Appendix I

A Four-Point Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet Mission by the Naga National Council on June 19, 1946, as under:

1. This Naga National Council stands for the solidarity of all the Naga Tribes, including those in the unadministered areas.

2. This Council strongly protests against the grouping of Assam with Bengal.

3. The Naga Hills should be constitutionally included in an Autonomous Assam in a Free India, with local autonomy and due safeguards for the interests of the Nagas.

4. The Naga Tribes should have a separate electorate.

Appendix II

Text of 9-Point Agreement or Hydari-Naga Agreement in June 1947

That the right of the Nagas to develop themselves according to their free expressed wishes is recognised.

1. Judicial: All cases whether civil or criminal arising between Nagas in the Naga Hills will be disposed off by duly constituted Naga Courts according to the Naga customary laws or such law as may be introduced with the consent of duly recognised Naga representatives, save that where a sentence of transportation or death has been passed, there will be right of appeal to the Governor. In cases arising between Nagas and non-Nagas in (a) Kohima and Mokokchung town areas and (b) in the neighbouring plain districts, the judge if not a Naga, will be assisted by a Naga assessor.

2. Executive: The general principle is accepted that what the Naga National Council is prepared to pay for, the Naga National Council should control. This principle will apply equally to the work done as well as the staff employed. While the District Officer will be appointed at the discretion of the Governor, sub-divisions of the Naga Hills will be administered by a sub-divisional
council with a full-time Executive President, paid by the Naga National Council who would be responsible to the District Officer for all matters falling within the latter's responsibility and to the Naga National Council for all matters falling within their responsibility. In regard to: (a) Agriculture: The Naga National Council will exercise all the powers now vested in the District officer, (b) C.W.J. - The Naga National Council will take over full control, and (c) Education and Forest Department: The Naga National Council is prepared to pay for all the services and staff.

3. Legislative: That no laws passed by the Provincial or Central Legislature which would materially affect the terms of this agreement or the religious practices of the Nagas shall have legal force in the Naga Hills without the consent of the Naga National Council. In cases of dispute as to whether any law does so affect this agreement, the matter would be referred to the Governor by the Naga National Council who would then direct that the law in question should not have legal force in the Naga hills pending the decision of the Central Government.

4. Land: That land with all its resources in the Naga Hills should not be alienated to a non-Naga
without the consent of the Naga National Council.

5. **Taxation:** That the Naga National Council will be responsible for the imposition, collection and expenditure of land revenue and house tax and of such other taxes as may be imposed by the Naga National Council.

6. **Boundaries:** That the present administrative divisions should be modified so as to bring back into the Naga Hills district all the forests transferred to the Sibsagar and Nowgong districts in the past and to bring back under the unified administrative unit as far as possible all the Nagas. All the areas so included would be within the scope of the present proposed agreement. No areas should be transferred out of the Naga Hills district without the consent of the Naga National Council.

7. **Arms Act:** The District Officer will act on the advice of the Naga National Council in accordance with the provisions of the Arms Act.

8. **Regulation:** The Chin Hills Regulations and the Bengal Eastern Regulations will remain in force.

9. **Period of Agreement:** The Governor of Assam as the Agent of the Government of Indian Union will
have a special responsibility for a period of 10-years to ensure the due observance of this Agreement; and at the end of this period, the Naga National Council would be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period of time or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people arrived at.
Appendix III

Text of A.Z. Phizo's Letter to the President of India

To the President, Republic of India,
New Delhi

Your Excellency,

The Naga National Council, desires to invite the attention of the Government of India to the position taken as early as 14 August 1947, by the people of Nagaland and subsequently endorsed by the Naga National Council from time to time to the effect that Nagaland shall be constituted into an Independent Sovereign State (separate from the Union of India) and also the resolution of this same council dated 11 December, 1950, which is to the effect that with a view to furnishing the people and government of India with evidential and conclusive proof of their National aspiration and for independence, the popular desire of the Naga people in this behalf shall be presented in a collective verdict of the adult population of Nagaland which shall be obtained through the recognised democratic method of 'Plebiscite'.

This 'Plebiscite' shall be voluntary plebiscite on the part of the Naga people and the purpose of holding the same on a voluntary basis are expressly to remove from the minds of the people and government of India
any possible difficulty to accept and recognise the genuinely representative function of the Naga National Council for its nationals in Nagaland, to remove any possible element of doubt as to the passionate desire in the hearts of the Naça people for Freedom and Independence from India, and lastly with a genuine feeling of goodwill, to avoid any possible injury that may otherwise be done to the reputation of India in the event of a plebiscite held under international auspices should such a reference to the people result in a hundred per cent Nagas being in favour of severing governmental connections with India. A plebiscite, such as now being proposed to be voluntarily taken by the Naga people has been brought to a regrettable necessity by the scant attention paid to the case of the Naga people by the Government of India, despite very fervent and earnest pleadings with India for a friendly understanding of the issue. Through these recent years of their direct associations with India, the people of Nagaland, while keeping the goal of independence uppermost in their minds, have repeatedly offered to make concessions in order to secure an honourable agreement on a basis which will provide scope for their growth towards full independence while maintaining the most friendly and cordial relations with India.
In an attempt to implicate the Naga people in their constitution and thus the Naga right to self-determination for their own future, India has handled the Naga political issue in a manner contrary to the spirit underlying the pains the Nagas have taken to resolve the difficulties which stood in the way of the parties arriving at an agreed solution. The Naga people had made it clear that recognition by India of Naga right to independence was the basic issue and any arrangement which ignore or runs contrary to this basis issue would be unacceptable to the Nagas. It came as a matter of very great surprise, therefore, that India sought to incorporate the Naga territory and coerce Nagaland into a forcible union by the compulsion of constitution even while the issue of Naga political Independence was still under the process of negotiation. However, the people of Nagaland, to whom the question of having a common constitution with India never existed, have made it perfectly clear to the Government of India and their accredited representatives that in so far as the Nagas are concerned the Indian Constitution does neither affect the status of Nagaland nor alter the basic issue. The people of Nagaland are keenly aware of the paramount need of India for strong and secure frontiers in this side of her territory and not only they are aware of this, they are anxious to strengthen
India's hands to achieve the desired needs. It would however, be foolish on the part of India to be deceived in to the belief that the Nagas would make their unreserved contribution even at the peril of their national honour and right to freedom. The political independence of Nagaland and the manner in which that Independence is to be inaugurated are, therefore, matters of vital importance to both India and Nagaland. Accredited representatives of the Government of India have admitted that if Nagaland should elect to be Independent, she has the right to do so. This approach is important as it points the way to reconciling the anxiety of the Government of India for strong frontiers with the Naga case for Independence. The fate of the free Nagas occupying a country contiguous with Naga hills and having common boundaries with Burma and China cannot also be betrayed by the British conquest of the Nagas. Of these Nagas, India knows nothing except the fact of their existence and their Independence. The fact that free Nagaland has no international status does not entitle India to incorporate it in her Constitution.

As such, it will be a dastardly act of aggression on the part of India to gratify her inordinate desire for territorial expansion if free Nagaland should be ravished. The respect which Burma and China have for
the Independence of free Nagaland should be emulated by India as well. We are certain India will benefit by her doing so. That will gain for India the goodwill of the British conquered Nagas too, for sooner or later the now separated Nagas will unite and be free. So important an announcement as this communication conveys would, under normal conditions deserve to be delivered to your Excellency in person by a representative of the Naga National Council. That this could not be done has been due to indecent receptions, the representatives of the Naga people have had the misfortune to experience in the past on a number of occasions at the hands of India's high officers. The Naga National Council could not be certain the Government of India might not again refuse to grant to the representatives so sent an interview with Your Excellency. The Naga delegation which was in Delhi seeking an audience with the last British Governor-General in 1947 and later another Naga delegation with his successor were persistently prevented from doing so. The Naga delegation sent to Shillong was also similarly denied by the Government of Assam a meeting with the first President of the Republic of India. But these incidents however insulting to our national self-respect, fall into insignificance that the Government of India did not hesitate to use even the army to slaughter our nationals in cold blood.
Another possibility that could not be overlooked was the Government's habit of arresting Naga political workers while at large in Indian cities — an incident not incapable of repetition. In order, therefore, to avoid similar possible insults, this communication is being sent to your Excellency and so the Government of India through His Excellency the Governor of Assam who advisedly in the words of the Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India "shall have to be in the full picture".

The 'Plebiscite' that will soon take place in Nagaland is intended to reaffirm the position of the Nagas and to bring to India the urgent need of their undertaking the immediate setting up of a Naga Sovereign State. The exact on which the 'Plebiscite' would commence will be announced before long. It is the desire of the Naga National Council that the Government of India, will send their observers to witness the whole processing of the Plebiscite from the beginning to the end. It shall be the privilege of the Naga National Council to give every possible facility to such observers to enable them to achieve their purpose with complete satisfaction.
Yours faithfully,

Sd/-
A.Z. Phizo
President
Naga National Council, Kohima

Kohima:
1 January, 1951

***

Copy obtained from Shri A.Z. Phizo in the course of my interview with him in London, July 1985.
Appendix IV

Text of 16-Point Proposal of the Naga People's Convention Held from 22 to 26 August, 1957 at Kohima, from 21 to 23 May, 1958, at Ungma, and from 22 to 26 October, 1959, at Mokokchung

1. The Name: The territories that were hitherto known as the Naga Hills Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills Tuensang Area Act of 1957, and any other Naga areas which may hereafter come under it shall form a State within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as the Nagaland.

2. The Ministry-in-charge: The Nagaland shall be under the Ministry of External Affairs, the Government of India.

3. The Governor of Nagaland: (1) The President of India shall appoint a Governor for Nagaland and he will be vested with the executive powers of the Government of Nagaland and he will function from the Headquarters of the Nagaland. (2) His administrative secretariat will be headed by a Chief Secretary stationed at the Headquarters with other Secretariat staff as necessary. (3) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to law, order and police during transitional period only.
4. Council of Ministers: (1) There shall be a Council of Ministers, viz. six Ministers and three Deputy Ministers with a Chief Minister as the Head to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. (2) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Nagaland Legislative Assembly.

5. The Legislature: There shall be constituted a Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary representing different tribes. Further, a duly constituted body of experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis.

6. Representation in the Parliament: Three elected members shall represent Nagaland in the Union Parliament, i.e. two in the Lok Sabha and one in the Rajya Sabha.

7. Acts of Parliament: No Act or Law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Naga Legislative Assembly: (1) The religious or social practices of the Nagas; (2) Naga customary laws and procedure; (3) Civil and criminal justice so far as these concern decisions according to Naga customary laws; (4) The ownership and transfer
of land and its resources.

8. Local Self-Government: Each tribe shall have the following units of law making and administrative local bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas: (1) the village Council, (2) The Range Council, (3) the Tribal Council. These Councils will also deal with disputes cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages.

9. Administration of Justice: (a) Each tribe shall have the following Courts of Justice: (1) The Village Court, (2) The Range Court, (3) The Tribal Court; (b) Appellate Courts: (1) The District Court-cum-Sessions Court, (for each District), High Court and Supreme Court of India, and (2) the Naga Tribunal (for the whole of Nagaland in respect of cases decided according to customary law).

10. Administration of Tuensang District: (1) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of 10 (ten) years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibilities of the advanced system of administration. The commencement of 10 (ten) year period of administration will start simultaneously with the enforcement of detailed working of the Constitution in other parts of Nagaland.
Provided further that a regional council shall be formed for Tuensang district by elected representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang district and the Governor may nominate representatives to the regional council as well. The Deputy Commissioner will be the Ex-Officio Chairman of the Council. This regional council, will elect members to the Naga Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang district, (3) Provided further that on the advice of the regional council, steps will be taken to start various council and courts in those areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institutions, (4) Provided further that no Act or law passed by the Naga Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang district unless specifically recommended by the regional council, (5) Provided that the regional council shall supervise and guide the working of the various councils and tribal courts within Tuensang district and wherever deemed necessary depute the local officer to act as Chairman thereof. (6) Provided that councils of such areas inhabited by a mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific tribal council to be affiliated to shall be directly under the regional council for the time being. And at the end of
10 (ten) years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desire the period will be further extended.

11. Financial assistance from the Government of India: To supplement the revenues of Nagaland, there will be a need for the Government of India to pay out from the consolidated fund of India as grants-in-aid as follows. (1) Lump sum as may be necessary each year for the development programme in Nagaland and (2) Grant-in-aid towards meeting the cost of the administration of Nagaland.

12. Re-transfer of Reserve Forests: All the reserved forests and other Naga areas that were transferred out of Naga area will be returned to Nagaland with a defined boundary under the present settlement.

13. Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Area: The other Naga tribes inhabiting the areas contiguous to the present Nagaland be allowed to join Nagaland if they so desire.

14. Formation of Separate Naga Regiment: In order that the Naga people can fulfill their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of India, the question of raising a separate Naga regiment should be duly examined for action.

15. Transitional Period: (a) on reaching the political settlement with Government of India, the Naga
People's Convention shall appoint a body to draft the details of the Constitution for the Nagaland on the basis of the settlement. (b) There shall be constituted an interim body with elected representatives from every tribe to assist and advice the Governor in the administration of Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the members of the interim body will be three years subject to re-election.

Inner Line Regulation: The Rules embodied in the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 shall remain in force in Nagaland.

Appendix V

Text of the 16-Point Proposals of the Peace Mission 1964

1. It has been a matter of considerable satisfaction to the Peace Mission, as to all others in Nagaland and in the rest of India that since firing ceased on 6th September, 1964, for the first time in ten years people in Nagaland are experiencing what normalcy is. The Peace Mission feels that it is the moral obligation of everyone in Nagaland and more so of the Peace Mission, in whom so much confidence and faith have been reposed, to see that the peace becomes everlasting in Nagaland. It is in pursuance of this that the Peace Mission is addressing this communication to both the parties.

2. But first it should be placed on record to the honour of both parties that have been in conflict that the attempt to find peace and agreement to a cease-fire was an adventurous step which issued from their deep desire to find an honourable way to terminate such a bitter, wasteful and protracted conflict.

3. The marked difference in the atmosphere that prevails in Nagaland today as compared with that prevailing prior to the cessation of operations
will probably be only realised by those who have lived or worked in Nagaland where there was fear as soon as darkness began and a sense of insecurity resulting from the ever present possibility of sudden violence. Today the people are returning to their normal occupations. Families are being reunited, the biggest harvest for many years has been gathered and there is a feeling of hope in Nagaland which makes every delegate engaged in the peace talks only too conscious of the heavy burden of decision on those who have to take it, the life and happiness of so many being dependent on the decisions that are taken. In all this, it is fair to pay tribute not only to the Government of India for their humanity and imagination but also to the leaders of the Baptist Church for whom this initiative was the result of much thought and prayerful consideration of the good of both India and Nagaland.

4. The Nagaland Peace Talks, which started on 23rd September 1964, have now come to a stage where the Nagaland Federal Government delegation have placed their demands for consideration by the Government of India. This was in response to the statement of the leader of the Government of India delegation at Chedema on 14th November, wherein
the Government of India also stated their position and understanding of the problem, as they saw it.

5. The Nagaland Federal Delegation have claimed that the Nagas had never been conquered by the Indian army or ruled by an Indian Government although territory had been forcibly annexed by the British army and the British Government about a century ago. Nevertheless, their right of self-determination, they claim, belonged to them separately as a people from the Sovereign Independent State of India, and they are now demanding recognition of this Independence, which as they say, India herself demanded and heroically struggled for under the historic slogan of Swaraj.

6. The Government of India's position, on the other hand, is that Nagaland formed an integral part of India before 1947 and that with the transfer of power to India by the British Parliament, Nagaland became part of India in the same way as all other States in India. At the same time the Government of India claim that they have already accepted the need for granting the fullest autonomy to Nagaland by constituting the State of Nagaland so as to ensure the fullest development of the Nagas and to guarantee their separate ethnic and cultural entity and to ensure their traditional
rights and their resources. Accordingly, the Nagas are not ruled by any alien power but are ruling themselves.

7. The Peace Mission notes that a section of the Naga people accepted the status of Statehood thus conferred upon Nagaland as being in their best interest. Another section did not consider that it satisfied the aims and objectives they had been fighting for. Thus, there are those two divergent positions of the Government of India and the Naga Federal Government confronting each other.

8. Though the two positions appear to be far apart, the Peace Mission believes that, with goodwill and understanding on both sides, a solution acceptable to both can be found.

9. As earlier stated the Peace Mission reiterates that it is under an inescapable moral obligation to ensure maintenance of peace and settlement of all outstanding problems through peaceful means. The Peace Mission believes that there is no human problem that cannot be solved by peaceful means. The Peace Mission further believes that the Governments concerned and the people concerned share and subscribe to this view.

10. While the Peace Mission fully agrees and endorses the principles that all subject people have the
right to self-determination and that no group of people is competent to rule over another, it also has to invite the attention of the Nagaland Federal Government to certain historical processes that had taken place to give birth to the Union of India and to the emergence of the great concepts and ideals underlying the Union Constitution.

11. The British had conquered at several stages and in diverse manner, various parts of the Indian subcontinent, comprising different ethnic groups, political systems and religious beliefs. However, under the aegis of the Indian National Congress and since 1920, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, these various different people, representing diverse linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious elements came together against foreign colonial rule and developed a consciousness of Nationhood. Unfortunately, this common struggle against foreign imperialism, that had welded these diverse peoples in the Indian subcontinent into one Nation did not somehow have an appreciable impact on the Nagas. This was, no doubt, due to the policy of isolation and exclusion, so deftly practised by British rulers, who believed in creating pockets contrary to each other and hoping to rule in perpetuity by dividing the peoples. In any case,
this great National Movement of unification which freed India including Nagaland from the yoke of foreign rule did not bring within its embracing sweep the Naga population to the same extent as it did the other parts of the subcontinent. Thus, in 1947, when all the diverse people of India who had been brought under British rule, voluntarily agreed to form the Union of India and to share in the common endeavour to ensure that in this great Union the ideals of Fraternity, Liberty, Justice and Equality, as enshrined in the Constitution are fully achieved, for the common benefit of all, the same response and sense of participation was not noticeable in the Naga areas.

12. The Peace Mission, in the circumstances appreciates and understands the desire of the Nagas for self-determination and their urge to preserve their integrity. The Peace Mission also appreciates the courage and tenacity, displayed by the Naga people in their endeavour to achieve this goal. The objectives which they have placed before themselves in their memorandum 'Naga Peace Declaration, dated the 17 December 1964, and addressed to the Peace Mission, namely, their desire to find peace, their resolve to maintain their integrity and to resist entanglement in war, are all extremely laudable
and should commend themselves to all peace loving peoples. It is, however, to be noted that this Declaration, in itself, does not resolve the political issue. Therefore, some appropriate meeting point has to be found, where the aims and ideals of the Nagaland Federal Government can be achieved at the same time, making it possible for the Government of India to accept those within the framework of the political settlement to be mutually agreed upon.

13. The Peace Mission in the pursuit of settlement through peaceful means, to which the Government of India as well as the Naga Federal Government to consider seriously whether such a meeting point could not be reached. On the one hand, the Naga Federal Government could on their own volition, decide to be a participant in the Union of India and mutually settle the terms and conditions for that purpose. On the other hand, the Government of India could consider to what extent the pattern and structure of the relationship between Nagaland and the Government of India should be adapted and recast, so as to satisfy the political aspirations of all sections of Naga opinion and to make it possible for the ideals of peace as expressed in the Naga Peace Declaration to be substantially realised.
14. The Peace Mission would like, in all earnestness, to impress upon both sides that the approach herein suggested, is not only the fairest, but the only practical in the given circumstances, and it fervently hopes that it will commend itself to the Government of India as well as to the Nagaland Federal Government.

15. The Peace Mission reiterates that the peace now obtaining in Nagaland should be made everlasting. With the object in view, the Peace Mission offered certain suggestions, whereupon both the parties had unequivocally affirmed and declared that they would renounce war and violence as a means for political settlement. This declaration of renunciation of war and use of armed forces, it is earnestly emphasised, must not be deviated from by any means. The Peace Mission's proposal, following this bilateral declaration of war, to deposit all underground arms in safe custody and to withdraw all Indian security forces from law and order duties could not unfortunately be implemented.

16. Nevertheless, the Peace Mission would earnestly desire that in faithful pursuance of the declaration of renunciation of use of armed forces, both parties take concrete steps to remove all frictions.
There have been numerous complaints and counter complaints from both. The Peace Mission would suggest that the Naga Federal Government require all arms issued to its forces to be concentrated at one or several places, in their armories and under their custody, so that there can be no basis for any future complaint of their forces parading with arms or extorting money or supplies under threat. They should also seriously ask themselves whether further recruiting and movement out of Nagaland towards Pakistan does not create an impression that these are only acts preparatory towards resumption of hostilities and, if so, they should take remedial measures by putting a stop to such recruitment and movement. The Government of India should ensure that its security forces and the civil administration do continue to abide strictly with the terms of the agreement, both in spirit and letter.

The Peace Mission makes a fervent appeal for consideration of the suggestions contained in this paper and for all action that is possible for the maintenance of Peace.

Sd/-
Bimla Prasad Chaliha

Sd/-
Jaya Prakash Narayan

Sd/-
Michael Scott

Excerpt from: M. Aram, Peace in Nagaland, Delhi, 1974, pp. 319-23.
Appendix VI

The 14-Point Proposals of the Naga Underground Memorandum Submitted to the Prime Minister During Their 4th Round of Peace Talks Held on 27th and 29th October, 1966, in New Delhi

The points were:

Nagaland has always been an independent territory adjoining the territories of Assam and Burma.

1. Between 1837 and 1879 Great Britain sent military expeditions into Nagaland territory.

2. In 1880 Nagaland agreed to Great Britain having military base in a limited area, which area was given the name of the 'Naga Hills'. Nagas refused to enter into any written agreement or treaty giving up their sovereignty over the 'Naga Hills' and there has never been any written agreement between Nagaland and Great Britain or Nagaland and British India to surrender their sovereignty over the Naga Hills.

3. The civil and criminal administration over the people of the Naga Hills has been in the hands of the Nagas from 1880 to this day.

4. After coming into force of the British Government of India Act, 1935, the Naga Hills territory was named Naga Hills Excluded Area in 1937 to make it
clear that 'Naga Hills' had to be excluded as demanded by the Nagas.

5. In May, 1947, the Constituent Assembly of India sent a Delegation to the Naga National Council and made an offer for Nagaland to join the Union of India.

6. A modified form was repeated in June 1947, in the form of a Ten Year Agreement. Negotiations continued. India broke off the negotiations.

7. On the 14th August, 1947, the Nagas declared the independence of Nagaland which was confirmed by a Referendum in May, 1951.


9. From March 1956, till September, 1964, there was continuous fighting between the armed forces of the Republic of Nagaland and Union of India.

10. On 6th September, 1964, cease-fire was arranged between the two forces by the Nagaland Peace Mission.

11. On 20 December, 1964, the Nagaland Peace Mission made a proposal that the leaders of the Nagaland Federal Government should advise the people to agree to join the Union of India, on their own volition.
12. Nagaland shall never yield its sovereign independence to any State.

13. Nagaland has always been an independent territory adjoining the territories of Assam and Burma.

14. The final question still remains to be answered. Would India rather exterminate the Naga Nation?

TEXT OF INTERVIEW WITH ZAPU PHIZO, PRESIDENT, NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL, BY ASHIKHO DAILI, JUNE - AUGUST, 1985, LONDON, U.K.

Daili. Your Excellency, when did you arrive in London?

Phizo. I arrived in London on 10 June, 1960, via Switzerland.

Daili. When was your first contact with the British, White-Man?

Phizo. Great Uncle Pelhu and some Naga Elders knew the Britishers earlier. They were the Naga leaders. When the British came to fight the Nagas, the Nagas fought them for about forty-eight years. Uncle Pelhu refused to enter for a Treaty with the British. He was considered to be the great man at that time. He could have declared himself as the leader of the Nagas but he did not take the advantage of the situation at that time. He was the only man who could control the Nagas at that time. The British depended on him as the only man as Naga leader. That is why they always come to our house. And that was why from the day I was born, I came to know the British - white man, since childhood.

Daili. After your coming to London in 1960, have you ever met and discussed with the Queen of England and the British Prime Minister regarding the Indo-Naga political issue?

Phizo. The Queen of England is not my Queen nor the Queen of the Nagas. So far I have not yet met the Queen and the Prime Minister regarding the Indo-Naga political problem. I am not in exile in London as people think about me. They do not know the reality. I am representing our Naga people abroad. I am appealing to the world that India invaded Nagaland and asking India to withdraw her soldiers from NAGALAND.
DaiLi. Which countries are supporting the cause of the Nagas?

Phizo. No country is supporting the Nagas. Nagas are Independent peoples. Nagas are fighting as a cleverest Nation, India and I am compelled to fight and that is the trouble for both. In 1960 India brought a paper to sign and to join India and that is why somebody went to sign and those so-called English speaking Nagas knowing not the contents and the consequences of the Indian document they have signed but not by the real Naga Representatives. And those so-called signatories have destroyed the cause of the Nagas and as a result many Nagas went wrong because it was a wrong document to sign with. Indian have been trying to cheat the ignorant /innocent Nagas for all these years. Only time and God will answer them.

DaiLi. What roles did you play during the 1st & 2nd World Wars?

Phizo. Nagas were involved in the First World War; because of the British colonial policy. But I was not involved at that time because I was young enough for the service. But I volunteered for the British Army during the Second World War which was fought at the twin Battles of KOHIMA and IMPHAL. Major, Sample of the British Army asked me to declare myself as Anglo-Indian. To my surprise then I refused to declare as an Anglo-Indian because that would destroy and dishonour the NAGAS as Independent Peoples. Again Major Sample asked me that Nagas are Asiatics and must fight for the King of England but I deserted because he wanted me to change NAGA as Anglo-Indian which is no NAGA blood.
There was no compromise on that issue and so he excluded me from joining the British Army. Thus I left and lived as a Free Naga. But later on I helped the Japanese against the British simply because for the 'Liberation' of Nagaland from the British Imperial colonial system and not necessarily in hating the British people. But I did not join the Japanese army either at the cost of the Naga Sovereignty. I simply helped the Japanese some monetary assistance only on humanitarian grounds. Since someone was in need of my help, I have no alternative but extended some financial assistance because some representatives of the Indian National Army of Subhas Chandra Bose asked me to help the Japanese Army. At that time I was in Ramgoon, Burma. After all I am a reasonable Naga to help anybody if I am fully convinced according to the prevailing socio-economic, military and political circumstances during the Great War. But I never join I.N.A. since I am a Freeman.

Daily. What did you plan of a Crown Colony for the Nagas as proposed by some Britishers at that time?

Phizo. Why don't you become a subject? Why do you become a servant? Khomoma has created Naga history. Servant to whom? To worship others? Some Nagas were afraid of Indian leaders. They have become Grassoppers with folded hands which is not the Naga Custom. Why Crown Colony? We have our own Naga Crown like the British and any other Free Nations of the World under the Sun.

Daily. What was the statement of Mahatma Gandhi when you met him on 19 July, 1947, in New Delhi?

Phizo. Mahatma Gandhi said: "Nagas have every right to be Independent. We did not want to live under the domination of the British and they are now leaving us."
We want you to feel that India is your, that this city of Delhi is yours as I feel that the Naga Hills are mine just as much as they are yours. But if you say, it is not mine, then the matter must stop there. I believe in the brotherhood of man, but I do not believe in forced unions. If you do not wish to join the Union of India, nobody will force you to do that. I will sacrifice my life for the Nagas and I will ask the Indian Army to shoot me first before any Naga was killed. India has no right to attack you." Therefore you examine Gandhi's statement to the NAGAS on 19 July, 1947.

Dalil. What was the outcome after meeting with Jawaharlal Nehru?

Phizo. Nehru offered me many times for honourable public offices in India. But I refused many times and totally. He offered me a blank 'political cheque' but I refused. In 1947, Nehru asked me to become the Governor of Assam since Nagaland was then known as the Naga Hills District of Assam but I refused. Then Nehru asked me to become the Chief Minister of Assam but I refused. And again in 1952, Nehru asked me to become the President of India but I flatly refused. I told Nehru a number of times to treat the NAGAS as equals among the Free Nations of the World. Nehru then said on March 20, 1952, "Whether Heaven falls or India goes into pieces, I do not care. Let blood runs red all over the country, I do not care. I will not allow the Nagas to become Independent." Then I replied, "Nagas are not asking Independent from India. We are only saying to recognise each other's Sovereignty and Independence and that let us live in peace and harmony as good-neighbourly countries. But Nehru started sending Indian Army to suppress the Democratic, Human Rights and Freedom of the NAGA Peoples."
DaiLi. Why did you leave NAGALAND for London? Was it your own decision or someone else sent you, or was it the political invitation of the British Government?

Phizo. Our Naga People have sent me abroad to represent our country and to tell to the World about the serious political situation after Indian Army invaded NagaLand.

DaiLi. What was the exact nature of Naga Plebiscite in 1951?

Phizo. Naga Plebiscite was conducted by May 16, 1951, and the result was that 99.9% Nagas were in favour of Independent NagaLand and the same result was communicated to the Indian Government and to the United Nations.

DaiLi. How many times have you been imprisoned both by the British and the Indian and for what reasons?

Phizo. All for Naga Politics. I stood for the Naga Independence. I was imprisoned for about six or eight times. Nothing to complaint being a Free NAGA.

DaiLi. How many times have you addressed to the British public about the Naga Freedom struggle since your arrival in London on 10 June, 1960?

Phizo. Many times, I have addressed to the British public for the cause of the Nagas problem and the responses have been very positive.

DaiLi. Why did you delegate Rev. Michael Scott to Nagaland, in a way representing your Organisation, Naga National Council, led by you? And to what extent has he reported to you about his role of the Peace Mission to solve Indo-Naga problem?

Phizo. Rev. Michael Scott was not a delegate of the Naga National Council. He was invited by the Peace Mission and engineered by the Indian Government. He did not bring back any message since he was not my delegate.
Daili. Do you have any vision for the Federation of all North East India because of the pre-and-post British colonial nature?

Phizo. At present I do not have any feasible plan for the federation of all North East India. For the future, I do not know. If there is any human exploitation anywhere in the world, then naturally time will answer.

Daili. You mentioned earlier that the Shillong Accord of 1975, does not exist. If you say that the Shillong Accord does not exist then why don't you declare/denounce openly the Shillong-Accord whereas Messrs. Kevy Yallay (your own brother), Medon, Ramyo, Sami Dahru etc. were your N.N.C. representatives and they were the signatories of the Shillong Accord of 1975?

Phizo. They were not the representatives of the Federal Government of Nagaland at that time as signatories of the Shillong Accord of 1975. India wanted them to sign as Underground Nagas and not as the Federal Government of Nagaland. Shillong Accord of 1975 was signed during India's National Emergency and as a result what democratic and human rights constitutional elements do you expect during National Emergency? Nagas do not call themselves as Underground. Only India called them so to suit their own colonial interests.

Daili. When the Nagaland Peace Council representatives led by Rev. Kenneth Kerhuo visited you in London in Jan/Feb.1977, why did you call the Peace Council as the 'Killer Council'?

Phizo. Nagaland Peace Council was instigated by the Indian Government because they cannot defeat the Naga Army and the Nagas did not realise that aspect of India's political diplomacy.
DaiLi. What do you understand by YEHZABO?

Phizo. YEHZABO is Sema Language and YEHZABO is only for the SEMAS.

DaiLi. According to your opinion, why the British allowed the American Missionaries to work in the Naga Hills and not the British Missionaries?

Phizo. In the late 19th century, the Britishers agreed certain areas of the North East for other foreign Christian Missionaries to work and thus Naga Hills area was allotted to the American Baptist Mission because the British knew and adopted certain policies as to how to administer with their famous and cunning policy of 'Divide and Rule'.

DaiLi. How many times did you meet and discuss with Smt. Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India, for an honourable settlement of Indo-Naga political problem?

Phizo. Smt. Indira Gandhi promised to meet and discuss with me regarding the Indo-Naga political problem but never took place during her tenure of Premiership. The reasons were simply I donot know.

DaiLi. What was your main objective in appealing to the International Court of Justice at the Hague?

Phizo. Firstly, I tried to appeal to the International Court of Justice for the NAGA -Case but later on I thought again and realised that it would not be appropriate for the time being and therefore I withdrew from Appealing to the International Court of Justice.

DaiLi. According to your opinion, how many Nagas were sent to France in the First World War (1914-18) by the British as Labour Corps? Are you one of those Nagas?

Phizo. No. I was not one of them. May be 6000 (six-thousand) Nagas might have been recruited both from Manipur and Naga Hills and sent to France as Labour Corps.
DaiLi. As you said earlier that NagaLand is a Christian State, if so do you consider that the Nagas should stop observing all the Naga Customary Laws and traditions etc.?

Phizo. No. Original Religion of the Nagas must be preserved and practised, if they want. It is better to remain that way rather than remaining in between Nagaism and Christianity. What for to surrender, we must find out something realistic. Naga forefathers had evolved its customary laws and traditions through their wisdom for centuries and thus perfected it in course of time. Nagas must preserve, defend, protect and practice it.

DaiLi. In order to achieve, Nagas Independence within the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, do you profess, preach and practice, the violent or the non-violent method? Don't you think that the non-violent method is one of the best methods or means as Mahatma Gandhi fought with this weapon to achieve India's Independence against the mighty British colonial Empire?

Phizo. Mahatma Gandhi was given India because the British were good Christians. Hindus are not Christians and Gandhi was a Hindu. The Hindus couldn't understand the Naga political philosophy and therefore with the World opinion, the Cease Fire Agreement was signed between Nagas and India in 1964.

DaiLi. What prevents you to come to NagaLand and talk with the Indian Government for settlement of Indo-Naga political problem?

Phizo. I have a promise and a Mission to complete. For the last 25 years they have been waiting for me to talk. But they were afraid to talk with me because they were in the wrong.
DaiLi. Lastly, Your Excellency, will there be any room left for you to reconsider and to accept the Democratic and Secular Constitution of INDIA?

Phizo. Never. Why Nagas fought against the British? Why the Nagas fought against the Japanese? Why Chinese fought against the Japanese? And why Nagas are fighting against the Hindu colonial and exploitative system? India fought against the British Imperial and colonial system because that was anti-India and at last won her Freedom. Nagas must fight her enemy to the end and must win one day, like any other Liberated Nations in the World. I love Indians as much as they love me. I do not hate the Indians, but I will never allow India’s neo-colonial and exploitative policy to prevail over NAGALAND. God is with the Nagas. Whether Heaven falls or Nagaland goes into pieces, I will never accept the Constitution of INDIA.