, on the basis of present data the eastern and central parts of this district is not assessed of being very prospective"¹.

It appears from the above letter that the Zunheboto district which falls in the eastern part of the erstwhile Mokokchung district is not assessed of being very prospective in hydrocarbon.

Mineral exploration work in former Mokokchung district is limited to the systematic exploration for coal in the Jhanji-Desai Valley Coalfield. The existence of coal in commercial quantity in this coalfield was established only recently. The most promising coal seam of this coalfield is the 'Top Seam' which ranges in thickness from 1.5 to 2.2 meters and is seen to extend over a strike length of 8 km. For the proper assessment of reserves and quality the State department of Geology and Mining took up exploratory drilling in this coalfield from June, 1971. A total of ten boreholes involving 850 metres of drilling have been drilled in the 'Changki Sector' of this coalfield so far. Exploratory drilling is still in progress in this coalbelt.

1. ONGC letter No. NZR/Geol/14 (Tech-13/Nagaland) 75/319 dated 3rd December, 1975.

Besides coal preliminary appraisal of clay and glass occurrences is also being carried out in the district.

Earthquake

This district lies in a highly seismically active zone, and therefore often earthquakes of different magnitudes take place

On 10th January 1869 an earthquake of 7.5 magnitude took place here. On 12th June, 1897 an earthquake of 8.5 magnitude took place. In recent decades one took place on 29th July, 1947 (magnitude 7.75) and another on 14th August, 1950 (magnitude 8.6). In both the cases the epicentre was far away, in Tibet, and there was no much damage to property

Though Zunheboto is a separate district now, it was, except Aghunato area, a part of Naga Hills district until December, 1957 and therefore the seismicity of previous Naga Hills district applies to the present Zunheboto district also. Hence the note on seismicity of Naga Hills district as given below may be taken as the seismicity of the present Zunheboto district.

Below is reproduced the letter of Director General of Observatories, New Delhi, but here Kohima District means Naga Hills district.

"Kohima district in Nagaland lies in a highly seismically active zone. History of past 100 years reveals that the area has been severely affected by the great Cachar earthquake of 10th January, 1869, the great Assam earthquake of 12th June, 1897 and often major earthquakes take place from time to time. During the Cachar earthquake of 1869 considerable damage was caused to property at Silchar. Earth fissures and sand craters were also very abundant. During the Assam earthquake of 1897 earth fissures and land slides occurred in Kohima district.

The earthquakes in the region are attributed to the various geological and tectonic features in and around this area such as great Himalayan Boundary faulted zone, Indo-Burma Fault, Shillong-Garo plateau and various small features in the region.

Taking into account the history of past earthquake and the above tectonic picture in the area, Kohima district has been placed in zone V in the seismic zoning map of India prepared under

the auspices of the I.S.I. In this zone the maximum seismic intensity may exceed IX MM in future (specification enclosed). This is a high intensity and would call for provisions which would be prohibitively expensive. Since such high intensities are caused by very strong earthquakes only which occur after long intervals of time and also may not occur always close to the proposed alignment it is considered adequate if provision for a slightly lower intensity, viz, about VIII is made

Studies made in U.S.A. and other advanced countries reveal that intensity VIII corresponds to horizontal seismic ground acceleration of 1972 cm/sec². The wide range of acceleration figure is due to the fact that structure founded on soft filled up ground experiences much larger acceleration than the structures founded on hard rock.

The choice of the seismic factor depends upon the type of structure, the ground condition and the economic aspect etc. Considering all these points a provision of 15% gravity (15 g) may be considered adequate."

The modified Mercalli Scale is given in Appendix.

FLORA

The average altitude of Zunheboto district is 1800 metres. The temperature is low keeping it cool throughout the year and making it rather cold in winter.

At this climate, since the evaporation is low, the amount of rainfall, i.e. 200 cm, should have been quite sufficient for keeping the vegetation green for ever. But it is not so because of two things. Firstly, because of the hilly condition of the land the water does not stand and due to porosity of the earth the retention power is much less. Secondly, the trees and plants cannot stand the cold.

As a result, all the undergrowth, grasses and shrubs dry up in winter. By February it looks like a dry land.

From March onward it becomes green again. Under this circumstances Zunheboto consists of both deciduous and evergreen forests. Most of the trees are deciduous. They shed the leaves from November onward and grow it again in March. But there are some trees, which do not shed all the leaves, but some only, and thus keep green for ever. So we see that it is mixed forest

of evergreen and deciduous trees.

In the lower altitude the trees are more evergreen than deciduous. Thus we can say that the district consists of the following kinds of forest.

- a) Evergreen up to the altitude of 1000 metres.
- b) Mixed deciduous and evergreen from above 1000 metres.

Various species of trees and plants are found in this district. Some more important and or numerous ones are discussed below.

IMPORTANT TREE SPECIES

- 1) Champa (*Michelia champaca*)
 Colour : light olive brown.
 Polish : Polishes well.
 Commercial value : Commercially used for plywood, cabinet makings and furniture.
 Utility : House construction, planks, doors and windows etc.
- 2) Bonsum (*Phoebe goalparensis*) : Mostly used for building construction and bridges.
- 3) Amari (*Amoora wallichii*)
 Colour : Red, hard, close grained.
 Polishes : Well. Used for construction, furniture, doors and windows, weaving industry, pencil slit etc.
- 4) Sam (*Artocarpus chaplasha*)
 Wood is brown, medium hard, polishes well, used for building construction, carpentry works etc.
- 5) Simul (*Bombax ceiba*)
 Wood : White, porous, soft. Commercially used for plywood, match boxes, match splint, packing cases, ceilings, toys, plankings.
- 6) Gamari (*Gmelina arborea*)
 Wood : Greyish white, close and even grained, soft, light, strong and durable, takes fine glossy polish, used for carpentry, boatmaking, posts.

- 7) Am (*Mangifera indica*)
Wood : Light grey, coarse grained, used for plywood packing boxes, match boxes, planks, cheap furniture, tea chest etc. Recent use in making of electric posts.
- 8) Hollock (*Terminalia myriocarpa*)
Wood : Brown with dark streaks, polishes well, used for building construction, furniture, door and window planks, railway carriages.
- 9) Gogra (*Schima wallichii*)
Wood : Reddish brown, fine grained. Recently used for plywood. Also used for posts, beams etc.
- 10) Walnut (*Guglans regia*)
Wood : Greyish brown, even grained, polishes well, used for gun boots, ornamental furniture, pencil slit etc.
- 11) Jamuk (*Syzygium cumini*)
Wood : Reddish brown or grey, tough and hard, durable under water, used for building, agriculture implements.
- 12) Urium (*Bischofia Javanica*)
Wood : Red, rough grained, used for all sorts of construction, boat building, railway slippers etc.
- 13) Bogipoma (*Chikrassia tabularis*)
Wood : Brown, even grained, hard, used for construction of cheap furniture etc.
- 14) Koroi (*Albizia procerra*)
Wood : Dark brown, even grained, takes fairly good polish, used for paper pulp, sugar cane crushers, rice pounders wheels, agricultural implements, bridges, house posts and electric posts etc.
- 15) Owtenga (*Dillenia indica*)
Wood : Reddish brown, fairly durable, used for poles.

- 16) Khokan (*Duabanga Sonneratioles*)
Wood : Greyish brown, used for construction and plywood.
- 17) Jia Poma (*Lannea coromandelica*, old name *Lannea grandis*).
Wood : Reddish brown, close grained, timber mostly used for ordinary purposes.
- 18) Hilika (*Terminalia citrina*)
Wood : Very hard, brownish grey, used for furniture, carts, agricultural implements, house building. The wood takes polish well.

FAUNA

Major part of the district being covered by forests and jungles it is natural that there will be lots of animal life. In fact it was there—there were plenty of birds and animals and reptiles. But in the wake of modern civilisation which has brought guns to this region after the Second World War, those have been killed indiscriminately (previously also there were guns but those were mostly hand made and muzzle-loading.) It may be noted here that the people eat meat of any animal, sometimes including snakes. And so the fauna wealth is no more a wealth now but practically some 'museum' pieces'. However still the following birds and animals are found in the jungles of this district.

Birds

Common name	Zoological name
1) White vulture	<i>Neophon percnopterus</i>
2) Black partridge	<i>Francolinus</i>
3) Grey partridge	<i>Francolinus pondicerianus</i>
4) Jungle bush guai	<i>Perdica asiatica</i>
5) Grey jungle fowl	<i>Gallus sonneratii</i>
6) Common peafowl	<i>Pavo cristatus</i>
7) Common green pigeon	<i>Treron phoenicoptera</i>

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 8) Blue rock pigeon | <i>Columba livia</i> |
| 9) Spotted dove | <i>Streptopelia chinensis</i> |
| 10) Roserignee | <i>Parakeet psittacula krameri</i> |
| 11) Keel | <i>Endynamys scopopacea</i> |
| 12) Spotted owl | <i>Athene brama</i> |
| 13) Great horned owl | <i>Bubo bubo</i> |
| 14) House swift | <i>Apus affinis</i> |
| 15) Hoopoe | <i>Upupas epops</i> |
| 16) Malabar pied hornbill | <i>Anthracoseros Coronatus</i> |
| 17) Mahratta woodpecker | <i>Dendrocopos mahrattensis</i> |
| 18) Common babbler | <i>Turdoides candatus</i> |

Animals

- 1) Wild boar
- 2) Barking deer
- 3) Black bear
- 4) Wild goat
- 5) Wild cat
- 6) Porcupine
- 7) Royal Bengal tiger
- 8) Jackal
- 9) Monkey
- 10) Leopard
- 11) Wolf
- 12) Wild dog
- 13) Pangolin
- 14) Python and other snakes
- 15) Land tortoise etc etc.¹

1. Names of the Flora and Fauna species have been supplied by Divisional Forest Officer, Mokokchung.

CLIMATE

Zunheboto enjoys monsoon climate with a difference. The difference is this that unlike the plains of Assam here the winter is cold and summer is rather cool. In winter the night temperature comes down to 1°C in January and February which are the coldest months. In summer it is not at all hot but cool, and the highest summer temperature is 22°C (71°F)¹.

Rainfall is on the average 2000 mm (80")² and it falls for 130 days covering a period of nine months of the year, greatest concentration being in July and August.

To go round the year, towards the end of winter season, in February-March, the sky is clear almost throughout the day, with occasional cloudiness in the afternoon but clear again at night. This time high wind blows almost throughout the day beginning at about noon and ending at about midnight or early in the morning. Sometimes it blows throughout day and night. It blows so high that sometimes damage is caused to tin roof buildings (but not to the traditional Naga houses of thatch roof because those are constructed strong and low). The wind generally blows from south-west and at times the velocity rises upto 100 kilometres per hour. Had the wind been accompanied by rainfall it would have been considered storms. In April the wind dies out.

A few drops of rainfall in February, a few showers in March and a little more in April. May witnesses several showers and monsoon sets in from June.

1. Pfulsero Town in Phek district and Zunheboto Town (1874 m) of Zunheboto district are almost at the same altitude and have got similar climate. Since no data for Zunheboto Town or any part of Zunheboto district are available, the data of Pfulsero, as supplied by the Directorate of Agriculture, Government of Nagaland, and quoted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, in their Statistical Hand Book 1973, have been used here. The data pertain to the year 1972.

2. Same source as above. For 1972 the rainfall for Pfulsero has been shown as 1111 mm, for 1969 it has been shown as 1945 mm and for 1971 (1970 not shown) it has been shown as 2034 mm. We have arbitrarily accepted 2000 mm as the average.

The sky is clear and the day is bright in March, April and May. Temperature also gradually rises but suddenly falls during shower. Sometimes hailstorms occur in March and April, and during the hailstorm the temperature falls down and suddenly it becomes cold.

Monsoon sets in, in the middle of June and continues upto the middle of September. It brings heavy rain, mostly in shower but there are very few days without drizzling. Towards the end of the rainy season of course, the rainy-days (2.5mm) are less in number. Here the rain comes without any warning and so it is difficult to forecast.

During the rainy season the average relative humidity is 85% but at times it goes up to 90% to 95% and as such it is rather damp.

The hottest month is July though it is not at all hot but rather cool (22°C)¹. From September the temperature starts coming down and by November it is regular cold. From October to January a cold wind blows from the high range of Saramati which lies in the east of Tuensang district, on the east of this district. This wind gets mixed up with the North-East Monsoon and it brings cold to this District. The coldest month is January but March is also cold.

Sometimes storms occur during the onset of South-West Monsoon in March-April and again during the onset of North-East Monsoon in September-October.

Though it seems unlikely it is a fact that whenever there is depression in Bay of Bengal, Nagaland and so also this district gets clouded sky, drizzling and rainfall. Sometimes the intensity is greater than in Gangetic West Bengal—it begins one day earlier and lasts one day later.

As a result of the longer cold season the Government servants get winter allowance for five months of the year, from October to February, for altitudes of 3000 ft or above.

Frost falls in Aghunato, Zunheboto town and several other places but not everywhere.

1. *Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1973, Directorate of Economics and Statistics Government of Nagaland,*

From November to February the mornings are bright but then by 11 a.m. or 12 noon the sky becomes clouded and it becomes cold, and again the night becomes clear.

The mirth of Spring can be felt to some extent only in April and May.

Thus the analysis of climate reveals that practically two seasons — winter and rainy — dominate the year. Spring and Autumn are nominal and shortlived.

Since the air is thin (because of altitude), the sun is scorching. In the winter, inside the house is cold but outside is rather scorching if the sun is vertical and the sky is clear. If a pair of trousers is kept outside for drying, the side facing the sun will be drying but the other side which is in shade will remain as it is.

In the summer, during hot sun, inside the house is pleasant but outside is hot. This is all because the air is thin.

APPENDIX

MODIFIED MERCALLI INTENSITY SCALE OF 1931¹

Scale	Specifications
I.	Not felt except by a very few under especially favourable circumstances.
II.	Felt only by a few persons at rest, especially on upper floors of buildings. Delicately suspended objects may swing.
III.	Felt quite noticeably indoors, especially on upper floors of buildings, but many people do not recognise it as an earthquake. Standing motor-cars may rock slightly. Vibrations like passing of lorry. Duration estimated.
IV.	During the day felt indoors by many, outdoors by few. At night some awakened. Dishes, windows, doors disturbed, walls make cracking sound. Sensation like heavy lorry striking building. Standing motor-cars rocked noticeably.

1. *The scale of intensity of earthquake was originally prepared by one Italian seismologist Mercalli. It was in ten degrees. But later, in 1931, it was modified and the degrees were raised from ten to twelve, and hence it is called Modified Mercalli Intensity Scale of 1931.*

- V. Felt by nearly everyone, many awakened. Some dishes, windows, etc broken; a few instances of cracked plaster; unstable objects overturned. Disturbance of trees, poles and other tall objects sometimes noticed. Pendulum clocks may stop.
- VI. Felt by all; many frightened and run out doors. Some heavy furniture moved; a few instances of fallen plaster or damaged chimneys.
- VII. Everybody runs outdoors. Damage negligible in buildings of good design and construction; slight to moderate in well built ordinary structures; considerable in poorly built or badly designed structures; some chimneys broken. Noticed by persons driving motor-cars.
- VIII. Damage slight in specially designed structures; considerable in ordinary substantial buildings with partial collapse; great in poorly built structures. Panel walls thrown out of frame structures. Fall of chimneys, factory stacks, columns, monuments, walls. Heavy furniture overturned. Sand and mud ejected in small amounts. Changes in well water. Disturbs persons driving motor-cars.
- IX. Damage considerable in specially designed structures; well designed frame structures thrown out of plumb; great in substantial buildings, with partial collapse. Buildings shifted off foundations. Ground cracked conspicuously. Underground pipes broken.
- X. Some well-built wooden structures destroyed; masonry and frame structures and foundations destroyed; ground badly cracked. Rails bent, landslides considerable from river banks of rivers.
- XI. Few, if any, masonry structures remain standing. Bridges destroyed. Broad fissures in ground. Underground pipe lines completely out of service. Earth slumps and landslips in soft ground. Rails bent greatly.
- XII. Damage total. Waves seen on ground surface, lines of sight and level distorted. Objects thrown upward in the air.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

It is about one hundred years that the Zunheboto area has been opened to administration. In 1866 the district of Naga Hills was formed but it was administered from Samaguting (present Chumukedima) which lies in the foot hills of the district—where the hills have passed to the plains of Assam—but not from the hills itself. In the year 1872 Rev W. E. Clark, a missionary of the American Baptist Mission entered Mokokchung area through Sibsagar district of Assam. After four years, that is in 1876, he camped in Molungyimchen village of the present Mokokchung district which was then known to Assamese as Dekha Haimong. This is how first the western missionaries entered this land. In 1876 Wokha became the district headquarters. In 1878 the headquarters were shifted to Kohima. Eleven years after this, in 1889, the then British Government brought Ao area under British Administration and opened Sub-Divisional headquarters in Mokokchung. This is the beginning of coming this area under modern administrative system, because that time some three Sema villages were included in the Mokokchung Sub-Division, and thus they were brought under administration.

Gradually the whole of the present Nagaland excluding the present Tuensang and Mon districts came under the administration of Assam province. It was then called Naga Hills, a district of Assam. And Zunheboto, the present district, was then an administrative circle only.

For administrative convenience Tuensang Division of the then North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) was added with the then Naga Hills and it was renamed as Naga Hills Tuensang Area, or NHTA for short. It came into being on 1st December, 1957. From that time the former Mokokchung Sub-Division became one of the three Districts of NHTA and Zunheboto became a Sub-Division of Mokokchung. Wokha also became a Sub-Division of Mokokchung that time. Later, in 1961, the name NHTA was changed to

Nagaland and Mokokchung continued to remain as a district, and Zunheboto a Sub-Division thereof. In December 1973, the district of Mokokchung was divided into three, such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto and thus Zunheboto became a district in 1973.

Now let us go back to the early history of the Semas who are the predominant tribe of Zunheboto district.

Movement of the Semas

Semas are a Naga tribe and the history of the Nagas, as to where from they came, how they came etc are not known by anybody with certainty. No author has yet been able to give a definite place of their origin, date of their migration, and their way of migration. But most of the scholars have agreed that many of the Naga tribes and so the Semas also, have come from south-east to their present habitat. It has been mentioned that they have come from different places of Indo-China, that is the land between India and China, and or from south east Asian Islands. It has also been mentioned by many authors that the Nagas in general have got similarities of culture with Filipinos and people of Andaman Nicobar Islands. It has been suggested by many¹ that even a few of the Nagas have some Negrito blood as it appears from their woolly hair superimposed on Mongoloid features (we have come across a few).

All the Naga tribes, without any exception, use cowries and some other sea-shells as decorating ornaments. These cultural aspects suggest that some time they were living by the sea.

However, though definite date of their migration is not known, it is known that they had matrimonial relations² with the early Ahom kings of Assam who have come to Assam from Burma in the 13th Century A. D.³ This fact suggests that the Nagas, and for that the Semas, have settled in their present habitat at least for the last eight hundred years.

1. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas*, B. S. Guha, *Racial Elements in the population*, No. 22 in *Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs*, 1944.

2. E. A. Gait, *History of Assam* 1933.

3. *Ibid.*

Origin of the name Naga

Zunheboto district is mainly inhabited by the Sema Nagas. So before we go into the details of the history of this district it is necessary to try to trace the origin of the two words Naga and Sema.

Nagaland is almost entirely inhabited by Naga tribes except some Kukis, and some Kacharis, Garos, Bengalees and Assamese etc in the plains sector. Not only Nagaland, but parts of Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Burma are also inhabited by different Naga tribes. Though nowadays they are known by the common name Naga, originally they did not have any generic term for the whole of the race¹. Even the different tribes also did not have common name for themselves, but used to be denoted by a specific name for a group of villages². Though this was the condition in the later part of 19th century, in the later part of the 20th century the people of a wide area are known by the generic term Naga. The process of absorbing more tribes under the name Naga is continuing. Naturally the question comes as to how the name Naga came to be used.

There are several views expressed by many scholars regarding the origin of the word Naga. One of the views says that the word Naga has evolved from the Sanskrit word Nagna which means naked. It is so because the Nagas are proverbially known by the paucity of their clothes—in fact they used to cover their private part with a loin cloth and so were practically naked or nude. But this view does not seem to be tenable because in Sanskrit literature the wild inhabitants of hills have also been described as Kiratas³. Another view says that the word, for the same reason of nudity, has come from the Hindusthani word Nanga, meaning naked. This view is also not tenable because the Hindusthani speaking people have never before come in so close a contact with the Nagas as to give them a name. A third view says that it has originated from Bengali word Nangta meaning naked. It is also not tenable because of the same reason with Hindusthani. Moreover the Bengalees have come in more close a contact with Garos who are accustomed

1. *Notes on the Wild Tribe Inhabiting the so called Naga Hills, in our North-East Frontier of India. a paper read by Lieutenant Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, 1881, in the Meeting of the Anthropological Institute.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Chatterjee, S.K. *Kirata Janakrti*. 1950.

to a greater degree of nudity than the Nagas, but the Bengalees have not used the word Nangta or Naga to the Garos.¹ Another view is this that the word Naga has originated from Nāga meaning, Snake or king of snakes. Mythologically, princess Ulupi was a Nāga Kanya, that is daughter of the King of snakes. She was married by the third Pandava brother Arjuna of Mahabharata fame. Ulupi's residence is generally identified with Hanima in the south west of Nagaland. Since this area was under the kingdom of Nāga-raj, that is, king of snakes or king of the Nāga tribe, the people are known as Naga, a derivative of the word Nāga. A fifth view says that throughout India the words, 'Naga Sannyasi' are applied to the naked mendicants. As the naked Sannyasis are called Naga so also the naked people of this area are called Naga. This is also not likely, because the term is not applied to other nude tribes of India, particularly Garos. A sixth view is that the word Naga has originated from a Kachari word *naga* meaning a young man and hence a warrior. The seventh view, as expounded by Peal, Gait, Holcombe, Elwin etc says that the word has originated from root of some tribal word *rok* or *noka* which means 'folk'. It is also suggested that the word *nok* or *noka* has some connection with Sanskrit word *loka* meaning people. Another view, the eight, says that the word Naga has originated from Assamese word Noga, meaning naked. Often Assamese 'O' is pronounced as 'A' in Bengali. Therefore Assamese Noga becomes Naga in Bengali. Since there are many Bengalees in Assam and many of them came in close contact of the British Administrations, it is likely that they have introduced the term Naga. It may be noted that this people have been referred to as Noga in the historical chronicles of Assam, even in the thirteenth century. Though this view can not explain all the pros and cons and extension of the generic term to all the people to whom it is applied now, it satisfies most of the requirements as to the origin of the word. Still now Assamese word for the Nagas is Noga, it is widely used in Assam, and there is no other word to substitute it. In fact *nogā* is a purely Assamese word and is in use in Assamese literature all through.

It has to be noted that originally the word *nogā* or for that sake *nāgā* used to be applied to the naked people of the hills who used to come in contact with the plains people of Assam. Gradually

1. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Account of Assam*, 1841, pp 380-98.

the name was applied to a greater number of people and ultimately it has become a generic term for many tribes. It is very likely to extend further and include still greater number of people.

Traditional story

All the authorities agree that the past history of the Nagas, and therefore that of the Semas, is shrouded in obscurity. In absence of any recorded and agreed upon history we are to depend on the traditional stories told by the grand old men of the villages. Though the traditional stories may not be accepted as fool-proof, yet it is worth recording as it may throw some light on important incidents of the Naga history.

A tradition held by some of the major Naga tribes such as Lotha, Sema, Rengma, Angami and Chakhesang¹ says that they originated from a cave at *Khezakenoma*. According to this traditional story, which varies in respect of details to some extent, all these five tribes came out of the cave at Khezakenoma, in the south-east of Nagaland bordering Manipur, and thence migrated in different directions and settled in different places. According to this story the Aos went ahead and were followed by the Lothas and then Semas. Then came the Rengmas being followed by the Angamis and Chakhesangs.

It may be interesting to note here that the Semas refer to the Aos as *Cholimi* which means 'who preceded'. Angamis are called *Tsungumi* which means 'left behind'. This Sema nomenclature for other tribes corroborates the order of migration. Again, in the present Lotha area there are some villages which have got Ao names and it is said by the Aos that they left these villages and moved northward and the Lothas occupied it, whereas the Lothas maintain that they have occupied those villages forcibly from the Aos. Anyway, it goes to prove that the Aos went ahead of the Lothas.

Aos maintain that they originated from Longtrok² whereas other tribes say that the Aos were ahead of them without any

1. Chakhesang are not one tribe but a combination of three tribes and the name has been formed taking first part of each tribe such as Cha of Chakrama, Khe of Khezama and Sang of Sangtam. Formerly this tribe used to be called Eastern Angami.

2. Longtrok means six stones. The Aos believe that they originated from that group of stones. It is now in the village Chungliyimti in Sangtam area, some 30 km east of Mokokchung.

reference to their having emerged from Khezakenoma. This goes to prove that the Aos were the first party to settle in this land whether they emerged from Longtrok or not.

Origin and migration of the Nagas

Semas are a Naga tribe, and therefore to know about the origin and migration of Semas it is necessary to know the origin and migration of the Nagas.

There are about a dozen major tribes among the Nagas of Nagaland and they speak as many as twice the number of languages and dialects. They have got differences in physical features, characteristics, and dress and various other cultural traits, but inspite of all these differences they have got cultural affinity which bind them together under the name Naga. Dr. Hutton¹ has stated that the place now occupied by the Nagas was formerly, either wholly or partly, occupied by the people of Mon-Khmer affinities. Dr. Hutton² has also stated that bands of Negrito hunters were once wandering here, and their traces are still found here and there. All the scholars agree that the Nagas have come to their present habitat from outside.

But it is not definitely known wherefrom they originated and how they migrated, and that is why there have been many conjectures, and most of the scholars have pointed to the South-East Asian countries as their places of dispersion. Lotha tradition says that they came from a far off place which they still nostalgically remember as Monsuraj.

Dr. Smith³ a Christian Missionary and a Sociologist, has taken great pains to enumerate some thirteen characteristics of the Nagas which are common with Indonesians, that is the people of Malaya and the Islands of Indonesia. Some important ones of these are head-hunting, common sleeping houses for unmarried men, disposal of dead on raised platform, trial marriage or great sexual freedom before marriage, aversion to milk, hilly residence, etc. This goes to prove that one time or other the Nagas were closely connected

1. Dr. Hutton J. H., *Mixed Culture of Naga Tribes*, reprinted from the *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute*, p. 19

2. *Ibid.*

3. Dr. W. C. Smith, *Ao Naga Tribes of Assam*, 1925.

with the tribes of South-East Asia, particularly with the Dyaks and Kayans of Borneo, the Battaks of Sumatra, Igorots, Ifugaos and others of Philipines, and some tribes of Formosa.

All the Naga people are fond of cowries and conch-shells which they use as ornaments. It is strange that though they are living far away from sea and are cut off from it by any means of communication, yet they have got a special attraction for these marine articles. This fact goes to prove that once they were living by the sea. Butler has reported¹ that in 1874 he has been told by some Rengma people at Tesophenyu that they 'ruled the coast for ages' We have also been told by an elderly Lotha on February 9, 1976 at Wokha, that they have come from Manchuria and during their sojourn they have been on the coast for some time.

Anyway, since all the authorities agree that the Nagas have got strong cultural affinities with the tribes of South-East Asia and even Oceania, it is needless to elaborate the point here.

It has been suggested by many that whatever may be their original home they have entered India through Burma. Most likely they were divided into several groups and entered their present habitat in waves—and not all at a time. Some have come through the north-east of Patkai hills and others through south-east, via Manipur. We have been told at Wokha in February 1976, by the same elderly Lotha that they have come via Burma and had crossed a river while coming to Manipur.

Thus it appears that the Southern Naga tribes such as Angami, Rengma, Lotha, Sema etc came through Manipur, and the Semas entered their present habitat after crossing the Barail range which was also crossed by the Angamis.

Origin of the word sema

Sema is a Naga tribe and is one of the most important of the major tribes. According to tradition they came out of the cave at Khezakenoma. The Khezakenoma story suggests that after coming from south they stayed for considerable period of time at that place,

1. *Kohima District Gazetteer*, 1970.

and then they migrated northward. The Lothas tell that they came via Manipur, and through Mao. But the Semas do not trace their origin south of Mao. On the other hand they point to Japfu mountain as the place where from they sprang¹.

As per the tradition the first Sema village was Swema or Sumi². From that village the people have got their name, Sema, a corrupt form of either Swema or Sumi. Angami name for Sema is Tsungumi. It may be noted that still there is the Sema village Sumi and the villagers of that village use Sema as their domestic language but have adopted Angami dress. The village is surrounded by Angami villages on all sides. It is north of Khizobami and 50 km east of Kohima³.

Migration of the semas

According to one tradition there was a great battle with the Angamis near Swema village in which the Semas were defeated and so they retreated towards west and came to Zubza river. From there due to the further pressure of the Angamis who were pouring in from the south of the Barail range, the Semas moved northward to settle in Lazemi, Mishilimi and Natsimi (Cherama) in the Dayang valley and following the low hills of that valley they moved further north and have occupied what is now called Zunheboto district.

It has to be mentioned that when the Semas were spreading fanwise in all directions, they were checked on the west by the Rengmas and Lothas, and Dayang became practically the dividing line between the Semas in one hand and Lothas and others on the other hand. It is so, because Dayang being a comparatively big hill river, is not fordable for major part of the year and therefore it is not likely for any tribe to have small settlements on either side of it.

Semas, though now finally settled in a particular area like any other civilised people, are still having the old migratory tendency as is evidenced from their move to make new villages away from their own area. One such attempt to make a Sema village in Konyak area was foiled when an established village in Naginimora was burnt down in 1964.

1. Hutton J. H., *The Sema Nagas*, 1968, p. 5

2. Hutton J. H. in the above book, has used Semi instead of Sumi which is the present form.

3. A. W. Davis, *Census of India, 1891, Assam, Vol 1, pp 246-48*

Thus all the traditions agree that the southern Naga tribes, and so the Semas also, came to their present habitat from south, and via Khezakenoma. It also suggests that the Semas were preceded by the Lothas and followed by the Angamis.

There is a cave in Khezakenoma and the traditions say that the Nagas came out of that. On the other hand all the Nagas drag and erect big stones on the occasion of feast of merit or other occasions. This goes to prove that one time or other they were closely connected with lithic culture.

Beginning of Administration

The Britishers first visited Angami area of Naga Hills in 1832 when some 700 sepoy with 800 porters to carry their luggage were proceeding from Manipur to Assam¹. That is the beginning. Then followed several excursions and expeditions and in 1866 the district of Naga Hills was formed. That time its headquarters were in Semaguting, at the foot hills of the district and at the beginning of Assam plain. Later this place was named Nichugaurd and now it is called Chumukedima.

In 1876 the headquarters were shifted to Wokha and in 1878 to Kohima the present capital of the State of Nagaland. But all this time the present Zunheboto district remained outside the influence of British administration, except a few expeditions.

In November 1881 a Sema village Philimi by name hunted two Lotha heads of Chingiki (Tsungiki) village. Therefore a punitive expedition of 50 men of the 42nd Regiment, Commanded by Captain Abott, was led by Mc Cabe, the Deputy Commissioner, against the offending village. At first the villagers showed some sway of resistance. But the troops kept the villagers out of the village for two days and then it was threatened to be burnt down. At this the villagers surrendered the headman named Kinithi to the authority who took him back to Kohima and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Next year, in 1882 another Sema village Lazema by name was punished for not paying its two years, house-tax. It may be noted here that a revenue of one rupee per house used to be

1. Verrier Elwin, *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 114

collected by the Government as token of administration. This house-tax used to be collected by the village headman, called Gaon Bura (G.B. for short) and he used to get two annas per rupee collected.

Head hunting was a traditional custom of the Nagas. Because of this, there used to be fighting between different tribes or even among the different villages of the same tribe. In any armed conflict the weaker people suffer. For this reason, or just for the sake of sanity, some groups of Nagas used to seek protection of the Government from time to time. In the 1880s when the British Government were extending their rule over this area, very often there used to be such prayer for protection. In many cases the Semas, still being more war-like, used to depredate into the adjoining Lotha and Ao areas. Konyaks were also creating troubles in the plains. Lothas and Aos also were taking parts in fomenting trouble in the plains. And this was the cause of anxiety to the Government. Under this context Mc Cabe, the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, wanted to open outposts along the border of Naga Hills with Assam plain, to strengthen the border as well as to bring the Semas under administrative control. But before doing this thing it was necessary to explore the land and know the people.

For this purpose W.S. Clark, the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar district with which Naga Hills borders, under-took a tour of the foot hills of Ao area. On the other hand Mc Cabe, the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, led an expedition into the interior with 150 Frontier Police personnel. It took place in 1885. It was decided that the two Deputy Commissioners, on completion of their tours, would meet at the village Molungyimchen in Ao area. The purpose of the combined tour was to,

- (i) punish the Sema village Latomi for murdering a British subject,
- (ii) establish regular contact with the Aos who seemed to be more on the side of administration than not, and needed protection, as well as to assess a definite measure of protection to be extended to them, and,
- (iii) determine a point on the Dubia Waromong range of Ao area which should be the limit of the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, towards Sibsagar district.

The expedition of 1885 led by Mc Cabe set off from Kohima and reached Wokha, in Lotha area. From Wokha they came to Koio and Seluko, both Lotha villages. There they learnt that some Semas have recently carried away a Lotha woman and a child from Are (Nankham) village. On this report the expedition was diverted towards Nangthang, or modern Litami, the offending Sema village. On the approach of the expedition the villagers deserted the village and took shelter in the surrounding jungles. For want of the guilty persons it was decided to destroy the village. But in the meantime the villagers came forward, pleaded guilty and delivered the headman to the authority. Thus the village was saved from destruction but the headman was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Between 1884 and 1887 the Mezami¹ Chief of Sakhai² village caused havoc in the adjoining area by murdering 80 persons including 26 women. The Sakhai massacre was not confined within the uncontrolled area but extended to controlled area also. So to punish the Sakhai village a punitive expedition was organised in March-April, 1887. It was led by Lieutenant Macintyre, the Commandant of Naga Hills Frontier Police. The expedition was led through Sema area, and Chakhesang people who were the most unfortunate victims of the Sakhai depredation, joined the expedition to help and reconnoitre it. When the party approached the village, Sakhai the Chief surrendered. The village was fined and the Chief was taken to Kohima and was detained there for two months.

In May of the same very year (1887) it was reported to the Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills that two Nunkum men were killed by Semas of Sanchang or Nangtang. Further murder of Nunkum men by the trans-frontier Lotha village of Are was reported on 5th June. Consequently an expedition was led against

1. Mezami is a corrupt form of Angami Mezamia meaning "people using nengti to cover the private part." Angamis used this word for Sema as well as Ao, Lotha, Rengma etc. There is no tribe called Mezami but the word has been used in some books and records probably out of ignorance. Anyway it means the Semas.

2. In Sema area sometimes the village gets the name of its founder or the Chief. Sakhai was the Chief of this village and so it was called Sakhai village. It is purely a Sema village, and it was so in 1887 and still verily is.

the Lotha village Are and Sema village Nangtang. In this expedition one Labongo Lotha was sentenced to 15 years transportation for murdering a boy, and the guilty villagers were fined, not excluding the Semas.

To stop this kind of predatory activities of the trans-frontier Lotha and Sema villagers, the Deputy commissioner suggested inclusion of the triangular tract containing four Lotha villages, two Ao villages and three Sema villages (such as Hangrung, Nangtang and Phinking), within the administration, and setting up of a police-post at Nankum. But this was not immediately accepted by the Commissioner Mr. Ward.

In the meantime the trans-Dikhu (river) Sema village Siromi became aggressive. In order to punish Siromi village, Porteous the officiating Deputy Commissioner, marched against it in January 1889. On advent of the party, the villagers cooled down, received them well and paid a fine of ten cattle for having taken ten Ao heads of Longsa village. Porteous completed his tour by visiting Chesami and Litsami, and all these trans-Dikhu villages were ordered to stop head-hunting.

In 1890 the Government punished two Sema villages, Seromi and Gohovishe's village, the first with a fine and the second with burning, for some minor raids.

In February 1900, Captain Woods undertook a tour of the trans-Dikhu villages and once encamped in the Sema village of Yachumi. But there he was confronted with a serious attack by the villagers. He fought it back killing several persons by firing from close range. Later he burnt the village which had about 500 houses. This incident was taken exception to by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the ground that it was not the policy of the Government to go to the east of Dikhu river because Dikhu was the eastern boundary of the political control. The authority did not like to go to the east of Dikhu, that is, unadministered Sema area, because that would involve political and financial responsibilities of a serious nature.

The Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, in his Administrative report for the year 1899-1900 suggested that the eastern source instead of western source of Dikhu river be made the eastern boundary of the political control and thereby to bring Siromi under control. The Chief Commissioner and then the Government of India approved it

In 1905 the Government declared Tizu as the eastern boundary of the controlled area. This created difficulty because on both the sides of the river there were Semas and naturally they were connected by common cultural ties as well as marriage and kinship. Even some Semas on the east of Tizu had their cultivable land on the west of it, and vice versa. This partitioning of the Sema area gave rise to another administrative difficulty. If a person of the trans-border area complains about a person of west of the river, the Government can take action but Government is helpless if a person of west of Tizu complains about a person of east of the river, because the Government cannot take any step against the people of uncontrolled area¹. To mitigate this difficulty the Government passed an order in 1906 extending the boundary to bring most of Tizu river within controlled area. And thus most of the Sema area, and for that most of the present Zunheboto district, came under direct administration of the Government in 1906.

During the Second World War the Japanese came to Kohima through Manipur. Their siege of Kohima began on 4th April 1944 and they were cleared off by the end of the month. During those days the Japanese came to Zunheboto also but were repulsed by the Royal Scots with the help of the Semas. Like Angami and others those were the trying days for the people of Zunheboto also. The Japanese, for want of their supply of ration, used to lay hands on the domestic cows and pigs and poultry. The people were disgusted with the Japanese and helped fight them out.

Later in 1952 rest of the Sema area came under Tuensang Division of NEFA and in December 1957 the Tuensang Division of NEFA was joined with Naga Hills to form Naga Hills Tuensang Area or NHTA for short. That time Mokochung Sub-Division was made into a district. Later the NHTA became Nagaland in 1961 but Zunheboto continued to remain a Sub-Division of Mokochung district. Nagaland was formally opened as a State in 1963 but there was no change in the districts. In December 1973, the three

1. Even places like Aghunato and Avikuyuka, which are now administrative centres of the district, remained outside the control of the administration. This position continued until 1952 when these places were included in NEFA (modern Arunachal Pradesh). (Proceedings of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Sept 1968).

Sub-Divisions of Mokokchung were turned into three districts, thus Zunheboto became a district in 1973. The other two Sub-Divisions such as Wokha and Mokokchung also became districts from that time.

The entire hilly area of the State of Nagaland, and so the Zunheboto district also, lies 'beyond Inner Line' and the Government employees used to get, till early 1976, Inner Line Special Pay which has now been converted into Inner Line Compensatory Allowance.

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

According to 1971 census the district of Zunheboto is inhabited by 47,093 people¹. Of the total population of 47,093, tribals, that is Nagas, number 44,721, and the non-tribals, that is non-Nagas, are 2,372. Most of the Nagas of this district are Semas though official tribe-wise breakup of population is not yet available. No doubt there are some people of other tribes living in this district, mainly on service and business, but their number is very small and it can not be even 700. So, however, for all practical purposes we can accept that the Sema population of this district is not less than 44,000. There are altogether 147 villages in Zunheboto district including Zunheboto Town. Though Zunheboto is a town in ordinary sense of the term, it does not come under the term 'Town' of the Census Department since its population is less than 5000. The town of Zunheboto is inhabited by heterogeneous people though mainly by the Semas. But 145 out of 147 villages of the district are inhabited by Semas only. Other two are inhabited by Sangtam people.

The non-Nagas of this district are floating people because most of them have come on service or business and have no permanency. Therefore for the purpose of analysis of population, and the culture and other things of the people, the Non-Nagas may be ignored. And since Semas constitute the overwhelming majority of the people and more so of the native people, it is practically a district of the Semas.

Features

The Semas, like all other Nagas, have Mongoloid features with variations. They are generally darker than the Aos and Angamis, but some of them have fair complexion which may be called yellowish. Most of them have flat nose, oblique eyes and straight

1. Census Department, Kohima.

hair, and their cephalic index is 79¹ and the men do not generally grow beard. Like other Nagas generally they do not get bald headed or greyhaired. Their physical structure is inferior to that of the Angamis or the Aos, and their women are decidedly inferior to the men folk in beauty. Beard among men is as rare as beauty among women².

On the average a Sema man is 5'-3" or 158 cm tall and a Sema woman is a little less than that, that is, on the average 5'-1" or 153 cm. Though all the Nagas have Mongoloid features, there are differences in minute details between one and the other tribes. The difference are so explicit that an accustomed eye can very easily distinguish one tribe from the other. It may be noted that there are fourteen major tribes in Nagaland such as Ao, Angami, Sema, Lotha, Konyak, Chang, Sangtam, Chakhesang, Zeliangroung, Rengma, Phom, Yimchunger, Khimungan and Kuki (Kukis are of course not a Naga tribe but a separate Scheduled tribe mainly inhabiting in Manipur, but they are gradually being denoted as 'Kuki Naga' in common parlance). There is such a thing in each of these tribes that a person of one tribe can be very easily distinguished from that of another, not by dress but by physical features alone.

Population

Details of population of the present Zunheboto district are not yet available. However, on the basis of the figures of 1971 census it is calculated that the total population of this district is 47,093 of which 23,757 are male and 23,336 are female. There are 44,721 tribals in the district and they are mostly Sema Nagas. Of this figure, 21,957 are male and 22,764 are female.

There are 2,372 non tribal people in this district and they are mostly from outside the State and have come here on service or business. Tribe-wise breakup of the population is not yet available.

1. Hutton J.H., as quoted by Alemchiba Ao, in *A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland*.

2. Hutton J.H., *The Sema Nagas*.

Sex ratio

The total population of the district is 47,093 of which 23,757 are male and 23,336 are female. This gives an overall sex ratio of 982 females per thousand males. This is somewhat less than required. The total tribal population of the district is 44,721 of which 21,957 are male and 22,764 female. This gives a sex ratio of 1037 females per thousand males. This is very much disconcerting. However, the difference of overall sex ratio and tribal sex ratio is great and so it needs to be explained. We have already seen that the number of non-tribals is 2,372. These people are on service or business and are mostly without their counter parts, and they are over-balancing the plus-sex ratio into a deficit sex ratio. So we can say that the sex ratio of the Semas is 1037, that is 1037 females for every thousand males. It may be noted that the Aos, Lothas and other tribes also have got similar sex ratio. (Aos—1038, Lothas—1034).

Population trend

The details of the growth of population of this district are not available. The population of the area which now constitutes Zunheboto district, according to 1971 census, is 47,093, but we do not know as yet what was the population of this very area in 1961 or earlier, and for want of that we can not give any specific trend of population growth. In absence of the figures of this district we can take cognisance of the State as a whole and the district of Mokokchung out of which Zunheboto has been born.

Nagaland is a small State in area (16,527 sq km) and the factors affecting growth of population being same everywhere in the State, it is likely that the population trend of this district will conform to the trend of the State. The population of Nagaland, according to 1961 census, was 3,69,200 and that according to 1971 census is 5,16,449. This gives a decennial growth of 1,47,249 and the decennial percentage variation of plus 39.88 or say 40. This is a very high rate of growth in comparison to the all-India rate of 24.80. It may be noted that out of the total growth of 1,47,249 people in a decade, a substantial number has come from outside on service or business.

If we take into account Mokokchung district out of which has been born the Zunheboto district, we shall find that the population of that district, in 1961 was 1,26,001 and in 1971 it was 1,68,242. It gives a total rise of 42,241 in a decade and so the decennial percentage variation is a plus 33.50. The conditions having been almost same in the former Mokokchung district, we can accept this rate of growth (33.50%) for Zunheboto also. But, as noted above, since a substantial portion of the growth is contributed by the Non-Nagas, the actual growth of the Semas will be some what less, and it may be around 30%.

Rural and urban population

There are several administrative out-posts in this district but none of them is a town. Even Zunheboto town which is the district headquarter was not a town in the strict sense of the term when the census took place for 1971. That time its population was 4,500 of which 2,862 were male and 1,638 were female. Thus since there is no town in this district there is no urban population and so all the population is rural.

It may be noted here that since the creation of the district in December, 1973, there has been a good growth of population in the headquarter town of Zunheboto and the population of that town must be more than 5,000 now (1976) and it will fulfil the other conditions of becoming a town, and so for all practical purposes it may be called a town now.

TABLE OF POPULATION OF ZUNHEBOTO DISTRICT¹
(On the basis of 1971 census)

1. Total population	47,093
2. Total male population	23,757
3. Total female population	23,336
4. Overall sex ratio	982
5. Total tribal population	44,721
6. Tribal male population	21,957
7. Tribal female population	22,764
8. Tribal sex ratio	1,037
9. Total working population	22,641

1. Source 1971 Census, (Figures supplied by the Deputy Director of Census Operations, Nagaland, Kohima, in his No. SCO-3/14/71 Vol. II dated 9th September 1976.)

10. Total male working population	11,619
11. Total female working population	11,022
12. Total tribal working population	21,057
13. Total tribal male working population	10,064
14. Total tribal female working population	10,994
15. Overall percentage of literacy	28.35
16. Percentage of male literacy	38.82
17. Percentage of female literacy	18.19
18. Percentage of tribal literacy	27.46
19. Percentage of tribal male literacy	36.59
20. Percentage of tribal female literacy	18.65
21. Total number of villages in the district	147
22. Total number of houses in the district	9,077

Language

Including both major and minor there are about twenty tribes in Nagaland, and each one of them has not only a separate language, but some tribes do have two or three languages and many more dialects. Semas are a Naga tribe, but unlike other tribes they are scattered here and there, such as in Arunachal Pradesh and in Ao, Lotha and Angami areas as well as in Dimapur area who are called Western Sema. They all speak similar language though not exactly same. But here we are concerned with the Semas of Zunheboto district and therefore we shall discuss their language only.

It has been suggested by many scholars that the Nagas have come from various parts of Indo-China, or even originally from far off place. Several groups of those early tribals, in their westward move, reached Brahmaputra river and settled in the hilly tracts of Arunachal Pradesh as well as spread westward. They are differently known as Abor, Mikir, Mishmi, Akas, Daflas etc. The languages these people speak are placed under Tibeto-Burman group. Therefore the languages of the hilly tribes of former Assam come under this group except the languages of Khasi and Jaintia Hills which are placed under Austro-Asiatic group.

The languages of the Nagas have been divided into several groups and sub-groups of Tibeto-Burman family by Sir George Grierson¹ and the Sema language belongs to one of it.

1. Sir George Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol III.

The people of Zunheboto district speak only one language, that is, Sema, but with a difference. The difference is this that there is, very naturally, variation in intonation and vocabulary. But intonation and vocabulary differ greatly between Tizu valley and Dayang valley on the east and west of the district respectively. The central valley lies between these two extremes. The difference in vocabulary is so great that the people of Tizu and Dayang valleys can not understand each other easily though they speak the same language. It may be mentioned here that the Sema of Poghoboto range, under Kohima district and surrounded by Rengmas, speak so different vocabularies that these are considered practically several languages, and one for each village or group of villages.

A peculiarity of Sema language and of other Naga languages, too, is this that one word with high and low tones will mean two different things. Sometimes a middle tone is also used to denote a third thing, and all these things are not at all connected. Another peculiarity, of course common with others, is that there are several meanings of one and the same word, and the meanings are entirely unrelated. For example, Akuku means red, hutuk, bug, root, raw etc¹. Another feature is this that often the people, like all other people of under-developed languages, make up the deficiency of fully expressing oneself, by gestures of hands and mouth.

About the variation in vocabulary in Sema language there is a joke. Seven men of seven different villages happened to meet by chance one evening in a roadside shelter. They have all carried their foods with them. Since they are all Semas, they decided to have their meal together that evening. They enquired from each others one by one what curry he had with him. They all replied different words such as *atushed*, *gwomtshi*, *mugishi*, *amusa*, *akelho* etc, and everybody thought that the other people were having meat, dried fish, and various kinds of vegetable, and he has scored a gain by agreeing to share his food with others. So they all happily sat down to the meal and asked everybody to open his packet of curry. Lo, and behold, everybody was surprised to see that they all have carried only chilli and nothing else².

Official language of the State is English. And people very often use broken Assamese which is called Nagamese as common language.

1. Hutton J. H., *The Sema Nagas*.

2. The above story has also been written by Hutton in his book, '*The Sema Nagas*'.

RELIGION AND CASTE

Generally in a primitive or a small society caste system is not found. Caste is a product, as in the case of Hindus, of elaborate social organisation based on graded work from lowest to highest. Where the society is small or a closed one or where it is not complex, casteism generally does not grow. Therefore, among the Nagas there is no caste system, and so also, as the Semas are Nagas, it is not found among the Semas. Or in other words, we can say there is no caste system in Zunheboto district. But at the same time we should mention that the people who have come from outside have come with their caste divisions. Since there is no caste system, the people are homogenous but with many clans. Of course clans are not castes and they intermarry, rather it is forbidden to marry in the same clan. So caste system is not there and there is no evil of caste system.

Religion

Like other Nagas, the Semas even a century before did not have any so called religion. Now many of them are Christian but by no means all. Before the introduction of Christianity they were what may be termed as Animist or Polytheist. Still the non-Christians who sometimes call themselves Sansari or Hindu, follow their old religious practices.

They believe in three distinct kinds of spirits, such as *Alhou* (or *Timilhou*), *Kungumi* and *Teghami*. *Alhou* is beneficent spirit but he is far away from man. Though he is somewhat creator, he does not practically interfere with the day-to-day life of the people. He is supreme and is not earthly. He nearly approximates the idea of a Supreme God. The second group is the spirits of the sky, the *Kungumi*. They dwell high up in the sky but far from being aloof. Often they come down to earth and marry the sons and daughters of human being. They are generally beneficent and are like the mortals but live in the sky. This group of spirit resemble the gods of Hindu pantheon. The third group of spirits are called *Teghami*. They are the spirits of the earth and are in touch with man. They are generally malevolent but can be propitiated with some sacrifice or the sort. They generally live in forest and so are called *Teghami* which means "Jungle men". They are heard of but not seen. Sometimes some people claim to have seen them

but usually they are not. In the jungle they are heard calling each other just like man, sometimes quite close, but on search they are not traced. Though the term *Teghami* generally means the spirit of the wild, it includes *Aghau* also. *Aghau* is a spirit resembling soul and is attached to the individuals. *Aghau* is also a house spirit and is benevolent to the owner and malevolent to his enemies. It hangs around the house or the person, generally unseen.

Little before set up of administration in the then Naga Hills district, Christianity was introduced in Mokokchung district (in 1872). Gradually by the 50s of this century the whole of Naga Hills came under the influence of Christianity. As a result, like other Nagas, many Semas also accepted Christianity.

At the beginning, Christianity was preached by foreign Missionaries, mainly Americans, but gradually local people became capable of doing it and so by 1950s the foreign missionaries left and at present there is no foreign missionaries in Nagaland.

According to 1971 census 66.76% of the total population of Nagaland are Christians. There are certain areas where the percentage is higher as well as there are some areas where it is lower than in Zunheboto district and therefore the percentage of Christianity of this district may be accepted as the average of Nagaland, that is 66.76% or say 67%. It may be even more.

In 1961 census the percentage of Christianity in Nagaland was 52.98 and it rose to 66.76 in 1971. Therefore in ten years it increased by 13.78% along with the rise of population of 1,47,249 in the same period, (in 1961 the population of Nagaland was 3,69,200 and by 1971 it has gone upto 5,16,449). This is a tremendous progress in the spread of Christianity.

It is not necessary to discuss here about the details of Christian religion, but it is necessary to state that there are two Protestant denominations in this area. They are Baptist and Pentecostalist. There is no Roman Catholic as yet.

Magic, belief and superstition

Like other Nagas, rather many of the people of the world, the Semas have got faith in magic cure of the sickness. There are various ways of propitiating the evil spirit who is believed to

have caused the sickness. But two forms are more common. One is driving away the evil spirit with sacrifices etc. It is generally done by *Lapu*. *Lapu* is the official burier of the dead of the village. He is selected from among the minority clan of the village and is poor. He digs the grave for the dead. But he has got another function also, that is, to cure the sick. When a person is believed to be sick due to the evil spirit, the *Lapu* takes six eggs for man or five for woman and waves it over his or her face six times for man and five times for woman, and throws it outside to the directions of rising and setting sun, that is, east and west, telling that thereby he is driving away the evil spirits. Of course before throwing it out, the sick person spits on it. Thereafter a burning brand is placed at the door to prevent re-entry of the spirit. This process, or genna, is called *apikukho*. It is believed to cure the sick. In another form of *apikukho* only one or two eggs are used and the curer is not necessarily the *Lapu*. It also varies in other details.

Another healing ceremony is called *Kungu-la* (lit=heaven road). In this, a *Thumomi* (see para below next) performs the ceremony. A pig is killed and its meat and rice-beer are put in small cups of banana leaf and those are put in the frontal post of the house. The leg of the pig, its tongue, gall, tail, a scrap of liver and the bladder etc are put in a basket near the sickman's bed in expectation that the spirit of *thumomi* will take it away in the night. In practice it does not happen, but the *thumomi* himself collects it in the morning. Anyway, this is a kind of propitiating the evil spirits and thereby to cure sickness.

In another form of healing magic a *thumomi* extracts bits of stones, scraps of bones, teeth, chewed leaves etc sundry things out of the body of the patient without leaving any mark where it came from. Dr. Hutton¹ once underwent such an invisible operation, in which a female *thumomi* brought out pebbles from his body. Anyway, it is a matter of faith and so, often it cures the person.

THUMOMI. In every village, or at least a group of villages, there is found a person who is a seer. He forecasts a thing to come, the result of an enterprise, interprets omens or dreams

1. Hutton J. H., *The Sema Nagas*, P-214.

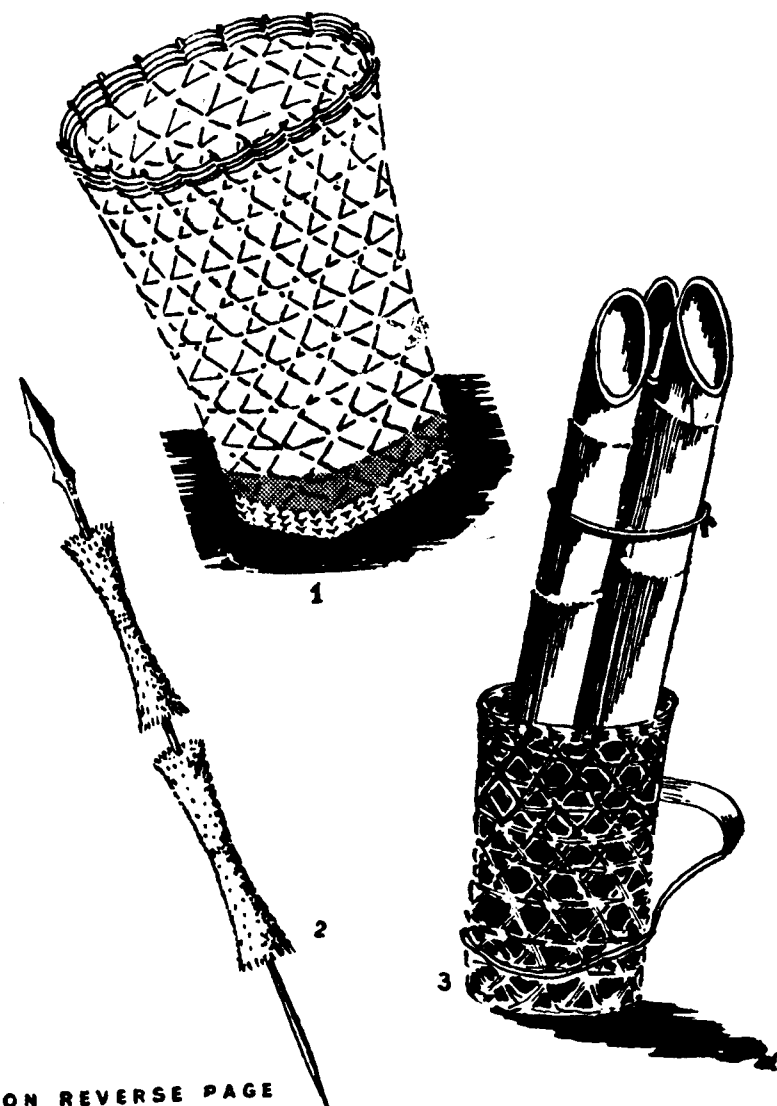
etc. He is locally known as *Thumomi* and he is a seer or witch. More correctly he will be an equivalent of Onjha of Indian villages. Generally, the *thumomi* is possessed to some degree and some time is subject to fits which resemble epilepsy. This is not a isolated case for the Semas, but such persons are found all over the world in this or that form. And like rest of the world the forecast of a Sema *thumomi* does not always come through. No doubt he is a gifted person and can tell many things, as many others all over the world do, but sometimes he fails too. Sometimes he does not get possessed but just to upkeep his reputation he simulates it and tells things which are not always true, and often he takes recourse to magic. It may be noted that a *thumomi* may be a man or woman but he or she is not a person of social standing.

OMENS. There is a practice of taking omen for assessing the future. It can be taken by certain persons and particularly by the *thumomi* who are believed to have the faculty of obtaining the correct results. Omens are taken of various things such as position of the legs of a strangled cock (like the Angamis) etc. But the most common form of taking omen is by use of fire stick, "the omen being taken from the disposition of the broken strands of the bamboo thong after it has been charred through to breaking point by the friction"¹. From the omen they will know the good or bad result of the proposed enterprise or simply the future of a thing, and will proceed accordingly.

DREAM is a predominating factor for a common Sema life, like the Angamis. Often before embarking on a project, such as hunting, trade or any other enterprise, they dream a dream which may be explained under the set formula by the dreamer himself, but preferably by some other persons who are believed to be expert in it. It includes *thumomi* also. A good dream always does not forecast a good thing, neither a bad dream a bad thing. For example, a dream of hunting a human head means good luck in hunting game, but the same dream means losing a head in war. Sometimes the dream does not have any connection with its real interpretation, for example, the dream of a man carrying a load means that some one will be injured. Because of this variation between the dream and its explanation, which cannot be codified under any formula, there is a great latitude for the person who interprets it.

1. Hutton J. H., *The Sema Nagas*, P. 247.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

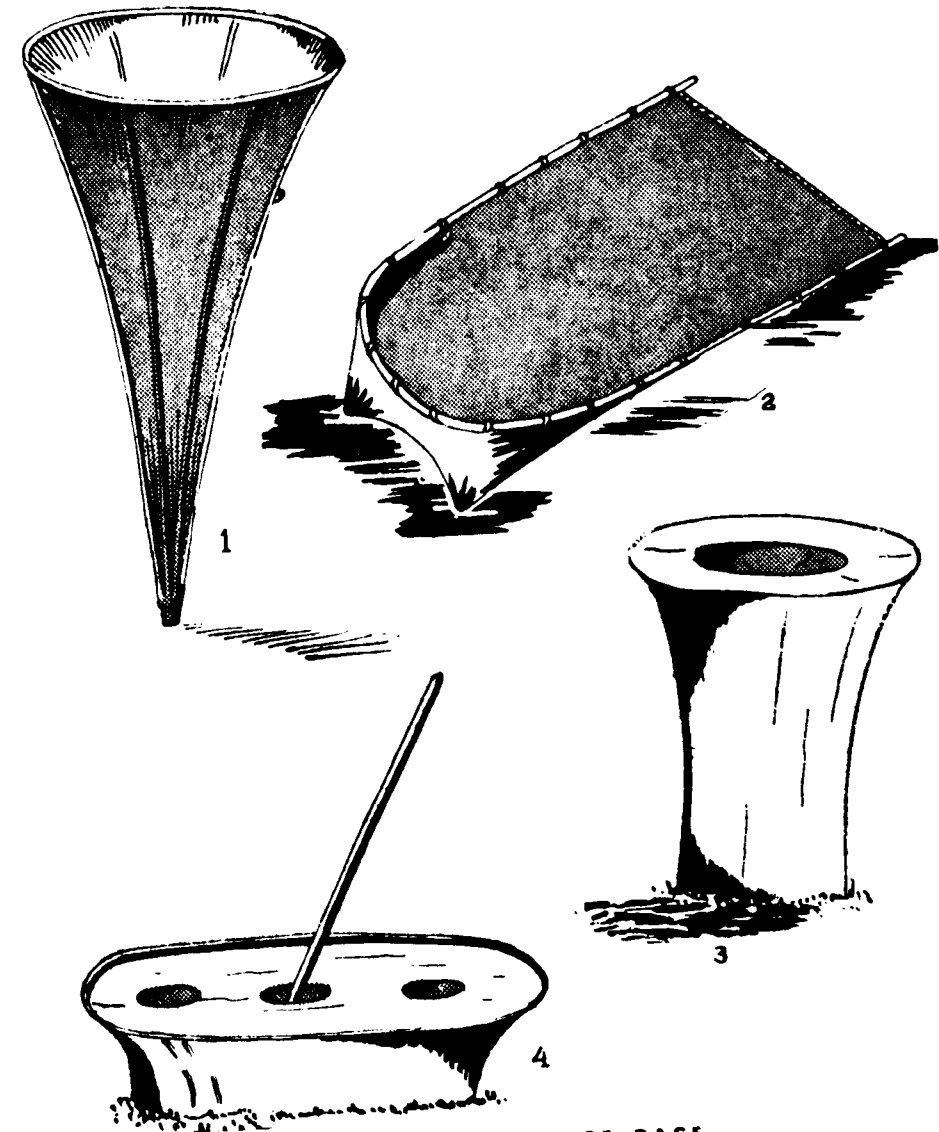


NOTES ON REVERSE PAGE

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

Household Articles

1. Basket, a common type, used for carrying firewood, water-cans etc.
2. Decorated spear.
3. Bamboo chungas in a Khang. The chungas are used as water container.



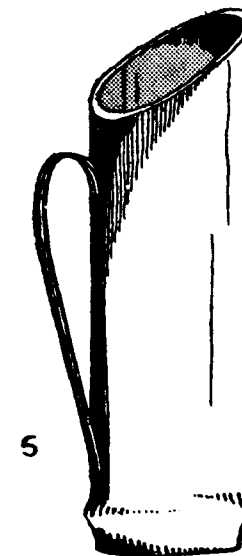
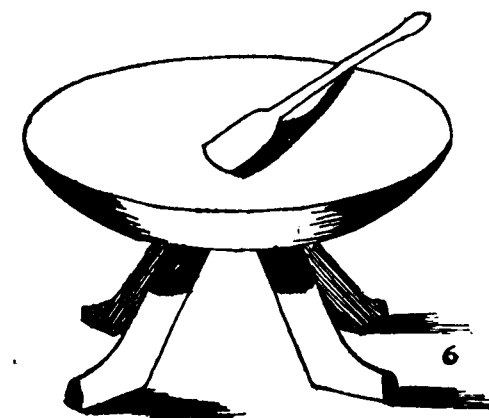
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HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES



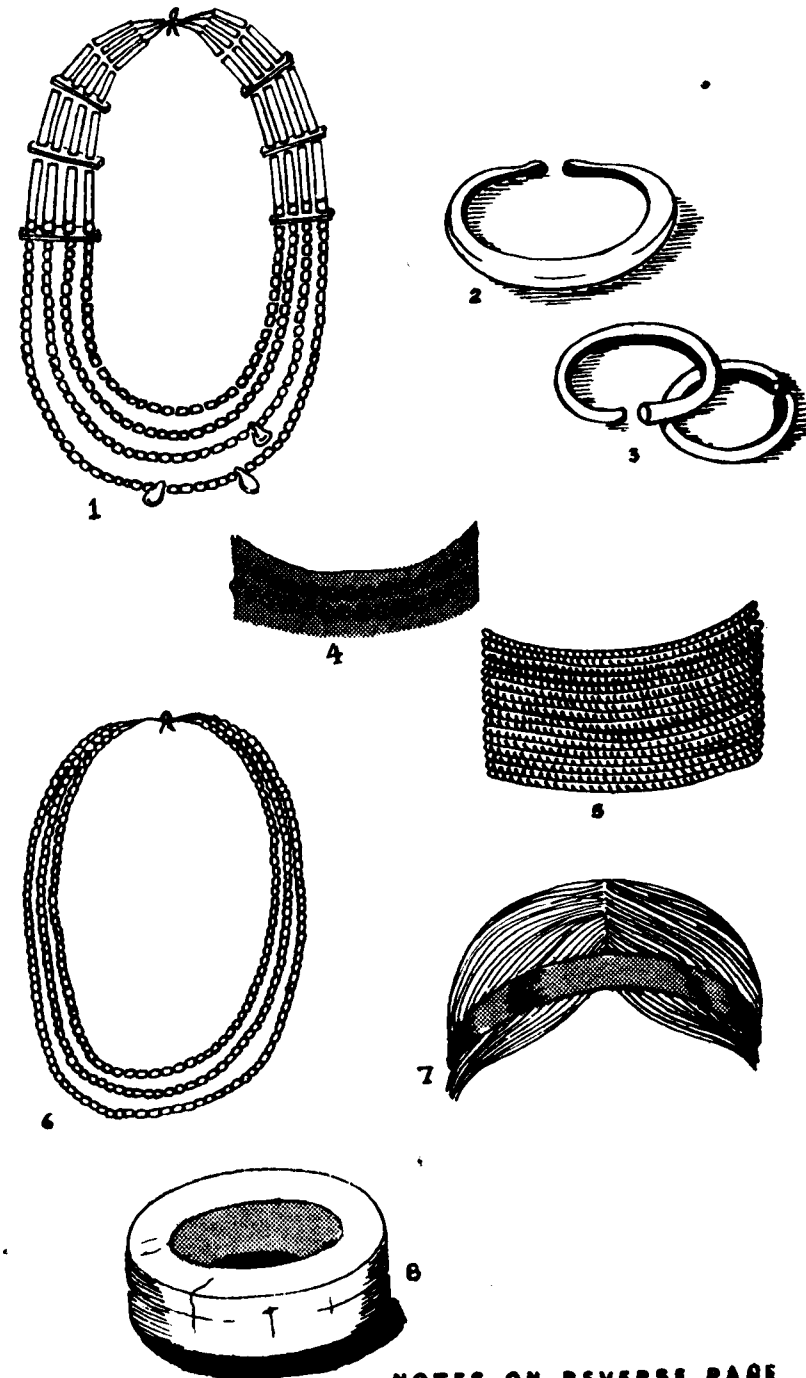
Household Articles

1. Basket, which is commonly known as Khang. It is used for carrying various articles, particularly paddy.
2. Winnowing fan.
3. Pounding table — ordinary, used by small or poor houses.
4. Pounding table — with several holes, used by rich or big families.



NOTES ON REVERSE PAGE

ORNAMENTS



Household Articles

1. Earthen cooking pot.
2. Shale of bitter watergourd, used for handling water.
3. Bamboo spoon, used to halde curry.
4. Bamboo spoon—flat type—used to handle cooked rice.
5. Bamboo mug, used for drinking rice-beer or tea.
6. Wooden platter, used as plate for eating meal.

NOTES ON REVERSE PAGE

Ornaments

1. Necklace. It may be several stringed.
2. Armlet, made of brass or lead.
3. Bangle, made of brass.
4. Waist band of cowries.
5. Waist band of small beads.
6. Necklace for men.
7. Headband made of orchid plants or metal.
8. Ivory armlet for men.

SECOND SIGHT. Sometimes a person, or some persons or even a whole village sees a thing which has not yet happened but would happen after a few days. For example, some people have seen that a person of another village has come to their village and talked with them, whereas the real person comes after a few days. Here the first person may be considered as wraith of the real person. On 13th April 1918, Sakhalu, his brother and many people of his village raided a Kuki village and killed a Kuki, and Sakhalu cut up his head and carried it back to the camp singing paeans. It was some six marches off from his village. But strangely, following night (13th April) Sakhalu's villagers heard the chanting of paeans and the entire village learnt that Sakhalu had hunted a head¹. This is rather inexplicable but it happens. Sometimes some wraith appears and inquires about the truth or otherwise of the death news of a person who is not really dead. Nothing is known about the person who enquires it, but strangely, the man about whom inquiry is made dies sometime latter².

This very belief in omens and wraith is not peculiar to the Semas. or the Nagas alone but is widespread all over the world. And therefore it has to be said that the psychic experiences of the Semas are similar to those of the rest of the world.

Manners and customs

BIRTH. When a child is born the mother observes a 'genna' ³ of six days for a male child and five days for a female child. Of course for the first born, irrespective of sex, the 'genna' is for six days. During genna period the mother does not go out of the house except to answer call of nature, neither she speaks with outsiders during this period. During this period the other members of the house are not allowed to work in their own field or to go to their own granary, but they can do so for others. At the end of the genna period, the mother takes a child of the same sex of her baby and goes to the end of the village taking a basket and some agricultural implements. Going there she announces that she is

1. Hutton J.H., *The Sema Nagas*, p 248

2. Hutton J.H., *The Sema Nagas*, p 249. It occurred in France during First Great War about a Chang and two Semas. But a similar incident was found untrue in respect of a convict in Andaman.

3. Genna is a non-Naga word which means taboo, ceremony, prayer, puja A-sauch etc.

going to the field, but really she does not go to the field but returns home. This marks the end of the genna.

During labour, the birth of the baby is helped by three elderly women, unlikely the Lothas where the husband does the job. The after-birth is buried inside the house in a secluded place so that it is not treaded by anybody.

On the 5th day of the birth the ears are pierced. In some cases if it is not done that day, it is done years later. But piercing is done for both the sexes and the number of hole varies from one to four in different places. Anyway, piercing of ear is, rather was, a must for the Semas. Generally the child is named on the 5th day of the birth when ears are pierced. Even if the ear is not pierced, yet the baby is named on that day or sometime later. Sometimes piercing of the ear of a grown up child is performed with a ceremony in which a pig is killed and is feasted upon with rice-beer.

MORTUARY. In pre-British time the people used to keep the dead body exposed on a raised platform near the house for several days or weeks and thereafter the decomposed body used to be deposited in a particular place to decay there. Burial or burning was not practised. After the advent of British administration the exposure of dead body on platform was stopped by order, and since then the people have taken to burial. Unlike other places of India, burning of dead body or floating on river is not practised here.

When a person dies, a grave about breast deep is made and it is lined with plank or bamboo mat. Then the body is laid in rest there face upside and then the grave is covered by planks or bamboo mat and then earth is heaped on it. Before the body is put in the grave a feast, in which cows and pigs are killed, is hosted by the deceased's family. The size and grandeur of the feast depends on the wealth and fame of the deceased. This feast is something like Sradh of the Hindus, only the difference that it takes place before the dead body is disposed of, while the Sradh takes place many days (10 to 30) after the disposal of the dead body.

After the burial the members of the deceased's family do not take anything till next morning when they ritualistically taste the paste of *ukini* seed (*perilla ocimoides*)¹ and cleans the utensils.

On the second day some food stuff including some fine fragments of meat is kept on the grave for his ghost to take it. This may be given for several days or even for ten days. Anyway for ten days after the death, the deceased's household members or even his clan members living in the same village will not go to the field, and will abstain from eating any vegetable. That is, they will eat non-vegetarian food only. On the tenth day the house is cleaned and the genna period is over.

Almost near every village there is a grave yard, but it is common practice to bury a respectable and or grand old man near the house, and to erect a cairn on the grave.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS

MARRIAGE is a costly affair for the Sema men, marriage price of the Sema girls being proverbially high among all the Naga tribes. Price of a girl depends on several factors. Firstly, upon her family status, that, is, if she is a daughter of a chief or a wealthy man, then her price is also high. Secondly, it depends on her working ability. If she is known for her hard working habit, thrifty nature, amiable behaviour etc etc which count for a good house-wife, then her price will also be high irrespective of her physical beauty. Marriage generally takes place between the families of equal status and so the price does not become forbiddingly high. But if a man of lower status wants a girl of higher status he is to pay heavily, provided the parents of the girl agree to such an unequal marriage. In the recent decades, marriage price used to vary from Rs. 500/- to Rs. 15,000/-². In recent years there has been some change in outlook in respect of marriage price and it is mainly due to the influence of Christianity. Percentage of Christianity among the Semas will be more than 70% and as such

1. Hutton, J. H. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 243.

2. Hutton, J. H., in his book, *The Sema Nagas*, has stated the price of the girl from Rs 20/- to Rs 500/- but that was in 10s of this century. Since then the price of everything has gone up and so also the marriage price.

the influence of Christianity is a great social force even on non-Christians. However, as a result of this Christian outlook the parents of girls are tending not to claim money as marriage price, but ask some sort of 'help' and naturally it is lower than the price.

The cost of the marriage feast which takes place in the bride's house is borne by the bridegroom. But, nowadays, the bride's father also helps in this matter, of course out of the money received from the son-in-law as 'help'.

After preliminary talks of selecting the bride, the prospective bridegroom goes to the house of the bride's father, being accompanied by a go-between who is called *anisu*. He may be elderly man or woman. He or she demands the girl and the girl's father asks the *anisu* whether he has come with the authority of the father of the boy. On his replying in positive, he is given food and drink and he blesses the couple. This is formal betrothal. And marriage may take place a few days thereafter, or in some rare cases after a few years also where the parties engage their son or daughter in childhood.

Another day the bride groom together with one of his friends go to the house of the bride's father and settle the bride price. On the day of marriage the groom and his party come to bride's house and feast there. The feast takes place in the afternoon and after the feast the combined party of both the groom and bride, goes to the bridegroom's house. After a few days, two to three, after some more minute observances of ritual, the marriage ceremony is concluded.

It may be noted that from the very time of proposal to the end of the ceremony there are some observances and every observance of the marriage is marked by ritualistically eating and drinking *modhu*. (Rice beer is called *modhu* throughout Nagaland. It is an Assamese term. Local terms are different)

Generally, a Sema woman makes a good wife and mother, and remains faithful to the husband unlike Aos among whom divorce on the ground of fidelity is very common¹. In pre-marital life also the Sema girls are more chaste than those of

1. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p-187 published by Oxford University Press London, in 1908. First published by Macmillan and Co Ltd. London, 1921.

other neighbouring tribes. Of course, occasionally sexual intercourse takes place before marriage, and in that case the price of the girl comes down.

Marriage does not take place among the same clan and the marriagable age is generally 25 to 30 years for men and 20 to 25 years for women. Though there is no child-marriage, engagement in the childhood occasionally takes place, particularly among the children of chiefs, mainly in the trans-Tizu area.

Woman being a purchasable commodity and monogamy not being a rule, rich men marry more than one wife. In fact to have more than one wife is a prestigious thing because the wives are man-power in the field work. Unlike some other tribes, the Sema wives live under the same roof and do not quarrel. The eldest wife gets position of honour and others obey her. A man having several wives is like a monarch who need not work himself and need not worry for food and service.

On the death of the husband the wife or wives may marry some of the heirs of her late husband. That is, step mother marries a step-son. Since to get a new wife is a question of money, sometimes the sons of the deceased person become interested to marry the widow step-mother. It is some kind of keeping a family property within the family.

Divorce is unceremonial but it accompanies the question of price. If the husband divorces the wife for adultery, he can claim to realise some considerable fine from her parents. And if the divorce takes place within three years of marriage, on ground of adultery, the husband will get back the marriage price also. And naturally it is paid by her paramour, who, if caught may be given a sound thrashing. If the divorce takes place within three years of marriage but not for adultery, the husband may claim back the price, but if it takes place after three years he does not get anything. If the wife leaves the husband out of her own will, the husband may claim back the price, but if she leaves because of his ill treatment, the husband does not get back anything.

Any way, marriage is based on price so also the divorce is based on return of the price. Unlike marriage, divorce is unceremonial.

SOCIAL LIFE

Property and Inheritance

Among the Semas, like other Nagas, the line of succession follows male heirs only and no female is entitled to inherit any property.

The property goes from the father to son, and if a man dies without any son, his property will go to his brother's sons, and if there is no brother's sons, it will go to his father's brother's sons, and so on.

Division of landed property, does not take place soon after the death of the person, and not even in the second generation, but in the third only. That is, the property of the grandfather, not the father, is divided among the sons of the grandfather's sons, on the basis of equal share for all the sons of the grandfather. For example, if the grandfather has three sons Kumtsa, Hokishe and Viketo, and they have two, three and four sons respectively, then the property will be divided in three equal divisions, one each for Kumtsa, Hokishe and Viketo; and their sons, irrespective of their number, will enjoy it. Thus in the case of Kumtsa's sons, one-third of the original property will be divided into two for two brothers; in the case of Hokishe's sons, one-third of the original property will be divided into three for the three brothers, and in the case of Viketo's sons, one-third of the original property will be divided into four for four brothers. Though the property is divided into 'equal' parts, in fact the elder brother divides the plot and naturally gets a bit more than others. Partition of property does not take place easily because nobody wants to raise the question of partition since it is believed that he will die earlier or at least some calamity will befall him whoever first raises the question of partition. And because of this reason the person who first raises the question gets an extra plot of fine land for him.

Until the property is divided, nobody can sell it, but once it is divided there is no bar in its sale and purchase. It may be noted here that there is a strong feeling among the villagers against the sale of any landed property outside the village. And therefore, it is the custom to sell the property within the village or sell outside with the consent of the villagers.

Other than personal property, there is a village property also which is owned by the villagers jointly. It is generally the woodland or some fallow land, and it can be disposed off jointly by the village elders, and not by any individual.

Unlike landed property, movable property can be divided soon after the death of the owner, and the line of succession follows the principle as discussed above. But since it is divided soon after death of the owner, it goes directly to the sons and not to the grandsons, provided the sons are alive. And another thing, the women get some share in the movable properties, such as ornaments, fowls and paddy. The share of wife or wives is only one-third. If there are more than one widow, then one third of the property will be divided among them. She can possess her own personal property such as clothes, weaving apparatus, ornaments and chickens and ducks, but not pigs or other livestock. A daughter may possess any property given to her by her parents or any other relative as a gift. A woman can purchase and possess any property but on her death the landed property will devolve to her son, and in absence of son, to her brother, or father's line of succession.

Credit, together with debt, of the deceased, is considered to be a property. Debts due to, or from the deceased, is considered to be cash and hence it is divided according to the principle of succession of movable property.

Dress and ornaments

Acculturation has made the people modern in dress more than anything else. Though it is less than a hundred years that the area had been brought under administration, the people have seen the light of modern civilisation in the last two decades only as the administrative unit Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) was formed in 1957. Actually there has not been any perceptible change in the dress over many centuries. But the birth of a separate administrative unit in 1957, and de-facto State of Nagaland in 1961 and formally inaugurated State of Nagaland in 1963, has brought allround development and people's participation in it, and that has brought change in outlook and brought money, and so the drsses have greatly changed.

Formerly, the men used to wear only a loin cloth and nothing else. To keep warm (it is a cold place) they used to sit by fire and sleep by fire, and sometimes could not sleep due to severe cold. There was a system of using a chadar of course but that was more ceremonial than common, and the poor people could not afford it. But nowadays many of the men of even remote villages also use short pants, ganji and shirt, and a chadar in winter. Some even use sweater. Men in the towns or advanced villages use trousers, sweater, chadar and what not. All the educated men dress in western way.

So far the women are concerned, they used to wear a short mekhala which hardly used to come down upto the knee and nothing for the upper part of the body except, in some cases, the many stringed beadnecklace to partly cover the shapely breasts. Gradually they started using blouse of western type. But nowadays they, in the villages also, use a long mekhala which comes down up to the ankle, a blouse and often a chadar. In the towns of course they use all sorts of dresses such as shirt, mini skirt, maxi, lungi, trousers etc as well as sari and of course their own traditional mekhalas of various designs. In all cases, blouse of either western or Indian type, or shirts and ganjis of modern variety are used. Petticoat and brassiere are also used as usual.

Most of the educated girls are so advanced in dress and cosmetics that they can beat any other Indian woman in that field.

TYPES OF DWELLING

Village and housing

VILLAGES. As in the case of all other Naga tribes, the Sema villages are situated on the top of hill or on the shoulder of a spur. In lower ranges, such as Dayang valley where it is less cold the villages are built on the summit of a hill, whereas in upper ranges, that is cold place, generally the shoulder of a spur is chosen. Anyway the villages are situated on a well defended position. It is because of the tradition of head-hunting and inter-village fighting. Though there is no more head-hunting or fighting, still the tradition of founding villages on a well defensible position continues. This applies correctly to the old and established villages. But so far the new villages are concerned, the site is selected without any reference to the question of defence, as it is no longer

necessary. It may be noted here that nowadays almost every big village has got a New Village near about, and some time a Modern Village too.

In olden days the village used to have a treble line of defence—two stone walls and a ditch in between, crossed with a single plank¹. The ditch and the outer side of the wall used to be panjied. This was all for defence of the village against any possible enemy attack.

But nowadays, the danger of attack being over, the defence arrangements are not kept in order. However, the ruins of those are still seen around old villages. Sometimes, those are ceremonially and ritually repaired but without any practical reconstruction—only putting some earth or panjis in token.

Often the Sema villages are named after its chief such as Sakhai or Sakhalu etc. That means Sakhai is the chief and it is the name of the village too. When the chief dies, the village gets the name of his son whose name is a different one. Sometimes the name of the founder is allowed to continue. In some cases villages do get names, based on the local features, such as Seromi which is named after the *susurrus* (whispering) of the nearby rivulet.

In modern times names are changing less and getting gradually fixed.

Sema villages are generally small in comparison to the villages of other tribes, particularly Angami, Lotha and Ao. Those tribes do have villages of 300-600 houses (Kohima has more than 700) whereas Sema villages have 100 to 300 houses. The villages are generally clean in comparison to those of other tribes.

HOUSING. As a result of flow of easy money in the last two decades, many people, even some in the villages, have constructed Hill type buildings (Split bamboo cement plastered wall with tin roof), or Improved Basha type building (Double tarja simple bamboo mat with tin roof). In the New or Modern villages it is mostly either of the two types mentioned above.

1. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p-34 published by Oxford University Press, London, in 1968. First published by Macmillan and Co Ltd. London in 1924.

These new buildings do not have the traditional specification, and are constructed in a modern way suiting to the needs and ability of the owner.

In the old villages still most of the houses are old type. It is walled with double tarja bamboo mat and roofed with thatch. The posts are round jungle wood. The eaves of the houses come down within a metre of the ground and the height of the roof varies from 3 to 5 metres, from one side to another, along the length. On the front side there is an apselike low semicircular addition which serves the purpose of portico. There may be another on the back of the house also. Often two bamboos forming the front of the gable are extended beyond the roof to form snail-horn. It is a decoration only, and sometimes imitation birds of wood are also fastened to it.

Houses generally vary from 5x12 metre to 10x20 metre in size, the bigger ones being constructed by the chief or other rich men. Usually a house has four rooms. The front room is used for keeping pigs and fowls etc. Pounding tables are also kept in this room and paddy is husked there. The next room is a bedroom for the grown up girls. The third is the main room where lie the hearth and a few beds. This is an all purpose and the biggest room and the head of the family and his wife sleep there. The fourth and last one is generally used for keeping modhu, ie, rice-beer. Thus the general arrangement of the house is similar to an Angami house, except that unlike the Angamis, the Semas do not keep their cows in the front room, or at all in the house, but those are kept outside, in the front.

Formerly bamboo machangs of about 50 to 75 cm width were used for sleeping purpose, and the head of the family, if rich, used to sleep on about a metre or more wide wooden block with legs, hewn out of a single log or a tree. But nowadays modern bedsteads of simple type are widely used.

Food and drink

Rice is the staple food of the district. The people also take millet and taro¹ in time of scarcity. Rice is taken with vegetables, meat and chutney. All sorts of meat are taken, not excluding

1. *Colocasia*—a plant of arum family and widely known as Kachu in India.

elephant, tiger, bear, snake, dog and frog, whenever it is available, but many people do not take dog or snake and some do not take tiger. Beef is the common meat but pork is more relished. Meat of buffalo and mithun (gayal) is also used, and particularly the latter for big feasts. Most of the meat comes from domestic animals such as cattle, pig, goat, fowl, Chinese duck, etc and it is occasionally supplemented by hunting wild games which commonly include deer, wild boar, wild fowl and varieties of birds. The hunting is done with modern fire arms such as single barrel or double-barrel guns, menagerie rifles and shot guns.

It is a hilly place and naturally there is scarcity of either running or stagnant water and so the fish is rare. However, the people fish during lean season in the nearby rivers such as Dayang Ti-ho, Tizu etc. Tizu and Dayang are better fishing grounds. The fish generally are carp weighing from a few hundred grams to a few kilograms. The most common variety is cat fish.

Most of the cooking, including fish and meat, is done by simply boiling and putting in salt and chilli and occasionally some ginger. The common people generally do not use spices but they take more ginger and chilli. Of the vegetables, mustardleaf is the most common item and it grows for several months during cold season. In the last few decades have come up all sorts of modern vegetables. Of all the vegetables squash, which is also not original to the land, is the most important and enduring one because it grows in plenty and grows for five months of the year, from July to November.

Food is taken thrice a day, that is, in the morning, noon, and afternoon. The last one is just before sunset. But modern educated people are changing the habits and the afternoon meal is sometimes taken after sunset or late in the evening.

The food habit and cooking process, in case of the urban people, have changed to some extent due to acculturation in last two decades.

Of the drink, individually prepared home-made rice-beer is the most common drink. But due to the influence of Christianity (Baptist Mission) some people do not take rice-beer. Of course, many of the Christians do take distilled and hard liquors.

People seldom drink water, but whenever they feel thirsty, they take tea. It is taken light and without sugar or milk.

Milk as food item was not in use before, but it is being increasingly used nowadays, but still much less than in the plains.

Smoking dried tobacco leaf is the only narcotic habit of the people, but nowadays smoking cigarette and biri is very common.

Sema polity

We have already mentioned that Sema villages are small in size and they often found new villages. A new village is generally founded by the son of a chief being accompanied by a number of his father's dependants who are locally called *mughemis*, and some other people who may be thieves or runaways or the like whom he can collect. The village is founded in a land either newly acquired from enemy or a fallow land never cultivated before. In this new land the leader of the party reserves as much land as he likes, and then gives some to his more important associates, and then keeps some for the *mughemis* to clear and own it.

Thus a man founds a village and becomes the chief of the village and the village comes to be known by his name. For example, if Sakhalu establishes the village it comes to be known as Sakhalu village and Sakhalu is its chief. The chief of the village is something like a common 'father' to all the inhabitants of that village, and the inhabitants are his 'orphans' or dependants, and they are called *mughemis*. The relation between the chief and his *mughemis* is mainly based on land tenure. Out of the entire land the chief possesses, he keeps a certain portion every year for cultivation for his own family requirement, and distributes the rest among his *mughemis* or dependants. And in return the dependants work in the field of the chief for a certain number of days varying from four to sixteen, or even more in case of a powerful chief. But for these working days the 'dependants' are paid a nominal payment of salt or meat for each day for each worker. It may be noted that in olden days salt was a scarce thing and so the people liked it very much. Thus in exchange of this manual labour the *mughemis* get land every year and thereby are safe from any problem of land shortage for cultivation.

Not only that, the chief is the protector of his dependants in its wide sense of the term. He lends paddy to his *mughemis* in time of scarcity, he pays his dependant's fine if imposed by a neighbouring village for any untoward work, he builds his house if he (*mughemis*) cannot do himself, and above all provides his dependant with a wife if he cannot purchase one. Thus a chief looks after the interest of *mughemis* in all possible ways. Of course, for all these things he expects repayment, however late it may be. In case of providing a wife to a *mughemis*, the chief's expectation of repayment is limited to guardianship of the daughter of the *mughemis* if he dies without leaving a son, because by giving the girl in marriage he can get a good amount. Anyway, the chances of repayment are less.

Thus for all practical purposes the chief behaves like a benevolent father to his *mughemis* and in return the *mughemis* pay him homage by calling him 'father'.

All the villagers of the village are the *mughemis* of the chief. It includes his brothers also if they settle there, originally or later. Even if his father settles there he will also be his son's *mughemis*.

COMMUNAL LIFE

One of the evils of the modern civilisation is this that it makes a man individualistic. A person going in for higher education, entering into a profession, doing business, a research work etc is busy with his own work for climbing higher and higher up in the ladder and so does not find time to mix with his fellow men or even think for them. Even modern dwellings are individualistic in set up. So if we agree that individualism is a contribution of the advanced civilisation then we are to admit also the contrary, that is, less civilised is the people the more communal they are. Zunheboto district is not higher up in the echelon of modern civilisation and therefore, the life of the people is more communal than that found in developed society. In fact, every village is a compact one and the people thereof live like a family in the sense that they share the sorrows and joys of each other. They cultivate the land in the same area more or less jointly, they decide jointly when to begin the jhum operation or to harvest the field. The loss of a life of an individual of the village at the hand of enemy is considered a

loss of the village. A pride of an individual in any good work is joy for the whole village. Thus the society is communal in character and most of their activities, life and living are encompassed by community feeling.

Some items of games and sports are individualistic no doubt, but many others such as hunting and fishing are communal in character. Hereunder we shall be discussing them one by one.

Games and Sports

Apart from the modern games and sports which have been introduced in recent decades, the Semas have their own indigenous games and sports which are still played and enjoyed, particularly in the villages. The important ones are discussed below.

MUD-PIES. In the childhood they make mud-pies. Earth is moistened by urine and imitation utensils are made of it and then pretence of cooking and eating is done. This is perhaps the oldest game of the world and all over the world the children play it, at least in the villages.

TOPS. Various types of peg tops and spin tops are made with stick and gourd and they are played by children with great enthusiasm. A kind of spin top is called *akets*. It is made of a hard block of wood and is shaped in two cones, base to base. A string is wound round the upper cone and one end of the string is held by hand, by putting a finger through a noose made at the end. Then it is thrown to the ground where it spins, and is made to 'fight' with other tops. This is not only popular with children but the lads and grown-ups also. Its play is prohibited except between the harvest and next sowing, like *fululu* a kind of flute.

Another game is played with the seeds of sword-bean. The beans are about 3/4ths of a metre long and the seeds are about 3 cm square with rounded corners, one and a half cm thick and is of reddish colour. Three of these seeds are placed on the ground, one after another, and the players hit them from distance with another seed. When all the three seeds are knocked out, the game is over, and it is played again. This is particularly popular with girls. This game is also prohibited while the crops are standing in the field.

KITIKE is a kind of athletics and may be called kick-fighting because it is a game of fighting by kicking. In it the contenders stand on left leg and fight each other with the right, often at right angle. This is a dangerous game because it may cause injury and therefore it is played only for a few minutes—three to four. If they do not stop, the onlookers stop them fighting when they think that the contenders are losing temper or getting injured.

HIGH JUMP AND LONG JUMP are also there, and it is not learnt from the Europeans, because it was there before they came in contact with the white people. Only the rules of the play were a bit different before, but now it is at par with others.

SPEAR THROWING. It is a kind of javeline throwing but instead of javeline the people use spear for mark-manship. It is a game of the young men and the competitor who hits the exact place is acclaimed for his accuracy. This is not played every time but only during some occasion when such competition is organised. For practice they throw bamboo or wooden rods, or even the spear without the iron portion. They use banana tree for the bull's eye.

STONE THROW. It is a kind of shot put, but instead of shot the people use a lump of stone, rounded and smoothened to some extent. Sometimes smooth round stones of desired weight are also collected from river beds. Often the young men and even the boys in the villages are found playing it. As usual the best thrower is praised for his strength and ability.

BOW AND ARROW. The children make bow and arrow with slit bamboo and play with it. But this being a dangerous game the parents do not allow it nowadays.

WRESTLING. The people take interest in wrestling. It is a free-hand type and the contender who can throw down his opponent is considered to be the winner.

WOOD-CHOPPING. It is not exactly a game but a play. In it a piece of soft young slim tree or a piece of big cane is stuck into the ground and then it is cut off from top with one stroke of the sharp dao. Whoever can do it keeping a nice slanting cut-mark on the stick, is acclaimed to be an expert in chopping. Formerly, in olden days of head-hunting, the young men used to

practise this chopping game to be expert in head-hunting. Now the head-hunting days being gone, the wood-chopping is only a play of pleasure.

POLE-CLIMBING. Climbing a smooth bamboo pole is also a play. Children or even young men try to climb it and who can reach the top without once slipping downward is acclaimed to be a good climber. Originally it might have something to do with warfare, but nowadays it is only a play for pastime.

TUG OF WAR. This is an interesting game in which not only the stout and strong men take part but sometimes even the women put their hands in it. It is played in the same way as in other places. But only the difference is that instead of rope, they use a stout jungle creeper. If the creeper is not straight but have a twist, it is likely to tear off from there.

AMUSEMENTS. There are different kinds of fun of which two are very common. One is to burn the powder of dry chilli outside the house of a person just to disturb him in his early morning sleep. The other is to run after girls. Sometimes, on way back from field, the girls, keeping some paces away, ask the boys to catch them by running. The boys readily accept the challenge and after running some way are rewarded by being able to catch the damsel. Sometimes on way back from field, girls also throw some fruits, such as goose-beery, to the boys who in chivalry try to escape it by turning back and front to her alternately.

Nowadays all sorts of modern games and sports have been introduced, not only in the administrative centres, but even in the villages, and they are played as per standard rules.

All the schools, beginning from Primary to High Schools and other educational or technical institutions, hold annual Games and Sports in which all modern games and sports and athletics take place.

HUNTING. In olden time the area used to be infested with various kinds of wild animal. There was plenty of jungle and though the jungle is still there, the wild life has become rare nowadays. It is so because of indiscriminate use of fire arms since the last Great War. Since the people were living practically in midst of wild

animals, they became expert in hunting games. Though the number of wild animals is much less now, whatever games are still available, the people hunt it with great enthusiasm and skill. The games include all shorts of wild life beginning from small birds to tiger, leopard, bear, wild boar, deer, pangolin, phython etc. Nowadays most of the hunting is done by gun.

Still now the people use snares and traps etc to catch small animals. But for big games such as tiger, leopard, deer, bear, wild boar etc they either catch them in pitfalls or kill them after cornering by picketing. In pit-fall, a pit is dug on the normal path of the animal and it is covered by light machang on which is put some earth and then grass etc to let it look like as natural as possible. When the animal walks on it and falls, the people spear them from all the sides and thus kill it.

Picketing is a kind of corporate hunting in which the people surround the hunting ground by picketing groups of men in vulnerable points. Gradually they close up and corner the animal. If the animal is in a rock-cave or some other hideout, dogs are used to bark it out, provided it is not tiger or leopard because dogs will not bark at them. When the game comes out, the picketers throw spear from all possible sides and thus kill it. The game is then taken to the village, and cut up. The meat is then distributed among the picketers and the best portion goes to the person who had speared the game first.

It is a kind of ceremony and in case of big game or several games, the entire village or more than one village takes part in it. For the hunters sexual intercourse is prohibited the previous night because it is considered inauspicious.

FISHING. Though waters are scarce in this area, yet the people take interest in fishing wherever there is a river nearby. Like hunting, fishing is also of two types, that is, individual and corporate. Individual fishing is done just for family consumption and there is no social gaiety in it. But communal fishing is something like a village ceremony. Of course all communal fishing is not same, because in it sometimes all the khels¹ of a village, or one or two khels or even a few individuals may take part. Anyway,

1. *Khel is a part of village or rather a village within a village.*

when more people join it, it becomes a ceremony. In such a case people go in the morning and come back late in the afternoon or even in the evening, and take the noonday meal at the fishing site, like a picnic.

There are different methods of catching fish such as (1) Fishing by simple hand by groping under the stones. (2) Fishing with rod and line. (3) Fishing with noose attached to the end of a stick and placing the noose in front of the fish and catch it in a jerk when it passes through the noose. (4) Fishing by weirs with the help of baskets facing upstream. (5) Fishing with net, such as large dragnet, and landing-net. (6) Fishing by making a tunnel. (7) Fishing by poisoning.

Fishing by making a tunnel is perhaps the most indigenous of the Semas as opposed to other tribes of the Nagas. In this system a closed tunnel of about 6 to 9 metre long is constructed of loose stones. It is constructed in a shallow water but its open mouth begins at a pool of deep water where the fish are believed to have gathered. In the cold of winter the fish take shelter in this shallow and warm water of the tunnel and the people catch them by hand. Catching by hand is not a problem because the fish remain benumbed there due to cold.

But by far the most important method of catching fish is by poisoning. In it the entire village or even more than one village takes part. For this community fishing preparations go on for several days. On the previous day of the fishing, the roots and stems of a poisonous creeper is collected from the jungle—each individual one bundle—and it is thrashed lightly. On the day of fishing the people go to the river site with the bundles of creeper, and in an organised way thrash it and mix it with the water down stream of the dam which they have already made and on which they beat the creeper. When the juice of the creeper (*aichi*) is mixed with the water, the fish becomes stupified and tries to come over and float on the water. That time all the beaters go down stream and catch the fish by hand or cut by dao. They go as far as two km down and get fish there. In the meantime the women and children have come from the village to enjoy the fishing and even they also catch a few. Some people catch the fish by landing-net also. Anyway the whole day passes in this fishing excursion and

early towards evening they start back for home. The catch is generally less than the effort made and manpower put in. But still then it is a pleasant excursion. The poison of the creeper is called *aichi* and the fishing excursion is considered a war against the river and its denizens.

Though poisoning still continues, people are more using explosives, DDT powder and lime nowadays. In explosive, when the explosive is made to burst in the water, the fish becomes stupified and the people catch them. DDT and lime have the effect of poison.

The fish are generally fat carp species and vary from a petty 200 gram to a few kilogram. Lean fish are practically absent.

Fishing season is lean season, that is, from October to March.

Fairs and festivals

Semas being scheduled tribe and the district being mainly inhabited by them, the festivals of the local people are tribal in character, that is, most of the festivals are corporate in nature and related to war and hunting and enjoyed with modhu (rice-beer).

Off from the drudgery of field work, the people take leave in the evenings, particularly in autumn and spring, to merry making. They go telling fairy tales by the fire side along with modhu, or distilled liquor for modern educated people. Sometimes they take to dancing also which combines rhythmic steps with jumps and 'ho-ho' in ceremonial dress with dao, spear, shield and head-gear etc. Dance is done by men only and there is no dance for women. In fact most of the Naga tribes, unlike other tribals of India, do not have dance for women.

Throughout the year there are some festivals and most of these are connected with land, some directly with agriculture and some related to the village.

For agriculture the most important festivals, which are called gennas, are held for first harvesting and at the end of harvesting. These festivals are observed with feast and singing and dancing. It may be noted that these are all non-Christian practices but sometimes Christians also take part in it, at least in its social aspect.

The Christians observe Christmas festival on 25th December every year with great pomp and grandeur, not only in the head-quarter and out-posts but also in the villages. There are some Hindus in different out-posts but their greatest concentration is in Zunheboto Town. They have come from different parts of India and they observe their festivals such as Durga Puja, Holi and Viswakarma Puja etc.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION

Cultivation

As in other hilly places, Jhum cultivation is done here, with the help of spade and hoe and not with plough of any type. But with improvement of cultivation, plough is nowadays used in the terrace fields to a very limited extent.

JHUM. The main form of cultivation is Jhum which means shifting cultivation. The other form is Terrace under which hardly there will be 20% of the cultivable land.

Under the system of Jhum an area selected for cultivation is cleared of its shrubs and undergrowth. Then the smaller trees are also felled, but the big trees are not. Branches of the trees are slashed so that the trees do not die and can bear fruits for its propagation. This work is done in October-November.

The felled trees, slashed branches and cleared shrubs etc lie there for several months to dry up. When it is dried, fire is set to it, generally in the months of February and March. This time in the evening the entire district looks like many fire places. The fire burns the whole night and sometimes the day also and gradually dies out. Most of the felled trees still being not dry do not get burnt but lie half-burnt.

Within a day or two the field is cleared of the logs—unburnt or half burnt—and those are placed orderly from top to down of the field in such a way that the loose earth cannot be washed away. The logs are helped with pegs to keep its position. It is a kind of making flat plots but the plots are never very flat nor the logs do form actual steps. However, it helps a lot to prevent erosion. But still then the top soil is washed away to some extent

and is mostly deposited on the upper side of the log-step. And as a result of this the crop grows better on immediate upper side of the log than its far upper side, or down below. As a result of burning, the land gets more fertile because of the ash which contains lime and phosphate. Before burning the field, care is taken to clear about 3 to 6 metres area round the field of the dry substances as fire-path so that the fire may not extend to other areas.

The soil is boggy and loose, because it has been formed by falling of leaves and branches and decayed annual undergrowth and shrubs. Thus the soil is so soft that even without tilling the earth crops can be grown, but however, the land is tilled with spade and hoe.

The land being ready, paddy is broad-cast in the months of March and April depending on pre-monsoon showers. Though it is monsoon land, unlike other parts of India crop never fails here due to drought. Adequate rain is there and the distribution is quite good since practically no week goes without rain. Similarly, also there is no flood and there is no record of crop being destroyed by heavy rain. Of course hail-storms and cyclonic winds may cause damage, but not total failure.

After sowing, weeding is done two to three times till the plants are fully grown up. The paddy ripens and is ready for harvesting in August and September.

A field is thus cultivated once or even two to three years, if it is sufficiently fertile, and then is kept fallow for the next seven to ten years depending on the fertility of the land and availability of other lands. After that period the same land is cultivated again. In the first year paddy is sown. If there is scarcity of land for any particular village or any clan of it, they may grow maize or millet in the second year or at best third year also, but definitely not beyond that.

This is Jhum.

Under Jhum the main crop is paddy. Next comes millet. Maize is cultivated along with paddy and seldom separately. Taro or Kachu (Colocasia — a plant of arum family) is also widely cultivated for its edible rootstock along with paddy, but generally not separately. French bean is also grown mixed with paddy plants.

Pumpkin, cucumber, several varieties of gourd including bitter gourd etc are also grown mixed with paddy in the Jhum field, and on the outskirts of the field.

Though Jhum is the traditional method of cultivation, its production is much less than in Terrace for example in Jhum the production of rice per hectare is 865 kg whereas that under Terrace is 1150 kg¹ per hectare. It may be noted here that the land of this district is not very fertile and there is scarcity of land and that is one of the reasons of Sema people's migration elsewhere. The other reason for migration is to become a chief of a village.

TERRACE is the other form of cultivation. Under it a piece of land, generally in the valley so that water can be channeled there, is made into flat plots by cutting the surface and sides. Sometimes the sides are raised also by some sort of retention wall of stones. Size of the plots depend on the contour and slope of the land. If it is a gentle slope the plots are bigger, and if the slope is steep, the plots are smaller. So also the height of the plots depend on the slope of land. If the slope is gentle the height is less, and if the slope is sharp, the height is more.

This way the land is prepared into many plots of flat land, and narrow embankment of about 20 to 30 cm broad and similar height is given round each plot. This is done to hold the water within.

Water is brought from a nearby stream or fall, of which there are many during rainy season. Sometimes water from a road side nalla is also channeled to the field. Sometimes water is taken for several kilometres together round the neck or side of a hillock to reach the field through a long narrow canal.

The field is spaded and kept ready for making mud as soon as the water is available. Thus when the water reaches the field it is turned into a thick mud or dough with the help of spade and human feet,

¹ Source : Directorate of Agriculture, Government of Nagaland.

Gradually from top to bottom, one after another, all the plots are turned into muddy land. It may be noted that when the first plot is filled with water, a passage is cut into one of its sides to allow the water to go down to the next plot. From second to third the water is let in the same way, and so on, until the last plot is flooded. These passages from one plot to another are not at the level of the land. Because in that case no water will accumulate in the land. So the passages are about 15 cm above the bowl so that always 15 cm of water will stand in the field. The same arrangement is there in the last plot also so that the extra water other than 15 cm may go out.

When thus the field is ready, paddy plants are taken out of the seed bed which is already made earlier, and planted in this field.

The water is allowed to stay the whole period of the growth of the plants and sometimes allowed to dry up just before harvesting.

No weeding is needed.

The field is ready for harvesting in October-November.

Unlike Jhum, no other crop is grown along with paddy in the terrace.

Irrigation

There is no conventional type of irrigation in this district such as well, perennial or inundation canal, karez etc. Tank of course there are but a few and small, and it is natural. Rain water collects in those natural tanks and very occasionally people grow vegetables on its banks, and if required, it is watered from the tank.

It has to be noted here that the main crops are rice, millet and maize and they all depend on monsoon rains.

Irrigation is only required in the case of terrace cultivation and its method has been discussed before in brief. During rainy season there occur waterfalls as well as many seasonal streams. Waters of those are taken to the terrace fields, not to jhum fields,

by cutting canals round the neck or sides of hillocks. These canals are generally half a metre wide, and similarly deep, and sometimes it runs for even a kilometre or two.

No statistics are available for irrigation of this district, but however the statistics of former Mokokchung district are given hereunder in the hope that it will help in giving some idea about this district. It has to be noted here that the Zunheboto district formerly was a part of Mokokchung district and it is little less than one-third of the area of former Mokokchung district.

Irrigated Area of Mokokchung district (In hectares) ¹

Year	Total irrigated area	Irrigated area under crops
1970—71	6,855	6,855
1971—72	7,995	7,995
1972—73	9,090	9,160
1973—74	9,591	9,661

Area under crops

Practically all the crops grown in this district are food crops such as rice, millet, maize, taro and vegetables, and practically there is no cash or any other kind of crops. Formerly they used to grow some quantity of cotton and still less quantity of indigo, but nowadays those are not grown because of easy availability of coloured yarn in the market.

Thus it stands that all the cultivable land is under food crop. No figures are yet available to give statistics of the areas under different crops. Since it is all food crops, the total area under cultivation may be accepted as under food crops. But the figure for total area under cultivation is not available and so it also cannot be specified. However we can say that at any particular year about

1. Source: Directorate of Agriculture, Nagaland, Kohima, as quoted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, in their Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1974. It is doubtful whether the figures are correct or not, since in 1973-74 the irrigated area under crops is more than the total irrigated area.

10% of the total land is cultivated and another 50 to 70 percent lie in waiting for Jhum cultivation in subsequent years. The rest is not cultivated. The total area of the district is not yet finalised but however we can accept it to be around 1200 sq kilometre. Be it so, 10% of it means 120 sq km and that is 12,000 hectare. Or we can put the area under cultivation in any particular year, in round figure, 10,000 hectares.

District-wise break up of crop area or tonnage is not available for Zunheboto district. And so below are given the details of production of various fruits of Mokokchung district, for 1970-71 and 1971-1972. Zunheboto district has been carved out of former Mokokchung district and it is less than one third of the area of former Mokokchung district. Moreover rate of production is also lower in this district than in the former Mokokchung as a whole. However the figures will give an idea only.

Production of fruits/crops of former Mokokchung district:

Name of crops	Area in hectares		Production in m/tonne	
	1970-71	1971-72	1970-71	1971-72
Fruits				
1. Citrus	96	120	389	103
2. Pineapple	50	61	560	150
3. Temperate	50	66	500	300
4. Papaya	23	23	34	39
5. Litchi	2	2	24	24
6. Mangoes	11	11	44	44
7. Sapata	—	—	—	—
8. Other	29	41	193	55
Total :	261	324	1744	715
Vegetables				
1. Cole crops	20	30	150	50
2. Root crops	39	44	124	137
3. Bulbs	—	—	—	—
4. Beans etc	48	53	160	174
5. Fruits vegetables	—	—	—	—
6. Others	29	25	214	216
Total	136	152	648	577

1. Source : Directorate of Agriculture, Nagaland, Kohima, as quoted by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland, in their Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1974.

Land Tenure

All the lands belong to the villagers, except a small portion of forest as Reserve or Protected forests. Since the land belongs to the villagers, there is no Patta or Rawayati system. Individual holding is there, and such lands occasionally change hands, but generally remain within the village, because there is a strong opposition from the villagers to sell any land outside the village. Any way, when an individual holding passes from one hand to other it used to be verbally done in presence of responsible witnesses. But nowadays sales are done in writing but seldom registered in any Registry Office or Court. Only recent development is to register it in the court in case of urban and costly property.

It has to be noted here that the Nagaland Jhumland Regulation, 1964, has defined and regulated the rights of the people to Jhumland. It has also defined how a right is accrued, enjoyed and transferred. The Regulation has conferred on the people the right to collect forest products from their Jhumlands for domestic use, but not for sale or barter.

Farming

Most of the cultivable land is agricultural but no farming has yet developed. Recently only a few orchard farming have started but that cannot be termed farming as yet since it is in its initial stage and left to the care of nature, of course with improvised fencing, and no profit has yet accrued from it.

Co-operative farming of any type is conspicuous by its absence.

Of course there are three Government farms in this district. One of them is Potato Seed Farm of 30 acres in Aghunato. Another is Apple Orchard Farm of 55 acres in Atoizu. It was started in 1966-67. The third one is Fruit Demonstration Farm of 18 acres in VK (VK is the shortened form of Viyikhe). This farm was also started in 1966-67. All these farms are doing well.

Agricultural implements

Agriculture in this district used to depend on the primitive mode of implements. Even at the beginning of this century iron implements were rare, but then with the advent of civilisation things have improved and there are many iron implements now.

We have already mentioned that the main form of cultivation is jhum on the slopes of the hills. And since it is a slope, sometimes as steep as 60°, plough can not be used there and so it is not used. It is not used in terrace also because the plots are small. There are power tillers in Ao and other areas where there are undulated valleys, but for want of such land in this district it is not used here. However, the tilling of jhum field is done with the help of spade and hoe and that of terrace is done with spade only.

At present most of the agricultural implements are made of iron and the rest are made of bamboo. A list of agricultural implements and their uses are given below.

1. Dao
2. Axe
3. Spade
4. Hoe
5. Pick
6. Scraper
7. Sickle
8. Rake
9. Mat
10. Winnowing fan
11. Basket (Khang)
12. Pounding table, etc etc.

DAO. It is the most important of all the agricultural implements. In fact a dao is a life long companion for an ordinary villager, because wherever he goes, either to the field or forest or to a friend, he carries his dao. Of course modern educated people do not carry dao always or at all. However, dao is an all purpose implement, because with it are cleared the jungle, slashed the branches of jhum trees, felled the medium-size trees, etc, and lots of other works are done by it, including killing and cutting animals for meat as well as cutting vegetables for cooking. Dao is of various shapes and sizes and are made locally, but nowadays it is available in markets also.

AXE It is used mainly for felling bigger trees and making fire wood from heavy logs. It is also used in shaping decorative works made from log wood, and making pounding tables. Axe is a modern introduction, and formerly, all the works now done by axe were done by dao. Several types of axe are in use, and some of them are made locally and some purchased from outside.

SPADE. It is also not an ancient implement in this area. However it has come to stay and has been found very useful in tilling the jhum field as well as the terrace. Wherever earth cutting is required it is done by spade. Mainly two types of spade are in use—one is locally made and the other is machine made and purchased from outside.

HOE. It is helpful in tilling the jhum field and in fact it is more used in jhum tilling rather than anywhere else. Also it is more used than spade in jhum, because the land there is generally loose, and so spade is unnecessary. It is also used for weeding.

PICK. It has come in the recent decades and is mainly used in breaking stones or hard soil.

SCRAPER. After sowing, when the plants have grown, scraper is used to weed out the unwanted grass etc. This weeding is done two to three times in a jhum field and every time it is done by scraper or by hoe.

SICKLE. When the paddy is ripe, either in jhum or terrace, sickle is used to reap it. Here the sickle is of Assam variety, that is, almost straight with curved end.

RAKE It is made of bamboo with five to six teeth at the end, and is used almost for same purpose as scraper.

MAT. It is made of plaited bamboo slit and is used in the field to thrash or winnow the paddy, in both jhum and terrace. It is also used at home for drying any other thing particularly the beaten taro leaves which they store and use in curry when needed.

WINNOWER FAN. It is also made of plaited bamboo slit and is used to winnow the paddy and rice. It is generally round in shape or rectangular with rounded corners, and as such it differs from most of other varieties which are found all over India.

BASKET. Its common name is khang which is an Assamese word. Khang is also, like dao, an all purpose basket, because it is used for carrying paddy, vegetables, fire wood, water cans etc etc.

Of course there are different kinds of khang for different uses. The khang is hung from head with a plaited cane strap and it rests on the back. Thus the whole weight is sustained by the head and the back acts as a support only.

POUNDING TABLE. Unlike in the plains the paddy is husked here on pounding tables. A pounding table is made of a single log of a big tree. The table may have one to five pounding wholes depending on the size which is dependent on social status of the owner—the higher the status, the bigger the size. Generally big pounding tables are found in the house of the chief or some other rich man. On the pounding tables paddy is put in the hole or holes and is pounded by pounding pestle generally by women.

In connection with agricultural implements we may mention scare-crow though it does not directly come under implements. In every field, paddy or millet, or terrace or jhum, there come many small birds or some animals who eat the crop or otherwise destroy it. It is necessary to ward them off. For this purpose the people use various devices. One is a human figure made of grass etc. Another is twig of a tree, the leaves of which are white on one side. It is hung from a pole and in wind it moves, and the birds get frightened and fly away.

Split bamboo is also used to make loud report like guns and it scares the animals away. Of course its string has to be operated by human being. Of the animals, apart from the birds, which cause damage to the crops, mention may be made of wild pig, deer squirrel, field mouse etc.

Progress of Scientific Agriculture

Nothing or very little was done during pre-Independence period to introduce improved methods in respect of agriculture. True, during the close of the British administration efforts were made to introduce terrace cultivation and a few demonstrators were placed in the district but there was no much progress. But after the formation of the Interim Government in 1961, the Directorate of Agriculture at the State level came into being and it laid special emphasis on the improvement of agricultural system.

Notable efforts have recently been made to encourage wet rice terraced cultivation in the district. It necessitates construction of irrigation canals, because the fields have to be flooded not only during transplantation but through out the growth of the paddy plants. The administration has, therefore offered to extend assistance to farmers to the tune of 50% of the expenditure for making the terrace fields. Moreover technical advice by demonstration or otherwise is made available to ensure a successful undertaking. The results have now been encouraging as many farmers have undertaken terrance cultivation.

Another measure is the distribution of fertilizers such as ammonium sulphate, super phosphate, urea of potash and bone-meal etc to the villagers, and those are now in considerable use to increase the output of crops. Proper demonstrations are also done to make effective use of such fertilizers.

To intensify agricultural production other important measures have also been adopted.

Insects and pests cause great damage to the crops from time to time¹. The people formerly used traditional remedies against pests by performing sacrifices and offering prayers to the spirits. But present population being overwhelmingly Christians, such practice has been abandoned.

Now people utilise the services of the Agricultural Department which uses scientific remedies through chemicals, such as ammonia gammexane, DDT powder, nicotine sulphate etc which have been found to be of great help.

Besides, demonstration is done on the use of improved seeds of potato, vegetables, paddy, hybrid maize etc. Demonstration is also carried on plant protection. Seedlings of orange, pineapple, apple, plum, pear, etc are also provided for distribution on subsidy basis. Seeds of maize, hybrid paddy are also distributed.

Among other measures, there is extension of agricultural loans to the deserving farmers. The Department of Agriculture has been laying special emphasis on research on horticulture, pisciculture and soil survey.

¹ Considerable damage is also done to the crops by birds and wild animals such as monkeys, wild pigs etc. So it has become necessary to keep constant watch when the green stalks have issued forth in the field

Famine, Flood And Drought

Famine may occur for different reasons such as flood, drought, hailstorm, cyclone or pests etc. But the district being hilly and having no valley, there is no place where water can accumulate, and therefore there has never occurred any flood in this district. Whatever and however heavy the rainfall may be, it swiftly rolls down the hills and ultimately joins the river which may rise but can not cause any damage to crops because the banks are steep and the fields are not on the bank itself. If there is any field on the bank in suitable place, and water rises up to that, it hardly remains for a few hours and therefore can not cause any serious damage to the crop. And so famine for flood has never been heard of in this district.

The district lies in monsoon area of good rainfall. Not only that, the rain starts from March-April and continues upto September-October. So if there is less rain in any particular month, it may be adequate in the next. Anyway, for want of timely rain, sowing in the jhum or transplanting in terrace may be delayed, but never there has been a serious failure of crops due to drought, in living memory.

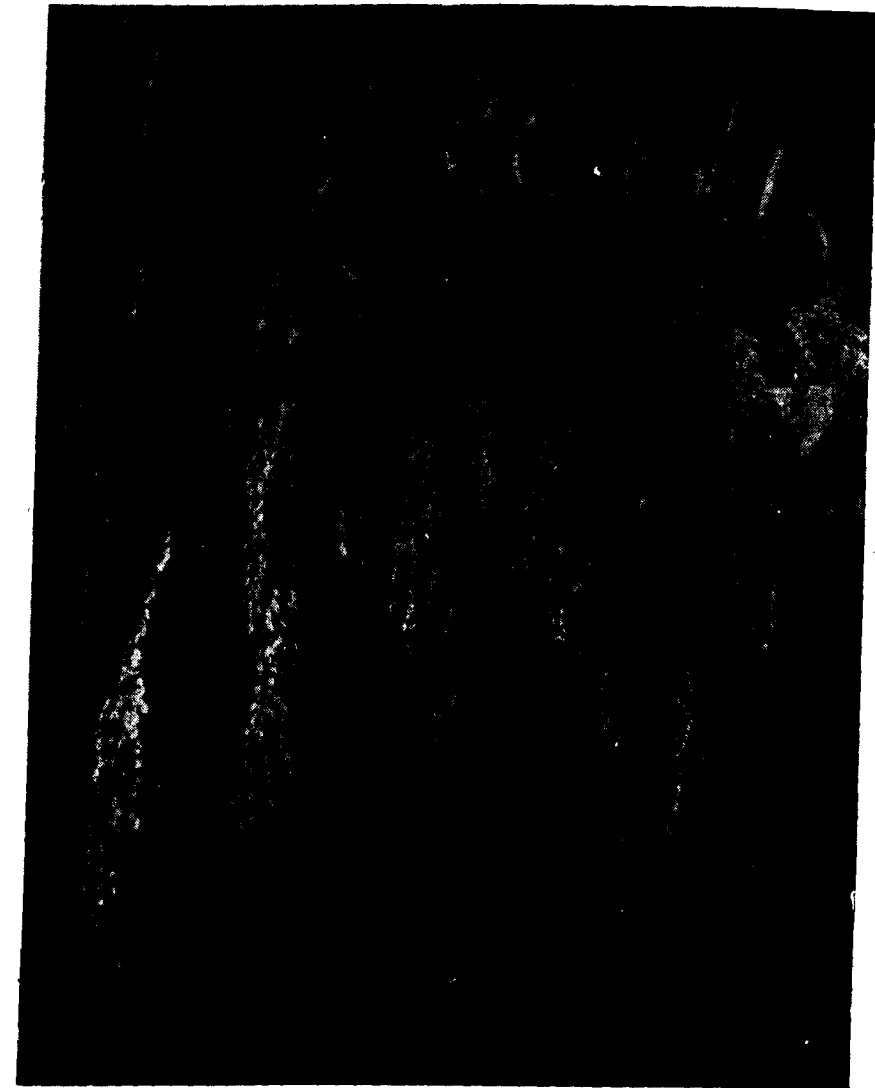
And total crop failure leading to famine condition, due to cyclone or insects etc has not occurred ever.

Attack of insects and pests of course used to be there but at present there is the State Agricultural Department to fight any attack of insects and so the crops are practically assured a safe harvesting.

It has to be noted here that the productivity of land of this district is not very good in comparison to some other districts, and there is scarcity of land also. Because of these reasons the people face scarcity in respect of food for two to three months in a year, and that time the poor people substitute or supplement their rice by millet and taro (Kachu).

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

The people being meat eaters there should have been a great need and demand for scientific animal husbandry. But unfortunately the people have not yet turned their attention towards that, most probably because there are other more lucrative economic fields of



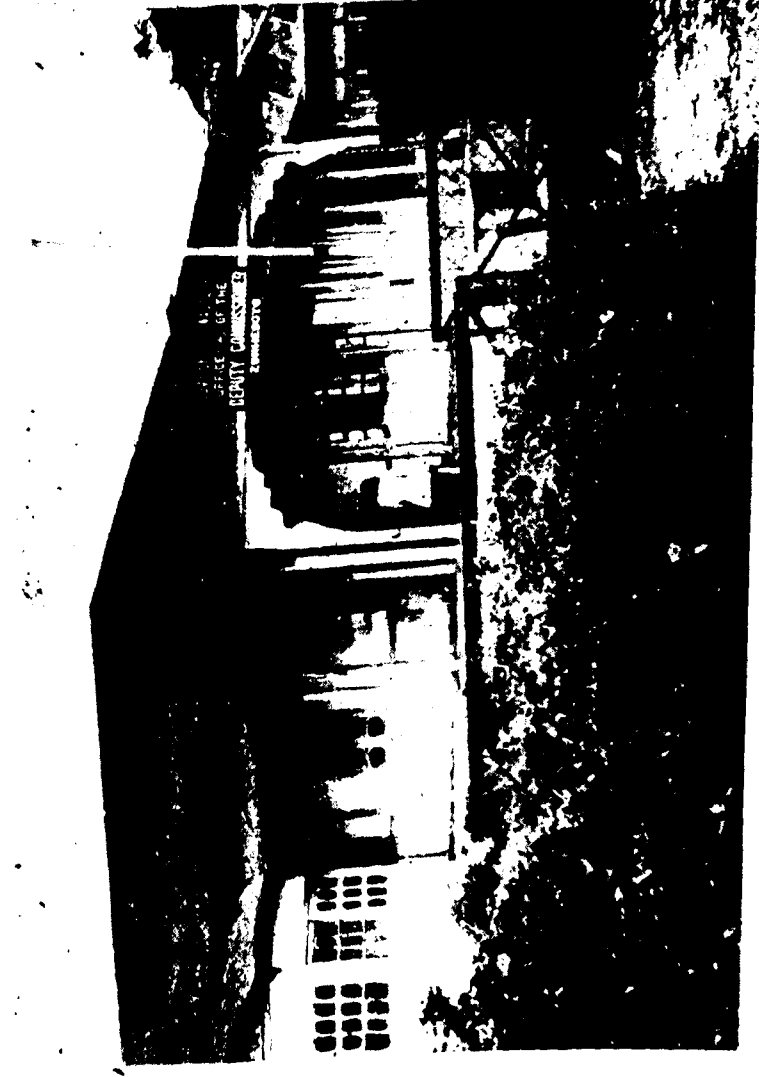
Paddy plants



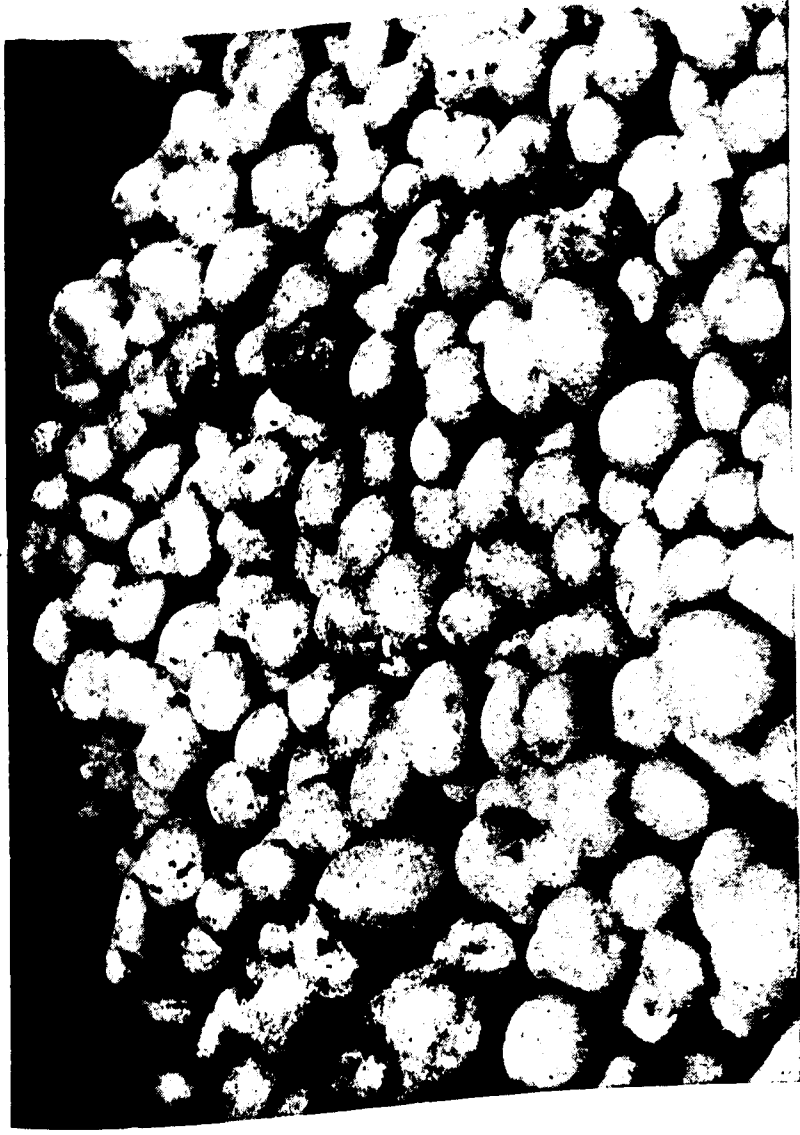
Locally grown cabbage



Maize



Office of the Deputy Commissioner Zuluheheto



Potatoes



Terrace field

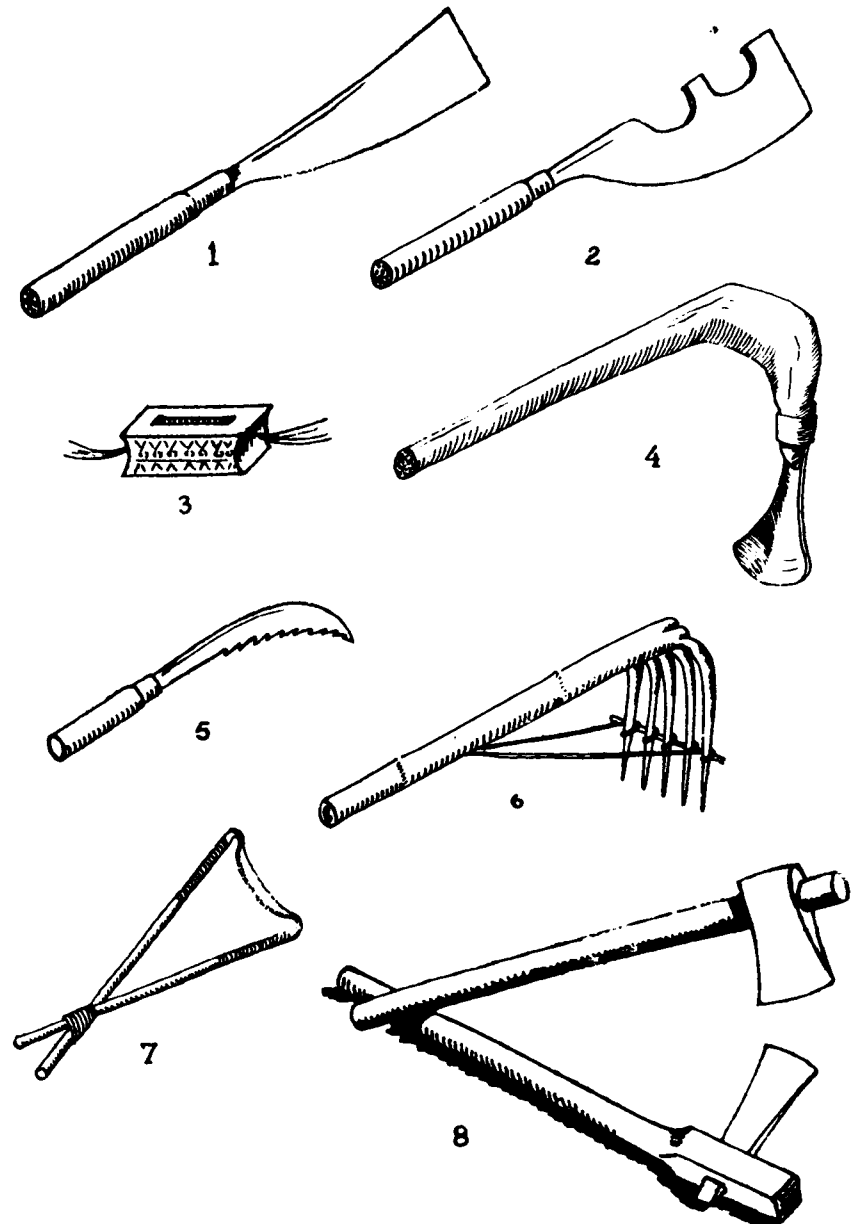


Millet



A Jhum field

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS



NOTES ON REVERSE PAGE

attentions, that is, more profitable means of investment and easy money, such as contract and supply works etc. However though not scientifically done, every house has got a mini farm of poultry and animal husbandry.

Livestock

Almost every house has got a few cattle, both cows and bulls. The cows are kept mainly for breeding purpose, because milking is not yet so much popular. When it is no longer good for breeding it is slaughtered for its beef. Bulls are kept mainly for beef, and not for any other work since there is no plough or any cart of any type.

Every house has got a few pigs and it is entirely meant for meat. Nagas relish pork very much and so do the Semas. According to the Semas, whole head of a pig is an honourable dish to a respected guest and as such it is not uncommon to see a big head of a pig, of course cooked in their own process, being offered to a respectable guest.

There are fowls and ducks also of which every house has got a few of the former and a fewer of the latter. Some goats and sheep are also reared for its meat.

Since no details of Zunheboto district are available, the figures of former Mokokchung district are quoted below in the hope that it may give some idea of the thing since this district has been carved out of former Mokokchung. It is little less than one-third of former Mokokchung in area.

Number of livestock and poultry of Mokokchung district, 1972.

Item.	Nos.
1 Cattle	
A. Males over 3 Years	
i) Used for breeding only	1512
ii) Used for breeding and work both.	456
iii) Used for work only	1832
iv) Others	2314
Total:—	<u>6114</u>

Agricultural Implements

- 1 & 2. Dao : It is an all-purpose weapon.
3. Dao holder : It is made of wood and is held on the back side of waist and dao is kept hung into the hole.
4. Spade : The iron blade is fixed with a cruved piece of wood.
5. Sickle.
6. Rake.
7. Scraper.
8. Two types of axe.

B. Females over 3 Years		
i) Breeding		
a) In milk	1939	
b) Dry	1755	
c) Not calved even once	816	
ii) Working	422	
iii) Others	4146	
	<u>9067</u>	
C. Young Stock	<u>9470</u>	
	<u>2,4651</u>	Total Cattle
2. Buffaloes		
A. Males over 3 years		
i) Used for breeding only	2	
ii) Used for breeding and work both	—	
iii) Used for work only	3	
iv) Others	45	
	<u>50</u>	Total :
B. Females over 3 years		
i) Breeding		
a) In milk	—	
b) Dry	2	
c) Not calved even once	—	
ii) Working	—	
iii) Others	—	
	<u>2</u>	Total :
	<u>52</u>	Total Buffaloes
3. Sheep	64	
4. Goats	3074	
5. Pigs	71104	
6. Horses and ponies	653	
7. Mithuns	5341	
8. Others livestock	—	
	<u>10,4,939</u>	Total livestock :
9. Poultry	22,0,912	
10. Agri-machinery and implements	—	
11. Ghanis	— (1)	

1. Source: Directorate of Animal Husbandry and Veterinary, Nagaland, Kohima, as quoted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics in their Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1974.

Forest and Forest Products

Forests cover about 30 percent of total area of Zunheboto district excluding jhum land. But jhum also is covered by undergrowth and light trees. Moreover, only about one-tenth of the total jhum land is cultivated in any given year. Therefore we can say that the major portion of the land is forest covered.

From the forests, such as unclassified and jhum land, the people get all sorts of building materials such as timber, round wood posts, thatch, bamboo, cane etc etc as well as fire-wood, honey, fodder etc.

The forests of Nagaland used to be managed by the Forest Department according to the Assam Forest Regulation, 1891. But later it was replaced by Nagaland Forest Act, 1968. Under this Act the State Government has been given powers to constitute Reserved and village forests. It has also laid down the procedure for constitution of those forests, and empowered the State Government to control and regulate the forest products, their collection and transport etc.

Area under forest in Zunheboto district is not available, neither the forest products of that district. The area under forests in the former Mokokchung district may be a guide-line to get a glimps of the thing.

Zunheboto district has been made out of former Mokokchung district, and it is little less than one-third in area of former Mokokchung district. But its forest contents are comparatively high. Below are given the statistics of area under different categories of forest of former Mokokchung district. It will give some idea only of the Zunheboto district.

Area under Forests of former Mokokchung District (Area in hectare) ¹

Year	Reserve forests	Protected forests	Un-classed Village forests	Total forests
1969—70	—	43030	62035	105065
1970—71	—	43030	62035	105065
1971—72	—	43030	62035	105065
1972—73	—	43030	62035	105065
1973—74	—	43030	62035	105065

1. Source: Chief Conservator of Forests, Nagaland, Kohima, as quoted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland in their Statistical Hand book of Nagaland, 1974.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIES

It is just a century that the then Naga Hills, and so this district, came under the British Government, but there had been no effort to develop this area, not to speak of industrialising it. In fact it was, and still is, 'beyond innerline' and as such no person from the rest of India was ever encouraged to set up any industry here. Only after its attaining Statehood some medium size and organised industries have started in the State, but those are situated in Kohima, Mokochung and Wokha districts, and no organised industry of any size has yet developed in this district. It may be noted that the Nagas are self sufficient in their daily needs. According to Techno-Economic Survey of Nagaland "The bulk of Nagaland's population lives in semi-sufficient closed village economies—the demand for manufactures other than the traditional is, therefore, limited. Familiarity with these manufactures, is, however, increasing among the village folk through contact with urban settlements". Therefore no great demand has yet arisen for organised industry and so it has not yet started.

Cottage Industries

The only industry we can speak of is cottage industry. Of the cottage industries the important ones are weaving, carpentry, black smithy, basket making, wood-carving and decorative works, and they are discussed below.

WEAVING. It is most common and is found in every house. Weaving is done by woman, and not by man, and every woman has got her weaving apparatus. It is a handloom and is known by the technical term Indonesian Tension Loom. "It is a simple back strap one with a continuous horizontal warp consisting of six sticks serving the function of warp beam, lease rod, heald stick, beating sword and extra-warp beam"¹.

1. M. Alemchita, *Arts and Crafts of Nagaland*, p. 10.

Formerly the people used to grow cotton and make yarn but nowadays they purchase coloured yarn from the market and use it in weaving the clothes.

In their simple loom they make mekhala (Woman's cloth), loin cloth for men (almost out of date nowadays), chadar for both men and women, neck-tie, bags, and ceremonial dress etc. Every Naga tribe has got its separate mode of design and the Sema design is highly decorative with combination of varieties of colour, and is one of the best among the Nagas. Formerly all this weaving was meant for domestic consumption but nowadays, as a result of its being displayed in Delhi and other cities and towns, people have taken a liking for it and so it is finding market outside the State as well as within the State also. It brings some small profits to the weavers but is not yet an independent source of income.

Since the inception of Directorate of Industries, Government of Nagaland, in 1965, efforts have been made to boost up industrial training, particularly for weaving.

Upto 1969, for the old Mokochung district, 49 industrial licences were issued for the private entrepreneurs and most of them are weaving societies.

To encourage weaving industry the Government of Nagaland are distributing yarn at a subsidised rates varying between 25 to 50 percent¹ to the weaving societies and individual weavers also, as detailed below :

- a) For weavers in urban area (towns) at the cost price, excluding transportation and handling charges within the state.
- b) For rural areas at the rate of 25% subsidy.
- c) For interior areas at 50% subsidy.

In the year 1964-65 in old Mokochung district some 1,596 bundles of yarn were distributed on subsidy basis. This was done to encourage the weavers to produce more.

1. *Official Report of Nagaland Legislative Assembly, October 1966*, p. 89.

CARPENTRY. Since Assam time carpentry has been taught in the Middle Schools. Now also it is taught in the Middle Schools as well as in the Middle School section of High Schools. Therefore, the educated boys get training in carpentry as a part of their education. Some people also have got training in carpentry in the Industrial Training Institute at Kohima or Nagaland Polytechnic at Atoizu. Moreover, there are some people who are self-trained. Thus in every village there are some carpenters, but they do not fully depend on the trade for their livelihood. Most of them supplement their income by doing offtime carpentry work.

These carpenters do the work of house building (modern houses), and make furniture etc. Their works are not very fine but utilitarian.

BLACK SMITHY. In every village a few blacksmiths are found and they make dao, spade, hoe, scraper, spear etc articles. The villagers are not entirely dependent on these blacksmiths, and they purchase many of their articles from open market. But still then some articles particularly of local variation, are made by the village smiths. Also, smithy is not their profession, but a part time vocation to augment their other sources of income.

The bellows used in Nagaland are of two types. One is ordinary Naga type which is found in other parts of Nagaland particularly in Ao area. In it, "Pistons covered with feathers arranged tip downwards to give the necessary valvular action force air down two bamboo cylinders"¹. The other type of bellow which is most common in Sema area as well as in Angami, Rengma, Konyak etc areas, is known as Indonesian bellow. It is described in Arts and Crafts of Nagaland (p. 88) in the following words, "Two sections of large bamboo, or more often in the Angami area, hollowed section of a tree about a little more than a metre long and 13 to 15 cms in diameter are fixed upright together on the ground. At the bottom of each of these is a hole into which fitted small bamboo tube and made the joints air-tight. The two ends of these tubes are brought to a point where fire is made. The piston consisting of a handle of wood nearly four feet long is made by fixing at one end a disk made of a node of bamboo

covered with feathers to produce the necessary valvular force. While operating, the man stands near the tubes and holds the handles of the piston one with each hand and alternate strokes are given so that the fire blast continuously. Semas, Rengmas, Konyaks, and several others have similar type of bellows and the same type is reported to have been used by the people of Polynesia and Madagascar."

In both the types of the bellow, the fire is made by charcoal which is abundantly available in this area.

BASKET MAKING. Basket, commonly known as *khang*, are of various types, designs and shapes which depend on the purpose it is meant for. It is used for carrying paddy or other cereals, water cans, fire wood etc, and for each the type is different. This basket is made of slit bamboo and occasionally decorated with different designs on it. It is produced mainly for domestic consumption but nowadays some quantity is sold to the urban people or to those who can not make it.

A little cane is also used in its making, for certain types, for fixing the main body with the outer structure.

WOOD CARVING. The people use a kind of wooden platter for taking food from it. It is made of a single piece of wood and has got normally four legs. This is the most important and common work of woodcarving. Other works of wood carving are mainly related to decorative works for doors of the houses. Some wood carvings are also done to carve out different animals, notably crocodile, tiger, bird, mithun (gayal) etc. These are all decorative works and are often coloured to look it lively.

DECORATIVE WORKS. There are sundry other miscellaneous works which come under cottage industry. It includes making of head gear, decorated spear, decoration of the handle of dao, dao holder, parts of ceremonial dress other than weaving, war shield, ivory armlet etc etc various things.

POTTERY. It is the oldest cottage industry but as usual for domestic consumption only. The earth of the hills is not very favourable for making pottery. Yet it had to be made for the sake of cooking. Since the earth is not very fine or adhesive, the pots

1. J. P. Mills, *The Ao Nagas*, p. 98.

are made rather rough and thick. No instrument is used but it is all made by hand. The kinds of pot made are also very few because the needs are few. Pots are made generally for two purposes—one for cooking and the other for brewing rice beer. Cooking pot is about 25 cm high and about 20 cm in diameter. Of course the size varies according to the need of the family. A family needs only two or at best three such cooking pots—one for rice, one for curry and hardly another for another curry. The other pot which is meant for brewing modhu¹ is a big one. It may be about 60 cm high and 50 cm in diameter. It also varies according to the needs of the family. It may be mentioned here that in olden days the people did not require any other pots for any other purpose, because spoon, glass, plate etc used to be made from bamboo or wood.

But all these potteries are practically things of the past because the earthen pots of any size and shape or for any purpose, have almost been replaced by modern aluminium pots. Still, of course a few such earthen pots may be found in the poor houses only.

Miscellaneous

Apart from those mentioned above there are some minor industries also, as given below. They have developed on the basis of local needs and are growing along with the growing demand of the people.

MOTOR REPAIR. There are many Government and Private vehicles such as Jeep, Truck, Car etc in the district. Naturally, they occasionally require repair and it is easier to get it repaired at the district headquarter than taking it to Mokokchung or farther. Therefore, as a local necessity one motor repairing workshop has grown up in Zunheboto town. It is managed on the Co-operative basis and is named Hills Motor Workshop Co-operative Society Ltd. Also a few minor private workshops for motor repairing are growing up.

TAILORING. In every town or even a big village tailoring is a necessity for making shirts, trousers and blouses etc of the people. Therefore tailoring has grown up not only in Zunheboto town but also in other administrative outposts.

1. Modhu means rice-beer.

In like manner, that is out of local needs and for making profit, have grown up bakery, furniture making, shoe repairing etc in Zunheboto town as well as in outposts. It may be noted here that most of these businesses are in the hands of outsiders since local people have not yet come forward for such paltry works.

Industrial potential

The people of this district, as all the Nagas, are meat eaters, and naturally there is a great waste of animal bones and hoofs. It is so, because most of the meat comes from pigs, cows, mithuns, buffaloes and big games. The waste bones which are now just thrown out to have its natural decay, may be collected and turned into bone-meal and that can be profitably used by the cultivators as fertilizer. Similarly, from the hooves oil can be extracted which is needed to lubricate fine machines, precision and horological instruments.

A survey has been done, in respect of the old Mokokchung district, for setting up an industry for this animal wastes, but nothing concrete has yet taken place.

Training facilities

It may be noted here that in this district there is a Polytechnic School at Atoizu. It is called Nagaland Polytechnic. It imparts training in several trades such as Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Smithy, Welding, Masonry, Carpentry etc. It caters to the needs of the students from all over Nagaland. Then there is another technical School at Kohima, the State Capital. It is called Industrial Training Institute. It also imparts training in various technical subjects but its status is lower than that of Nagaland Polytechnic at Atoizu. All the students getting training in these two Institutes get liberal stipend.

Apart from these training Institutes, in all the Middle Schools and Middle School section of High Schools, the boys get training mainly in carpentry and agriculture, and the girls in weaving and knitting.

Power consumption

There is no factory or mill in this district and therefore the question of consumption of power by them does not arise. But however, there is private and official consumption of electricity in this district.

The details of electricity consumption in different places of this district in 1973-74 are given in Appendix.

ZUNHEBOTO

Class of Consumers	Satakha		Surohuto		Aghunato		Zunheboto		Akulato		Aizuto	
	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.	No. of Con- sumption meters.
1. Domestic light and fan	59	8235	43	5027	52	6480	427	94251	71	8316	34	4312
2. Domestic power	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2978	1	—	—	—
3. Industrial power at low and high voltage	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. Bulk	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Public lighting	—	1637	—	1360	—	2984	—	6084	—	5848	—	3492
6. Electric traction	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. Irrigation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. Public Water Works	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	8400	—	—	—	—
9. Power House	—	354	—	273	—	357	—	619	—	—	—	—
Auxiliaries	59	10226	43	6660	52	9821	439	112342	72	14164	34	7804

1. Source : Chief Engineer, Electrical, Nagaland, as quoted by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, in their Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

CHAPTER VI

BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE

BANKING AND FINANCE

Historical Aspects

The Semas like the other Nagas for long have been outside the influence of modern civilisation. Their needs were few and they could somehow manage to be self-sufficient. Since they produced their own requirement of food stuff and minimum clothes, they did not require any thing to purchase except salt, and hence there was practically no currency. Only after their coming in contact with the modern civilisation, under the British rule, towards the end of 19th century, they gradually felt the need of money to purchase different things, particularly salt and iron pieces to make dao and spear etc.

Barter System

From time immemorial people needed salt to use in curry or just to take it with rice. The Semas, like other Nagas, in olden time, or even now the poor ones, used to take rice only with salt and chilli. So salt was a must. But there was no source of salt in Sema country and so they used to get it from the Ao, Tukomi, Sangtam, and other neighbouring tribes¹. This they used to get by barter. "The salt from Tukomi country was used, in small flat cakes, to serve the purpose of currency to some extent, as it still does in the Yachumi country, while the same purpose was also served by the narrow blades of worn-out daos, one of which was recorded to be the value of a cock, i.e. about 8 annas. Strings of broken conch shell beads and bits of bamboo, such as are still used in Tukomi villages, are said to have been also current in the Sema country. Where they are now current they represent the value of about 4 annas. The "Chabili" current in the Ao country were also known in the Sema country, but it is not

1. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, P-58 published by Oxford University Press, London, in 1968. First published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London, in 1921.

APPENDIX I

CONSUMPTION OF ELECTRICITY IN ZUNHEBOTO DISTRICT IN 1973-74

Sale of Electricity by class of Consumers (Town-wise)¹ (Consumption in KWH)

known what value they had. Among the Aos one "chabili" represented a day's work, or 4 annas. The Sema equivalent was a brass bead, and a string about a foot long of such beads is still occasionally given. A great, perhaps the greater part, of the trade done by the Semas is still carried on by barter¹. Thus it is clear that even in the early part of this century the Semas depended on barter system for their trades, and salt was one of the items for barter.

Until recent decades in the villages the people used to sell and purchase paddy, cows, pigs, fowls, dao, spear etc through barter to some extent.

General Credit Facilities

The most important need of the people was, and still is, to get paddy in time of scarcity. Every body may not produce sufficient quantity of paddy for his family consumption, or due to crop failure he needs it, and therefore he wants to borrow it. Naturally he goes to a person who can spare it, and he gets it. But the rate of interest is very high. If one borrows one basket of paddy he is to pay just two baskets in the next year. That is, it is just double, or we can say 100% interest. "If the principal is repaid then the interest remains as it is and does not increase however, much delayed payment may be, but if the principal is left unpaid or only paid in part, the whole sum outstanding redoubles itself during the following year and so goes on at 100 percent compound interest till the whole of the principal is paid off, at which point the outstanding sum becomes stationary. Under this system a small debt rapidly assumes impossible proportions, and while the Semas were unadministered large claims, consisting most of interest, were probably compounded for, the creditor gladly forgoing part of his rights in order to get remainder. When, however, administration came, the owners of bad debts took them all to the courts and wanted their full pound of customary flesh. The trouble that was in this led to the institution of a new law of debt among the Northern Semas, for which Inato, chief of Lumitsami, and Sema interpreter of Mokokchung, was mainly responsible. This new custom forbade any increase by interest after the second year, so that the principal is doubled the first, the whole

1. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p-58-59 published by Oxford University Press, London, in 1968. First Published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd London, in 1921.

sum outstanding redoubles the next year (provided the principal has not been paid in full), and there it stops. This system which applies to both cash and grains, was probably taken from the Lotha system, in which increase likewise stops at the end of second year¹. This is not thoroughly applicable to all the Semas, for in Doyang valley Semas the debt doubles the first year and stops there. However, the procedure in case of cash or kind, almost remains the same now. Of course, under the influence of Christianity it has undergone some moderation in the matter of execution.

Indigenous Banking System

There was, neither there is, any true banking system among this people. There was no place where to deposit the money and get interest there on, but there were and are persons who used to lend money.

This indigenous money lenders charge interest at the rate of 5% to 10% per month. Generally nowadays the contractors borrow money for execution of their works and to get profit from there, and so they do not mind paying even 10% interest per month. Sometimes the borrower gets money from Co-operative Society at 3% interest per month, but this arrangement is probably private. Sometimes money is also borrowed from Church fund without any interest.

So far deposit is concerned there was no place before to keep the money in deposit, but people used to keep it, in rare cases only, with the chief or some other responsible person. But it won't bring any interest to the depositor.

Modern Banking Facilities

There was no bank in this district before, but only recently, in October, 1975, the State Bank of India has opened a branch at Zunheboto the district headquarter, mainly for transaction of Government money. There is a Government Treasury at Zunheboto and its receipts and payments are carried through this bank. Of course, as a bank, it extends the facilities of credit and deposit, the latter of which is easy but the former is a difficult thing, since credit is not given without sufficient security. However, business men are coming forward to avail themselves of this opportunity. Another

1. J. H. Hutton, *the Sema Nagas*, p-160-61 published by Oxford University Press, London, in 1968. First published by Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London, in 1921.

bank, namely, Nagaland State Co-operative Bank has opened a branch in Zunheboto in 1976. For depositing money, the people take advantage of these two banks as well as the Post office savings bank in Zunheboto Sub Post office. Details of the transaction of these banks are not available,

TRADE AND COMMERCE. The district being situated in the heart of the hills, its earlier trades, whatever amount it was, used to be carried out through the neighbouring tribes, with the plains of Assam. Their needs were few and their exports were fewer and so the volume of trade was negligible. After opening up of the country by the Britishers the people's need increased and they used to trade with Mokokchung, then a Sub-Divisional Headquarter, which in turn had trade connections with Amguri in the plains of Assam.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE. In olden time the people used to have transaction of commodities among themselves or others through barter system. Sometimes the exchange used to take place through an indigenous system of currency based on worn out pieces of daos or other iron pieces. Cowri, or copper or silver or gold coins were unknown.

Later, since British administration to date, the people are using coins and currency of the rest of the country. In early this century the coins were one pie (one-third of a pice), one-pice, two-pice, one anna, two-anna, four-anna, eight-anna and one rupee which consists of sixteen annas or sixtyfour pice. At present the coins are of one-paisa, two-paisa, three-paisa, five-paisa, ten-paisa, twenty-paisa, twenty-five paisa, fifty-paisa and one-rupee which consists of one hundred paisa. And the notes are available in the denomination of one-rupee, two-rupee, five-rupee, ten-rupee, twenty-rupee, fifty-rupee, and hundred-rupee. Notes of higher denomination such as thousand rupee note or above were not in use generally, and those have been demonitised in 1978.

STATE ASSISTANCE TO INDUSTRIES

No major industry has grown up in this district, so the Government is trying its best to help the cottage industries. The items of cottage industries have already been mentioned in Chapter V.

However, they are weaving, carpentry, blacksmithy, bamboo and cane crafts etc. All the people engaged in these industries get financial help as subsidy. Weavers get yarn both coloured and white at 50 percent subsidy. Knitters of wool also used to get knitting wool at 50 percent subsidy upto 1968-69 but since then it has been stopped for 'paucity' of fund. For purchase of knitting machine, sewing machine or any apparatus for weaving or implements for smithy, carpentry etc also a 50 percent subsidy is given. Further, for paddy husking machine also a 50 percent subsidy is given. Thus the Government is helping the people as much as possible. Also if any body can come with a new proposal of economic viability, Government is ready to help him generously.

Supply Line

On the east of the district the areas are less developed and there are no trade centres and therefore all trade connections of the district are with Mokokchung and a little with Kohima. These two places are connected with Zunheboto, the district headquarter, with all-weather metalled roads. But Mokokchung being nearer, 68 km (Kohima-Zunheboto, 150 km), the people get all their supplies from there. In case of bigger volume of merchandise they go up to Jorhat, the biggest town of Upper Assam, and get the things from there. In fact Jorhat is the supply head for both Mokokchung and Zunheboto.

Export-Import

In olden times the people of this district used to export cotton and mustard, and some quantities of ginger and orange. But nowadays they do not export cotton but the rest. They also export maize which they grow abundantly, particularly in Aghunato area, and it is exported to Dimapur and Jorhat. But these exports do not tally in volume with their imports which include all sorts of article that a modern man of the rest of India requires. This unfavourable balance of trade is made up by the money the people earn through employment under the Government and as contractors under the Public Works Department of the State, or other works.

Articles Of Import

The people import all sorts of article that a modern house requires, such as all sorts of cooking pots mainly of aluminium, big bowls and pans of aluminium, utensils of steel or stainless steel,

glasses, Karahis, pressure cooker, all sorts of mill-made clothes including synthetic textile, wrist watch, table clock, wall-clock, torch light, transistor, electrical equipments such as bulb, stove, heater, iron etc, all sorts of building materials such as iron, nail, screw, socket and bolt, corrugated galvanised iron sheets, cement, sand glass etc etc, text books and stationaries, agricultural implements particularly spade, dao, sickle etc, steel trunks, suit-case, umbrella, furniture, all sorts of food stuff, varieties of cosmetics etc etc.

They also import huge number of pigs and cattle from the plains for the purpose of meat.

Trade Centre

Zunheboto, the district headquarter, is the most important business centre. Then all the administrative out posts such as Satakha, Aghunato, Atoizu, Suruhoto etc are also business centres. But the business in those places is very small because the population each of these out-posts serves is small, and moreover the majority of the people being poor their effective purchasing power is less.

Business Organisation

Business organisation of this district may be broadly divided into the following categories: Contract works under the P. W. D., supply work of P. W. D. and other Departments, supply of building materials and other articles, and shop keeping. Of all these 4 categories, the contract works are entirely in the hands of local people. There are only a few small shops run by the local people. And the rest of the business are in the hands of non-locals mainly Bihari and Marwari.

Government Organisation

The people do not have any surplus food stuff for sale, rather on the other hand they themselves require it from outside. So it has become a duty of the Government to supply the food stuff to its employees. Therefore the Government has got a Civil Supply Department which supplies rice, atta, sugar, tea-leaf, salt etc at a reasonable rate, not only to its employees but also to the contractors for the labourers, to the MLAs and other influential or needy persons.

To fulfil its duty the State Government, through its Civil Supply organisation of Mokokchung district, sell many articles to its employees and public. A detailed account thereof for 5 years is given in the appendices I & II. It may be noted that Zunheboto was formerly a part of Mokokchung and until recently used to get its supply from Mokokchung district organisation.

Markets

There is no organised daily market as yet in the district, and probably the need is not yet so strongly felt. However in Zunheboto town occasionally some supply of fish comes from Jorhat and the people rush to it in so great a haste that within an hour or two it is all sold out. Also supply of fowls and ducks comes from Jorhat and gets the same kind of reception. Fresh vegetables also come and go in the same way. Some local vegetables, particularly mustard leaf, squash, kachu, pumpkin and chilli etc are vended from door to door. The same thing happens in the out-posts also, but only the difference that they do not get supply of fish, meat and vegetables as regularly as Zunheboto gets.

Co-operative Movement

Co-operative is an all India movement and so it had its impact also in Naga Hills when it was under Assam. But soon after its formation into Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) the movement gathered speed in 1960 when the Department of Co-operative was opened in NHTA. Since then it has steadily grown up and at present it has become an economic force.

In this district several types of Co-operative organisation have grown up such as Marketing, Service, Dairy, Multipurpose, Consumers, Whole sale, and Industrial.

So far in this district the Co-operative has put in Rs. 1,44,000/- as capital investment by the Government and against that the Co-operative societies have invested Rs. 2,34,910/- in the form of share capital.

A chart is given in Appendix III showing the details of Co-operative Societies in this district, since the very beginning upto August 1976.

Weights and Measures

In olden time the people had their own way of weights and measures and it varied greatly from even village to village. Later, during British administration the weights and measures of Assam were introduced in this area, but practically it had no effect on the transaction of articles in the villages. Of course, the people had to follow the rule while selling or purchasing anything from the plains or from other tribes whose standards were different. That time the weights were in term of Seer of 80 tolas (pucca) and a Maund of 40 Seers. The linear measurement was in term of foot and yard, and the distance in term of a mile or kos (two miles). Paddy used to be measured and still is measured in the village in term of kerosene-oil tin. A tin full of paddy weighs about 18 kg. Kerosene-oil is measured in bottles (750 ml).

Nagaland Weights and Measures (Enforcement) Act introduced the metric system in the State, and so also in this district, from October 1968¹. Following this Act, nowadays, officially everywhere the metric system has come into force, but the introduction is not yet complete. Still now, not only in the villages, but even the towns, the people do not use the terms kilometre, litre, gram etc. But since the Government have enforced it, the sellers sell in term of litre, metre, gram etc, but people use the term Seer for a kg and for a kilo-litre, and Poa for one-fourth of it. Practically there is no use of any weight less than 250 grams, that is one poa of the people. In case of distance still 'mile' continues, and in case of money it is still 8 annas and 4 annas. Of course, paisa such as 10 paisa, 5 paisa etc have come into force. And the people know that a rupee consists of 100 paisa.

There is a Department of Weights and Measures in the State and it supervises and checks the weights through its officials.

1. Official Report of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, March 1969, p. 136.

APPENDIX I

RECEIPT STATEMENT OF CPO¹ COMMODITIES AT MOKOKCHUNG H. Q. FOR THE PRECEDING FIVE YEARS COMMENCING FROM 1ST APRIL '71 TO 15TH FEB. '76 AND SELLING RATES EFFECTED TIME TO TIME ²

COMMODITY	QTY RECEIVED	SELLING RATE EFFECTED TIME TO TIME
A. RICE (MED.)		
1st. April '71 to 31st March '72 =	4040'73'500 Gms	(i) @ Rs. 1.65 Ps. per kg effected up to Oct '71 (ii) @ Rs. 1.35 Ps per kg from 3-10-71.
1st. April '72 to 31st March '73 =	4956'30'000 ,,	(iii) @ Rs. 1.45 Ps per kg effected from 14/5/73.
1st. April '73 to 31st March '74 =	9461'12'500 ,,	(iv) @ Rs. 1.75 Ps per kg effected from 1/6/73 (v) @ Rs. 1.75 Per kg effected from 1/11/73.
1st. April '74 to 31st March '75 =	9262'89'500 ,,	(vi) @ Rs. 1.90 Ps kg effected from 11/1/75.
1st. April '75 to 15th Feb. '76 =	11,469'11'000 ,,	(vii) @ Rs. 1.80 Ps per kg effected from 1st June '75. (viii) @ Rs. 1.85 Ps kg effected from 1st July '75

1. CPO : Central Procurement Organisation.

2. Source: Assistant Director of Supply, Mokokchung.

B. FINE RICE

1st. April '71 to March '72 = NIL - (1) Rate per kg @ Rs. 2.00 Ps effected from 11-10-74

1st April '72 to March '73 = NIL = @ Rs. 2.10 Ps per kg effected from 11-1-75.

1st. April '73 to March '74 = NIL

1st. April '74 to March '75 = 886'92'000 Gms.

1st. April '74 to March '75 = NIL

C. MANIPURI RICE

1st. April '71 to March '73 = 3018'94'500 Gms Selling rate was Rs. 1.50 Ps per kg

D. I/SALT.

1st. April '71 to March '72 = 773'06'000 Gms. (1) Rate Rs 0.22 Ps per kg was effected up to May'71

1st. April '72 to March '73 = 704'96'500 „ (ii) @ Rs. 1.30 Ps effected from June '71

1st. April '73 to March '74 = 255'81'000 „ @ Rs. 0.65 Ps. effected from 3/5/73.

1st. April '74 date = NIL (vi) Rate revised to Rs. 0.50 Ps per kg from 1/5/73.
(v) Rate revised @ Rs. 0.53 Paise from 14/8/74.

APPENDIX II

DETAILED STATEMENT ON SUGAR/CGI SHEETS/WHEAT PRODUCTS/CEMENT/ETC
RECEIVED DURING THE LAST 5 YEARS AND THE SELLING RATE ETC. W.E.F. 1971-1975, 1

Name of item	QTY Received	Selling Rate at MKG	QTY Received	Selling Rate at MKG	QTY Received	Selling Rate at MKG	QTY Received	Selling Rate at MKG	QTY Received	Selling Rate at MKG	QTY Received	Selling Rate at MKG
CGI SHEET	NIL	X	560 Bundles	Rs. 330.57 Rs. 336.00 per Bundle	900 Bundles	Rs. 320 per Bundles	600 Bundles	Rs. 418.83 Rs. 531.45 Rs. 551.55 per Bundles	250 Bundles	Rs. 547.65 Bundle	250 Bundles	Rs. 547.65 Bundle
ATTA	2753 Bags	X	980 Bags	X	490 Bags	Rs. 1.10 Rs. 1.30 per kg	45550 Bags	Rs. 1.72 Rs. 1.94 Rs. 1.60 per kg	337 Bags	Rs. 1.70perkg Rs. 1.65 do Rs. 1.72 do Rs. 1.94 do	337 Bags	Rs. 1.70perkg Rs. 1.65 do Rs. 1.72 do Rs. 1.94 do
MOIDA	2013 Bags	X	2260 Bags	X	2144 Bags	Rs. 1.30 Rs. 1.56 per kg	1010 Bags	Rs. 1.95 Rs. 2.00 Rs. 2.50 per kg	280 Bags	Rs. 2.45perkg Rs. 3.00 do Rs. 1.95 do	280 Bags	Rs. 2.45perkg Rs. 3.00 do Rs. 1.95 do
SUJEE	202 Bags	X	325 Bags	X	114 Bags	Rs. 1.35 Rs. 1.46 per kg	288 Bags	Rs. 1.97 Rs. 2.55 per kg	42 Bags	Rs. 2.50perkg Rs. 3.08 do Rs. 1.97 do	42 Bags	Rs. 2.50perkg Rs. 3.08 do Rs. 1.97 do
SUGAR	NIL	X	6714 Bags	per kg Rs. 2.50 Rs. 2.32 Rs. 2.37	6400 Bags	per kg Rs. 2.85 Rs. 2.50 per kg	5524 Bags	per kg. Rs. 2.45 Rs. 2.30 Rs. 2.46 Rs. 2.75	3870 Bags	Rs. 2.32perkg Rs. 2.30 do Rs. 2.50 do Rs. 2.80 do	3870 Bags	Rs. 2.32perkg Rs. 2.30 do Rs. 2.50 do Rs. 2.80 do
CEMENT	NIL	X		X		X					NIL	X

1. Source : Assistant Director of Supply, Mokokchung.

BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE							95
1	2.	3	4	5	6	7	
9.	Litshumi Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Aghunato	M.P.C.S.	5/5/72	11,000/-	X	
10.	Sapotimi Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Sepotimi Village Atoizu	M.P.C.S. Consumers	25/7/72 19/9/72	10,800/- 6,150/-	4,000/- X	
11.	Ato Consumers Co-operative Society Ltd.	Lusami	Farming	28/11/72	14,250/-	X	
12.	Lima Farming Co-operative Society Ltd.	Satakha Village	Sevrice	19/7/74	3,300/-	X	
13.	Satakha Village Service Co-operative Society Ltd.	Chukhuyi	M.P.C.S.	25/4/75	3,950/-	X	
14.	Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Khukish	Farming	17/10/75	7,100/-	X	
15.	Khukishe Farming Co-operative Society Ltd.	Zunheboto Town	M.P.C.S.	20/10/75	1,340/-	4,000/-	
16.	Ako Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Lumami	M.P.C.S.	6/7/62	10,000/-	4,000/-	
17.	Lumami Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Suruhuto	M.P.C.S.	13/12/65	5,400/-	X	
18.	Suruhoto Khozniphu Lagha Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Zunheboto	M.P.C.S.	3/1/66	500/-	X	
19.	Frontier Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Zunheboto	M.P.C.S.	13/9/66	51,400/-	4,000/-	
20.	Khukakulu Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.						

APPENDIX III

DETAILS OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN ZUNHEBOTO DISTRICT (FORM INCEPTION TO AUGUST 1976)

Sl. No	Name of societies	Place of Location	Type of societies	Date of inception	Capital investment by society (share)	Capital investment by the Government
1.	2.	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Primary Marketing Co-operative Society Ltd.	Zunheboto	Marketing Service	3/7/67	850/-	4,000/-
2.	Akuloto Service Co-operative Society Ltd.	Akuloto Town	Service	18/8/76	1,000/-	4,000/-
3.	Suruhuto Farming Co-operative Society Ltd.	Suruhuto Town	Farming Dairy	12/2/68	1,900/-	4,000/-
4.	Diary Co-operative Society Ltd.	Zunheboto	Dairy	6/9/68	NA	4,000/-
5.	Tishukha Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Satami	M.P.C.S	3/10/69	1,320/-	4,000/-
6.	Kipedan Consumers Co-operative Society Ltd.	Aghunato	Consumers	10/1/71	1,650/-	X
7.	Zunheboto District Wholesale Consumers Co-operative Stores Ltd.	Zunheboto	Wholesale Store	9/8/71	NA	1,00,000/-
8.	Yemishie Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Yemishie Village	M.P.C.S.	5/5/72	20,580/-	X

ZUNHEBOTO

CHAPTER VII COMMUNICATIONS

OLD TIME ROUTES

The district being mountainous and the people having not developed trade and commerce in earlier days, there was practically no road communication before the advent of British administration. However, they had their own foot-paths to negotiate different villages and even to intertribal villages. These paths were not constructed by any body but occurred as a result of occasional use. Naturally they were narrow and during monsoon used to get almost covered by overgrowth. Another peculiarity of these foot-paths was that it did not have any alignment but used to follow the shortest distance and for that there were often ups and downs. Sometimes it goes several hundred metres down and again climbs up that much on the next hill. Though it seems difficult for a plainsman to walk in such a road, the local people being used to it could cover 15 to 20 km of such a road in a day with a normal load of about 20 kg. The earlier British expeditions and later the administrators have used these roads.

Apart from these inter village foot-paths there were foot-paths around the villages, from the village to the water sources or to the fields. These were also of the same type and were used by the villagers only, and they used to keep it passable throughout the year by keeping it clear of the undergrowth.

After the advent of the administration some of the inter-village and inter-tribal roads were broadened by the Government and were used by the mules and porters of the touring officers. These were called bridle paths. There was one such bridle path from Kohima to Zunheboto and another from Mokokchung to Zunheboto, and that's all.

During the Second World War, these and other roads were broadened and were made jeepable for army traffic. Those were all Kachcha roads and difficult to use in rainy season. It may be

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Eastern Sema Primary Consumers Co-operative Society	Tokiye	Consumers	21/9/66	4,600/-	X
22.	Suruhuto Range Consumers Co-operative Society Ltd.	Suruhuto	Consumers	12/9/67	4,140/-	X
23.	Government Servent Consumers Co-operative Society Ltd	Sutakha	Consumers	12/9/67	1,600/-	X
24.	Nagutomi Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Nagutomi Village	M.P.C.S.	12/1/68	1,060/-	X
25.	Yeneni Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Yehemi	M.P.C.S.	12/2/68	13,600/-	4,000/-
26.	Yezami Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Zunheboto	M.P.C.S.	30/5/69	3,520/-	X
27.	Lukikhe Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Aghunato	M.P.C.S.	20/12/69	2,300/-	4,000/-
28.	Hills Motor Workshop Co-operative Society Ltd.	Zunheboto	Industrial	10/1/73	26,300/-	X
29.	Viyikhe Multipurpose Co-operative Society Ltd.	Viyikhe Village	M.P.C.S.	9/3/73	25,300/-	X
					2,34,910/-	1,44,000/-

ZUNHEBOTO

N. B. : MPC.S. means Multipurpose Co-operative Society.

Source : Register of Co-operative Societies, Nagaland Kohima.

noted that there was a Kachcha but better road from Amguri to Mokokchung and a metalled road from Dimapur to Imphal which passed through Kohima. This Dimapur-Imphal road and Amguri-Mokokchung road were widened during the Second World War.

ROAD TRANSPORT

After Independence of India, attention was paid towards development of road communication of the then Naga Hills district, and so a road was constructed connecting Mokokchung with Mariani, a Railway Station in Assam, and it was metalled. Opening up of this road helped Zunheboto to communicate with the plains easily. In the meantime the road from Mokokchung to Zunheboto was also widened and metalled by the Border Road Organisation. This facilitated easier communication between Zunheboto and Mokokchung, and further to Mariani, the Railway station. On the other side, the fair-weather jeepable road from Kohima to Zunheboto was also widened and metalled. It may be noted here that there is a metalled road from Kohima to Meluri and though this more or less existed before (fair weather jeepable) it was widened and metalled by the Border Road Organisation in the 60s. And the Zunheboto road takes off from this road some way before reaching Pfutsero.

Thus all told, there are two all-weather fine roads from Zunheboto—one to Mokokchung and other to Kohima—and both these roads are constructed by Border Road Organisation. From Mokokchung to Mariani there is an all-weather fine road and from Kohima to Dimapur also there is an all-weather fine road, National Highway No 39, and both these roads have been taken over by Border Road Organisation for maintenance.

There are many fair-weather jeepable roads inside the district of Zunheboto connecting all the administrative centres with the district headquarters. Not only that, but such roads also exist connecting different administrative centres with each other, through the nearest one. Further, at present all the important villages or groups of villages are also connected by jeepable approach-roads with the main road nearby.

The Kachcha roads require constant repair, particularly during rains when very often land-slips occur and block the road. It has

to be cleared quickly, otherwise the communication will remain suspended. This is a watchfull work of the State P.W.D. to whom belong all these district highways, and they are doing it successfully.

The Government of Nagaland is aware of the importance of road communication and therefore is trying to develop it as much as possible. It had chalked out the following programme for the Fourth Five Year Plan. (a) Improvement and modernisation of State and District Highways (b) Opening of roads along those ranges which have not so far been connected with roads. (c) Construction and improvement of roads in Tuensang district with a view to linking areas not so far linked with main roads, and (d) construction of bridges on the existing and new roads ¹. And most of these works have fully been done during the 4th Plan period.

Details of roads of this district are given in Appendix I

PUBLIC TRANSPORT

Following the improved road condition and greater mobility of the people, the Government of Nagaland opened State Transport bus services in different routes in the State. In the former Mokokchung district the first bus service started on Mokokchung-Amguri route (70 km) on 1st December 1965. In February 1966, it opened Mokokchung-Zunheboto route (68 km), and in March 1968, the Mokokchung-Amguri route was extended upto Jorhat via Mariani (103 km). In the meantime, State Transport buses also started plying in the Kohima-Zunheboto routes via Chazuba (150 km). Opening up of these services greatly helped the people of Zunheboto to go Assam via Mokokchung on the one hand, and come to the capital and thence to Dimapur, the biggest supply head of Nagaland, on the other hand. Some of the administrative out-posts of the district lie on Zunheboto-Mokokchung road and Zunheboto-Kohima road and the people of these places can easily avail themselves of this transport facilities.

In 1968 the Mokokchung station of the State Transport Department had 15 buses, each with seating capacity varying from 15 to 41 passangers. It had also by that time 17 Bedford and TMB² trucks. The Transport services carried in that year, on the average 600 passangers daily in different routes. It may be noted that in Nagaland all the bus services are nationalised and no private agency is allowed to run buses, except town buses.

1. *Techno-Economic Survey of Nagaland*, p. 88.
2. *Tata Mercedes Benz*.

In more than a decade of its existence there has not been any accident involving human life in any route and it is a creditable thing for the Transport Department

The volume of trade as in August 1968 was the following for different stations of the Nagaland State Transport service (NST) in Mokokchung district.

Station	Amount Rs.
1. Mokokchung	: 12,544 00
2. Amguri	: 6,000.00
3. Zunheboto	: 3,382.00
4. Changtongia (Sub-station)	: 483.00

Details of bus services from Zunheboto, as received from the General manager, State Transport, are given below.

Sl. No	Name of route	Dt. of Opening	Distance in km	No. of plying daily	Total earning
1.	Zunheboto-Mokokchung	18.12.66	70	2	1974-75
2.	-do- Satakha	13.5.68	26	4	Rs. 2,58,489
3.	-do- Kohima	15.12.72	150	2	1975-76
					Rs. 2,88,911

Goods Services

Apart from the bus services for carrying passengers, the State Transport Department also introduced goods services on various routes. The goods services between Amguri and Mokokchung (70 km) were opened on the 1st of August, and Amguri-Zunheboto via Mokokchung (138 km) was opened on the 6th Inauguration Day of the State, that is on 1st December, 1969. The goods-services between Kohima and Wokha, formerly a Sub-Division of Mokokchung district, were opened on 1st January 1969. It may be noted here that the goods services are not nationalised and so private carriers carry goods not only on these roads but all other roads. In fact the bulk of the goods of the traders is carried by private carriers. The goods services of the Transport Department are mainly used by Government departments such as Civil Supply, Agriculture, Industries, Administration etc.

Number of motorvehicles on road is given in Appendix II

Workshop

The road condition not being very good in the hills, the longevity of the buses is not very high, and often it requires repairs. So, apart from the Government Workshop Organisation, the State Transport Department has got its own Workshop in varying sizes, in all the stations. Its main Workshop is at Dimapur and then comes Mokokchung. Zunheboto has got a small Workshop with a machanic and some tools to attend to urgent and minor repairs.

Railways

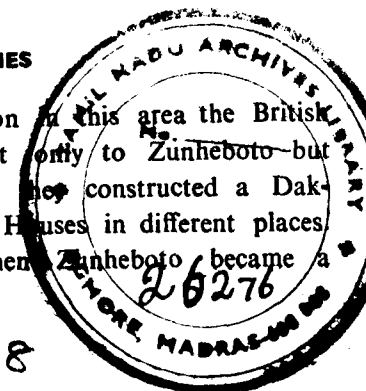
The main line of the North-east Frontier Railways from Gauhati to Dibrugarh runs over Assam touching Nagaland only at Dimapur, a town in Kohima District and sending out a branch line from Simulguri to Naginimora in Mon District. There is no Railways passing through Zunheboto District and the Naginimora Station is at a very far distance. The people of the district, therefore, travel through the adjoining districts and go to Mariani and Amguri Stations in Assam or to Dimapur Station in Nagaland for any train journey.

Airways

The State of Nagaland has got only one airfield and that is at Dimapur. There is a regular plane service between Calcutta, Gauhati, Dimapur and Jorhat. Originally it was bi-weekly, later it become 6 days in a week except for Sunday and now it is daily service. On Mondays, Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays the service is Calcutta-Dimapur-Jorhat and back the same way. And on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays and it is for Calcutta-Gauhati-Dimapur-Jorhat-Lilabari-Chabua and back the same way. The fare from Dimapur to Calcutta now (December 1976) is Rs. 260/- for a full ticket. The people of this district may fly from Jorhat also (Rowriah Airfield in Assam).

TOURIST FACILITIES

Since the inception of administration in this area the British administrators used to go on tour not only to Zunheboto but interior places also. For this purpose they constructed a Dak-Bungalow at Zunheboto and several Rest Houses in different places. In post-Independence period, rather when Zunheboto became a



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Sub-Division, a Circuit House was constructed there and it is still there. Other places such as Satakha, Akuluto, Aghunato, Satoi, Suruhoto, Atoizu and V. K. Station have got one Dak-Bungalow each, and Tsutha, Hoshepo and Vihoshe have got one Rest House each. The Circuit House at Zunheboto is provided with electric light, water supply and fine furniture and good services. All the Dak-Bungalows are also provided with electricity, water supply and furniture as well as a Chowkidar and a cook. But the quality of furniture in all the Dak-Bungalows is not same, neither all the buildings are very good or the accommodation very spacious. The Rest Houses are also provided with electricity, water supply and simple furniture. They are not very good building also. In fact some of the Dak-Bungalows and Rest Houses are Improved Basha type (CGI sheet roofing and bamboo mat walling) and occupied by the administrative officers or other Government servants for want of their residential quarters.

POST AND TELEGRAPH

Postal Service

At the beginning of this century there were only 5 post offices in the then Naga Hills, in such places as Dimapur, Kohima, Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto. The dak of Zunheboto used to come from Jorhat to Mokokchung and thence to Zunheboto by runner. That time it was only an Extra-Departmental Branch. Gradually the postal facilities have increased and Zunheboto has now become a Sub-Post Office with facilities of telegraph. From Zunheboto the mails go to the RMS at Amguri railway station who sorts it out for different places. Zunheboto also receives mail from Kohima daily by bus and sends its Kohima mail to the Kohima Post Office in the same way. It may be noted that the mails for distant places are air-lifted from Jorhat.

Except Zunheboto there is no departmental post office in this district but there are five Extra Departmental Branch Offices and their mails are all channeled through Zunheboto.

All the post offices of Nagaland are not making up the cost of its running and the Postal department not being ready to run at a loss, the Government of Nagaland is paying Non Returnable Contribution (NRC) to the postal authority to compensate for those post offices which are running at a loss.

Formerly the postal set up of Naga Hills was under Jorhat Division. Later it was placed under Manipur-Nagaland Postal Division when it was set up in 1963. Still later, Nagaland Division has been created in October 1969 with headquarter at Kohima and all the post offices of Nagaland are now under its control.

Name of post offices are given in Appendix III.

Tele-Communication

Till August 1970, the whole of Nagaland was under the administrative control of Dibrugarh Telegraph Division. Later, Jorhat Telegraph Division was created on 1st September 1970 and then Telegraph line and telephone exchanges of Nagaland were placed under it. Formerly, before 1946, the S. D. O. (T) of Jorhat was looking after the tele-communications of Naga Hills. Later the tele-communication of Naga Hills was bifurcated and one section was looked after by the S. D. O. (T) Jorhat, and the other by S. D. O. (T) Imphal. Then a Nagaland Telegraph Sub-Division was opened in 1969 and since then all the telegraphs and telephones of this State have been placed under this Sub-Division. Soon after this, in 1973, the Nagaland Telegraph Division has been opened with headquarter at Dimapur and now the Tele-Communication system of this State is under this Division. This Division, has got only one Sub-Division (Nagaland) but there is a proposal to open a Sub-Division at Mokokchung soon. This Division and Sub-Division control all civil Telephone Exchanges of this State.

There is a Telephone Exchange at Zunheboto town. It is manually operated and is of 50-line capacity and that means it can install 44 Telephones keeping 6 lines as reserve. Of this installation capacity of 44 at present (in December 1976) there are 37 Telephones, and 7 more can be given if wanted.

Radio

Radio receiver set (transistor) has become a common household article in every village, not to speak of urban settlements. In the towns, almost every house has got a radio receiver set, but in the villages probably 10% of the houses have got radio sets. In former Mokokchung district following were the number of broad-cast receiver licences issued¹.

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Licences issued	768	907	623	710	3821

1. Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974, p-171

Source : Statistical Handbook of Nagaland 1974, p-162-63.

Year	State High ways		Major District road		Other district Road		Classified Village road		Total Mule/ Bridle path
	Surfaced	Unsure faced	Surfaced	Unsure faced	Surfaced	Unsure faced	Surfaced	Unsure faced	
1973-74	18	21	...	...	...	114	...	242	395
1974-75	83	19	...	...	...	114	...	244	460

APPENDIX I LENGTH OF ROADS UNDER PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT IN ZUNHEBOTO DISTRICT

ANNEXURE II

Number of motor vehicles on road, category-wise, during the year 1975-76, in Mokokchung district¹. It may give an idea about Zunheboto which is one-third of original Mokokchung.

1. Motor cycle	:	20
2. Scooter	:	6
3. Motor cars	:	26
4. Jeeps	:	420
5. Private Carriers	:	13
6. Public Carriers	:	228
7. Tractor	:	2

1. Source : State Transport Officer, Nagaland, Kohima.

APPENDIX III

Names of Post Offices in Zunheboto District¹

1. Zunheboto	:	Sub-Post Office with Telegraph Office.
2. Aghunato	:	EDBO
3. Suruhoto	:	EDBO
4. Akuluto	:	EDBO
5. Atoizu	:	EDBO
6. Aizuto	:	EDBO

EDBO = Extra Departmental Branch Office

1. Source : District Census Handbook, 1971; Mokokchung and Superintendent of Post Office, Naga'land, Kohima.

CHAPTER VIII

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATION

Occupation in general

Civilisation has come very fast to Nagaland and so to this district also. Formerly, when there was no urban population, every body was a cultivator. Even a decade or two before, the towns people, like their counterparts in the village, used to cultivate the land,—only the thing that it was less in quantity. But nowadays most of the towns people who are engaged in office works or business, shun cultivation or do not find enough time to till the land.

However, the entire rural population depends on cultivation for their livelihood or to subsidise their other incomes. So everybody in a village is a cultivator, both men and women and both olds and children. The people take their breakfast or morning meal of full belly rice with some curries by sunrise or a little later, and go to the field in batches in a long row of single file over the difficult terrain. Every one carries a basket or some agricultural implements. Some women and children carry babies on their back, the babies sometimes being newly born. They work in the field the whole day and take their noon-day meal in the field house. For this they carry rice and curries from home in the morning, but make fire to make additional curry, to make tea or even sometimes to cook rice. In the evening they come back, sometimes even after sun-set.

The babies who are carried on the back are kept in the field-house and the mothers work in the field. Sometimes the mothers work with babies on the back also.

Although the rural people are cultivators, there are people who, besides cultivation, engage themselves in other occupations such as blacksmithy, carpentry, masonry, basket making, weaving, carving etc. Basket making is common to all the houses and it is generally

made not for sale but for house hold use, such as carrying paddy, firewood, water containers etc. Basket is an all purpose carrier. Weaving is also common for all the women and they weave their own mekhala, loin cloth of the men and chadar for both the sexes. Not to know weaving is a disgrace for a woman. Formerly, the people used to grow cotton and make yarn out of it for weaving, but nowadays yarn is mostly purchased from market. And as such cotton has practically disappeared from the field.

Smithy, carpentry, masonry carving etc are not generally full time work but are engaged in, just to augment the income, and only a few people are engaged in these trades. Most of these works are done in off time. In the village, every family possesses a few cows, pigs and fowls, all for domestic consumption. Cow is kept not for milk but for meat.

Government service is the most important occupation, only next to cultivation, and then comes contract works and business. These works are limited only in the towns and then there is only one town in the district, namely Zunheboto town. There are some other administrative out-posts, and those are also places of these occupations.

Of different kinds of jobs, employment in Government offices, mainly under the State Government, is the most important one. Of the jobs more common are Do-Bhasis or D.Bs, clerks and administrative officers. Nowadays some technical hands are also coming out every year. (There is a Polytechnic School in this district at Atoizu).

And of the different kinds of business, contract works under the Public Works Department of the Government of Nagaland is the most important one. Some people are also engaged in supply works for P. W. D. or other State organs, and some are engaged in keeping shops, the number of which run by the locals is few and far between.

Formerly, there was no unemployment problem at all because every body was a cultivator, and the number of educated people, who do not like to go back to village or to cultivation, was less than the jobs available. But nowadays the position has reversed and so there is the problem of educated unemployment (District-wise unemployment figures are not available). Though still the problem is limited to generalists, time is coming when there will

be acute problems of unemployment of the technical persons, particularly for those who are coming out of the Polytechnic School at Atoizu or other technical Schools.

Category Of Occupation

Next to cultivation comes government service and of all the Government services, employment under the Education Department in Primary, Middle or High Schools, is the biggest service. There is a Primary School almost in each village and each Primary School employs on the average two Government paid teachers. There are altogether 118 Primary Schools and they employ about 250 teachers. Then there are about 16 Middle Schools in the district and each employs on the average 10 persons and so it comes to 160 employed. Again, there are six Government High Schools. On the average each High School employs 15 persons in its establishment. So about 100 persons are employed in High Schools. Thus the total employment in Government Schools comes to about 500. Then there is the establishment of Deputy Inspector of Schools where there are about 10 persons¹.

Next to teachers there come clerks under the establishment of the Deputy Commissioner, scattered all over the district under different administrative Circles. Then there are different categories of workers under Agriculture Department, Medical Department, Industry Department etc.

All the Government servants of this State, apart from their regular pay, get free accommodation or House Rent Allowance @ 17½% of basic pay. They also get winter allowance at 10% of pay for 5 months of the year, from October to February. Other facilities such as Leave Travel Concession once in two years, House Building Advance, Car or Scooter Advance etc are also admissible.

Working Population.

The total population of this district is 47,093 of which 44,721 are scheduled tribal, that is almost entirely Semas. Of the total population, 22,641 are workers and out of it, 21,058 are scheduled tribals. Of the total workers, 11,022 are women and out of that 10,994 are tribal.

Details of workers, category and circle wise, are given in Appendix.

1. All the above educational institutions are as per 1971 census.

Name of the Circle	V				VI				VII				VIII			
	Manufacturing Processing, Servicing and Repairs				Working in construction				Working in trade and commerce				Working in Transport Storage and Communication			
(a)																
(b)																
Working at household other than household																
Industry																
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P
1. Zunheboto	34	33	1	13	13	...	25	25	...	196	196	...	73	73	...	...
2. Aghunato	3	3	...	3	3	...	11	11	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...
3. Satakha	...	...	...	2	2	...	16	16	...	3	3	...	2	2	...	...
4. Suruhoto	1	..	1	3	3	...	14	14	...	2	2	...	3	3	...	...
5. Akuluto	3	3	...	30	29	1	28	27	1	22	18	4	5	5	...	...
6. Atoizu	4	4	...	4	4	...	12	12	...	7	7	...	8	8	...	...
7. Satoi	...	...	...	2	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. Hoshepu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9. Achikuchu	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...
Total :	45	43	2	58	55	3	109	108	1	230	226	4	97	97	...	...

APPENDIX

CATEGORY WISE AND CIRCLE WISE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS OF ZUNHEBOTO DISTRICT AS PER 1971 CENSUS

Name of the Circle	I				II				III				IV			
	P	M	F	T	P	M	F	T	P	M	F	T	P	M	F	T
1. Zunheboto	2274	1043	1231	103	70	33	13	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Aghunato	2288	1009	1279	...	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Satakha	3954	1643	2311	5	2	3	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4. Suruhoto	3091	1304	1787	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5. Akuluto	2422	1059	1363	26	17	9	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
6. Atoizu	1839	959	880	52	24	28	10	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. Satoi	814	344	470	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. Hoshepu	496	203	293	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9. Achikuchu	1887	833	1054	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total :	19065	8397	10668	187	114	73	43	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

ZUNHEBOTO

Name of the Circle	IX			X		
	Working in other Services			Non-Workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
1. Zunheboto	1565	1490	75	4567	2019	2548
2. Aghunato	124	103	21	2620	1363	1257
3. Sataha	306	256	50	4070	2196	1874
4. Suruhoto	157	137	20	2703	1398	1305
5. Akuluto	255	209	46	3303	1650	1653
6. Atoizu	204	162	42	3581	1580	2001
7. Satoi	62	55	7	1156	604	552
8. Hoshupu	22	20	2	523	270	253
9. Achikuchu	112	104	8	1929	1058	871
Total :	2807	2536	271	24452	12138	12314

TOTAL WORKERS
P M F
22641 11619 11022

Source : District Census Handbook, Mokochang, 1971.

CHAPTER IX ECONOMIC TRENDS

From the time of recorded history of this area till the beginning of the Second World War the people were practically separated from the main stream of economic trend of the country as a whole. Though it was under Assam, still the economic trend of Assam did not affect this area very much because it was practically secluded and remained in isolation. That time the only livelihood of the people was agriculture, that also of primitive type, and a few home industries for local consumption.

When the entire north-eastern region of India turned to be a theatre of Second World War in 1944-45 the people came in greater contact with the outer world and their livelihood pattern also changed to some extent. The change was in respect of earning wage as day labourer and earning profit by supplying men and materials for the war effort. That is the time when some people became comparatively rich.

After the war again the people sank back to their original pattern of livelihood with the difference that some people who came in contact with the outside world maintained the contact and entered into contract business under the P.W.D. of the then district of Naga Hills.

The creation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in 1957 and later the creation of de-facto State of Nagaland in 1961, opened up great opportunities to the people in participating in the developmental works of the State. Since that time the rich people entered into contract business with greater opportunities, and the educated people entered into Government service of which there opened up an unprecedented scope. As a result, at present almost all the educated people are in State Government service and some of them are holding very high posts such as Secretaries etc and the well-to-do people have given up cultivation in favour of business, mainly contract. But still then the vast majority of the people are still cultivators and cultivation is the main source of livelihood of the people.

Livelihood pattern

Most of the people, 90% or more, are cultivators. Those who are not cultivators are engaged in Government service or business, but yet they also cultivate the land though not for full time. Even in the small towns, where land is available near about, the Government servants and business men or their wives get a plot of land on hire and cultivate it for the sake of pleasure if not for anything else. On the whole it is a peasantry and the people take much interest in cultivation and allied matters.

In the off time the people go for fishing or hunting, or engage themselves in some household industry such as carpentry, smithy, weaving (for women) etc. Thus it is primarily an agricultural economy and the people are devoted to land. According to 1971 census there are altogether 47,093 people in this district. Of this population, 22,769 are working population of all the age groups together (breakup not available). That means about 48% of the population are workers. Again, of the total working population of 22,641, some 11,022 are female. That means the ratio of female workers with men is almost 50:50. If we come to the tribal people alone then we find that there are 44,721 tribal people in this district, and almost all of them, with a negligible few others, are Semas. Of this total tribal population of 44,721, some 21,058 are working. It means about 47% of the total population are working. Again of the total tribal working people, some 10,994 are women. It means, about 52% of the total tribal workers are women and they are almost wholly Semas.

Other industries having not grown up so much, most of the workers are land-based, that is they are either cultivators or land-labourers. Next come Government service and business. Of the Government service the highest employment is provided by the Education Department of the State, in the form of Primary, Middle or High School teachers. It may be noted that all the Primary teachers are local and almost all the Graduate teachers of High Schools are non-locals, and the staff of Middle Schools are almost all local. Graduate teachers are mostly non-locals because local graduates have not yet come forward for teaching profession. It is so because they are still getting better jobs.

Prices

Since this district is in the heart of the hills and since there were no good means of communication and the people were more or less self-sufficient and did not develop the modern needs, they were practically outside the pale of economic activities of Assam. As a result there was no good flow of export and import. Moreover there were very few things to export whereas with the advent of civilisation there was growing demand for higher import. As a result there was a price disparity between the local articles such as fowls and pigs etc and the brought-in articles such as salt, sugar, knitting wool, blanket, other textiles, medicine etc etc whatever the people did not produce but needed.

Details of price list of earlier period are not available but however, J. H. Hutton¹ has mentioned that the price of a cock was about 8 annas and the wage of a day among the Aos was about 4 annas. This was in the first decade of this century.

This district being a part of the former Naga Hills District under Assam, the price level of Naga Hills District applies to it. One anonymous English traveller has recorded the following price list as it was towards the end of the last century. (Probably it was of a place which was opened up that time).

1 cow	:	Rs 6/- to 10/-
1 pig	:	Rs 3/-
1 dog	:	4 annas
1 chicken	:	2 annas
1 shield	:	4 annas to Re 1/-
1 basket of paddy	:	Re 1/-
1 piece of cloth	:	4 annas to Re 1/-
1 spear	:	8 annas to Rs 3/-
2 to 4 seers of salt	:	Re 1/-

Barter table :

- 1 Male slave equivalent to 1 cow and 3 Conch-Shells.
- 1 Female slave equivalent to 3 cows and 3 Conch-Shells.
- 1 Cow equivalent to 10 Conch-Shells
- 1 Pig equivalent to 2 Conch-Shells
- 1 Fowl equivalent to 1 packet of salt.

1. Hutton J. H., *The Sema Nagas*, p. 53

Incidentally, it is seen from here that slave system was there and both male and female slaves were in use. Also the price of female slave was almost thrice that of a male slave.

After Nagaland becoming a fullfledged State in 1963, in the last 13 years there has been a greater economic activity in all the fronts. Road communication has also greatly developed and it has led to a greater flow of all sorts of articles from Assam to this district. But since the distance is comparatively great (Zunheboto-Jorhat-171 km) and mostly over hills where the longevity of trucks carrying goods is less, and above all the rate of profit for various reasons being high, the price of all the brought-in articles is high in this district. To check the price or to keep the price line of consumable articles under control the State Government has from time to time passed some orders. The more important ones of them are the following :

- 1) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Declaration of Stocks) Order, 1965.
- 2) The Nagaland Sugar (Dealers Licensing) Order, 1966.
- 3) The Nagaland Oilseeds and Oil (Price Control and Licensing) Order, 1966.
- 4) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Procurement and Distribution) Order, 1966.
- 5) The Nagaland Foodgrains (Dealers Licensing) Order, 1966.
- 6) The Nagaland Essential Articles (Fixation of marginal profits) Order 1966.
- 7) The Nagaland Petroleum, Diesel and Kerosene Oil (Reserved Stocks) Order, 1966.
- 8) The Nagaland Finance (Sales Tax) Act 1967.

However, as a result of all these regulations the prices of essential articles, as in October 1976, stand at the following rates (collected from Kohima market). Zunheboto market may be a bit higher.

- 1) Rice per kg Rs 2/- to Rs 3/- and occasionally it goes up.
- 2) Atta per kg Rs 1.50 to Rs 2.00
- 3) Dal per kg Rs 2.50 to Rs 3/-
- 4) Mustard oil per litre Rs 8/- to Rs 9/-
- 5) Salt per kg 50 paisa to 75 paisa
- 6) Sugar per kg Rs 5/- to Rs 6/-
- 7) Tea leaf, loose, per kg Rs 14/- to Rs 16/-
- 8) Egg per pair Rs 1.20 to Rs 1.60

- 9) Kerosene Oil per litre Rs 1.30 to Rs 1.50
- 10) Fish : Rahu and Katla, per kg Rs 12/- to Rs 15/-
Magur per kg Rs 16/- to Rs 18/-
Others per kg Rs 10/- to Rs 12/-
- 11) Meat : Fowl, live weight, per kg Rs 10/- to Rs 12/-
Pork per kg Rs 8/- to Rs 9/-
Beef per kg Rs 2.50 to Rs 3/-
Mutton per kg Rs 10/- to 12/-

The yearly average retail prices of the State for 1970 to 1974, as quoted by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Nagaland, in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974, are given below.

YEARLY AVERAGE RETAIL PRICE OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES IN THE STATE

Commodities		Yearly average for				
	Unit	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Rice	kg.	1.70	1.70	1.70	1.98	3.16
2. Atta	... "	1.35	1.53	1.48	1.81	2.43
3. Aarahar dal	... "	2.06	2.12	2.48	2.77	3.38
4. Masur dal	... "	1.90	2.06	2.50	2.53	3.08
5. Salt	... "	0.50	0.50	1.04	0.58	0.88
6. Chilli	... "	7.20	7.25	6.79	6.83	9.79
7. Haldi	... "	7.30	6.97	5.89	5.99	7.30
8. Jira	... "	7.50	7.17	6.80	7.88	13.11
9. Potato	... "	1.36	1.39	1.37	1.42	1.88
10. Onion	... "	1.30	1.26	1.37	1.47	1.93
11. Cabbage	... "	1.35	1.36	1.67	1.48	1.95
12. M. Oil	... Litre	5.85	6.41	6.33	7.62	11.35
13. Vanaspati	... kg	7.45	7.64	7.92	9.37	12.55
14. Fish	... "	7.20	6.39	7.54	8.43	10.07
15. Pork	... "	5.90	6.03	6.23	6.52	7.91
16. Beef	... "	2.55	2.31	2.43	2.63	3.04
17. Mutton	... "	7.45	7.65	7.78	7.42	8.30
18. Eggs	... pair	0.75	0.72	0.75	0.86	0.98
19. Milk	... Litre	1.80	1.51	1.73	1.81	2.17
20. Sugar	... kg	2.35	3.73	3.62	3.98	4.47
21. Gur	... "	1.70	1.72	2.12	2.51	2.84
22. Tea leaf	... "	7.80	8.59	8.90	8.57	11.07
23. Kerosene	... Litre	1.05	1.02	1.01	1.09	1.67
24. Match	Box	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.15

It has already been mentioned earlier in this Chapter that in the first decade of this century the average wage of a day labourer was 4 annas per day. Since then it has gradually changed and has gone up, and at present (1976) the daily wage of an unskilled labourer for breaking stone chips or cutting earth is Rs 10/- per day. And that for agricultural work varies from Rs 10/- to Rs 15/- according to demand and supply position.

It has to be mentioned here that in case of work on contract basis, for breaking stone chips or cutting earth or the like for a contractor, the labourer earns even as much as Rs 20/- a day depending on his ability to work harder.

For skilled labour, such as masonry carpentry, weaving etc a person gets Rs 15/- to Rs 20/- a day. There is no factory or mill in this district and so the question of wage of industrial labourer does not arise.

It may be noted that most of the day labourers are non-locals (mainly from Bihar and Orissa) because the locals have more lucrative opportunities

Standard of living

According to 1971 census Zunheboto, the present district headquarter town is not considered as a town. Therefore all the population of this district is rural. However, the rural population may be divided into three categories according to the standard of living. First, the cultivators perse, second, cultivators who substitute their income by other sources, and lastly the service holders and businessmen.

The cultivators who entirely depend on cultivation for their livelihood constitute the majority of the people, probably 75% of the total population. They live in villages and lead a poor life but not below poverty line. In fact there is no people in this district who cannot make both ends meet and so there is no beggar neither any landless labourer. Therefore we can say that there are no people who are below poverty line even according to Indian standard. Those people live in thatch houses with Kachcha floor and bamboo mat wall. Though the houses are Kachcha it is not very uncomfortable. Of course, they do not have latrine and for that they go outside. These people dress scantily either in traditional loin cloth or shorts with a chadar during winter. Their school going children of course dress in shorts and shirts and sweaters etc modern clothes. They don't have any furniture in the house, occasionally

except a bench. Of course all of them have small wooden seats (pira) to sit on. Formerly they used to sleep on bamboo machang but most of these have now been replaced by wooden bedsteads of simple type. They don't have quilts but occasionally use only a blanket to keep warm at night. Their cooking utensils are also few—two or three earthen pots or occasionally a few aluminium pots, and a few plates. Some of this people, the poorest of this group, do not have rice sufficient for the year and so, for two to three months, subsidise their main food rice with millet, maize or taro, but nobody goes starving. However such people will be hardly 10% of the total population.

The second group who have got other sources of income than cultivation alone, live better. They combine small business, paltry Government job (Primary School Teacher) or some industry such as carpentry, smithy etc with agriculture. They generally live in the village itself, but in improved house such as tinroof and either bamboo mat or wooden plank wall. They have got separate bath and latrine. Also they have got a few sitting stools, chairs and a table in the house. They sleep on wooden bedstead and dress in trousers, shirts, sweater, blouse, petticoat, chadar and often a coat. They do not use earthen cooking pots but all aluminium.

The third group who are in service or business live much better. Generally they stay in the administrative headquarters or outposts and have made or are making their own houses there, but occasionally, particularly during Christmas, they go to their village homes. They dress perfectly in western style and often use suit also depending on the status and ability. They have got their own houses in Zunheboto or other administrative centres and their houses are generally pucca, that is, hill-type building. Even some of them have built up R. C. C. building with brick walls, the bricks being brought from the plains, Amguri or Jorhat. The houses have got attached bath and latrine and they are gradually using water after motion because it is sanitary latrine. They have got all sorts of modern furniture and utensils (aluminium and even stainless steel). Their standard of living is comparatively high than their counter parts in the rest of India. Some of them are highly placed officers and most of them have got other sources of income and they are not required to pay income tax. As a result they live far better than people of their status in the rest of the country. They live in rent-free Government quarters.

It has to be mentioned here that other than the local people there are some non-locals who have come on service or business. The Government employees live in rent-free Government quarters or rented house with House Rent Allowance at $17\frac{1}{2}\%$ of their basic pay. (This applies to all the Government servants) This people also live better than they would have done in their own locality in similar jobs. But the non-local businessmen live in rented houses and their standard of living is far lower than their income. It is so because they are floating people and have come here to stay for an indefinite period and so whatever they earn they utilise in their home town or village, and live here poorly.

Average Monthly Expenditure

Among all the Naga tribes, and so also among the Semas, it is unitary family system in contradistinction to joint family system of rest of the country. And therefore the family consists of husband, wife and their children. Normally a family is counted to consist of five persons, but in this area the fertility is high and due to good medical facilities child-mortality has practically been halted and therefore a family may be considered to consist of six persons instead of five in the lower income group. The monthly expenditure of this group of people on necessities of life, including cash and kind, varies from Rs 300/- to Rs 500/- per month. The fertility being lower with higher income, the family of a middle income group may be considered to consist of five persons instead of six of the lower income group. But their standard of living being higher they require about Rs 500/- to Rs 1000/- per month per family, including cash and kind.

The family of higher income group may be considered to consist of five members but their necessities are varied. They not only need food and clothing but need educating their children keeping them in hostels in Shillong or other cities of the country and for that they require on the average Rs 300/- per month per ward, over and above the stipends the ward gets¹. Therefore their monthly expenditure varies from Rs 1000/- to Rs 2000/- depending on ability and status. It has to be mentioned here that most of the high officers almost invariably have got a high expenditure on drink which is often foreign liquor.

1. This getting the children educated keeping them in Shillong or other towns, though there are Schools in each locality, is practically a must for the local Government servant or businessman, to maintain his social status if not for anything else.

Approximate monthly family expenditure shown in tabular form.

A—Lower Income Group

Item	Amount in Rupees	Percentage to total expenditure.
1. Food items	300.....	60
2. Clothing	70	14
3. Medical	40	8
4. Recreation	40	8
5. Education	50	10
Total	500	100

B—Middle Income Group

1. Food items	400.....	40
2. Clothing	150.....	15
3. Medical	100	10
4. Recreation	50	5
5. Education	300	30
Total	1000	100

C—Higher Income Group

1. Food items	700.....	35
2. Clothing	300	15
3. Medical	100	5
4. Recreation	100	5
5. Education	500	25
6. Liquors, parties and presents	300	15
Total	2000	100

It may be noted that there is no Cinema Hall or Theatre Hall or any such thing in this district and therefore there is no scope of going to Cinema or the like in this district. Therefore the term Recreation here includes outings and picnics etc as well as going to cinema etc outside the district. In groups A and B Recreation includes drinks also, often rice-beer.

Employment

Sometime after the creation of the state of Nagaland in 1963, the Government laid down the principle in respect of employment and it was decided that 80% of the jobs should go to the local people and the remaining 20% to the outsiders. It may be noted here that for several generations some Nepalis are staying in Kohima and other places inside the hills, not to speak of Dimapur, a plain place, where many non-Nagas are staying, yet they are, considered non-locals and come under the 20%. Later it was decided that all the non-technical jobs should go to the local people and the technical hands may be employed on contract basis. Following this principle all the outsiders who are now getting employment in Nagaland as Overseer, Doctor, Stenographer etc are on contract basis. Of course, after some years of service some of them are getting regularised,

Though there is no acute unemployment problem of the people of this district¹, yet in fear of the bleak future the students of Nagaland as a whole are demanding more employment opportunities and exerting pressure on the State Government not to employ any outsider in any capacity.

However, so far the people of this district are concerned, the problem of unemployment has not yet grown unmanageable. But with the growing facilities of higher and technical education the problem of educated unemployment is growing very fast. If more job opportunities are not created immediately, the problem will be acute in next five years or less.

At present there is no Employment Exchange in this district but there is one at Mokokchung and another at Kohima, the State Capital. People of this district seeking job may get enrolled in either of this two Exchanges. It may be mentioned here that most of the vacancies are yet filled up directly, that is, without any reference to the Employment Exchanges.

Other details of employment such as category wise employment for Government service and business etc are not available.

1. *The problem of unemployment among the Aos (Mokokchung district) who are educationally far more advanced than others, is steadily growing up and has actually become acute.*

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

For development of various aspects of village life, Community or Rural development blocks are better suited and therefore such development activities have been introduced in this district as early as 1955-56 when the Zunheboto Rural Development Block was formed. Later, in 1962-63 Aghunato-Satoi Rural Development Block was started.

Zunheboto Rural Development Block was formed in 1955-56 and it consists of 92 villages. Its headquarter is Zunheboto town itself. Aghunato-Satoi Rural Development Block was started in 1962-63 and its headquarter is neither Aghunato nor Satoi but Tokiye. It has got 53 villages under its jurisdiction¹.

These two Rural Development Blocks are doing the works of rural development. Originally when they were set up, they were mainly engaged in the developmental activities of agriculture. Later they have extended their field of activity and currently both of them are engaged in various developmental works. Their activities are multifarious and whatever may be considered as a step towards development of the condition of the people, communal or individual, physical or mental, is under their purview. As a result, the Blocks are engaged in constructing water tanks in the villages, constructing Community Hall, arranging games and sports, helping clubs and such other village organisations, extending help to the cultivators for making new terrace fields, for fishery, organising exhibition, running night school for the illiterates, constructing irrigational channels etc etc, all sorts of developmental activities.

It also distributes fertilizer and agricultural implements to the peasants at 50% subsidy. It distributes improved varieties of seeds of cereals and vegetables. Block development activities have been even extended to include animal husbandry and poultry, tree planting etc. Thus whatever may be termed as developmental activity, comes under the Blocks.

1. *The villages under Zunheboto Rural Development Block are 92 and that under Aghunato-Satoi Rural Development Block is 53. Thus the total comes to 145, whereas the total number of villages in Zunheboto district is 147. So there arises a discrepancy of 2 village. There are several villages as well as Headquarters of same name. Some of the Headquarters might have been omitted in the list of the Blocks and hence is this discrepancy.*

According to the rule, to get help from the Blocks the people are required to contribute 50% of the total cost of the project in cash or kind. Since the villagers are mostly poor, they prefer to contribute manual labour instead of cash money. Thus the villagers are saved paying from their hard earned money as well as the work is done quickly and easily.

For any kind of project which requires land, such as water tank, community hall, road etc the villagers are required to contribute the land free of cost.

Of all the works of the Blocks the most important ones are the construction of water tanks, village approach roads and irrigation channels.

CHAPTER X

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

What is now Nagaland, a State of Indian Union, was formerly a district of Assam Province, under the name Naga Hills. Before the creation of the district in 1866, it or rather its border areas with Assam, used to be administered from Samagooting which is now called Chumukedima, a place 15 km inside from Dimapur.

The headquarter of Naga Hills was shifted from Samagooting to Wokha in 1876. In 1878 the headquarter was shifted to Kohima, the present Capital of the State, and the Sub-Division of Mokokchung was created in 1889. That position continued till 1957 when the district of Mokokchung was created.

At the beginning, the administration was confined in preventing headhunting and inter-tribal feuds. That time a large part of what is now Nagaland State was 'unadministered', that is, outside the control of administration. Gradually having seen the good effects and peaceful life of administered areas the people of unadministered areas started coming to the Sub-Divisional Officer at Mokokchung or the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima as the case may be, for settlement of their disputes, the dispute among themselves or with people of administered areas. Thus though towards the end of the 19th century a great part of the Sema area remained outside the pale of administration, by the 1st quarter of the present century they came under administration.

During the later part of the Second World War, in 1944-45, the then Naga Hills became a battle field and all the Naga tribes helped the war effort of the British Government. As a result of this the people came in greater contact of the administration and following that trend, after the Independence of India in 1947, greater attention was paid forwards the development of the district of Naga Hills.

In 1957 the Tuensang Frontier Division¹ of North East Frontier Agency was taken out of it and added to Naga Hills and the new unit of administration was named Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) and was placed under the Central Government to be administered by the Governor of Assam. Following this new administrative set up, NHTA was divided into three districts such as Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. Thus Mokokchung became a district in 1957, and Zunheboto became a Sub-Division that very year.

In February 1961 the de-facto State of Nagaland was formed and an Interim Body, a de-facto Assembly, was nominated. In 1963 the State was formally inaugurated by the then President Dr. S. P. Radhakrishnan, as the 16th State of Indian Union. But it did not affect the arrangement of districts.

This position continued till 1973 when in December that year Nagaland was divided into seven districts such as Kohima, Phek, Mokokchung, Zunheboto, Wokha, Tuensang and Mon. And so Zunheboto became a district in December 1973.

EARLY ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

In the earlier days of the administration the Deputy Commissioner, the head of the district administration, was all in all in respect of his district. He was both judicial and administrative head as well as the collector of revenue. He or his Sub-Divisional Officer used to hear cases from the people and give judgement. The S. D. O. was under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner and though he used to hear cases, he referred more serious cases to the Deputy Commissioner. Both the D. C. and S. D. O. used to go on tours frequently to have contact with the people of interior places as well as to prove the existence of administration. They were assisted in their works by a number of Do-Bhashis (DBs) whose duty was to interpret the language of the Officer to the people and vice versa, as well as to interpret the local customs correctly. In course of time Do-Bhashi's Court came into being and the DBs used to try petty cases according to customary law. The officers were also helped by the village chiefs, (Gaon-Bura = GB) in their works so far that particular village was concerned.

1. In 1948 Tuensang became an administrative centre under Naga Hills. In 1951 it became a Sub-Division but in 1952 it was separated from Naga Hills and formed a Division of North East Frontier Agency.

Formerly the Deputy Commissioner was the supervisor of all the activities of the district. He was not only the head of administration and law and order but he used to supervise the works of all other Departments in his district, such as Education, Agriculture, Medical, P.W.D. etc and even Posts and Telegraphs. After the formation of def-facto State in 1961, in view of the need of greater and speedy development of the State, it was decided to relieve the Deputy Commissioner of his hitherto multifarious functions. It is, in this connection, worthwhile to quote a part of the Chairman's address in the Interim Body session of April-May 1962, which runs "In so far as the Districts are concerned, the reorganisation will be mainly in respect of working procedure of the different District Departments in their relation to the Deputy Commissioners rather than in the staffing pattern of the various departments at the District level. Hitherto, it has been the practice to route all matters relating to various departments such as Education, Medical, Agriculture etc through the Deputy Commissioners to the higher authorities. Considering the heavy burden they have to shoulder regarding the law and orders problems of the Districts, it is neither fair nor practicable to expect our Deputy Commissioners to shoulder the additional and expanding development activities of the other departments. Therefore, henceforth it has been decided that other District Departments such as Education, Agriculture, Medical etc will process their cases direct with their respective Directorates though in all important matters affecting a District, the Deputy Commissioners of Districts concerned will be consulted and their views obtained. This new working procedure is expected to accelerate the speed of developmental activities of all the departments".

Since then the Deputy Commissioner has been relieved of the duty of supervising all the departments, and at present different departments are under the direct control of their State authorities and they send their proposals etc directly. Of course the Deputy Commissioner being the head of the district, advises different departments to initiate certain proposals, and it is honoured for the sake of better administration and development.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER

At present the head of the district administration is designated as Deputy Commissioner, and he works under the administrative control and direction of the Commissioner of which there is only

one for the whole State¹. Unlike some other places, and like Assam, the head of the district administration, though not called District Magistrate or Collector, combines the functions of those two in himself. He is responsible for maintenance of law and order of the district and therefore effectively controls the activities of the district police officer though the police officer is under the control of his own Department. For development works he is the controlling officer of Block Development Officers of his district. He is the appointing authority and controlling officer of all his staff at the headquarters as well as in other administrative centres, except the gazetted officers who are appointed by the State Government but are under the control of the Deputy Commissioner. He can transfer his non-gazetted staff anywhere within the district. He also acts as the District Treasury Officer and in that capacity controls and supervises all the transactions within the district on behalf of the government. This duty he performs through the Treasury Officer at Zunheboto (there is no other treasury in this district now) who works under the control and supervision of the Deputy Commissioner and is expected to observe the Treasury Rules and maintain strict attention to all the details of treasury works.

The Deputy Commissioner has also to look after the works which may arise as a result of natural calamity or does not come under any other department, such as relief measures, supply of essential commodities, rehabilitation, registration of documents, elections etc. Also he is the authority to issue licences under the Arms Act and Explosives Act etc. His another important function is to act as the custodian of Government property in land and to safeguard the interests of the Government and the people, and in that capacity he distributes the Government land to the public for residential or other purposes. No land in the district can be sold to any non-Naga without his approval.

The Deputy Commissioner is vested with the powers of a sessions judge who is, in criminal cases, competent to pass sentence of life imprisonment and also a death sentence. But a sentence of death is executed only when it is approved by the High Court.

To sum up, his functions are the following :

- 1) Overall supervision of the administration of the district.
- 2) Looking into all policy matters, development and planning in the district

¹ At present (1976) the Commissioner of Nagaland is Mr. S C. Dev, I A S.

- 3) Supervision of matters relating to all sorts of loan granted by the government
- 4) According financial sanction to proposals for purchases submitted to the Deputy Commissioner, by different branches of his establishment through the Accounts officer, within the budget provision placed under him.
- 5) Appointment and transfer of grade III & IV staff and exercise of other statutory powers.
- 6) Allotment and detailment of vehicles placed under him.
- 7) Relief and Rehabilitation.
- 8) Civil Supply
- 9) Allotment of quarters in DC's pool
- 10) Allotment of government land to the public for residential or other purposes.
- 11) Issue of Innerline Permit to outsiders to enter and or stay into his district (This serves the purpose to enter Nagaland at any point).
- 12) Control of prices and markets etc etc whatever is not covered by other departments

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF SDOs, EACs, COs, AND DBs IN THE HEADQUARTERS, AND GBs IN THE VILLAGES.

Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO)

- 1) Supervision of administrative circles.
- 2) Control of prices of commodities in the local market
- 3) Issuing shop permit
- 4) Presiding over the Area Councils in Sadar area
- 5) Dealing with judicial matters for Sadar area
- 6) General supervision of various branches in the absence of the Deputy Commissioner. The S.D.O. is vested with class I magistral power.

Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC)

- 1) He is drawing and disbursing officer in DC's office.
- 2) He tries cases according to his powers. He is vested with class I magistral powers.
- 3) He maintains office security and looks into welfare of the staff

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- 4) He supervises Arms and Ammunitions.
- 5) He renews the Innerline Permit.
- 6) He supervises the Area Councils.
- 7) He supervises Loans.
- 8) He looks into Land records and settlement.

Circle Officer (CO)

He is responsible for maintaining rules and procedures during the visit of any high official as well as to look into his tour and other facilities. He also looks after the general arrangement of the office and the staff.

Do-Bhashi (DB)

The DBs have got court and they deal with customary laws and cases relating to that. They also interpret the language of the local people to the administrative officers in broken Assamese, (now called Nagamese) and vice-versa.

Goan-Burra (GB)

The GBs are responsible for the overall village administration. They are assisted in their works by Barricks (village elders). Any administrator going to the village will first meet the GBs and then get the works done through them.

The Deputy Commissioner's Office is run by a number of other staff such as Head Assistant, Peshkar, several Upper Division Assistants and Lower Division Assistants and some class IV staff. Apart from this, the Deputy Commissioner is provided with one Stenographer.

Administration of Different Areas

For the purpose of administration the district of Zunheboto is at present (1976) divided into eleven units, but only one Sub-division (Sadar). Each of these administrative Units or Circles is placed under one SDO in the Sadar, or Extra Assistant Commissioner (EAC), or Circle Officer (CO) or Area Superintendent (AS). They all administer their respective areas on behalf of the Deputy Commissioner, and are under his control. Of course, the Area Superintendent works under the EAC of the area for day-to-day guidance.

It may be noted that all these administrators have got the same duties and functions in respect of the area as the DC has got for the whole district. Following are the administrative Circles and the Officers in charge thereof¹.

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 1) Zunheboto (Sadar) | : | Sub-Divisional Officer |
| 2) Sataka | : | Extra Assistant Commissioner |
| 3) Akuloto | : | Extra Assistant Commissioner |
| 4) Aghunato | : | Extra Assistant Commissioner |
| 5) Satoi | : | Circle Officer |
| 6) Asoto | : | Circle Officer |
| 7) Suruhoto | : | Circle Officer |
| 8) Atoizu | : | Circle Officer |
| 9) V. K. Station | : | Circle Officer |
| 10) Hoshepu | : | Area Superintendent |
| 11) Saptika | : | Area Superintendent |

DISTRICT OFFICERS

There are several district level officers of different departments to look after their respective works. Following is the list of District Officers who are looking after Zunheboto district at present (June 1977) either from Zunheboto itself or Mokokchung

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| 1) Police | : | Under Superintendent of Police
(at present under S. P. Mokokchung) |
| 2) Public Works
Department | : | Under Executive Engineer. |
| 3) Public Health
Engineer | : | Sub-Divisional Officer, PHE |
| 4) Forest | : | Divisional Forest Officer
Mokokchung |
| 5) Agriculture | : | District Agriculture Officer,
Mokokchung. |

1. Source: Basic Facts, Nagaland, 1974 and the comments of the Deputy Commissioner, Zunheboto

- 6) Industries : District Industries Officer.
- 7) Small Marginal Farmers Development Agency : Deputy Project Officer, Mokokchung
- 8) Publicity : District Publicity Officer, Mokokchung.
- 9) Fishery : District Fishery Officer, Mokokchung.
- 10) State Transport : Station Superintendent.
- 11) Workshop Organisation : One Mechanic.
- 12) Education : Deputy Inspector of Schools for Middle and Primary Schools only. High Schools and Polytechnic are under Director of Education, Nagaland.
- 13) Medical : Civil Surgeon, Mokokchung.
- 14) Town Planning : Divisional Town Planner, Mokokchung.
- 15) Statistics : District Statistical Officer.
- 16) Taxes : Inspector of Taxes under Superintendent of Taxes, Mokokchung.
- 17) Co-Operative : Assistant Registrar of Co-Operative.
- 18) Animal Husbandry and Veterinary : Assistant Veterinary Surgeon I.
- 19) Sports : District Sports Officer, Mokokchung.
- 20) Electricity : S.D.O. Electricity.
- 21) Soil Conservation : Inspector, Soil Conservation.
- 22) Excise : Excise Inspector.
- 23) Jail : Assistant Jailor.
- 24) Supply : Inspector of Supply.

NAME OF CENTRAL OFFICE IN ZUNHEBOTO

- 1) Subsidiary Intelligence Branch : A.C.I.O. (Assistant Central Intelligence Officer II).
- 2) Post and Telegraph : Postmaster, Sub-Post Office, Zunheboto.
- 3) State Bank of India : Branch Manager, S.B.I., Zunheboto.
- 4) Tele communication : Junior Engineer, Telegraphs. Mokokchung (for the Telephone Exchange, Zunheboto.)

APPENDIX

VILLAGES UNDER ZUNHEBOTO DISTRICT

Below are given the villages of Zunheboto district Circle-wise. Here the Circle means Census Circle of 1971 Census. Since the last Census there have been some changes in spelling the names or nomenclature itself.

Circle : ZUNHEBOTO

1. Zunheboto H. Q.
2. Nathami (Y)
3. Yemishe
4. Sukhalu
5. Zungti
6. Khukhepu
7. Nathami (Z)
8. Sheyipu
9. Shotomi
10. Bhaimho
11. Yeza
12. Iocho
13. L/Phiyeu
14. L/Naghuto
15. L/Potheu
16. L/Avikato
17. Asukho

Circle . AGHUNATO

1. Phuleshetomi
2. Keltomi
3. Zheishe
4. Lukikhe
5. Shevishe
6. Lutsumi

7. Lukhuyumi
8. Ghokishe
9. Aghunato H. Q.
10. Tsukomi
11. Luvishe
12. Viyilho
13. Yezashimi
14. Lower Akubami
15. Akubami
16. Viyikhe
17. Aghiyilimi
18. Thokihimi
19. Tokiye
20. Khetoi
21. Khukishe

Circle : SATAKHA

1. Aghuito
2. Ghukiye
3. Ghukiya
4. Hoishe
5. Kuihopu
6. Kiyekhu
7. Khukiye
8. Kilo (Old)
9. Khivi
10. Kivikhu
11. Momi
12. Nikuto
13. Nunumi
14. Nasami
15. Shoikhe
16. Shena Old
17. Shena New

18. Saptika M. E School Compound
19. Shoipu
20. Satakha
21. Satakha H. Q.
22. Sukhai
23. Usukomi
24. Vishepu
25. Zhekiye

Circle : SURUHOTO

1. Aichisaghemi
2. Phuye Old
3. Kishepu
4. Vedami
5. Seromi
6. Kholeboto
7. Tichipami
8. Sapotimi
9. Lithsami
10. Kiyetha
11. Yehemi
12. Suruhoto H. Q.

Circle : AKULUTO¹

1. Shitsumi
2. Zhaphumi
3. Izheto
4. Lumami
5. Sasutami
6. Alaphumi

1. Since the Census of 1971, the Akuluto Circle has been reorganised and now (July 77) the following 9 villages of this Circle are grouped under V. K. Circle : V. K. Station, Litta Old, Litta New, Izheto, Ajikami Sasutami, Maromi, Phushumi and Mukhami.

7. Ajiquimi
8. V. K. Station
9. Lumthsami
10. Akuluto
11. Maromi
12. Littami Old
13. Phushuri
14. Shichimi
15. Mukhami
16. Littami New
17. Sutemi
18. Lotisami

Circle : ATOIZU

1. Atoizu H. Q.
2. Vekuho New
3. Vekuho Old
4. Asukhto
5. Yesholtomi
6. Emlomi
7. Litsami
8. Sukomi
9. Philimi
10. Rottomi New
11. Rottomi old
12. Akuhaito
13. Khromtomi
14. Mapulumi
15. Nagatomi New
16. Nagatomi
17. Apukito
18. Lokobomi
19. Aizuto
20. Aochakilimi.

Circle : SATOI

1. Satoi H. Q.
2. Satoi village
3. Ikiye village
4. Gokhuvi
5. Tsuruhu
6. Hokiye

7. Tsutoho
8. Thakiye
9. Khuvukhu.

Circle : HOSHEPU

1. Khewoto
2. Hoshepu School Compound
3. Hoshepu
4. Khekiye
5. Nihoshe

Circle : ACHIKUCHU¹

1. Khumishi (D)
2. Khumish (C)
3. Khumish (B)
4. Khumishi (A)
5. T. Island M. E. School Compound
6. Kathara
7. Yeshito
8. Achikuchu (B)
9. Achikuchu (A)
10. Asuto
11. Nihoshe
12. Tuzuhu
13. Kitahu
14. Koiboto
15. Lizuto
16. Ngozobo
17. Melahumi
18. Aghulito
19. Satami
20. Sahunoto M. E. School Compound

Total : 147

1. Now (July '77) known as Asuto Circle.

CHAPTER XI

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

What is understood by Revenue nowadays was quite unknown to the people of this district before the advent of the British administration. It was not only among the Semas but among all other Naga tribes. Except village administration there was no other administration that time, that is even in early 1870s. And for Village administration no money was needed because there was no paid official. The village administration used to be run by the village chief, sometimes in consultation with his trusted lieutenants. But this did not require any kind of revenue.

However, the village chief used to impose fine on recalcitrant people and it used to go for feasting by the village elders, and was not used for any kind of payment for any service. The fine was usually in term of kind such as a pig or a cow, according to the gravity of offence.

Thus we find that there was no revenue system in this district prior to the establishment of modern administration.

However when this area came under the administration in late 1870s and early 1880s, the authority felt it necessary to collect some sort of revenue, not for the fiscal point of view but for the point of establishment of authority. So in view of enforcing administration and to exact obedience, the Government imposed a revenue of one rupee and one maund of paddy per house per year. The entire amount could also be paid in way of free labour to the Government. Below is given a quotation from Verrier Elwin¹, which will make the point clear.

1. *The Nagas in the Nineteenth Century* edited with an introduction by Verrier Elwin and published by Oxford University Press in the year 1969, P-192

"In regard to the rates of revenue to be assessed, the Chief Commissioner was of opinion that, in the first instance, the measure was important rather from a political than from a fiscal point of view, and he insisted on it as a public and well understood symbol of obedience rather than as a valuable contribution to the revenue. Major Michell, the Political Officer, pointed out that, in his opinion, the assessment of one rupee, plus one maund of rice, per house was far too high, and that in the first year at all events it could not possibly be collected. The Nagas had not, he said, the rice to give, as much grain was destroyed in the operations of the troops. There were many more mouths than usual to be fed, and much land, especially in the neighbourhood of Kohima, was uncultivated. Cash they had in greater plenty than usual as our payment for labour and for rice has made money circulate largely in the hills; but they had not more rice than was necessary to feed themselves.

Sir Steuart Bayley, therefore, consented to the Political Officer changing the general rate of assessment from one rupee and one maund of rice per house to two rupees a house, which is the usual rate at which house-tax is levied from other wild tribes in Assam, and from the villages which have hitherto paid revenue in the Naga Hills, and he allowed him large latitude in dealing with the assessment of any particular village. These rates were readily accepted, and were paid punctually and spontaneously.

In the matter of forced labour, the condition of the agreements were not formally abrogated, and labour was demanded and given in accordance with our requirements from time to time. But it was not found possible to regulate its incidence so that the burden should fall equally on all villages bound to bear it: those far from Kohima and the road down to the plains escaped, while those nearer were unduly pressed. In all cases, however, wages were paid at the full rate of four annas a day, instead of the subsistence rate of two annas. In the matter of fines, also the Political Officer was lenient, not demanding the full payment when he had reason to think that it could not be paid without some hardship

This tax was levied on the basis of house and was called house tax. Originally there was some disparity about the rate of house tax among different tribes. The Lothas used to pay one rupee per house. The Semas used to pay two rupees per house, (the former

one rupee and one maund of paddy was turned into two rupees per house). It is not exactly known as to why this higher rate for the Semas was introduced but it may be presumed that originally it was done to curb the turbulent or warlike habits of the Semas. Later of course, it was made as par with others, rates of other tribes being fixed at rupees two per house per year. And the same rate is continuing still now (1976).

At the beginning of the administration, in 1884-85, nine years after the creation of Sub-Division under which fell the Semas and Lothas, some 54 Lotha villages and only 7 Sema Villages paid the house tax. The Lothas paid one rupee per house and Semas paid two rupees per house. The number of Lotha houses paying tax was 6308 and that of the Semas was 1417. This house tax used to be collected by the village elders or G. Bs (Gaon Buras) and they used to get a commission of two annas per rupee collected. (The same system is still continuing). At the beginning the SDO while on tour used to collect the tax from the GBs of different villages who were asked to gather to meet the SDO and hand over the tax to him. Later the system was changed and the GBs used to deposit it to the SDO in his Sub-Divisional headquarter.

Thus we see that the function of a collector rested in the Deputy Commissioner who carried out his responsibility through the SDOs. Still now the same system is continuing, that is, the Deputy Commissioner is performing the duties of a Collector.

Land Tenure

From time immemorial the land belongs to the villagers, or rather to the chief of the village. When there was no administration, even in the third quarter of the last century, the people used to grab any land they could clear and set up a village. They could claim all the land surrounding the village or as much as over which they could exert their effective right, and that was their land. It was possible because it was all wilderness and might was right. But when the administration came, it was not possible for any tribe to intrude into the land of other tribe and so the Semas had to be contended with their own tribal area which was of course not very definitely defined, and set up new villages within that area. Some Semas have, in later time, set up new villages in areas belonging to other tribes, but in that case they had to obtain permission from that tribe.

However, in whatever manner or wherever a village is set up, the land of the village belongs to the chief. As we have already discussed in another Chapter before, all the land of a village belongs to its chief. It happens like this. Generally a son of a chief or an ambitious young man collects some of his friends and finds out a suitable site where a village can be set up. They clear the jungle and settle there. Thus a new village is established. In this village the chief takes as much land as he likes for his personal use and keeps the rest for distribution among his followers, who are called dependents, for their annual cultivation. The chief is the legal owner of the entire land of the village and the 'dependents' get land from the chief every year for cultivation in that year. They have no legal right on the land they cultivate. It is some kind of a help given by the chief and in return for that he gets free labour of his dependents for cultivating his own field for a certain number of days in a year—four to sixteen. Of course, for this free labour the chief gives some nominal wage to them. Anyway the land belongs to the chief, and other members of the village are his tenants. The tenure of cultivating a particular plot of land is for one year only. It may continue next or subsequent years but with specific permission of the chief for each year.

But this old system of land tenure is breaking down and nowadays individual villagers are owning the land for themselves. Of course, it is also got from the chief, but on permanent basis. Once it goes to an individual permanently he can sell it or dispose as he likes, of course within the village. He cannot sell or give it to other villagers without the permission of his villagers.

Land Revenue

Thus we see that the land belongs to a tribe or to a chief or a village or at least to an individual, and hence the Government is not the owner of the land in any sense of the term, and therefore there is no land revenue. The house tax which the people pay is not a land revenue but a token of accepting administration only.

Of course Government is the owner of the Reserve Forests. But since it is forests reserved by the Government, no village is allowed to be set up there and so there is no land revenue from there also.

However, the house tax is collected from each house at the rate two rupees per house per year irrespective of the richness or size of the family. Of course, if a house is too poor to pay it, then the Deputy Commissioner can exempt it. The Deputy Commissioner combines in himself the functions of the Collector and he is responsible for collecting the house-tax. He does not personally do it, but gets the house-tax collected by the GBs who get 25% commission on the amount collected. The amount thus collected is deposited into the Treasury by the Deputy Commissioner.

OTHER SOURCES OF REVENUE

At the beginning of the administration there was no other tax than house tax. This position continued till several years after the creation of the State of Nagaland. Only in the late 1960s Sales tax, Excise tax, Amusement tax, Professional tax, etc. were introduced but income from those taxes is meagre. Details of them are discussed below.

SALES TAX. The Government of Nagaland has imposed a sale tax on all the articles sold in this State according to Nagaland Finance (Sales Tax) Act 1967. And the rate of this tax varies from 3 p. c. to 11 p. c. On Common consumable articles the rate is 3 p. c. and in case of motor parts it is 11 p. c. In between these two, there are other rates which apply to textiles, cosmetics and luxury goods. The tax is paid by the sellers, that is the shop keepers and is collected by the Superintendent of Taxes at Mokokchung. Shopkeepers charge the tax to the purchasers and collect it from them. However, since there are not many shops in this district, the income from sales tax is not much.

PROFESSIONAL TAX. The Government of Nagaland has started collecting taxes on income from profession, calling, business or service etc. from the year 1969-70, assessed in 1970-71. This is a good source revenue to the State Government since almost every earner has to pay it. The State Government servants generally deduct the tax from their pay once in the year, out of pay bill of February. Others deposit it into the treasury by Challan and submit the copy of the Challan to the authority. At present the Professional Tax of this district is looked into by the Superintendent of Taxes at Mokokchung.

The rates of Professional Tax on the basis of gross income of a year, are given below.

Slab	Amount		
1) Upto	Rs. 3,500/-		Nil
2) Exceeding	Rs. 3,500/- upto	Rs. 5,000/-	24/-
3) Exceeding	Rs. 5,000/- „	Rs. 10,000/-	36/-
4) Exceeding	Rs. 10,000/- „	Rs. 15,000/-	50/-
5) Exceeding	Rs. 15,000/- „	Rs. 20,000/-	70/-
6) Exceeding	Rs. 20,000/- „	Rs. 25,000/-	100/-
7) Exceeding	Rs. 25,000/- „	Rs. 30,000/-	150/-
8) Exceeding	Rs. 30,000/- „	Rs. 35,000/-	200/-
9) Exceeding	Rs. 35,000/- „		250/-

INNER-LINE PERMIT FEE. From the very beginning of formation of the then Naga Hills, this area was kept outside the rest of the country by means of declaring it outside the 'Inner-Line'. The system still continues and any body wanting to enter the hills of Nagaland is to obtain an inner line permit on payment of 50 paise. It is paid generally in Dimapur, but the Deputy Commissioner also issues such permits for people to stay in his district. This is a source of substantial income and in the years 1966 to 1968 the income from this source was Rs. 24,326/- in the then Zunheboto Sub-Division. The rate of fee for permission to stay in the district is 50 paise per head per month.

TRADE LICENCE. Another source of income is trade licence. Shopkeepers are required to get permit from the Deputy Commissioner and for that a fee is charged varying from Rs. 10/- to Rs. 30/- per month with yearly renewal fee of Rs. 10/-, according to the category of shop, and that is a good source of income to the Government.

OTHERS. Income from Amusement taxes is practically nil because no show houses have grown up yet in this district. So also Excise, because practically there is no local production on which excise duty is imposed. Some local modhu (rice beer) shops are there but they produce for their 'own' consumption and so does not come under the purview of this duty. There are shops for Indian made foreign liquor but it comes under sales tax and not excise because these are not produced in this district rather in this State.

Apart from the taxes discussed above, there are some other sources of income to the State Government. They are discussed below.

STAMP. Sale of stamps, both judicial and non-judicial, is a source of income to the State Government. Formerly practically no such stamps were used because it was not considered necessary. But after the creation of the State all these things have come into force gradually. But still then the income from these stamps in this district is very meagre. However since there is no stamp vendor yet, the stamps are kept in the Treasury at Zunheboto and the people purchase it from there, if anybody requires. People can also purchase it from Mokokchung or Kohima where there are stamp vendors, but then the income from that, in that case, goes to that district from which it is purchased.

REGISTRATION. There is no separate Registration Office in this district, and therefore all the Registration, wherever it is needed, is done in the Deputy Commissioner's Court. The income from this source is also very meagre.

ROYALTY. By far the greatest source of income to the State Government is from royalty on trees and stone quarry from river beds.

MISCELLANEOUS. Other sources of income of this District are administration of Justice, Education, Medical, Public Health (water tax), Agriculture, Veterinary, Industries, Extra Ordinary receipts (CPO), Electrical, Government interest etc. etc.

CENTRAL TAXES

Income Tax

Income tax is the only central tax collected from this district but then since the tribals serving in tribal area are not required to pay any income tax¹, the income from this source is very small. However, there is no separate income tax office in this district, but it falls under the jurisdiction of Dimapur Circle which assesses and collects the tax.

¹ Formerly tribals were also paying the income tax but they thought that they need not pay it and so filed a case in the Assam High Court but lost it. Then they appealed to the Supreme Court and won there in a Division Bench by the casting vote of the Chief Justice. Since then tribals serving in a tribal area are not required to pay income tax. The decision was given in mid-60s.

Since no details of any revenue or tax are available, not to speak of district-wise breakup, we are giving in the Appendices the financial statistics of the State as a whole, as given in the Statistical Hand Book of Nagaland, 1974, published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Nagaland.

APPENDIX 1

Table-1

RECEIPTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
NAGALAND, 1974-75

Item	Rs. in Lakh
A- Receipts in the consolidated fund	
1. Statutory grant under finance commission award	2377.00
2. States share of central taxes & duties under the finance commission award	114.18
3. Open market loan	200.00
4. Central grant assistance outside the finance commission award for non-plan expenditure	100.00
5. Grants from Ministry of Transport for construction & maintenance of border roads	370.00
6. Central assistance for centrally sponsored schemes	
(a) Grants	87.04
(b) Loans	17.68
7. Central assistance for State plan schemes	
(a) Grants	1008.00
(b) Loans	112.00
8. State receipts	392.42
9. Assistance from national Co-operative Development Corporation	6.00
Total-A	4784.32
B-Surplus in the Public account	70.00
C-Opening cash balance	(-)60.13
Total—Resources (A + B - C)	4794.19

1. Source : State Budget, as quoted in Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974

Table - 3
FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND, GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

		(Rupees in thousand)
Head of revenue and other receipts		Budget estimate 1974-75
A. Taxes, Duties and other principal heads of Revenue		
Taxes on income other than corporation tax	"	4421
Estate Duties	" "	81
Land Revenue	" "	442
State Excise Duties	" "	6000
Taxes on Vehicle	" "	1230
Sales Tax	" "	5983
Other taxes and Duties	" "	300
Stamps and Registration	" "	115
Total (A)	" "	16572

Table-2
EXPENDITURE OF GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND 1974-75
(Rs. in lakhs)

A-Expenditure		
1. Gross Revenue Expenditure	"	490.79
Deduct recoveries	"	560.70
Net revenue	"	3163.00
2. Gross capital expenditure	"	1019.93
Deduct recoveries	"	60.00
Net Capital expenditure	"	122.00
Total—A	Gross	1510.72
	Net	1510.72
B-Closing Cash Balance	(—)	1.53 (—)
Total (A+B)		1510.72 3283.47 4794.19

Table - 3 (Contd.)

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

(Rupees in thousand)			
Head of revenue and other receipts		Budget estimate 1974-75	
B. Debit Services			
Interest			3600
Total (B)	"	"	3600
C. General Services			
1. Public Service Commission	"	"	60
2. Jails	"	"	24
3. Police	"	"	925
4. Stationery & Printing	"	"	20
5. Public works	"	"	80
6. Other administrative Services	"	"	550
7. Contributions and recoveries towards pensions and other re- tirement benefits	"	"	18
8. Miscellaneous General Services	"	"	1400
Total (c)	"	"	3077

Table- 3 (Contd.)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPT UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

(Rupees in thousand)			
Head of revenue and other receipts		Budget estimate 1974-75	
D. Social and Community Services			
1. Education	"	"	570
2. Art and Culture	"	"	5
3. Medical	"	"	55
4. Family Planning	"	"	"
5. Public health and Sanitation	"	"	100
6. Housing	"	"	620
7. Urban Development	"	"	5
8. Information and Publicity	"	"	50
9. Labour and Employment	"	"	2
10. Social Security & welfare	"	"	25
11. Other social and Community service	"	"	2
Total (D)	"	"	1433

Table-3 (Contd.)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

(Rupees in thousand)			
Head of revenue and other receipts			Budget estimate 1974-75
E. Economic services :			
1. Co-operation	„	„	3
2. Other General Economics Services	„	„	„
3. Agriculture	„	„	700
4. Minor irrigation, Soil conservation and area development	„	„	10
5. Food and nutrition	„	„	10
6. Animal Husbandry	„	„	700
7. Dairy development	„	„	1020
8. Fisheries	„	„	250
9. Forests	„	„	1650
10. Community Development	„	„	250
11. Industries	„	„	„
12. Village and small Industries	„	„	450
13. Mine and minerals	„	„	7
14. Water and power development	„	„	„
15. Roads Bridge	„	„	„
16. Power projects	„	„	32164
17. Road and water transport services	„	„	3700
18. Tourism	„	„	6
Total- E	„	„	11785

Table-3 (Cntd.)
FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS UNDER
CONSOLIDATED FUND OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF NAGALAND

(Rupees in thousand)			
Head of revenue and other receipts		Budget estimate 1974-75	
F. Contribution and Miscellaneous adjustments			
1. States share on union Excise duties	„	„	7200
2. Grants-in-aid from Central Govt.	„	„	356994
Total-F	„	„	364194
G. Public debt :			
1. Internal debt of the State Government	„	„	57000
2 Loans and advances from the Central Govt,	„	„	8888
Total-G	„	„	65888
H. Loans and advance			
1. Loans and advances by State/ Union Territory Government	„	„	5500
Total-H	„	„	5500
Total Receipts in consolidated fund of the State of Nagaland		„	478432

Table- 5
ANNUAL COLLECTION OF ENTERTAINMENT
TAX, NUMBER OF CINEGOERS OR TICKETS
SOLD AND NUMBER OF SHOWS HELD FROM
1969-70 to 1973-74

Year	Annual collection of entertainment Tax	Number of Cinegoers or Tickets sold	Number of shows held
1	2	3	4
1969-70	2,55,853	8,02,891	3,119
1970-71	4,75,278	11,72,827	3,896
1971-72	3,03,056	6,36,882	2,005
1972-73	4,21,233	12,53,791	3,449
1973-74	4,23,292	12,35,395	3,612

Table-4

REVENUE AND CAPITAL ACCOUNTS
OVERALL RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENT

(Rupees in thousand)

Year	Disbursement						Surplus (+) Deficit (-)			
	Revenue account	Capital account	Revenue Total account	Capital account	Total	Revenue account	Capital account	Total		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1970-71	3,02,191	21,98,527	25,00,718	2,46,045	22,51,516	24,97,561	(+)	56,146	(-) 52,989	(+) 3,157
1971-72	2,88,535	25,41,547	28,30,082	2,722,97	25,62,836	28,34,133	(+)	16,238	(-) 20,289	(-) 4,051
1972-73	3,84,520	18,30,981	22,15,501	3,17,594	18,17,373	21,34,967	(+)	66,926	(+) 13,608	(+) 80,534
1973-74 (B. E)	3,54,116	18,36,631	21,90,747	3,24,533	18,75,608	22,00,141	(+)	29,583	(-) 38,971	(-) 93,94
1973-74 (R. E)	3,26,853	18,72,696	21,99,549	3,19,858	18,70,282	21,90,140	(+)	6,995	(+) 2,414	(+) 1,760
1974-75 (B E)	4,02,944	17,22,398	21,25,342	3,57,174	17,66,408	21,23,582	(+)	45,770	(-) 44,010	(+) 1,760

B. E.— Budget Estimate
R. E.— Revised Estimate

Table-6
GROSS AND NET COLLECTIONS IN SMALL
SAVING SECURITIES IN NAGALAND FROM
1969-70 to 1973-74

Year	Gross Collection	(In Rupees)
		Net Collection
1969-70	53,66,593	14,43,530
1970-71	50,70,220	5,00,680
1971-72	53,97,000	9,59,000
1972-73	68,80,000	88,000
1973-74	80,85,000	11,71,000

CHAPTER XII

LAW AND ORDER, AND JUSTICE

Background

In olden times, before the advent of administration, there were very few problems relating to law and order and whatever there was it used to be settled in the village itself by the village elders or the chief himself. After the introduction of administration the two institutions of Do-Bhashi (DB) and Gaon Bura (GB) were introduced. The Gaon Buras are village heads and it was through them that administrative officers used to get certain works done by the villagers or certain orders carried out. They had no judicial powers but still then they used to settle petty cases of the villages amicably or even by imposing some fine which they used to appropriate themselves. But Do-Bhashis, though originally meant for translating the villagers to the Officers in broken Assamese (which is now called Nagamese), and vice-versa, they were later endowed with judicial as well as police power.

At the beginning of administration there were problems of head-hunting, which is a sport, and inter-tribal feuds. Other than these and some land disputes and disputes on possession of Mithun (a semi-wild animal between cow and buffalo), there was practically no problem of law and order since dacoity, robbery, pick-pocketing, murder etc or sexual crime were practically non-existent. And whatever crime there was, it used to be brought to the notice of the administrator by the DBs and the criminals also were brought by them. And so there was very little need of Police Stations, at least in the out posts. That is why at the time of formation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area in December, 1957 there were Police Stations only in Dimapur. Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang in the whole NHTA, and that also mainly for the normal guard of the Deputy Commissioner and Sub-Divisional Officers. (The Station of Dimapur, a plains town, had its normal duties of course).

Present Position

After the formation of the State of Nagaland in 1963 gradually Police stations were opened in Wokha and Zunheboto too, these two being newly-created Sub-Divisions of Mokokchung district. Gradually more police out-posts have been opened and now every administrative out-post under an Extra Assistant Commissioner has got a police out-post, if not a police station. Since still now the incidence of crime such as pick-pocket, dacoity, robbery, homicide, murder etc or any kind of sexual crime is very low, the police has got very little work to do. The only problem of law and order which takes place more often than others, is theft and drunkenness. Misbehaviour after getting drunk or pretending so, is committed by younger group of people and is generally lightly treated if it does not involve any physical injury to any one. Theft is also mostly committed by younger people but the nature is not generally serious, that is, it does not involve serious loss of property. Whatever the nature may be it is dealt with accordingly.

All told, the problem of law and order is not a serious one, rather it is mild.

Below are given the details of crimes of Mokokchung district for 1966 to 1975¹. It includes the figures of Wokha and Zunheboto districts too.

YEAR	CASE REPORTED	CASE SETTLED	PENDING INVESTIGATION	PENDING TRIAL
1966	114	114	nil	nil
1967	169	167	2	nil
1968	346	345	1	nil
1969	182	182	nil	nil
1970	144	144	nil	nil
1971	158	158	nil	nil
1972	268	264	2	2
1973	429	413	4	12
1974	423	404	9	10
1975	323	223	45	55

1. Source: Office of the Deputy Commissioner, Mokokchung.

POLICE ORGANISATION

At the beginning of administration the functions of police used to be performed by DBs as has been discussed earlier in this Chapter. Gradually Police Stations were opened at Dimapur, Kohima and Mokokchung and it was then under the Superintendent of Police, Naga Hills, stationed at Kohima, who was under the IGP, Assam.

With the formation of the State of Nagaland in 1963, police organisation was also changed. In the earlier years of the State the Commissioner of Nagaland was the ex-officio Inspector General of Police for the State. Later, a separate IGP was appointed and at present (December 1976) the entire police force of the State is under his control.

Under him there were three Superintendents of Police for the former three districts of the State, that is, Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang. After creation of four more districts, in 1973, under which falls Zunheboto, four more posts of S. P. have not yet been created, but the police organisation is looked after by the S. P. of the former district out of which the new districts have been created. And so at present the police set up of Zunheboto is under the control of S. P. Mokokchung.

At present there are two Police Stations in Zunheboto district and some out-posts, as given below.

Zunheboto	:	Police Station with one Circle Inspector
Satakha	:	Police Station
Aghunato	:	Out-Post
Akuluto	:	Out-Post

Armed Police

The State of Nagaland has two sets of Police force, one is Nagaland Police and the other is Nagaland Armed Police, like other States. The unarmed police force is stationed in different Police Stations and out-posts for the purpose of maintaining ordinary law and order. But the Armed Police is stationed in the district headquarters only and they are deployed only in grave cases of law and order which seldom occurs. One such case occurred in Mokokchung town in 1971 when the Armed Police had to open fire on the unruly School students.

Central Reserve Police force are also there in the State and so also in this district. They have got their own organisation but the Deputy Commissioner can use them as and if required.

Fire-Baigade

Under State Police there is Police Fire Service Organisation but it does not have yet any unit in Zunheboto.

Assam Rifles

From the very beginning of opening up Naga Hills and setting up administration, Assam Rifles, a para-military organisation, have set up their camps in different places of the then Naga Hills district. In course of time they have set up more camps and at present there are several in this district. It is so because it is a border State and they are to keep vigil. They have got their own organisation but the Deputy Commissioner can use them if and when required.

Training

Formerly when this State was a district of Assam, its police personnel used to get training from Dergaon, the Police Training Centre of Assam. Several years after the formation of the State, it has set up a Police Training Centre at Chumukedima some 15 km inside from Dimapur. Now all the police personnel of the State get training there.

Jails And Lock-Ups

There is no jail in this district yet but there is a Sub-Jail with an Assistant Jailor and necessary staff. It functions independently like a Jail.

Administration Of Justice

Cases are settled according to the nature of crime committed. If the crime is petty and can be tried according to customary law, it is done so. If the crime is a serious one, it is decided according to the Rules For Administration of Justice and Police, in Nagaland,

1937¹. It may be noted here that the Criminal Procedure Code of India does not apply to Nagaland except a few chapters, but its spirit is applicable. The Rule For Administration of Justice and Police in Nagaland 1937, is a simple one having only twenty two Rules whereas the Cr. P. C. has got 484 Sections.

Administration of civil justice is also carried on according to the Rule For Administration of Justice and Police, in Nagaland 1937 and there are sixteen Rules for this purpose. The Code of Civil Procedure (CPC) does not apply to Nagaland, but its spirit is applicable. Of course Indian Penal Code (IPC) which specifies offences and its punishments is applicable to Nagaland.

The accused Naga generally confesses his crime if it is a petty one, but it is not always so particularly if the offence is a serious one. Oath taking is an integral part of administration of justice. It is practised according to the Indian Oath Act, Section III. Sometimes the oath is also taken by biting the tooth of a tiger which means if he tells lies he will be eaten by a tiger. However no confession is valid if oath is not administered.

Small cases are decided by Do-Bhasis who have got a court² attached to the Deputy Commissioner and other administrative officers. They decide the cases according to customary law. More serious cases go to the Circle Officer or Extra Assistant Commissioner of the area who holds class II or I magistral powers. Still serious cases go to the Sub-Divisional Officer of the area. Above him there is the court of Deputy Commissioner. Deputy Commissioner holds the powers of a Sessions Judge and can award capital punishment subject to the approval of the High Court of Assam and Nagaland.

For administration of justice the judicial set up is being reorganised in this district in the light of the provisions of Criminal Procedure Code.

The entire judicial set up of Nagaland State is under the High Court of Assam and Nagaland which sits in Gauhati and has got a bench in Kohima but seldom sits here.

1. Originally in 1937 the rule was named Rules For the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga Hills District. Later, in 1974, the name was changed as Rules For Administration of Justice and Police in Nagaland, 1937.
2. Though there are Do-Bhasis' Court in every district, recently (1978) it has been challenged by some one to the effect that it has got no legal basis and the case is lying in High Court for hearing and judgement.

Legal Profession

Since crime is less and civil cases are few, the legal profession has not yet developed in this district. However, pleaders are available in Zunheboto¹ as well as in Mokokchung, Kohima and Dimapur, and if needed anybody can bring one from there. But generally the cases are argued by the party concerned himself and so practically the need of a pleader has not grown up yet.

CHAPTER XIII OTHER DEPARTMENTS

From Assam-time several district level offices of different departments were working in the then Naga Hills for various development works. Along with the process of creation of Naga Hills Tuensang Area (1957), De-facto State (1961) and formal State (1963), there arose many other departments for speedy and concerted action for development of the State. All these State level Departments have their field units in all the districts. But since Zunheboto is a new district, all the district level officers have not yet been posted there, but, however, their works are carried out and supervised from Mokokchung. The name of most of the departments working in this district have been given in Chapter X, but no details about their working have been given there. Here we shall be giving some details of their workings.

Agriculture

Before the creation of the State, one District Agriculture Officer was functioning at Kohima and a few demonstrators were working at Mokokchung.

After creation of three districts with the formation of NHTA, one District Agriculture Office was placed at each district headquarter. Though Zunheboto has been created a district, no District Agriculture Officer has yet been posted there, but it is under one Sub-Divisional Agricultural Officer under the DAO, Mokokchung. He looks after the needs of the peasants and recommends loan for opening of new terrace field and orchard etc and supplies improved seeds, fertilizer etc and of course, free advice. He also helps the peasants taking necessary care against any pests and insects.

Animal Husbandary And Veterinary

There is an Animal Husbandary and Veterinary unit at Zunheboto and it is manned by one Veterinary Assistant Surgeon and his staff. They look after diseases of cattle, pigs, and poultry fowls etc. They also have a few bulls for breeding improved variety of cattle.

¹ At present (1977) two Sema Advocates are practising in Zunheboto

Artificial insemination is also done there. Since the Zunheboto unit is not yet fullfledged, they depend on Mokokchung for higher breed of pigs, rinderpest control etc.

Fishery

The Department of Fishery which looks into pisciculture and grants loan for that is under agriculture and is looked after by a Fishery Officer under the District Agriculture Officer.

Forest

Formerly, the forests of Nagaland formed a forest Division under Assam and in 1962-63 the Directorate of Forests was formed and later in 1967-68 the designation of the Director was changed to Chief Conservator of Forests, Nagaland, and the Deputy Director was redesignated as Conservator of Forests. The Forests of Zunheboto are looked after by a Divisional Forest Officer whose headquarter is at Mokokchung Through the Forest Guards the department checks felling of trees from its Protected Forests. It also collects royalties from trees and stone quarries, apart from its other duties.

Details of area under forests in this district are not yet available, but in the year 1970-71 the total area under forest in Mokokchung district was 1,05,065 hectares, of which 43,030 hectares were under Protected Forests and 62,035 hectares were Unclassified or Village Forests but there was no Reserved forest in this district.

Industries

There is a Directorate of Industries in the State. It functions through its district officers. At present there is a District Industries Officer at Zunheboto and he looks into various small industries of this district (there is no big industry yet), such as weaving, smithy, carpentry, motor repairing etc.

Co-operation

There is a Registrar of Co-operatives in the State and he works through Assistant Registrars in the districts. In Zunheboto there is an Assistant Registrar of Co-operatives. He looks into Co-operative movement of this district and recommends investment. The details of Co-operatives have been given in Chapter VI.

Public Works Department

Before the creation of the State of Nagaland it was only a Division under the charge of an Executive Engineer. Later, after the creation of NHTA the Department of PWD was headed by a Superintending Engineer. With the acceleration of development works, particularly in respect of roads and buildings, the Department is now headed by a Chief Engineer. He has got several Superintending and Executive Engineers all over the State. And the PWD department at Zunheboto, is now headed by an Executive Engineer and he is under the Superintending Engineer, Mokokchung.

Electrical Department

There is a Chief Engineer of Electricity in the State. The Electrical Department of Zunheboto is headed by a Sub-Divisional Officer, Electricity, who works under the Executive Engineer, Electricity Mokokchung. Not only Zunheboto town but all the administrative out-posts have been electrified.

Transport

Nagaland State Transport is the State level Organisation and is headed by a General Manager with headquarter at Dimapur. The Organisation plies transport buses in various routes. Zunheboto is under one Station Superintendent posted there. Buses and Transport Trucks carrying goods ply from Mokokchung to Zunheboto and from Kohima to Zunheboto and back, and do not stay at Zunheboto.

Under Transport Department there is a WORKSHOP ORGANISATION at Mokokchung under an Assistant Mechanical Engineer which looks after Zunheboto with a mechanic stationed there.

Civil Supply

Under the Civil Supply Department there is an Assistant Director of Supply at Mokokchung who looks into the supply of essential commodities such as rice, sugar, dal etc to Zunheboto district. Of course, the Deputy Commissioner of Zunheboto works as the ex-officio District Supply Officer for his district and looks into the supply position of his district, and places order accordingly.

Weights and Measures

The Department of Weights and Measures has an Inspector of Weights and Measures at Mokokchung who looks after the activity of their department in Zunheboto district

Statistics

Department of Economics and Statistics, a State level organisation is headed by a Deputy Director and he collects the data from different districts through his Statistical Officer placed in each district. But Zunheboto is still under the Statistical Officer, Mokokchung.

Police

The Inspector General of Police, Nagaland is the head of the police organisation of the State. The Police (unarmed) organisation of Zunheboto district is headed by Sub-Divisional Police Officer (SDPO) who is under the administrative control of the Superintendent of Police at Mokokchung. The armed Police Battalion unit which is stationed in Zunheboto is under an Assistant Commandant under the control of the Commandant stationed at Mokokchung. Zunheboto does not have yet the Police Fire service.

Town Planning

At the State level there is one Senior Town Planner and under him there are Assistant Town Planners for different districts, but Zunheboto is still under the Assistant Town Planner, Mokokchung.

Taxation

There is a Department of Taxes in the State headed by a Commissioner of Taxes. It collects the dues in respect of Professional Tax, Sales Tax and Amusement Tax. So far Zunheboto is concerned it is under one Inspector of Taxes who is under the control of the Superintendent of Taxes, Mokokchung.

Excise

There is one Superintendent of Excise at Mokokchung and Zunheboto comes under him.

Publicity

There is a District Publicity Officer at Mokokchung who looks into the publicity matters of this district. Under him there is one Sub-Divisional Information Officer at Zunheboto. They are under the Department of Information, Tourism and Publicity of the State Government.

Education

Education is a bit different from other departments. So far the Primary and Middle Schools are concerned, they are under the administrative control of Deputy Inspector of Schools, Zunheboto. The Primary Schools are inspected by the Sub-Inspectors of Schools while the Middle Schools are inspected by the Deputy Inspector of Schools himself. Pay of the staff of both the categories of schools are drawn by the Deputy Inspector of Schools. High Schools are inspected by the Inspector of Schools of which there are three in the whole State, but the Headmaster of High School is the Drawing and Disbursing Officer for his establishment.

Appointment of all the categories of staff, from teacher to Class IV (except gazetted officers), is made by the Director of Education.

Public Health Engineering

There is a Department of Public Health Engineering at the State. It looks into water supply and sanitation etc. In this district its work is looked after by the Sub-Divisional Officer (PHE) who is under Executive Engineer, PHE, at Mokokchung.

Medical

There are hospitals at Zunheboto, Aghunato, Akuluto, V. K. Station, Satakha and Atoizu, and a Mission Hospital at Aizuto. And there are dispensaries at Tokiye, Saptika M. E. School Compound, Suruhoto, Akuhaito, Satoi and Satoi village. Of all the hospitals the hospital at Zunheboto is the biggest. The medical department of this district is looked after by the Civil Surgeon, Mokokchung.

All the above mentioned Departments have got their own organisational set up and they are controlled by their respective State organisation. But, however, for better co-ordination of works there is a District Development Committee in which are represented all the district level officers and it is presided over by the Deputy Commissioner. It helps better co-ordination among all the Departments.

CHAPTER XIV

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Introduction

In all probability, and according to all the authorities, the Nagas have come to their present habitat from outside. That is, the Nagas and so also the Semas migrated to this place. In migration it is necessary to have an autocratic leader rather than a democratic council for quick and unopposed decision. Very naturally the strong and wise man of the tribe or the migrating group used to be the leader. When settled in a village, the leader of the migration used to be the leader of the settled village too.

Unlike other Naga tribes, the Semas had, and still do have migratory habits and they often establish new villages. And in the new village the leader of the group who is known as the chief of the village, is the dispenser of justice. But the chief alone does not do it but takes the help of his more trusted subordinates or lieutenants. Thus the Sema polity is not fully autocratic in character or democratic in form, but autocratic in form and oligarchic in content and character.

The village was almost an autonomous State and used to wage warfare with neighbouring villages or tribes. Sometimes a big and much important village used to have satellite villages around it whom it used to protect and for that used to collect tribute and fighting men from it.

But this was in olden time and things have changed since the inception of administration in this area.

During British rule almost the same thing continued except the village's extra territorial powers, that is, the habit of warfare and exacting tribute etc.

Present Position

Like rest of the country or rather little more than that, the Nagas and so also the Semas have got local self government. It is also a three-tier system based on Village Council, Range Council and District Council. We shall discuss them here one by one

Village Council

It is an elected body elected by the villagers and approved by the Government. Its main function is to maintain peace and order in the village and dispense justice according to customary law. It has to be mentioned here that every tribe and even different villages of the same tribe have different customary laws. And it is the duty of the Village Council to abide by that customs. The powers and functions of the village Councils are given below

- 1) The Village Council shall be responsible for matters relating to the internal administration of the village and its organisation, welfare works and enforcement of all orders, rules and regulations passed by the Government authorities.
- 2) It shall arrest all criminals.
- 3) It shall report as soon as possible all crimes, violent deaths or serious accidents and all occurrences likely to affect the public peace.
- 4) It shall report to the nearest Medical Officer or Administrative Headquarter the occurrences likely to affect the public peace.
- 5) It shall report the presence of all stranger, foreigners, vagrants and suspects within its village and khels¹ and is empowered to arrest such persons and use necessary force to do so.
- 6) It may arrest persons guilty of the following :
 - a) Rioting
 - b) Counterfeiting
 - c) Murder
 - d) Robbery
 - e) Theft
 - f) Arson
 - g) Burglary
 - h) Forgery etc.

¹ *Khel is a part of a village like a Para, Mahalla or parish etc.*

- 7) A Village Court can settle cases of the following nature—
 - a) Land dispute including water dispute
 - b) Simple assaults
 - c) Brawling and drunkenness
 - d) Pilfering cases
 - e) Divorce cases
 - f) Fornication and adultery cases
 - g) Thefts
 - h) Damage to crops by cattle
 - i) Civil disputes, provided the value of property does not exceed Rs 500/
- 8) Any other case which can be settled according to the tribal customary law.
- 9) A Village Court may impose fine upto Rs 100/- and may award compensation thereto if the Village Court thinks fit.
- 10) A Village Court can compel the attendance of witness and inflict fines upto Rs 50/- for non-attendance.
- 11) Cases shall be settled according to the tribal Customary Law prevailing at the time provided such settlement is not at variance with ordinary Criminal Law.
- 12) No appeal against the unanimous decision of the Village Court in case of the breach of the customary law shall lie.
- 13) Village Court may maintain record of all cases settled but it is not compulsory.

Range Council

A Range Council comprises of a range or a Circle or a group of contiguous villages. Its members are elected by the village councils in the proportion of one member for every 500 people or part thereof not below 250. Villages having less than 250 population are grouped with other contiguous villages to make the number of people adequate for representation of at least one member in the Council. The Council looks into the execution of welfare and development schemes as well as it suggests ways and means of development of that area. It also settles inter-village disputes and feuds concerning persons of more than one village of its jurisdiction.

Its powers and functions are enumerated below :

- 1) The Area Council shall discuss and adopt resolutions as regards welfare and development of the area concerned.

- 2) The Area Council shall function according to the customary procedure.
- 3) The Area Council may decide any village disputes according to the customary procedure if it is referred to the Area Council.
- 4) There shall be a meeting of the Area Council at least once in every three months.
- 5) The Area Council shall act as an Advisory Board in matters relating to developmental activities.

Following are the Area Councils of this district :

- 1) Akuluto
- 2) Atoizu
- 3) Suruhoto
- 4) Satakha
- 5) Satoi
- 6) Zunheboto

Regional Council

Formerly, in time of the old three districts, there were Tribal Councils in Nagaland, but not Regional Councils. There were as many tribal councils as the tribes and naturally there was tribalism in action. This was disconcerting and so a Commission was set up under the chairmanship of the then Chief Secretary Shri R. Kathing to report on its activity etc. The Kathing Commission stated that tribal Councils were practising tribalism, and suggested its abolition. Following the recommendation of this Commission the Government of Nagaland abolished all the Tribal Councils and organised Regional Councils in its place. It may be noted that, that time in any Regional Council several tribes were represented, and though now most of the districts are tribewise the old system is continuing and so the old Regional Council for Mokokchung district is still functioning for its component parts such as Mokokchung, Wokha and Zunheboto. Thus it stands that still now there is no separate Regional Council for Zunheboto district alone, but for the three districts together.

The District Council's main concern is development works of the district and to assist the Deputy Commissioner in his administration.

Its powers and functions are given below :

- 1) The Council shall discuss welfare and development works at the district level and can adopt resolutions in the meeting of the Council for that purpose.

- 2) The Council can adopt resolution in respect of administration, allotment, occupation, transfer or alienation and acquisition of land within its jurisdiction, or any other purpose likely to promote the interest of the district.
- 3) With previous permission of the Government the Council can raise additional funds, and it has to take care of the funds which may be placed at its disposal for development of the district.
- 4) The Council shall represent the district and speak for its tribes in matters relating to protection of arts, crafts, traditions and ceremonies of the different tribes of the district.
- 5) The Council can adopt resolution providing the way in which it shall carry out its business.
- 6) The Council can appoint sub-committee to deal with a particular case
- 7) The Council shall meet at least once in three months.

Municipality

It has already been stated in previous Chapters that there is no town in this district, and so there is no municipality in this district. But, however, there is a Town Committee for Zunheboto town as it is commonly called a town. The Deputy Commissioner of this district is the Chairman of this Town Committee.

The Town Committee looks after the sanitation etc of the town and does all other works of a municipality, but since its resources are limited and most of the works of electricity and water supply etc are done by the Government, the Town Committee's main work is to suggest ways and means of improvement of these works. Since there is no cart or rickshaws in this town, the town committee has got nothing to do for transport system. However, it has got a good influence in all matters of administration of the town.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Historical Background

As it has been mentioned in several places before that this area has been opened to administration and so to civilisation not even hundred years, it goes without saying that there was no proper education system in the modern sense of the term long ago. Prior to coming to the light of modern civilisation the people were leading a primitive and pagan life and there was practically no iota of literacy or education in its ordinary sense of term.

However, since it was an organised society, and head-hunting and warfare were common, it was necessary for the society to impart education in its wider sense of the term to its youngsters to make them fitting citizens of the community. And for that, training in warfare, archery, spearthrow etc were given to the young men. They were also taught to cultivate the land and do other works as a normal man is required to perform in a society.

For many years after the advent of administration no educational institution of any type was set up in this area, but people desiring to get literacy or primary education used to go to Impur to study in the Christian Mission School which was informally set up in 1882 in Ao area. Many years thereafter also no school was set up in the present Zunheboto area. It is not exactly known as to when the first School was started in Sema area, but, however, according to a report, upto 1938 there were 24 Sema village Schools. It was all Lower Primary Schools and mostly privately or Missionary managed. Probably some of these 24 Schools were in Kohima and Mokokchung districts. Anyway, those Schools had a total of 664 scholars. It may be noted here that this number of Schools and students does not take into account the Schools which were set up by the people or Christian Missionaries in the unadministered Sema area which lied on the east of Tizu river.

The Semas came in for education much later than the Aos, Angamis and Lothas, but anyway by the 1930s they felt the need for higher education (Middle School) and so started a Sema Education Centre in Aizuto in 1938. For construction of this School building the Semas contributed free labour and material and the Christian Missionaries provided funds and other forms of assistance. In 1940 a hostel was attached to this School. In 1946 this became a Middle English School and had some 200 students on the roll.

In the meantime, in 1945-46, grew up a Middle English School at Zunheboto and it was managed by the Government.

It may be noted here that the people being far away from civilisation had no script of their own and naturally under the influence of the English administrators and Christian Missionaries, Roman script was introduced and all the education was imparted in English.

In early days of education people desiring to get High School education used to go to Jorhat, mainly to Mission School, as all the educated or literate persons were Christians.

It may be noted that one High School was started at Kohima in 1939 and another at Mokokchung in 1941, both by the Missionaries, and since then the people of Zunheboto area could go to those two Schools for High School education.

It has to be mentioned here that all these Middle or High Schools had co-curricular activities as part of their educational programme following Assam pattern, and as such the Schools had several vocational courses such as carpentry, smithy, weaving etc, but by far carpentry was the most common.

As we have already mentioned, the first educational centre of the present Zunheboto district was started at Aizuto in 1938. It was originally a Lower Primary School and gradually became a Middle School. It has become High School in 1960s and has been taken over by the Government of Nagaland in early 1970s. A Middle English School was started in Zunheboto in 1945-46 and gradually it became a High School in 1952 and it was taken over by the Government in 1958.

Present Position

After Independence of India much attention was paid for spread of education and so more and more Lower Primary Schools, wherever possible, were opened and existing Lower Primary Schools and Middle Schools, wherever possible, were turned into Middle and High Schools, respectively. Unlike the plains of India, in Nagaland the Villages are sparsely situated and the country being hilly it is difficult for young children to attend School if it is not situated within the village itself. In other places Lower Primary School may serve two or more villages, but that system is not tenable in Nagaland and so it is felt that there should be one School for each village. Following that need, in the post-Independence period and more particularly after attaining the Statehood, the Government of Nagaland have established many Primary Schools all over the State and so also in this district. According to 1971 census this district has got 147 villages, and there were 118 Primary Schools that time. The Government have also raised, wherever possible, the Primary School into a Middle School and a Middle School into a High School¹. As a result of all these activities there are now in this district 137 Primary Schools, 25 Middle Schools, and 11 High Schools. Also there is one Polytechnic School at Atoizu.

Details of the educational institution are given in Appendix - I

Literacy And Standard Of Education

As a result of opening up of many Primary Schools and thereby providing facilities for literacy, the percentage of literacy in this area has gone up considerably in the last two decades. No figure of literacy for this District is available but the figure of former Mokokchung district of which Zunhebuto was a part, may give an idea of this district. Percentage of literacy of former Mokokchung district in 1961 census was 29.63 and that for 1971 census was 38.15. It may be noted that greater percentage of the population of former Mokokchung district was the Aos and they are far advanced educationally than other tribes and therefore the

1. Until 1976 Lower Primary School contained class A,B,I & II, Upper Primary School contained Class A, B, I, II, III, IV, Middle English School contained Classes III, IV, V & VI, and High School contained classes VII, VIII, IX & X, but often it includes Middle School section also

above percentage will come down when the Semas or for that sake the present Zunheboto district is singled out. On the other hand the percentage has gone up in the last 5-6 years since the census of 1971 and therefore the percentage of literacy of this district may be safely accepted as around 35.

Adult Literacy Centre

Apart from regular Schools, there are several Adult Literacy Centres in this district and they train up adults, both male and female, for reading and writing. They hold Classes in the evening and are doing good works.

These Adult Literacy Centres have got one teacher each. The Centres are not permanent but shift from time to time from place to place. It is proposed to have one hundred Adult Literacy Centres in each district from 1979.

The list of Adult Literacy Centres of this district as in 1978 is given in Appendix-II

Female Education

Naga society stands for equality of man and woman and so does the Semas. But girls are more helpful in field works. Moreover, women are to look after the home and bear children whereas the boys are to go to the outside world or do such works which require education. Because of this idea, from early time, girls were not put to Schools for long or at all, as in the case of rest of the world of yore. So naturally the women are educationally comparatively backward than the men. But, however, it is not appalling. In 1961 census, in former Mokokchung district the percentage of literacy among males was 37.08 and that among female was 21.84. In 1971 census the figures for literacy are 45.71 and 29.82 for males and females respectively¹. This shows that girls are not lagging much behind the boys. Probably now (1977) the percentage of female literacy in this district will be around 25. The gap is decreasing day by day as a result of spread of education, civilisation and above all better financial position of parents.

Educational Pattern

In Nagaland the School education is divided into three stages, such as Primary, Middle and High. Then there is College education. We shall discuss these here one by one.

1. Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 1974.

Primary

In olden time there were Lower and Upper Primary Schools but of late the system of Upper Primary has been abolished. Thus at present there are Lower Primary Schools and it is called simply Primary School without the prefix of lower or upper. It has got Classes A,B, I & II. The medium of Primary Schools is local language, that is, Sema. Text books for Primary Schools in different local (tribal) languages have been produced by the Text Book Production Branch of the Directorate of Education, Government of Nagaland.

Formerly, there used to be public examination at the end of Class II, but with effect from 1976 the system of public examination at the end of Class II for getting admission into Class III has been abolished. Instead there is internal Examination for promotion to Class III.

Middle English School

This is a school between Primary and High Schools and as such is 'middle' and its medium is English, and so it is called Middle English School. It has got classes III, IV, V and VI. Though its medium is English, in its lower classes local language (Sema) is freely used to explain matters. However, the examinations are taken in English. Formerly, there used to be a Public Examination at the end of Class VI for getting admission into Class VII but that system has been abolished with effect from 1976 and instead an examination halfway between internal and public has been arranged. In this system several M. E. schools are grouped together and their students are required to sit for the examination at the end of Class VI in the High School of that locality which sets the questions and declares the result. Students passing this examination may get admission into Class VII. This system has come into force from 1976.

High School

It has got Classes VII, VIII, IX and X, but often it combines M. E. section also, that is, classes III to VI. Its medium of instruction is English and seldom any local language is used in the classes, because mostly the teachers are non-Samas and often the students are mixed. At the end of Class X the students are required to appear in public examination, called High School Leaving Certificate examinations or HSLC. in short. After passing that examination the students get admission into College.

College

Under the guidance of the Central Government, like many other States, Nagaland also has accepted in principle School and College education as Class 10+2+3 for graduation but it has not yet been put to practice and the old system of 10+2+2 is still continuing. But unlike some other places, here in Nagaland, School education is upto Class X, instead of Class XII, and Classes XI and XII are added to College and it is called Pre-University or P.U. After P. U. (Arts or Science) the students require another two years for graduation. It may be noted that it is according to North-Eastern Hill University or NEHU, Shillong, under which comes Nagaland.

There is a night College (only upto P. U. Arts) at Zunheboto town. It is Privately managed and takes its classes in St. Paul' School building.

Encouragement

All the Students (tribals of course) are getting stipend for post matric studies at the rate of Rs 60/- p. m. for Pre-University course and Rs. 75/- p. m. for degree and post graduate courses. Merit Scholarship for first ten is also there and it covers almost all the students passed in First Division. Then there are liberal stipends for selected students at the rate of Rs, 15/- p. m. for Middle School (Classes III to VI) and Rs. 20/- p.m. for High School (Classes VIII to X).

Co-Curricular Activities

Along with the general education co-curricular activities are taken up in all the schools. In Primary Schools, gardening, cleaning the compound or the village etc are done. In the middle Schools, carpentry, smithy, agriculture etc for boys and weaving and knitting for girls are done. Physical training, gardening etc are common for both the sexes. Any particular school cannot take up carpentry, smithy, agriculture, weaving, knitting, physical training etc all together and so some of them are chosen by the school itself according to the facilities available.

Apart from those activities which are parts of the course, debating, singing, socials etc are also encouraged and done. Cleaning the compound and or the village is also occasionally done.

Further, National Cadet Corps (NCC), Nagaland Bharat Scouts and Guides have also been introduced in many High Schools.

Hindi Education

Hindi has been made a compulsory subject of reading in Classes V to VIII, but examination therein is optional.

Games and Sports

The State Government has paid much attentions to the development of physique along with psyche and for that there is a Physical Education Department under the Directorate of Education of the State. This Department organises Annual Games and Sports of the State for the High Schools and all Schools take part in it compulsorily. Apart from this, every school holds its Annual Games and Sports. In some Schools there is an Instructor for Physical Fitness and he trains the students in different activities of physical fitness as well as guides them in games and sports.

Educational Setup

All the Schools, Primary, Middle or High, are under the over all control of the Director of Education of the State and appointment of all the staff, except gazetted officers, are made by the Director of Education (Appointment of Gazetted Officers is made, as in other States, by the State Government, in the name of the Governor).

Primary and Middle Schools are under the direct and day to day control of the Deputy Inspector of Schools of which there is one at Zunheboto town. He draws and disburses the pay and allowances of the staff of both these categories of School. He inspects the Middle Schools but the Primary schools are inspected by the Sub-Inspector of Schools of which there are three under the Deputy Inspector of Schools.

The Headmaster of High School is a Drawing and Disbursing Officer for his establishment and he is under the direct control of the Director of Education except for tours for which he is under control of the Inspector of Schools of which there is only one for the whole State and he is attached to the Directorate at the capital¹. He is the inspecting authority of the High Schools but it is often visited by Director of Education and Assistant Director of Education etc.

1. At present, 1979, there are three Inspectors of Schools, one each at Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang, and Zunheboto comes under the Inspector of Schools at Mokokchung.

Colleges are under the control of the Director of Education.

Training

The Matriculate and under-Matric teachers of Primary and Middle Schools of this district get training generally in the Junior Teachers Training Institute at Mokokchung since there is no such institution in this district. For B. Ed. the teachers come to Kohima B. Ed. College which is known as Nagaland College of Education.

Culture

Cultural organisations like library, cultural societies, dramatics clubs etc have not yet developed.

Literature

Sema literature is of later origin than that of Ao, Angami or Lotha. However, a beginning was made in the year 1908 when a Primer in the Sema language was brought out by Dicson. Sema Language Rudimentary Grammar by J. H. Hutton was published in 1916. It was the first attempt in respect of the language and its grammar as the name suggests. Later a Hymnal by G. E. Tanquist came out in 1918. In that very year St. Mark in Sema was published. The First Reader by Anderson was published in 1931 and in 1932 came out a book entitled 'The Bible Stories.' The new Testament of the Bible was published in Sema in 1944. In 1949 the Gospel and the Act were put to new edition. In 1953 St. Mark and St. Mathew were published in Sema by the Bible Society. Worship of God was published by Scripture Gift Mission in 1960. The same Mission published Early Life in 1961. Jesus Christ was published in 1960 by CBCNEI. Since 1966 translation of the Bible in Sema language has been taken up. For this purpose the Sema Association has formed Literature Committee and Bible Translation Checking Committee to look into the translation work and other literary works.

From the above passages it may be seen that the literature of the Sema language mainly revolves round Christian religion which is the religion of the elite, educated and the majority. Further, all these works are done by foreigners and not by the Semas themselves except translation of the Bible in hand.

APENDIX - I

List of educational institutions¹, as per the LIST OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN NAGALAND (September 1977) prepared by the Directorate of Education, Government of Nagaland is given below.

a) Primary Schools, all Government run

1. Govt. Primary School, Nikuto
2. " Kulhopu
3. " Ghukiye
4. " Shokhe
5. " Zhekiye
6. " Kiyekhu
7. " Khuiyivi
8. " Kilo (0)
9. " Satakha (T)
10. " Satakha (V)
11. " Khukiye
12. " Shoipu
13. " Hoishe
14. " Momi
15. " T/Nasa
16. " Nunumi
17. " Usutomi
18. " Shena old
19. " Shena new
20. " New Colony, Satakha
21. " Khetoi
22. " Tsukomi

1. Primary school contains classes I, II, III & IV and it also includes Pre-Primary stages of A & B together for two years. Middle School includes classes III, IV, V, & VI and so there is an overlapping of classes II & III between primary and middle schools. High school contains classes VII, VIII, IX & X and most High Schools include Middle school section also. Question of plus two, that is, classes XI & XII is not yet decided.

23. " Yezashimi
24. " Aghiyili
25. " Viylho
26. " Luvishe
27. " Zheishe
28. " Shevishe
29. " Aghunato
30. " Keltomi
31. " Phuleshoto
32. " Malahumi
33. " Ngozuho
34. " Koiboto
35. " Tuzuhu
36. " Kitahu
37. " Thokihi
38. " Lithsumi
39. " L/Akuba
40. " Lukhuyi
41. " Viyikhe
42. " Shitsumi
43. " Zaphumi
44. " Lumami
45. " Alaphumi
46. " Lumthsami
47. " Sutemi
48. " Shichimi
49. " Akuluto
50. " Phushumi
51. " Mukhami
52. " Maromi
53. " Ajikami
54. " Sastami
55. " Izheto
56. " Lotisami

ZUNHEBOTO

57.	„	Yezami
58.	„	Lochomi
59.	„	Lizumi
60.	„	Naghutoto
61.	„	L/Avikato
62.	„	Baimho
63.	„	Shotomi
64.	„	Sheipu
65.	„	Natha (Z)
66.	„	Natha (Y)
67.	„	Khuwaboto
68.	„	Zunheboto Old
69.	„	New Colony
70.	„	Yemishe
71.	„	Sukhalu
72.	„	Zungti
73.	„	Khukhepu
74.	„	Zunheboto
75.	„	Kholeboto
76.	„	Suruhoto
77.	„	Tichipami
78.	„	Seromi New
79.	„	Seromi (S)
80.	„	A/Saghemi New
81.	„	Phuyeto
82.	„	Kishepu
83.	„	Kiyetha
84.	„	Vedami
85.	„	Yehemi
86.	„	Adthusami
87.	„	Yeshito
88.	„	Kathara
89.	„	Nihoshe (N)
90.	„	Khumishi (A)

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

91.	„	Khumishi (B)
92.	„	Asutomi
93.	„	Mapulumi
94.	„	Koromitomi
95.	„	Philimi
96.	„	Rottomi
97.	„	Sukomi
98.	„	Litsami
99.	„	Yesholotomi
100.	„	Emlomi
101.	„	Vekuhomio
102.	„	Vekuho 'N'
103.	„	Atoizu
104.	„	Naghutomi
105.	„	Aizto
106.	„	Aochakili
107.	„	Ashukhuto
108.	„	Khekiye
109.	„	Khewoto
110.	„	Nihoshe 'S'
111.	„	Khukishe
112.	„	Khovukhu
113.	„	Thakiye
114.	„	Tsutoho
115.	„	Ghokhuvi
116.	„	Tsuruho
117.	„	Ikiye
118.	„	Hokiye
119.	„	Chukhayi
120.	„	Sukhayi
121.	„	Kivukhu
122.	„	Vishepu
123.	„	Aghuito (Nghuito)
124.	„	Nasami
125.	„	Satoi

126.	..	Sakomi
127.	..	Apukito
128.	..	Sapotimi
129.	..	Asuloto
130.	..	V. K.
131.	..	Akuhaito
132.	..	Aghulito
133.	..	Hoshepu
134.	..	Tokiye
135.	..	A/Kuchu
136.	..	T/Island
137.	..	Atukiji

It may be noted that according to 1971 census there are 147 villages in Zunheboto district. Therefore it is almost one primary school to each village. The population of this district is 47,093 and it works out one primary School for 344 people.

b) Middle Schools

Government Middle Schools

1. Saptika
2. Aghuito
3. Khamunuboto
4. T/Island
5. Sahuboto
6. Hoshepu
7. Achikuchu
8. Tokiye
9. V. K.
10. Asuloto
11. Sapotimi
12. A/Saghemi
13. Akuhaito
14. Apukito
15. Satei
16. Litami
17. Atokhiji

Private Recognised Middle Schools

1. Calver (Tishi Valley) Private School.
2. 15 Assam Rifles Middle School.
3. Don Bosco English Middle School, Akuluto.
4. Lizuka Govt. Aided Middle School.
5. Little Star School, Aizuto.
6. Modern English School, A-toizu
7. Lithsumi Govt. Aided Middle School.
8. L. Akuba Private Middle School

Total Middle Schools = 17 + 8 = 25

c) High Schools

Government High Schools

1. Govt. High School, Zunheboto
2. " Akuloto
3. " Suruhoto
4. " Aghunato
5. " Satakha
6. " Atoizu

Private Recognised High Schools

1. Cambridge Homes, Zunheboto
2. St. Paul's School.
3. V. K. High School.
4. Asuto High School.
5. Highland English School, Satakha
6. Eastern English School, Aghunato.

Total High Schools = 6 + 5 = 11.

d) Other Educational Institutions

1. Nagaland Polytechnic, Atoizu.
2. Zunheboto College (private).

APPENDIX - II

List of Adult Literacy Centres in Zunheboto district as in 1978.

1. Baimho
2. Lochomi
3. Zungti
4. Yezami
5. Shotomi
6. Sheipu
7. Lizu New
8. Sukomi
9. Aotsakili
10. Naghutomi
11. Vekutoo old
12. Fmlomi
13. Yeshohuto
14. Litsami
15. Keromtommi
16. Rotomi
17. Rhilumi
18. Sutemi
19. Alaphumi
20. Lumthsami
21. Shichiemi
22. Lumami
23. Maromi
24. Mukhami
25. Phurhumi
26. Surumi
27. Supetimi
28. Yehemi
29. Shaghomi
30. Phuye old
31. Vedami
32. Tiehupami
33. Hekiye
34. Ikiye
35. Ghokhuvi

CHAPTER XVI

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

THE BACKGROUND

People of this district came under administration only towards the end of 19th Century. So it goes without saying that the people did not come under modern civilisation till they came under administration. Therefore the people did not come under the influence of modern allopathy or homoeopathy or even Ayurvedic or Unani medicine. It does not mean that they did not have any kind of medicine or medical treatment.

Nagaland as a whole, except its lower hills on the fringes of Assam, has salubrious climate and so has this district which is in the heart of the State. Zunheboto town is one of the highest inhabited places of this State and the district as a whole is higher than others, and so its climate is health giving. The people in their daily life do have good exercise as a result of outdoor works and have plenty of rest, and they take unadulterated wholesome food and cook by boiling only without spices. They live sparsely and have pure air. All these things contribute towards better health as we find among other hill people of the plains of Assam.

In spite of their apparent good health they do suffer from various diseases as the plains people do, but only less in number and intensity. The reason of their being apparently healthy and at the same time being prone to be attacked by diseases is probably lack of proper sanitary condition. Also the common people's food does not contain all the necessary food-values and as such it is poor as a food. Anyway, since the people suffer from sickness and diseases, they do have their indigenous way of cure. As in all the primitive tribes as well as early civilised people, the Semas like the other Nagas, do have a number of herbs and plants for medical use. The efficacy of these plants and herbs has not yet been tested by modern medical science, but it does have a good effect on the patient. It is natural because the medicines have been used as a result of age old experience and not as an experiment.

Not only plants, herbs and different parts of animals are used to treat the patient but often magic is applied to cure him. In almost every village a person, male or female, is found who can perform this magical cure of the disease. Such a medicine man is called Thumomi. He cures a person of his disease by taking out some stuff such as a mass of hair, juice, chewed-leaves, bones, pebbles etc apparently from the body of the person without leaving any mark where it came from¹.

Further, the tribal belief is this that the diseases and any wound etc are caused by the evil spirit, and so in some cases of sickness the malevolent spirit is propitiated by offering him chicken, pork, rice, rice-beer, etc. This is done by the Thumomi or some other person who knows how to do it.

These are the old practices and still found in the villages. As a result of introduction of Christianity many of the superstitions have weakened and some have disappeared, but since traditions die hard still many of them are lingering. Formerly there was belief in the evil spirit of the jungle but as a result of introduction of Christianity, Satan has occupied the place of the evil spirit of the jungle and many of the untoward things are attributed to the working of the Satan. Also in some cases the belief in evil spirit continues side by side with the Satan. Thus Satan and malevolent spirit are held responsible for some diseases and accidents.

VITAL STATISTICS

Vital statistics in respects of birth and death rate are not available for this district or even for old Mokokchung district. However, it appears that neither death-rate nor birth rate is high. As early as 1905-06, B.C. Allen in his Gazetteer for Naga Hills has written, "In the absence of all statistics it is difficult to say whether the death-rate is high or not. The Nagas do not increase rapidly in numbers, but this may be possible due to more to a low birth-rate than to a high mortality." Prof. J. H. Hutton has stated that the occupants of a Naga house "seldom exceed five in number. A man and his wife with perhaps two or three children, perhaps an aged and widowed parent, perhaps a younger brother still unmarried—such is usual family. Children are not numerous, and owing perhaps to a high death-rate among

1. J. H. Hutton, *the Sema Nagas*, p-213 published by Oxford University Press, London, in 1968. First published by Macmillan and Co Ltd. London, in 1921.

infants it is the exception to see more than three children to a family." So it appears that there may be high infant mortality but death rate of grown up people is not high. As a result of these things, that is, semi-parity between the number of grown up children and the death-rate of grown up people, the population has not increased so much in the past. But now as a result of low infant mortality, due to modern maternity and medical facilities the population is growing rapidly¹. Nowadays almost in every family five or more children are found.

Causes of Death

No statistics are available as to the cause of death, but it appears that except infant mortality, untimely death is not much. However, the main causes of untimely death are diseases and accidents. Of the diseases ultimately causing death mention may be made of pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid, dysentery etc common diseases. And of the accidents the most common is falling from tree. It occurs while slashing the trees during jhum operation. Drawing in river also occurs occasionally. Suicide is conspicuous by its absence.

Longevity

Statistics regarding longevity or the number of people living in different age groups are not available. But it is seen from the day-to-day life that many old people are still leading an active life and going to field very regularly. On enquiry it has been found many of them were young lads or even young married men during the 'German Dhawai' that is, German war, that is, the Great War of 1914-18. It means that they are now in their 70s or 80s. So it may be safely concluded that the average longevity of grown up people is 75 years. At the same time the longevity of the women is perhaps a few years more than the average.

DISEASES COMMON IN THE DISTRICT

Though as a result of salubrious climate and plain living conditions there should not have been many diseases among the people of this district, in fact the picture is otherwise, that is the

1. Population of Nagaland according to 1961 census was 369,200 and according to 1971 census it was 516,449. It gives a decennial percentage variation of plus 39.88, say 40.

people get all sorts of the disease as the plains people get. The reason is perhaps mainly due to contamination and unhygienic condition of living. Diseases like small pox, cholera, dysentery, malaria etc were endemic in the plains of Assam and these hill people, when visiting those places, used to get it and spread it in his village or locality. Otherwise those diseases are not very common to this district. It has to be noted that the district being a cold place, incidence of cholera is less. Small pox has already been controlled and malaria though controlled, appears occasionally. But the more common diseases of this district are pneumonia, influenza, bronchitis, asthma, dysentery, worms, measles, mumps, goitre, tuberculosis (mainly of lungs), typhoid, skin diseases, diarrhoea, eye and dental diseases etc. Of all these things, stomach trouble of various kinds is more common and it appears mainly during March-April when the pre-monsoon rains wash the dirt of the land and carries it to the water sources and the people drink it. Another cause of stomach trouble is eating too much chilli. They also suffer from worms, often tape-worm. It is probably because they often take insufficiently cooked, often burnt, beef and pork.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

In the early days of British administration one 4-bedded hospital was started at Wokha, probably in 1876. Later, one 12-bedded hospital was started at Kohima, the then District headquarter, soon after 1878 when the district headquarters were shifted to Kohima. And one Dispensary was set up at Mokokchung in 1889. These were the medical facilities available in the early period of administration. From these hospitals, team for vaccination against small-pox used to be sent out to different villages and it is very likely that some of the villages of this district also used to be covered by them.

Gradually some dispensaries were opened in this district but no Government hospital till Independence of India. The hospital at Zunheboto was started in 1952 and it was only 25-bedded, but later in 1969, it was 50-bedded. In 1968, some 19,443 persons got treatment from this hospital. Other small hospitals, all 12-bedded, were started at Aghunato in 1948, Satakha in 1958, and Akuluto in 1960.

Besides these hospitals, there are some Dispensaries also.

At list of hospitals and Dispensaries is given below.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES IN ZUNHEBOTO DISTRICT (as in 1976)¹

a) Hospital (Government)	Nos. of bed	Staff
1) Zunheboto	50	3 Medical Officers. 1 Lady, M. O. 1 Dental Surgeon. 2 Nursing sisters. 10 Staff Nurses and 34 Other Staffs.
2) V. K. Station	12	Staffing pattern is same
3) Akuluto	12	for all the 12-bedded
4) Atoizu	12	hospitals which consists
5) Aghunato	12	of 1 Medical Officer 2 staff nurse-cum-mid-wife, 1 Pharmacist and 15 Other staffs.
b) Primary Health Centre (Government)		Staff
1) Satakha		1 Medical Officer 1 Pharmacist and 6 Other staffs.
c) Big Dispensary (Government)		
1) Suruhuto (It is going to be converted into a 12-bedded hospital in 1977-78)		1 Medical Officer 1 Compounder and 6 Other staffs
2) Tokiye		Same as above
d) Small Dispensary (Government)		

1. Source : Directorate of Medical and Health Services, Government of Nagaland Kohima.

1) Saptika

- 1 Pharmacist
- 1 Auxiliary Nurse-cum Mid-wife and
- 4 Other staffs.

e) Sub-Centre
(Government)

- 1 Pharmacist
- 1 Auxiliary Nurse-cum-Mid-wife and
- 4 Other staffs for each sub-centre.

- 1) Akuhaito
- 2) Tizu Island
- 3) Hoshepu
- 4) Satoi

Also there is a Christian Mission Hospital at Aizuto. It is 25-bedded and manned by one Medical Officer and 3 nurses.

OTHER HEALTH SERVICES

All round development of the State and so also of this area started after formation of NHTA in 1957. Since then there has been good attention towards medical facilities for the people. Accordingly programme for eradication of small pox and work for National Malaria Eradication Programme were taken up with due enthusiasm and earnestness. Along with these works, the campaign for BCG vaccination against possible attack of Tuberculosis was also taken up. Further there is a medical unit to fight against leprosy. All these works are guided by the Directorate of Medical and Health Services of the State.

The hospitals and dispensaries of this district at present (1976) are controlled and supervised by the Civil Surgeon of Mokokchung, under whose guidance works the Sub-Divisional Medical Officer of Zunheboto.

STANDARD OF SANITATION

The villagers being mostly poor and uneducated, the sanitary conditions of the villages are not satisfactory. Traditional Naga villages are congested and so also the Sema villages, though they are on the average smaller than villages of other tribes. The houses are

close to each other and there is no provision of latrine in the village—people go out of the village for motion. This is good in absence of sanitary latrine. But the houses do not have sufficient ventilation and the domestic animals, particularly the pigs, make the compound very nasty. This is not hygienic. Moreover, in many villages there is no proper arrangement of drinking water and so the people use the water of water-holes lying in the outskirts of the village. It is normally good, but during rainy season or to be precise at the onset of first rains in March-April, the water often becomes polluted. Though there is a system of making a drain round the water-hole to prevent rain water entering into it, it does not always work fool-proof. Moreover uncaredful washing of clothes may also pollute it.

The people are also in the habit of spitting inside the house unknowingly that it is against sanitation.

However, the people living in the administrative outposts or towns have got better sanitary standard, and they suffer less from diseases than the poor villagers.

CHAPTER XVII

OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES

The district is populated by only 47,093 people and though they have come under the modern administrative system in the late 19th century, practically they have come under the main stream of modern civilisation from the later half of the present century. Naturally for these two reasons, small population and late influence of civilisation, the people have not yet grown various types of voluntary social organisation as found in other parts of the century. Another factor for non-growing voluntary social organisations is the benevolent activities of the Government in every sphere of life. Whatever the people need is provided by the Government before any vocal demand is made. All pervading Government activity has practically eliminated the scope for any voluntary organisation except religious.

Before introduction of Christianity the people did not have any social service organisation except the ones which are required to maintain the village administration. After the introduction of Christianity, since any new religion is more zealous in its activities, the people gathered round the Christian churches and its different adjuncts.

The Christians constitute about 67% of the population and many of them are connected with various Christian Organisations. The young people of both the sexes are very enthusiastic about their religion and organisations connected with it, while the grown-ups and olds are of practical nature. Below are discussed the Christian organisations.

Christian Organisations

Many villages are divided into two— old and new. The old village is the original home of the villagers and has got mixed population— both non-Christian and Christian, whereas the new village is invariably populated by Christians. Of course, there is no bar for a non-Christian to settle in a Christian village, but it happens that those who have got ability to build a new and better house are generally Christians. It is because they got education early and

are better placed in life. However, since there are Christians in all the villages, there is church in each village. Such Church is managed by the Church Council. This Council appoints a pastor who conducts the services and prayers. In each service, particularly on Sunday Service, money is collected as Tithes and offerings and it goes towards the church fund and it is used for the betterment of the church activities. The pastor is a paid servant and a part of his payment is made up from this collection. The council also sometimes helps the needy people for prosecuting Bible study or even general study. It may also help victims of natural calamity or accidents. Apart from its benevolent activity the church council is also the guardian of morality and social order of the village. In case of pregnancy before marriage, in case of Christians only, the couple are excommunicated from the church. This way or by confession or otherwise the Church exerts a great influence on the society. Anyway, in a village the Christian church is a very important and powerful organisation.

In other districts, particularly in Mokokchung and Kohima there are several denominations of Christianity and naturally their allied organisations. But in this district there is no other denomination than Baptist Mission. This Mission has also its allied organisations such as Christian Youth Endeavour, Sunday School Unions, Sema Baptist Association, Women Christian Association etc. All these organisations try to improve the religious activities of the people as well as help its spread. All these organisations are charitable in character.

Students Unions

Besides the Christian organisations, there are students organisations. Since the day of Independence there has been a great awakening among the people for education. The first group of educated people wanted to get their next group educated and in turn they also wanted to see their brethren educated and so on. The educated people are a special entity and have got a special responsibility towards the society and so, as soon as their number justified, they formed students unions wherever they could. The students, School-going or college-going, have got a tremendous weight on the society and therefore they formed unions to give expression to their views as a whole and to get due weight for it. Thus grew up many students unions.

At present almost every village has got a village Students Union. These Unions pass opinions about their respective village in matters concerning the welfare of the village and it is duly respected, or rather it may be said that it is more than duly respected because educated persons are very few and they are held in high esteem by the villagers.

Then come Range Unions. From every range several students are found studying in college or even some in universities. When they come home during holidays, mainly winter vacation from mid-December to mid-March, they gather at least once to deliberate upon the problems of their Range and they take resolutions on it. Their resolutions are paid due attention by the political leaders of the range as well as by the Government Officials.

Then there is the Sema Students Union. Most of the College or University Students of Nagaland read in Shillong or in Nagaland Colleges. Both the places being cold there is winter vacation for about three months from mid-December to mid-March. During this vacation all the students come home and at least once they gather to hold a conference of their union, that is, Sema Students Union, like students unions of other tribes. They pass resolutions on important issues concerning the welfare of the Semas as a whole and that is paid due attention to by the Government and the political leaders.

It has to be mentioned here that there is a Naga Students Union comprising all the students of Nagaland and sometimes some Semas become its office bearers.

The Sema Students Union or for that the students union of any particular range holds cultural or variety show during their conference. This is much enjoyed by the people.

All these students unions are voluntary organisations, and it has got a tribalistic force in the sense that there is no other organisation in this area and all are members of the same horizontal students union. Probably the time has not yet come for any ism or any separate vertical organisation. All these unions are political in character.

CHAPTER XVIII

PUBLIC LIFE

AND

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

Before our Constitution came into force on 26th January, 1950, the then Naga Hills, a district of Assam, was an excluded area and so was not represented in Assam Legislature. After the Constitution came into force, during the First General Election of Assam Legislature in 1952, Naga Hills was allotted three Assembly seats (In Assam Legislature neither there was nor there is any Upper House). But the Nagas did not participate in the 1952 elections and so Naga Hills remained unrepresented in the Assam Assembly in the First General Election.

In the Second General Election of Assam Assembly, in 1957, however, three Nagas were elected uncontested from Naga Hills. And since it was uncontested, there was no polling at all. One of these three returned MLAs was a Sema of Zunheboto area and he became a Deputy Minister.

In the meantime Tuensang Frontier Division of NEFA was taken out and added to Naga Hills to form a separate administrative unit under the name Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) in December 1957. As a result of creation of this new administrative unit Naga Hills ceased to be a part of Assam and so the three MLAs of Naga Hills quitted Assam Assembly. On 18th August 1960 the Prime Minister declared in the Parliament that a new State to be called Nagaland would be established within Indian Union comprising the area of NHTA. During the transitional period an Interim Body would be constituted. Later there will be a Legislative Assembly and the State should be under the Ministry of External Affairs ¹.

1. *Report on the First General Election, 1963, (Nagaland), p. 2*

Later in February 1961 the NHTA became a de-facto State under the name Nagaland and a de-facto Assembly known as Interim Body started functioning from 18th February 1961. The Interim Body had 42 members but they were not elected but selected by consensus. It had a 5-member Executive Council as a de-facto Ministry. There were three representatives from this district in the Interim Body of 42, and one of the Executive Councillors was also from this district. (It has to be noted that this district was then a sub-Division of Mokokchung district and became a district in December 1973).

The Interim Body had altogether 10 sessions from 17th May 1961 to 18th November 1963. During this interim period the Government paid attention towards the preparation of first general election to the Assembly, and keeping that thing in view the work of delimitation of the constituencies was taken up. Following the advice of the Election Commission, three persons were deputed by the Interim Body and two others were nominated by the Central Government to co-operate with the Commission in the works of delimitation of constituencies¹.

That time Nagaland consisted of three districts only, such as Kohima, Mokokchung and Tuensang (Zunheboto was a Sub-Division of Mokokchung). It was decided according to Nagaland Act (Act No 73 of 1962) that the Nagaland Assembly would have 40 members to be elected from Kohima and Mokokchung districts. Tuensang district would send only six representatives to be selected by the Tuensang Regional Council from among themselves². Tuensang district would remain a special responsibility of the Governor for ten years from the date of formation of the State of Nagaland. After that, Nagaland will have a 60-member Assembly and it will be all by direct election on the basis of adult franchise and single member constituency. The constituencies were on the basis of approximately six thousand population each³.

Following this decision the Government started the work of delimitation of 40 constituencies of Kohima and Mokokchung districts for the First General Election for Nagaland Assembly, and Delimitation

1. *Report on the First General Election 1963 (Nagaland)*, p. 3-4

2. *Ibid*, p. 3

3. *Ibid*, p. 4

Commission was set up in June, 1963. In this delimitation of constituencies the share of Zunheboto Sub-Division was six seats [The then Kohima district had 19 seats and Mokokchung 21 seats.]

FIRST GENERAL ELECTION TO NAGALAND ASSEMBLY, 1964

Before the Delimitation Commission was set up, the Government started preparation for the election machinery and got two of its Circle Officers trained by the Assam Government. No separate Chief Electoral Officer was appointed as yet but the responsibility of this post was given to Sri I. Sashimeren Aier in addition to his own functions as Additional Development Commissioner, and an Election branch was set up with some staff.

Party And Symbol

In the first General Election of Nagaland Assembly, 1964 there was no Party and as such there was no party-symbol. However, some six free symbols were specified by the Election Commission and they were Cock, Elephant, Hornbill, Mithun, Mug and Tiger.

Constituencies And Candidates

The six constituencies of this district were Akuluto, Atoizu, Surohoto, Aghunato, Zunheboto and Satakha, and they were all single seated. Of all these constituencies Zunheboto had two candidates and the rest had one each and as such they were uncontested. No nomination paper was rejected nor any withdrawn. The results of the uncontested seats were declared on 21st December 1963, the last date of withdrawal of candidature. The polling in Zunheboto constituency took place on 11th, 13th & 15th January, 1964, and the result was declared on 17th January 1964. There were altogether 2972 voters and 2603 votes were cast of which 2585 were valid and 18 invalid. The polling was 87.01% and it is a very high percentage for the people who have never gone to polls before. Voting was by balloting.

In the district (then Sub-Division) there were altogether 19,285 voters¹ against about 45,000 people but except 2,603 of Zunheboto constituency others were not required to vote since the candidates of other five constituencies were unopposed.

1. Akuluto-2641, Atoizu 3,675, Surohoto 2,475, Aghunato 4150, Zunheboto 2,972, Satakha 3372, total 19,285.

In the State as a whole 14 candidates were elected uncontested. Altogether 92 persons submitted nomination papers for 40 seats but 5 were rejected after scrutiny, and 14 persons withdrew their candidature. Thus 73 persons were left for actual contest.

Formation OF Ministry And Thereafter

After the election (1964) the Assembly was formed with 46 members (Kohima district — 19, Mokokchung district — 21 and Tuensang district — 6) and the Ministry was Instituted. Sometime after the working of this Ministry there was difference of opinion among the MLAs and some 14 of them resigned en-block in December, 1964. This necessitated by-election, but none of the MLAs of Zunheboto Sub-Division resigned and so there was no by-election in this district.

There was no political party at the first general election, but when there was difference of opinion between two groups of MLAs, the majority party assumed the name Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO) and those who formed the opposition assumed the nomenclature United Front of Nagaland (UFN). The by-election of 14 seats was contested by these two political parties of the State and all the seats were won by the NNO. Thereafter till 16th February 1969 when the Assembly was dissolved, it was virtually a single party rule in Nagaland.

SECOND GENERAL ELECTION TO NAGALAND ASSEMBLY, 1969.

Since the election to the State Assembly was for 5 years, the next general election was to take place in 1969, the first one being held in 1964. Therefore towards the end of 1968 preparations for revision of electoral rolls and its publication and setting up of election machinery etc were taken up.

The election was for 40 Assembly constituencies (19 from Kohima and 21 from Mokokchung). And 12 persons instead of 6 of the first Assembly, had to be selected by the Regional Council of Tuensang. The voting was for 6th, 8th and 10th February 1969¹. In the first, second or third general election the voting pattern is on alternate day because often the same polling party is to conduct the polling in another place and therefore one day gap is necessary². The results were declared between 11th and 14th February 1969³ and polling was from 7 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. without break.

1. *Report on the Second General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland, 1969, p. 7.*

2. *Ibid, p. 7*

3. *Ibid, p. 10*

Party, Symbol and Candidates

In the first general election to the Nagaland Assembly there was no political party, but, however, in the second general election, 1969, the Nagaland Nationalist Organisation was accepted by the Election Commission of India as a political party according to table 2 of Reservation and Allotment Orders, 1968 and it was issued the symbol Mithun. The newly formed political party, United Front of Nagaland, was registered as a political party under para 3 of Election Symbol (Reservation and Allotment Order), 1968, and so was not issued any symbol. Therefore besides the reserved Mithun, six free symbols were issued and they were Elephant, Hornbill, Mug, Tiger, Log-drum, and Cock.

Thus it is seen that log-drum is introduced in the list of free symbols of the second general election in place Mithun of the first general election which has gone to NNO as a political party.

For the 40 elective constituencies of Kohima and Mokokchung districts there were 154 nomination papers of which 3 were rejected and 7 withdrawn. Thus remained 144 in the field and two of it were women of which one was NNO candidate and the other an independent. In the first general election, 1964, there was no woman candidate.

Of this 144 candidates, 40 were set up by NNO, the only recognised political party and 30 by the United Front of Nagaland and 74 were Independents. In the first general election 14 candidates were returned as uncontested but in the second general election there was no uncontested candidate at all.

"According to the 1961 census, the total population of the two Districts of Kohima and Mokokchung stood at 2,34,925. The total electorate of these two Districts for the second General Election, 1969, stood at 1,76,931 as against the total electorate of 1,24,231 during the first General Election, 1964"¹

1. *Report on the Second General Elections of the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland 1969, p. 5*

Position In Zunheboto Sub-Division

Zunheboto, now a district, was a Sub-Division of Mokokchung district during the second general election, 1969, and its share of seats was six, same with the first election, that is, Akuluto, Atoizu Suruhoto, Aghunato Zunheboto and Satakha.

AKULUTO seat was contested by one NNO, one UFN and one Independent candidates and the NNO won it by getting 1647 votes (47.15%). Total electorate was 4231 and votes polled were 3498. Thus voting percentage was 82.68. Only 5 votes were rejected.

ATOIZU seat was contested by 4 persons. One each from NNO and UFN and 2 Independents. Total electorate was 5,624 and 4,547 votes were polled. It gives 80.85% polling. Only 7 votes were rejected. The seat was won by NNO by getting 1,666 votes which gives 36.70 percent of valid votes polled.

SURUHOTO seat was contested by three persons one NNO and two Independents. Total electorate was 5,160, and 3,763 votes were polled. It gives polling percentage as 72.93. Only 5 votes were rejected. NNO got the seat by securing 1,881 votes (50.05%).

AGHUNATO seat was contested by three persons, one NNO and two Independents, and NNO won it by getting 2,544 votes (70.04%). Total electorate was 5,930 and votes polled were 3,652 (61.58%) and 50 votes were rejected.

ZUNHEBOTO seat was contested by four candidates, one each from NNO and UFN and two Independents. Total voters were 5,722 of which 4,574 persons exercised their franchise. It gives polling percentage as 79.39. Some 81 votes were rejected. One Independent won the seat by getting 2,151 votes (47.87%).

SATAKHA constituency was contested by four candidates of which one is NNO and three are Independents. There were 5,330 electorates of which 3,946 cast their votes (74.03%) and only 8 votes were rejected. NNO won the seat by getting 1,650 votes (41.90%).

The Additional Deputy Commissioner, Zunheboto was the Returning Officer for this Sub-Division.

After election the NNO came to power and stayed as such for five years.

THIRD GENERAL ELECTION TO NAGALAND ASSEMBLY, 1974

At the time of creation of the State of Nagaland on 1st December, 1963, it was decided that the Tuensang district would remain a special charge of the Governor for ten years and the 10-year term was over by 1st December, 1973. Therefore for the 1974 general election the former Tuensang district, which was by then divided into two districts such as Tuensang and Mon, was allotted 20 seats. Thus taking 40 seats of former Kohima and Mokokchung districts it comes to 60 seats. The District-wise breakup of the seats for the new districts is the following :

Kohima	:	15
Phek	:	5
Mokokchung	:	10
Wokha	:	4
Zunheboto	:	6
Tuensang	:	13
Mon	:	7

Out of this 60 seats, two seats, such as Akuluto in Zunheboto district and Tobu in Tuensang district were uncontested.

Party And Symbols

In the First General Election, 1964, there was no recognised political party and so only free symbols were issued. In the Second General Election, 1969, the NNO was the only recognised State party and it was issued the symbol Mithun. In the meantime the United Front of Nagaland changed its name to United Democratic Front (UDF) and contested the election under that name. Thus in the Third General Election, 1974, there were two State level political parties such as Nagaland Nationalist Organisation or NNO and United Democratic Front or UDF. The NNO was issued its Mithun and the UDF was issued Cock. Apart from this, some five free symbols were issued. They were the following.

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1) Horn-bill, | 4) Log-drum, |
| 2) Tiger, | 5) Elephant. |
| 3) Mug, | |

But in view of the fact that the number of contesting candidates seeking free symbols would be more than five, the Election Commission issued three more free symbols such as Flaming Torch, Bow and Arrow, and A Pair of Pigeon.

Thus the total of free symbols came to be eight.

Candidates

The total number of nomination filed for all the 60 Assembly seats was 234. There was no woman candidate this time unlike the second general election where there were two. Nomination papers of 3 candidates were rejected on scrutiny. One candidate died and 11 candidates withdrew their candidature¹. Thus it left 219 candidates in the field. Of this, two were uncontested and so 217 remained to contest 58 seats. Of this, NNO set up 57 candidates, UDF set up 52, and 108 were Independents².

Electorate

"The population of Nagaland according to 1971 census is 5,16,449. The total electorate of the entire State for third General Election, 1974, stood at 4,06,374. Thus the number of voters worked out at 78.69 percent of the total population. The total electorate during first General Election 1964, was 1,24,231 and during second General Election, 1969, was 1,76,931 which were exclusive of the electorates in the Tuensang District which did not take part directly in the 1st and 2nd General Elections under the provisions of clause (a) of Sub-Clause II of the Nagaland Act 1962".³

Election Programme And Voting

The last date of submission of nomination papers was 16th January, 1974 and the date of scrutiny was the next day. Last date of withdrawal of candidature was 19th January and the dates of poll were 12th, 14th and 16th February 1974. The results of all the elections were declared between 19th and 20th February, 1974.

All the constituencies were single seated.

1. *Report on the third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland 1974, p. 14*
2. *Report on the third General Election to the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland 1974, p. 14*
3. *Report on the third General Election of the Legislative Assembly of Nagaland 1974, p. 11 (Electorate is 78.69% of the total population. It seems unrealistic. Probably there was great liberality on the part of the enumerators in accepting the age.)*

In the first and second General Elections, 1964, and 1969 respectively, the voting was by balloting system. But in the third General Election, 1974, marking system of voting was introduced in Nagaland, to bring it at par with rest of the country and it was more or less a success.

Position In The District

Of the total 60 Assembly seats of the State in the third General Election, 1974, Zunheboto district was allotted six seats, as earlier. Of this six, one seat, that is Akuluto, went uncontested. So five seats were contested. Details are given below.

AKULUTO constituency was uncontested in the favour of an NNO candidate. Total electorate was 4961 but no voting took place as it was uncontested.

ATOIZU seat was contested by four persons of which one was NNO and three were Independent candidates. Total voters were 6993 and actually 5685 persons exercised their franchise. It accounts to 81.30 p. c. polling. Some 178 votes were rejected. The seat was won by an Independent candidate securing 2185 votes which account as 39.67 percentage of total valid votes cast.

SURUHUTO constituency was contested by three candidates of which one was NNO and the rest were Independents. Its total electorate was 7347, and 5763 of it actually cast votes. It gives voting percentage as 78.44. Votes invalid were 90. The seat was bagged by NNO by getting 2757 votes which count as 48.60 percentage of the total valid votes cast.

AGHUNATO seat was contested by only two persons, one NNO and one Independent candidates. Electorates were 6104 of which 5175 actually cast their votes. It gives percentage as 84.78. Some 159 votes were invalid. The NNO won the seat with 3137 votes (62.54%).

ZUNHEBOTO seat was fought by three candidates, two Independents and one NNO. Voters were 6357 of which 4964 voted (78.09%). Invalid votes were 90. The seat went in favour of an Independent candidate with 1851 votes (37.98%).

SATAKHA constituency was contested by three persons, one NNO and two Independents. Total voters were 6893 of which 5738 people exercised their franchise making it 83.24 percent polling. Votes rejected were 176. The seat was won by an independent candidate with 2678 votes which is 48.15% of the total valid polling.

The Deputy Commissioner, Zunheboto was the electoral Registration Officer as well as the Returning Officer and the results were declared between 19th and 20th February 1974.

It appears as a result of introduction of voting by marking system greater number of votes were invalid. The table below will show it clearly.

Constituency	Number of invalid votes		
	1964	1969	1974
Akuluto	Uncontested	5	Uncontested
Atoizu	Uncontested	7	178
Suruhuto	Uncontested	5	90
Aghunato	Uncontested	20	159
Zunheboto	18	81	90
Satakha	Uncontested	8	176

Formation of Ministry and Thereafter

After the third General Election many of the Independent candidates joined the United Democratic Front and thus it got a slender majority and formed the Ministry. This Ministry lasted for only one year and was voted out in March, 1975 and an NNO Ministry was instituted, but only for ten days after which President's Rule was declared.

FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION, 1977

The previous Assembly was dissolved in March '75 and President's Rule was imposed. The President's Rule continued for thirty-two months and the fourth general election took place in November, 1977. Report of this election from the Chief Electoral Officer, Nagaland, is not yet (September '78) out, so the details, as much as possible, have been collected from other sources and from the personal knowledge of the Editor himself.

Party and Symbols

Formerly there was one State party called Nagaland Nationalist Organisation or NNO. In 1976 this party merged into Indian National Congress and so became Nagaland Pradesh Congress or simply Congress. Formerly as NNO this party was using Mithun as their election symbol, but after becoming Congress they were allotted the Calf and Cow symbol. So they fought the Fourth General Election with the reserved symbol Calf and Cow. The other State party, United Democratic Front, also had a reserved symbol and it was Cock.

Apart from these two reserved symbols, some six free symbols were issued. They are :

1. Hornbill
2. Tiger
3. Mug
4. Logdrum
5. Elephant
6. Naga

It may be noted that another party came into being before the election and it was National Convention of Nagaland or NCN. This party was not given any reserved symbol by Election Commission because it did not fulfil the criterion for getting a reserved symbol. But however among themselves they made it practically a reserved symbol since this party, National Convention of Nagaland or NCN, fought the election with the symbol Naga, and others did not use it.

However apart from the above six free symbols three more free symbols were issued in view of the fact that the contestants may be more than six in some constituencies. These three free symbols are :

1. Flaming Torch
2. Bow and Arrow
3. A Pair of Pigeon

An analysis of the election symbols show that the total number of reserved symbol is same both in third and fourth general elections, but only Mithun was replaced by Calf and Cow. The total number of free symbols of course were

increased by one over the third general election when it was eight only. And the new symbol was a Naga, which, though free, was used by the new party NCN, that is, National Convention of Nagaland.

Constituencies and Candidates

Like the third general election, in the fourth general election also the number of seats allotted to Zunheboto district was six. There was no unopposed candidate neither there was any woman candidate. There were altogether 16 candidates in the field to contest this six seats. The details of candidates and polling etc are given below¹.

1. AKULUTO constituency was contested by three candidates. One each from UDF, NCN and Congress. The electorate was 4496. The seat went to Congress candidate who got 1774 votes.
2. ATOIZU constituency was contested by only two candidates, one each from UDF and Congress. Total voters were 6457. The seat was won by UDF candidate who got 2993 votes.
3. SURUHOTO constituency was contested by three candidates, one each from UDF, Congress and NCN. Total votes were 7206. The seat was captured by Congress candidate who got 2584 votes.
4. AGHUNATO constituency was contested by three candidates, one each from UDF, Congress and NCN. There were altogether 6940 voters. The seat was bagged by UDF candidate who got 3509 votes.
5. ZUNHEBOTO constituency was contested by three candidates, one each from UDF, Congress and NCN. Total voters were 6696. The seats was captured by Congress candidate who got 2514 votes.

1. Source : Ura Mail (dated 26th November, 1977) a Weekly Magazine of Nagaland, published from Dimapur. The Official report on the fourth general election not being out yet (August 1978) we have used the materials from Ura Mail.

6. SATAKHA constituency was contested by only two candidates, one each from UDF and Congress. The total electorate was 6679. The seat was bagged by Congress candidate who got 2824 votes.

Formation of Ministry

In the fourth general election held in November 1977, the UDF came out as the majority party. Some Independents also joined it. In November itself the Ministry was formed. In this Ministry there were eight Cabinet Ministers, including the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister, and there were four Ministers of State. Unlike previous Ministries, there was no Deputy Minister till September. This is the first time also that Nagaland has a Deputy Chief Minister. In April '78 one Cabinet Minister and two Ministers of State were inducted into the Ministry and again in September '78 one Minister of State and one Deputy Minister have been included and so at present (September '78) the strength of Ministry is seventeen in a house of sixty. And then of course one Speaker and one Deputy Speaker are also there.

In this Ministry there is only one Minister of State from this district¹.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

After the first General Election to the Legislative Assembly (Nagaland has got only one House) of Nagaland, in January 1964, the Assembly came into being and soon after that it took up the question of sending its representative to the Rajya Sabha or Council of States. The sitting member of the Loka Sabha (House of the People) from NHTA which was renamed Nagaland, was allowed to continue to represent Nagaland State. (It was only one seat in the Lok Sabha.)

Rajya Sabha

One seat was allotted to Nagaland for the Rajya Sabha (Council of States) and the State Assembly arranged for election of its sole representative to the Rajya Sabha.

1. There is another Sema Minister — a Cabinet Minister in this Ministry but he is from Kohima district.

In 1964 the number of members in the Nagaland Assembly was 46. Of this electorate only 32 persons voted. There were only two contestants of which one got 31 votes and the other got only one and so lost his security deposit as it was less than one-sixth of the total valid votes polled. None of the candidates belonged to any political party,

The voting took place on 2nd March 1964 and the result was declared the same very day by the Returning Officer, the Secretary Legislative Assembly¹.

The next election to Rajya Sabha took place in 1968. The seat was uncontested and it went to NNO. Other details are not available,

Third election to Rajya Sabha took place in 1974. Total electorate (the MLAs) was 60, and all voted. There were two contestants, one each from UDF and NNO, and UDF won the seat. Other details are not available.

Lok Sabha

Nagaland has been allotted one Lok Sabha seat inspite of the low population and therefore low electorate, in comparison to other Lok Sabha constituencies of the rest of the country.

The first election to Lok Sabha from this area, the NHTA, was due to be held in early 1962, but the candidate was uncontested and so there was no polling,

The next election took place in 1967, but this time also the seat was uncontested and it went to the same person who by that time became a nominee of the NNO.

The third election to Lok Sabha, a mid-term poll, took place in 1971. It was contested by two candidates, one from UDF and the other from NNO. Total electorate was 1,75,459 of which 1,48,125 persons exercised their franchise.

Only 100 votes were invalid. The seat was won by the UDF candidate by getting 89,514 votes while the NNO candidate got 55,511 votes and lost. District wise or other details are not available.

1. Report on the First General Election, 1963, p. 8

The fourth Lok Sabha election from Nagaland was held in March 1977, that is, after six years of the previous election as the life of the last Loksabha was extended to six years. This time two candidates, one from Congress¹ and another from UDF contested the seat and UDF won it. Details of the polling are not yet available.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

No newspaper or periodical except some occasional religious bulletins, is published from this district. Population is small and the people are not yet so much educated as to produce a local paper. However, some newspapers and periodicals published from outside the district and outside the State find their way to this district. The notable local ones are : Ura Mail, an English Weekly published from Dimapur ; Nagaland Times, an English Weekly, also published from Dimapur ; and Platform an English Weekly, published from Kohima. Among the English dailies coming from outside the State, mention may be made of the Assam Tribune from Gauhati, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Hindustan Standard and the Statesman from Calcutta. A few Bengali dailies such as Ananda Bazar Patrika and Jugantar from Calcutta also come to this district. Also English weeklies such as Illustrated Weekly of India and Filmfare, both from Bombay, are also fairly widely read by the educated people of this district. A few Bengali weeklies such as Desh and Amrita, both from Calcutta, are also read by some of the Bengalee residents of this district. But most of the readers of any language are concentrated in the district headquarter, that is Zunheboto town.

1. The Nagaland Nationalist Organisation (NNO) has merged into the Indian National Congress in 1976 and is now designated as Nagaland Pradesh Congress.

CHAPTER XIX

PLACES OF INTEREST

Zunheboto district is situated in the heart of the State of Nagaland. We have already mentioned earlier that the hilly areas of the State lie beyond inner line of the country. Therefore to enter this district Inner Line Permit is required for any non-Naga. The permit may be had on payment of 50 paise per head subject to satisfactory identity of the person concerned. For this purpose inner line check posts are situated at the suitable places of the roads leading from the plains to the hills. One such post is at Chumukedima, on way from Dimapur to Kohima, some 15 km from Dimapur. Another such check post is located at Amguri on the way from Amguri to Mokokchung and that is the check post through which one is to pass to enter Zunheboto district, of course through Mokokchung district.

The entire district is hilly like the rest of Nagaland and as such fascinating to the plains people who are not used to see hills. The district does not have undulated or practically any kind of valley and therefore the hills are sharp and steep. Most of the hills are habitable and there is no lofty or snow covered hill at all. The hills not being very high and the land being suited to the growth of vegetation, are all covered by trees mostly evergreen mixed with deciduous, and often big trees of one or even two metres diameter are found.

The district abounds in such scenery with which most of the plains people are not acquainted. Of the land-scapes the most common and beautiful is the hill side dotted with yellow patches of paddy field when it is ripe. Another beautiful sight is just before sowing when the ranges are cleared of all the vegetation and look like bare dusty earth.

Formerly there used to be seen flights of birds but those are rare now, the birds being practically annihilated.

The climate being cool or rather cold and salubrious is enjoyable for about six months of the year when rains are less and winter is not severe.

On the whole the district is enjoyable to the people who are not used to live in hills.

Regarding actual places of interest within the district it may be said that they are few and far between. However a few words about them are written below.

ZUNHEBOTO is a growing town. During British time there was no Zunheboto town or any place by that name. That time the administrative out post was situated at Ghukiya, a village about 5 km from the present Zunheboto town. Only after the Second World War the place came to be known as Zunheboto, after a plant called Zunhebo which grows abundantly there. Since then it has gradually grown up to a district headquarter and is worth seeing for its beaming beauty.

ATOIZU is a growing town. It has got a Polytechnic School known as Nagaland Polytechnic and is the only one of its kind in this State. (The other situated in Kohima, is a technical school, not a Polytechnic). There is a High School also.

AIZUTO is a Centre of Christian Missionary activity. It has got a 25-bedded hospital run by the Missionaries. The place is sunny and beautiful. There is a High School also. On the whole it is an interesting place.

All other administrative out posts are also fast developing and therefore worth seeing.

The villages are also worth seeing for its rustic beauty if not for anything else.

The people in their ceremonial dresses are also worth seeing because it is colourful. The Nagas are in general colourful and the Semas are no inferior to other Nagas. Therefore the people in ceremonial or war dresses look nice or rather enchanting.

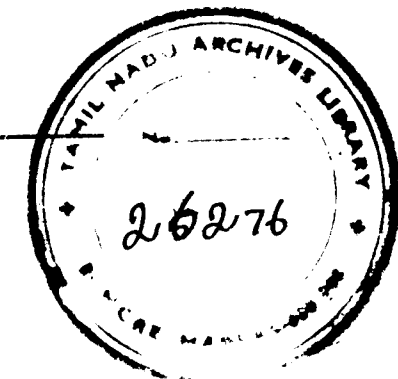
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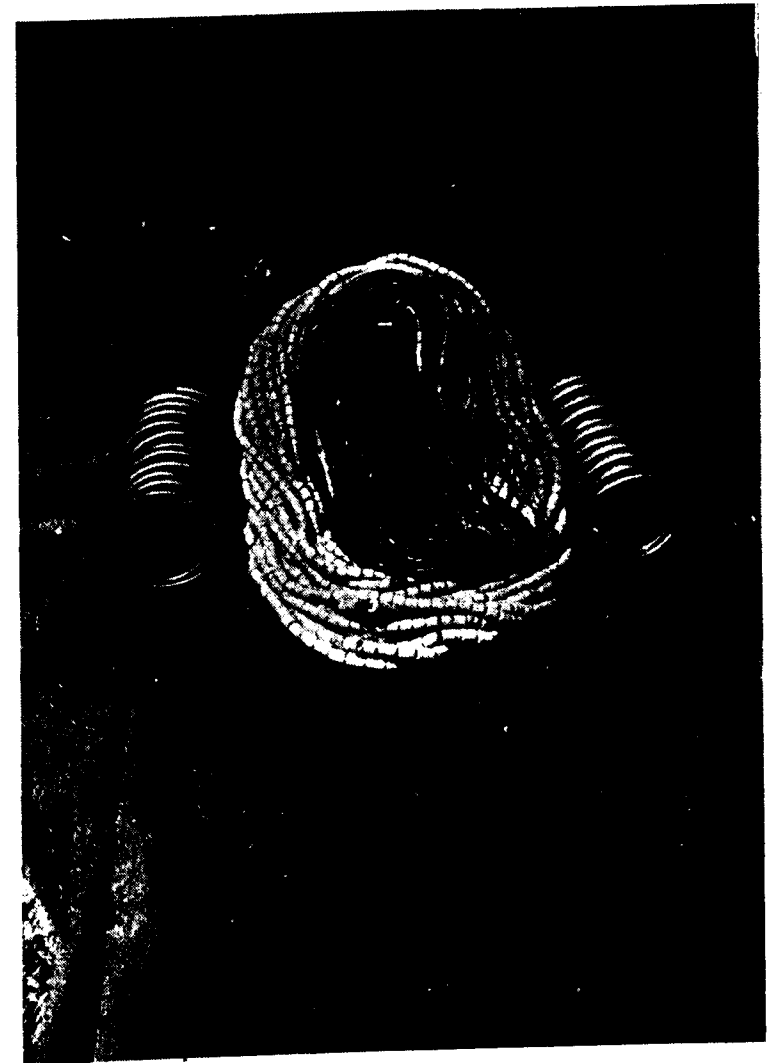
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A Sema man in ceremonial dress



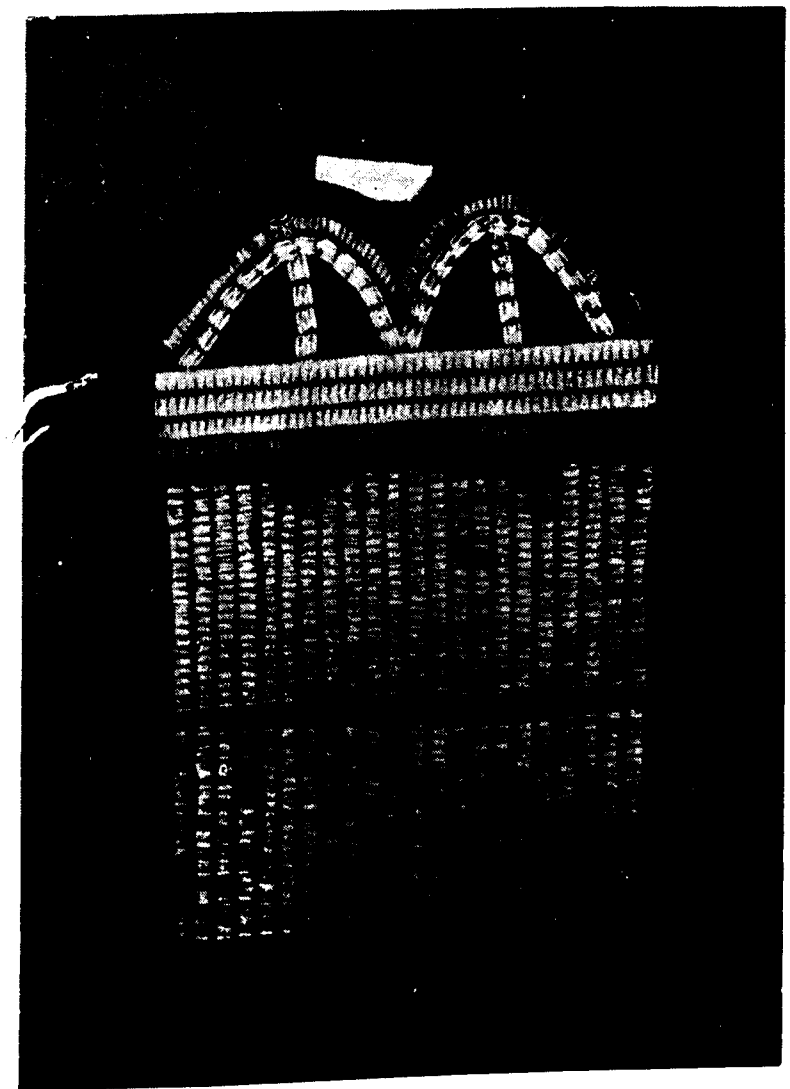
Some ornaments used by Sema Women



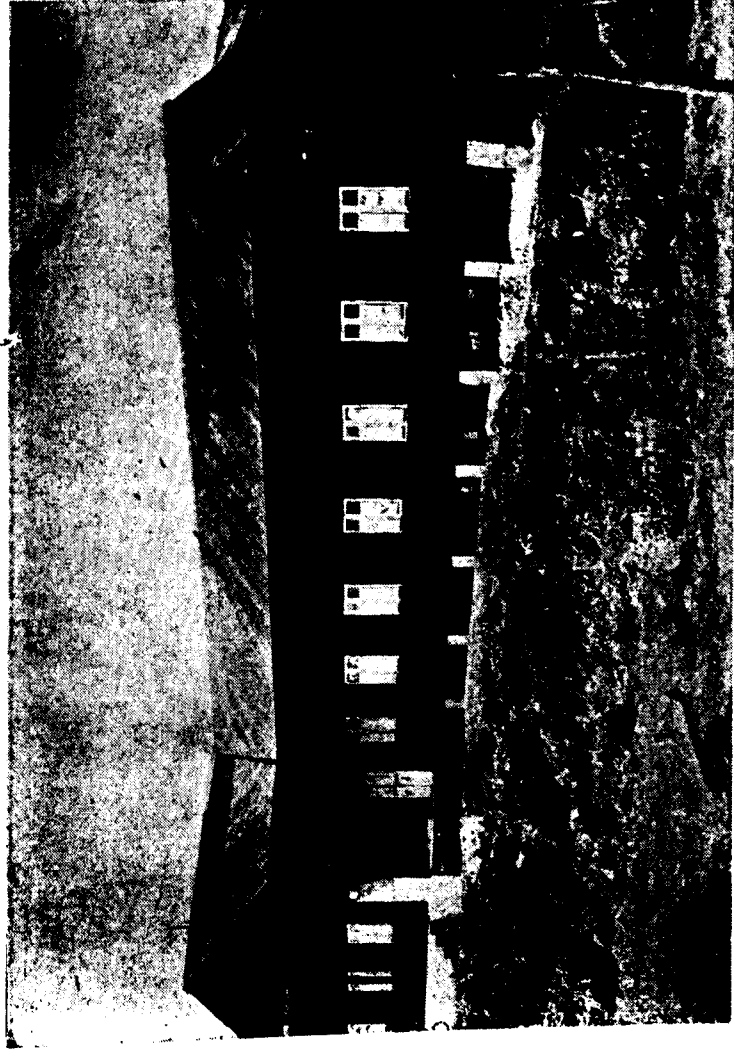
A Sema Village (Kilomi)



Zunheboto Bus Station



Decorated man's dress—cowried cloth hanging from the waist.



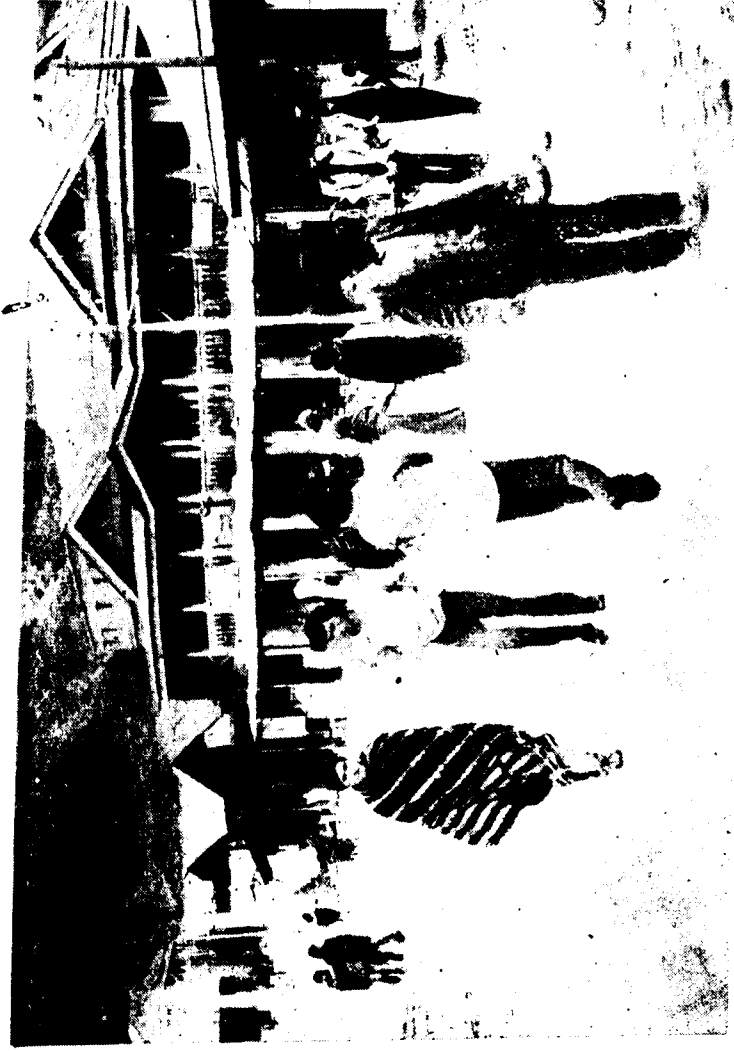
Girls Hostel, Zunheboto



The market place in Zunheboto town.



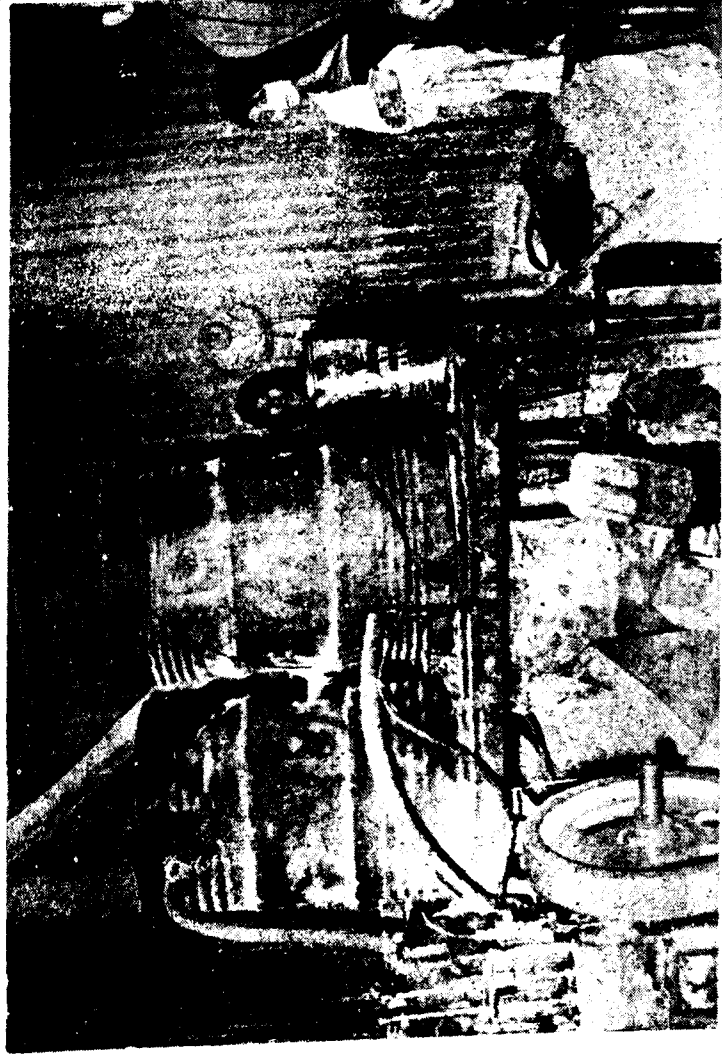
A modern house



Shop line in Zunheboto



Front of a traditional Sema house.



A rice mill in Zuni, New Mexico.



A pig

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EDITOR-GAZETTEERS

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BOMORE, MADRAS

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