Appendix: I

MEMORANDUM OF THE CASE OF THE NAGA PEOPLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND AN APPEAL TO H.M.G AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Pursuant to a resolution passed by the Naga National Council at Kohima on the 19th day of February, 1947, this memorandum has been prepared by the Naga National Council, which is the National Organization of the Naga people, and is the embodiment of the expressed desire of the mass of the Naga Nation. The National organization has its roots among the masses through:

1. Village Councils
2. Sub-Tribal Councils
3. Tribal Councils
4. Central Councils and
5. The Naga National Council

The memorandum seeks to present the case of the Naga people for self-determination, for the realization of which an appeal is made to HMG and the Government of India to set up for the Naga people an Interim Government for a period of ten years, at the end of which the Naga people will be left to choose any form of Government under which they will live.

The Land and the People:

Anyone who turns his eyes on the map of India will find Assam as the easternmost province of this sub-continent, and one of her eastern districts is the present Naga Hills. The district was carved out arbitrarily for administrative purposes. But, the Naga people are spread over a wider area, and they are to be found in the Naga Hills District proper, the unadministered area between Assam
and Burma, in the small native state of Manipur in Assam, in the north Cachar Hills, and even in the contiguous parts of Burma. The area covered by Naga people will thus extend to some thirty thousand square miles, though the Naga Hills District (administered portion) alone covers an area of over four thousand square miles. The country is extremely hilly, without good roads, and the people simple, primitive and divided into tribes and clans. Parts of this Nagaland are so inaccessible that the authorities have left them undisturbed, and it is popularly known as the “Unadministered territory” even now Mr. Mills in his monograph on the Lotha Nagas defines the area inhabited by the Naga tribes as “bounded by the Hukawng Valley in the North east, the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley to the North West, of Cachar to the South West, and of the Chindwin to the East. In the South, the Manipur Valley roughly marks the point of contact between the “Naga” tribes and the very much more closely inter-related group of Kuki tribes.” The Naga tribes are not a single tribe, but a whole group of them – Angami, Rengma, Sema, Tangkhul, Konyak, Ao, Lotha, Sangtam, Chang, Zemis, Kabuis, Mao, Bhums, etc., each differing from the others in custom and dialect, but all clearly related and forming a distinct block. They have a distinct culture of their own and their customs and ways of living are widely different from those of the plains people of Assam or others of India.

The Naga people in the administered area of the Naga Hills District number one lakh eighty nine thousand six hundred and forty one, according to the Census of 1941. Mr. T. C, Hudson, in his volume on the “Naga Tribes of Manipur” published in 1911, mentions: “The State... Contains about 8,000 square miles, of which 7,000 square miles are Hill territory as opposed to the Valley territory and are inhabited by Naga and Kuki tribes, hill people who number slightly more than one lakh. While accepting with due reserves the familiar distinction between Nagas and Kukis, it may be pointed out that the tribes commonly classed together as Naga and Kuki occupy definite areas in these hills.” Nor these people have grown into more than two lakhs. Competent observers place the population of the unadministered territory as double the
number in the administered area; while the number of Naga within the Burma boundary is nearly three lakhs. The future of these one million souls is going to be seriously affected in the proposed new constitutions for India and Burma.

**History of British connection with the Nagas:**

The Naga people were independent and their country was not subjugated by the Ahom Kings of the Assam Valley, who ruled for seven hundred years. The Naga Hills never formed part of Assam or India at any time before the advent of the British. Little was known of Naga land when the British obtained suzerainty over the Assam Valley by the Treaty of Yandabu. The British first attacked the Naga people in 1839; but the fight went on for fifty years till the Ao Naga country was taken over in 1889. Since then Naga people have remained loyal, friendly and peaceful. In the first Great War, thousands of Naga people served in distant France to help the British and Allied cause. In the recent Global War, when the Japanese Army attempted to invade India through the Naga Hills, it was the co-operation of the Nagas both in intelligence and jungle warfare which enabled the British Forces to halt the invasion at Kohima, the headquarters station of the District, thus saving Assam and the rest of India from the devastation of war.

These freedom-loving Nagas look up to his Majesty's Government and the Government of India to do the just and proper thing and grant them their just demand for setting up an Interim Government of the Naga people.

**Psychological Factor, and Relationship with the Plains people of Assam:**

The modern world recognizes the importance of psychological implications in dealing with states and nations. To have peace within and without, it is necessary to know the tradition and national aspiration of people and to respect them. The attitude of a people has a great bearing in the formation of
national policies. In framing the future constitution for India, certain thought-provoking factors must not be ignored:

1. Ethnically the Nagas are from a distinct stock
2. The Nagas have a distinct social life, manner of living, laws and customs; and even their method of governance of the people is quite different.
3. In religion, the great majority of the Nagas are Animists; but Christianity which was introduced by the American Baptists long before the advent of the British is now speedily spreading.

Such factors as the above make it imperative that the Nagas have a separate form of government.

Naga System of Administration:

The Nagas have an efficient system of administration. Most of the tribes retain to a considerable degree their ancient laws and customs and village organizations which have lasted through centuries, and these form an integral part of their life, and once destroyed or allowed to decay, can never be replaced by a system so suitable to them. Democracy in its purest form exists among Nagas.

The basis of the Nagas system is the village organization. Every village is an independent unit in the tribe. Villages are managed by the Council of elders and men of influence elected by the people.

Such a polity, such a state of society and democratic life cannot be found in any other part of India.

Our Case:

In the 1935 Constitution of India and Assam, the areas inhabited by the Nagas were kept outside the jurisdiction of the Provincial and Central popular
Governments, and were formed into “Excluded Areas” where the legislatures had no sway and the Nagas were kept as the special responsibility of the Governor of the Province in his capacity as the Crown Representative. In other words, the Naga people have no connection with the policies and politics of the different groups of Indian politicians.

Ought the British Government or the Government of India to throw this society into the heterogeneous mixture of other Indian races?

A Constitution drawn by the people who have no knowledge of the Naga Hills and the Naga people will be quite unsuitable and unacceptable to the Naga people.

Thrown among forty crores of Indians, the one million Nagas, with their unique system of life, will be wiped out of existence. Hence this earnest plea of the Nagas for a separate form of Interim Government to enable them to grow to a fuller stature.

In the light of the facts stated in the foregoing paragraphs, and in view of the isolated geographical position of the Naga Land, and taking into consideration the unique characteristics of Naga polity and the compact block of the Nagaland.

This memorandum is placed with the authorities for setting up an Interim Government OF THE NAGA PEOPLE, with financial provisions for a period of ten years, at the end of which the Naga people will be left to choose any form of Government under which they themselves choose to live.
Appendix : II

Letter to the House of Lords

Kohima, Assam, India,
27th March, 1947.

To,
Lord Simon,
House of Lords,
Westminster, London.

Your Lordship,

When in January, 1929, Your Lordship at the head of a Statutory Commission on India visited Kohima, situated in the heart of Nagaland, to ascertain the wish of the people in the matter of future Governance of their land which was arbitrarily tagged to India for administrative convenience, we the Nagas made it clear to Your Lordship and Your Lordship’s colleagues that we desired to be left alone in the event of the British Government withdrawing from India. Now that the British Government has set a time for withdrawing from India we wish to re-assert our right for self-determination. Enclosed will be found a copy of the Memorandum which the Naga National Council has submitted to H.M.G. Enclosed is also a copy of communique issued by the present Government of Assam.

No argument is needed to show that the Nagas are a separate people, with their own customs, traditions, and culture; and to say that the British Government have decided to hand over to the Indian hands complete authority for Governing for ever Nagaland, in complete inconsistence with the policy of administration hither to followed in these Hills and in violation of implied but clear pledges in the past years, without even asking the opinion of the Nagas is not only unjust but immoral.
The demand of Naga people as will be seen is a very modest one. They have simply asked for a period of ten years during which they should with the aid of an advanced Nation, be allowed to grow in their own way and find own feet. The reason for this is obvious. The Cabinet Mission came to India last year, one in the trio made the notable pronouncement; “India is politically adult.”

This does not mean that Nagaland is politically adult, if considering India to be politically adult, it is decided to sacrifice the Nagas on the alter of India’s Independence, the Nagas who have all these years been loyal to a fault cannot help questioning the right of the British Government in appointing the India’s to be their heirs in succession. This letter is being sent to acquaint Your Lordship with the submission of the Memorandum may be given the consideration it deserves. The interest of the Naga people can only be truly safeguarded by granting them their request as set forth in the Memorandum.

We are Your Lordship’s Obedient Servants

1. Sd/- T. Aliba
2. Sd/- T. Sakhrie

Joint Secretaries
Naga National Council
Appendix: III

Kohima, Assam, India.

Dated, the 28th March, 1947.

To,
Winston Churchill Esquire,

Sir,

Of the Nagas and the land they live, you may not have heard at all; or may just have heard when the Japanese forces made a daring assault on the Naga Hills in their bid to invade India. But the righteousness of our case entitle us to demand your attention to a letter addressed to Lord Simon, who with the Rt. Hon'ble Clement Attlee had the opportunity of seeing with our own eyes our land and our people. The enclosures to that letter are appended as also a copy of Memorandum of Naga People submitted to the Statutory Commission in 1929.

If proofs were sought of what the Naga people did for the British and Allied cause when the jewel on the British Crown was seriously threatened, we can only refer you to such personages as Lord Wavell and Lord Louis Mountbatten. It is not our intention to boast as to what we did. But when British, of her own choice is letting the jewel go off her crown, it is pertinent to stress before the man whose name will ever be associated with the Chapter proclaiming freedom to all peoples to choose any form of Government under which they will live, that we did what we did during the war believing a better world of progress and growth, of justice and freedom was in store for us and that our demand to exercise the right for self-determination in God's good time would not be ignored.

Our country was taken over by the British Government simply to protect their territories in the Plains of India. Nearly seventy years of British administration has taught us the advantage of living at peace with our neighbours.
When the British Government made over to Indian hands authority as in the place we rightly belong to, that is, by leaving us in place we rightly belong to, that is, be acceding to us our persistent demand throughout all these years, the peace of India which British is anxious to ensure, will in no way be imperilled from this end. To British, we the Nagas never said 'Quit'. But when time has decreed that British should quit, we must say – quit honourably.

I am,

Your obedient Servant

Sd/

T.Sakhrie

Secretary, Naga National Council
Appendix : IV

Kohima, Assam, India,
29th March, 1947.

To,

The Right Hon'ble Clement Attlee,
Prime Minister of England,
10, Downing St., London.

Honourable Premier,

If you cast back your mind to January 10, 1,929, you will surely remember Naga Tribesman in savage splendour. Perhaps you then firmly believe that the Nagas could not be thrown into the sea of Indian politics. If the demand we the Nagas made before the Statutory Commission of which you were a member, sounded reasonable then, you will surely concede that the Memorandum on the case of the Naga people submitted to His Majesty's Government, which must be in your hands now in most natural and reasonable. For your convenience a copy is again enclosed. Copies of letters addressed to Lord Simon and Mr. Winston Churchill are also enclosed.

I am,
Your obedient Servant
Sd/-
T. Sakhrie
Secretary, Naga National Council
Appendix: V
THE NINE POINT UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN SIR AKBAR HYDARI, GOVERNOR OF ASSAM AND NAGA LEADERS ARRIVED AT IN JUNE 1947.

1. JUDICIAL: All cases whether civil or criminal arising between Nagas in the Naga Hills will be disposed of by duty constituted Naga Courts according to Naga customary law or such law as may be introduced with the consent of duly recognized Naga representative organization: save that where a sentence of transportation or death has been passed there will be a right of appeal to the Governor.

2. EXECUTIVE: The general principle is accepted that what the Naga Council is prepared to pay for the Naga 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-Division of the Naga Hills should be administered by a Sub-Divisional Council with a full time Executive President paid by Naga Council who would be responsible to the District Officer for all matters falling within the latter’s responsibility, and to the Naga Council for all matters falling within their responsibility.

In regard to:

(a) Agriculture – The Naga Council will exercise all the powers now vested in the District Officer.
(b) C.W.D: The Naga Council would take over full control.
(c) Education and Forest Department – The Naga Council is prepared to pay for all the services and staffs.
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 Council. In cases of dispute as to whether any law did so affect this agreement the matter would be referred by the Naga Council to the Governor 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**: The land with all its resources in the Naga Hills should not be alienated to a Non-Naga without the consent of the Naga Council.

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

6. **BOUNDARIES**: That present administrative divisions should be modified so as (1) to bring back into the Naga Hills District all the forests transferred to the Sibsagar and Nowgong Districts in the past and (2) to bring less than one unified administrative unit as far as possible all 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 without the consent of the Naga Council.

7. **ARMS ACT**: The Deputy Commissioner will act on the advice of the Naga Council in accordance with the provisions of the Arm Act.

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

9. **PERIOD OF AGREEMENT**: The Governor of Assam as the Agent of the Government of the Indian Union will have a special responsibility for a period of 10 years to ensure the due observance of this agreement; at the end of this period
the Naga Council will be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people arrive at.
H E Sri C Rajagopalachari,
Presidency Jail,
Governor General of India,
Calcutta,
Government House,
22 November, 1948
New Delhi

Your Excellency,

In the spirit of real humility, nevertheless not without a feeling of honour and glory for the sake of my country, I, A Z Phizo, Naga, your State Prisoner, address this letter to you as one of the spokesmen of the Naga people.

It would have been more proper if I did not have to write anything concerning myself but a prisoner always feels a certain amount of injustice, and in my case it is especially so because I have been made prisoner under peculiar circumstances which I shall deal with later on. In the first place let me clearly state that Nagas are not hostile to Indian Union. Nagas are not anti-Indian. This explains my personal position as well. And in the land of pure democracy like Naga Hills the voice of the people is supreme. No man worth his name can say or do anything against the will of the people.

I hope Your Excellency has received my previous letter of the 1911 inst in which I have said that Nagas must know what India wants and India must know what the Nagas want, to make a settlement. The unfortunate part is that the Nagas know the Indians very little and the Indians have never known the Nagas because
Indians, as foreigners, were not allowed to enter into Naga country freely except on the fringes where Assam railway was made to pass through our territory touching three or four villages only. As a result we are quite strangers to one another so far. It is a new situation both of us are facing today.

Therefore let us not be impatient, but study the situation with a clear mind without scramble. In a letter of this nature I cannot touch many vital subjects of interest to which both of our two people hold an opposite view. It needs personal contact for discussion. But I writes down here many things in plain language for Your Excellency to know the situation and the attitude of the Naga people.

Some interested people try to create the impression that Nagas are bent to do mischief. I want to assure Your Excellency here and now that there is no danger in Naga Hills. There is no danger in Indo-Burma border. Anybody who talks against the Nagas is not only the enemy of the Nagas but enemy to India as well. Anybody, whoever he may be, who talks as if there is danger in Indo-Burma border is a liar. Such man must have a design beyond his convincing talk. In a country where there is no police, and police was not needed, can anybody honestly believe that danger is breeding like germs in a wound?

Leaving aside other considerations, the very fact that we have no ground to go against India, is a positive assurance that we have not yet arisen the spirits of revenge because the cause was not there for the simple reason that we have been all along living apart. We are fortunate that we do not have a traditional age-old hate to vex us which brews trouble and war.

There is another cause which eats up the confidence of men and sows seeds of discontent of one People against another. That is fear, the greatest cause of all the worries and trouble of mankind. Fear of invasion, fear of starvation by blockade, fear of economic disadvantage and exploitation. Fortunately the Naga people do not entertain the sense of fear whether of invasion or of blockade.
Standing as a nation, we are not worried for that. Definitely there is a distrust of economic exploitation in the fair name of development and industrialization. And, as the Possibility is of, our country becoming another battle-field, the cause shall have to be eliminated.

If we look at the Present problem realistic view for peace and goodwill towards one another We can see that we are living in a wonderful opportunity to bring our two people closer than ever before (I say our two people because our neighbour Hillman and Plains tribal people of Assam are not opposing us). We know definitely the dynamic forces latent in savagery and in civilization that create war and peace.

If we refuse to eliminate the causes that create trouble, the curse must be on us. Refusal to recognize the dangers will be like a man walking to a Precipice blindfolded. So our duty is to find a way out and let good feeling come in by being reasonable before we become further estranged through inevitable consequences.

It is not the time to suspect or accuse one another; in the first Place, God has made us differently to a design. Secondly, we did not have the opportunity to know one another. I am quite sure that there is not a single Indian who can claim to be on friendly terms with the Naga leaders and the Nagas vice versa. Thus the situation stands. So, high-handed Policy and shamelessly resorting to so-called legal implication under the cloak of Security Act or adhering to the former Master's policy of 1818 Regulations will not bring the two people closer together.

The Naga people and the Government of India have a constitutional difference. My detention in an Indian jail proves the contention of that difference. This also shows that the Government of India is aggressive and dangerous for the Nagas. It shows that she does not believe [in settling] differences in a democratic way through the goodwill of the people. No better Proof can be given than the
imprisonment of a Naga without any trial or any charge. It is an open insult to my country because your Government has arrested a spokesman while discussion for a settlement was being carried on which has not yet reached the final stage and there was no question of break in the talk on the part of the Nagas. H E the Governor of Assam will recall that on the 11th May at his house, I assured to meet him again for further talk on his proposed ten years agreement. But I still hold that my arrest against all the laws of human decency was just a tactical blunder.

Whatever it is, Naga people- and a political prisoner of a free Indian Union today as I am- [this is being expressed not through an injured feeling but] with the hope that understanding will be created.

That much only is my wish.

In this transitional period of history we the Nagas are in a very delicate position. We are not minimizing our responsibility in the matter of peace which is the true foundation of progress and prosperity and which confronts the whole world today. We occupy a territory at a point of transfusions and we cannot permit our Naga territory to become a political polemics. And I appeal personally to you for my countrymen that we need all the possible help and understanding so that we can contribute our share in building up a peaceful world. India can be magnanimous today.

It is not the nature of the Nagas to be secretive. And our way of stating facts plainly is sometimes misunderstood by the people of the plains. But we never made a secret of our aspiration to be independent again when the British left India. We had been active against the British occupation of our country ceaselessly. And we declared our independence on 14 August 1947.

Since we endured a life together as a British-conquered subjects along with the Indians, we sincerely believed India would not interfere in our liberty
and freedom. Now, the British have left and India is politically free. But the possibility of India’s annexation of Nagaland and domination over the unwilling Nagas, have become more fearful problem than the British imperialism whose home and country was at least several thousand mile away. Day by day this appears to be nearer to a fact than a mere possibility. We give all the praises and glory to India and particularly to Indian Congress for compelling the British to quit sooner than expected. But I hope India shall not become selfish and naughty in her greatest hour of victory. I believe both of our people do not know how to meet as we two are so [much of] strangers to one another. Still I refuse to believe that the old urge of imperialism for domination and exploitation in the name of safeguards, protection and development of the country has already gripped the heart of India within so short a time of attaining her freedom.

I do not think India has assumed that she has inherited the “Whiteman’s burden” to look after the welfare of the undeveloped people of coloured races against their will, but rather she has taken the lead to champion the cause of human rights. Many people in my country must be laughing secretly now, as I have been made a political hostage when I came out to Indian Union Territory, because I always consider India as a peace-loving country without any aggressive design.

We shall have to take into account that materially we live in one world, but socially and politically we have not yet reached the stage where our enforced unity under one Government will make our two people loyal and friendly towards one another. Let us halt and ponder carefully.

Plainly our dilemma is how to make a settlement with India so that the pride of India, in her greatest glory of achievement, can be raised up to the estimation of the world and make her feel that wonderful joy and happiness only the real giver can feel that same time we free ourselves to become a distinct nation again as we were before the British conquered our country. We know as a
nation from experience that a hurt feeling can never be healed. And the goodwill of India is just as important as our independence itself. We have not been careless in these matters at any time even though we are turbulent by nature.

We wanted India to settle down more calmly so that it will not appear that we are trying to take advantage of her weakness or unsettled condition. This, we know very well, is politically dangerous. It may appear that we are very foolish. But our independence is not a challenge. India already knew our programme which we announced publicly to the world and we never stood on pretence conducting our national affairs. Say what the critics like, we march on.

A nation standing on her birth right seeking to get back her liberty and freedom cannot be pushed aside by the march of time. So we decided to go deliberately slow. We are now swayed by passing events. We want to be considerate and careful towards others just as much as we shall have to be careful for our people. Thus we stand today respectfully but in all humility to face you in a friendly way. Real peace can be created and preserved only through mutual respect and understanding. I still consider that we are following the right policy.

The question of the finalization of the Indian Constitution was there. And we felt that it was our duty to restate and uniform the Indian Union again of our decision to remain independent even though she has already been informed. It was not because we have declared our independence and so we mean to stick to it, but it was and it has been the wish of the people to remain independent.

Our wish was made known to Mr. Attlee, the present Prime Minister of England. When his party came to Kohima, Naga Hills, with Sir John Simon Commission in 1929, it was noted. As a result, we were kept in the “Excluded Area.” It may be added here that the Nagas are not legal minded and mere legalistic argument is considered trivial and immoral. Simply because once we were chained together in our slavery, we hope that period of our misfortune shall
not form the important point of historical sequence for our two people to quarrel at any time. We must settle our own affairs amicably.

Propaganda was made for a long time in the Indian Press by interested people accusing the Nagas in one way or another. We kept quiet. We have been accused to be in league with the British and Americans or someone else. So I shall mention briefly the diverse problems we had to face in overcoming many difficulties some of which I can mention now for the first time.

Problem No. 1:

Our immediate problem was to fight against a colonial scheme. It was well known to Indian leaders that the British wanted to establish a colony known as North Eastern agency. The best brains of the Nagas were wholeheartedly with the British in the scheme. That was part of their spontaneous loyalty. The British could have easily got 100,000 sq. miles or more and colonize it-protest or no protest. It was not difficult for them to get even 200,000 sq. miles because much more than that were in a fluid state with the people entirely pro-British in their attitude. This may appear to be fantastic but a careful study of the area will show the possibility of maintaining two parts. One in Manngdow-Buthidannj region with Chittagong to be a free port for some time as the British cannot think of a state without an outlet of seaport. Then, the other one is the Moulmein-Tavoy region to the sea where the well-known loyal British-made Karens predominate with Mons and other hill people. Above Tenesarim division there are Shans in the Shan states, then Chins and Kachins with the Karens who form the best soldiers in Burma and who were very loyal to the British. They would choose living in a British colony than in an independent Burma. In upper Burma the portion towards Myitkyina region of Huong-Mogok Valley, then towards Assam through Naga territory including Kabaw Valley with Manipur State (two thirds of the state belongs to the hill men) then Lushai Hills down to Chittagong Hill Tracts of
Maungdaw-Bhuthidannj region to the sea. Further up towards Sadiya there are Abors, Miris and Mishings and Tirap frontier. All this, if it were made a reality with full support of the hill people could have become a state of some importance from the very day of its birth without having to worry about any internal disturbances form the very inception as people have a brotherly feeling towards one another.

The idea was, I am sure, hatched by Nagas Hills Administrators who were always clever and stout-hearted British aristocrats. But without the support and full co-operation of the Naga leaders it could not be materialized. If the scheme was allowed to take shape only Brahmaputra Valley might have been left to Assam because Silchar plains would have gone to Pakistan and Khasis and Garos Hills might have joined the federation of a very strong hill people’s state even though the name would be colony.

Was it a feasible scheme? In Assam, Digboi oil-filed and coal fields could belong to the colony. Hill people and plain tribal could easily fight it out. Patheria Test oil deposits might be taken over on approval. In Burma area, the iron ore mines at Nawngkhio in the northern Shan States, Wolfram can lead at Mawehi mines; Tavoy tin mines, amber and Jades in Hukkong Valley would belong to the colony because these contiguous geographical regions belong to a people of same attitude with fraternal feelings of non-Burmese stock. They like the British and would have fallen into any British scheme. Assam plains might have joined the federation voluntarily especially when communication with Indian Union became a real problem. The Assamese people are friendly with the hill men and economically it would be to their advantage.

The colony would have become a master stroke for a few cunning British schemers with a people on their side who are more loyal to them than they would expect from even their own people in England… Even if Burma portion failed to materialize, Assam hills frontier alone could have formed a state with British
brain and capital behind it and the area as big as the whole of Bengal with a seaport facility and population over three million people.

Naga leaders stood against the scheme of colony because it would go against the interest of other Eastern people. We could go down in history as a people who stood against freedom of the East, besides we wanted to manage our own country independently without interference in any form. We had to fight against the scheme for a long time and the better part of our leader’s time was exhausted before the transfer of power took place.

When the last British Governor of Assam visited Naga Hills in Mokokchung, his speech was directed against our stand in a tone of insult in pious exhortation denouncing the Naga independence struggle. But we knew better. We had won.

Before the power was actually transferred there was not much time left to us to come into contact with Indian leaders. Another barrier was that we did not know one another. Besides, the remnant British officials became hostile towards the Nagas. The mischief they created prior to their departure remains wholly uncured up to now. Anyhow we have not failed the Eastern people in the fight and struggle against British imperialism.

Problem No. 2: Home Front

Without a strong foundation at home there can be no unity and no peace. After we successfully fought against the British scheme we had to face our home front. I do not know whether it was known to India that the British mischievously advised the Nagas to remain within India saying that India would be broken up into pieces within five years. And they refused to pay the salary of those Government servants who stood for Naga independence. They were threatened with imprisonment and fine. As a result Government servants started quarrelling
with the British remnant officials and the internal situation of our country was badly disturbed.

We did not want chaos and we had to rearrange the whole organization in the country. We wanted the Government servants to remain in their respective posts, all of them. So they had to resign from our NNC and other regional committees wherever they might be as they were given the leading part in the British time.

The village panchayats, and Group and Regional committees were almost in the hands of the people in the villages all the time. In the organization there was not a single village which was not represented. Even then it took up a lot of time to rearrange on the whole-country basis. And as our people were cultivators we always move with the season. So we take a long time to decide important issues.

There was a time when a certain outside element got into our internal politics. During those days one so-called “ultimatum” was given to India by wholly unwarranted and unauthorized few persons without consulting the people. Without the approval of the people first, our country never recognizes anything. But we owe an apology.

To eradicate the whole undesirable elements without creating unnecessary commotion, a slow process to get rid of them without shouting was found desirable. The whole thing fizzled out. But we felt another setback for some time. In the land of democracy, people are undemonstrative. We live in peaceful obscurity. Events do not move fast. That is another reason why you will have to have patience to come to know the Naga people.
Our Problem No. 3: Final Stage

Whatever the Nagas want, the decision is left with the people and no man can individually do much. Unless some radical change has taken place within the last five months (July onward) after my arrest we have come to the last stage of setting our affair with India. And I want to make my position quite clear to Your Excellency. It is important for me and for my country.

As a spokesman I can only say what my people want and what they have decided, nothing less but nothing more. Besides that the final say is with the people. Our country is so organized that no man can pretend to speak for the people unless he knows the whole situation, or he is authorized. The position of a spokesman and a leader is often confused. And I want to believe that my arrest was due to such a misjudgement. A leader of an organization may be able to shout and say many things but not a spokesman. Like a pilot the spokesman shall have to follow direction.

To settle a difference it needs the parties to meet face to face. After coming to know one another, in the middle of negotiation, if one party is to kidnap away the spokesman of the other party in this fashion as their political hostage, the talk cannot be carried on. If any settlement is made through threat or trickery it cannot be accepted and recognized.

The way I have been arrested under a legal pretext can have no excuse and no country will tolerate for long this sort of insult. Leaving aside Gandhiji’s principle which is being outraged everyday; my detention is an open violation of the very principle of non-co-operation for which the Congress of India is supposed to stand.

H E the Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari has been mostly responsible for the present controversy between the Nagas and India from June
1947 and onward. Otherwise something should have been known even if time were to be taken for India to settle down more calmly.

In February 1947, Naga people demanded of H M Government and/or the Government of India an Interim Government for a period of ten years. When the subcommittee of the Constituent assembly of India came to Kohima we could not carry on any discussion because they wanted the Nagas to be within India whereas the final aim of the Nagas has all along been independence without any foreign interference, whoever that may be.

Many unexpected things happen in the march of history, so our experience was not the exception. Knowing that the subcommittee mission was a failure, H E the Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari came to Kohima with his Secretary and Adviser Mr. Adams, a former British official in Naga Hills for years who acted as D C in Kohima for some time. He was one of the men who told the Nagas to remain with India saying that India would go to pieces within five years. So the Nagas could get out any time as if we would like to be glorified through someone’s downfall. It is much to be regretted that for settlement of national affairs people do not entertain a healthy idea on the basis of mutual understanding and agreement.

The proposed agreement, better known as “Governor’s ten year agreement,” based on the Interim Government for ten years demanded by the Nagas in February 1947, was fully discussed. At that time four-fifths of the members of the NNC were Government servants. It was in June 1947 under duress of official high pressure that NNC was divided. Sir Pawsey, the last British DC was there then. As most of the NNC members were Government servants, it was made to be considered as accepted. During the discussion of the Agreement Sir Akbar Hydari threatened the Nagas with military power in the presence of Sir Pawsey and others. Within three days the Naga public rejected Sir Akbar Hydari’s agreement. His threat was considered as a challenge and it
enraged the people. On his return from Imphal, Manipur State, he was informed by the people in writing. As a spokesman I am in a difficult position. I cannot displease the one to please the other. I hope India will come to know Naga people better.

Unless people in my country have taken another course the "Governor’s ten-year agreement" will, I believe, from the basis of an agreement. But the Indian government must be perfectly sincere and honest with the Nagas in their discussion and in their dealings. There will be no honour to deceive or cheat a small people like the Nagas. India must consider the position of the Nagas and compare with her own position of the past. If India once felt the weight of domination of people who were 4,000 miles away, whose people were seven times smaller than her own population, from a country twenty times smaller than India itself, the Nagas will feel the weight of the connections with India like a rat under the foot of an elephant. Some other people on the border joining the Indian Union voluntarily must not form the basis of consideration.

To entertain the idea that an agreement cannot be reached satisfactorily of this state is either a lie or an outright greediness. To settle the present difference it is not a question of the people but a settlement of land that belongs to the Nagas.

It is a criminal habit to talk in terms of military expedition when a satisfactory settlement cannot be reached. But even that much question does not arise in our case. The land that will form the basis of settlement entirely belongs to the Nagas. When I hear the leaders talk about fighting for settlement of a difference, I always wonder if such men had gone through the experience of butchering mankind. Vainglory and cowardly leadership often let loose carnage and destroy all the basis of understanding when they do not know what more to do.
It is mean to take advantage of another man's weakness. During the transitional period of transfer of power when Indian was quite helpless we never contemplated to take advantage of such a weak situation. I always entertain the hope that one Eastern race (especially those who got back their freedom form their white master) will not attempt to dominate another people. No other nation had a better experience than Indian to lead the world to freedom from the course of imperialism and domination. It is for India to show the way out.

Till now I do not know why I have been imprisoned. I suspect that Sir Akbar Hydari does not want me to be a spokesman of my people because I pointed out the flaws in his “Agreement” whatever the outcome may be, it is not me but my people who have the final say.

As for Sir Akbar Hydari, we hold the opinion that he was not a sincere man and he had a double motive trying to create such a situation in a peaceful country like ours. This I have very plainly stated to the DCSB office in my statement. Also, I have told all what SB wanted to know because the Nagas have nothing to hide and our independence is not a secret to be hidden. On the other hand, to become suspicious or get frightened with the facts is cowardly.

What would be inevitable shall have to be faced. The earlier it is done the better. For the first time in our history the Naga people have witnessed the greatest provocation. In ordinary times it would have not been tolerated. Innocent Naga women have been fired at and molested. This was committed by Indian Union soldiers. Three men were shot dead in cold blood in a village. The hated British had not done this sort of things even when they conquered our country. They fought a fair fight without shooting men in cold blood and they never molested women. Even in the last war when the Japanese overran our country there was not a single case where women were molested by the terrible Japanese soldiers but Indian soldiers had a black record to their sorrow. Sir Akbar Hydari had given a sample of his threat and I sent him a message to the effect that “so
now you have let the cat out, All-ho-Akbar.” I am certain about one thing—my turbulent Naga people cannot be frightened into submission.

If India wants to shoot, the Nagas shall face the bullets without retaliation as much as humanly possible. We shall refuse to submit to evil things. We shall not barter our birth right freedom, liberty and independence to the enemy bullet. And we shall not start fighting with India and give her a chance to put our country under military control in the name of internal trouble. Sir Akbar Hydari’s double scheme is dangerous both for the Nagas and the Indian Union. As for our case it will be settled by all means without a fight. Our case is absolutely clear, and we stand appealing for sanity.

For us it is not a matter to feel ashamed about to say that we are backward in many respects. But it will not be a credit to India, the champion of the freedom of mankind. If India will try to twist and turn a situation through a certain legal flaw and take possession of Naga lands against the will of people. If India thinks that she had a lien on Naga Hills through the British Bill of Independence, nothing hinders India from becoming a benevolent giver now....

The Naga people are good administrators and we live under a system of pure democracy. We are capable of managing our country without having anything to worry or fear. Our people have gone so far as to say that if India cannot or will not supply anything, we shall not complain and we shall not protest. If we cannot stand on our own feet there is no meaning in talk of independence.

How we conduct our affairs may not be known to Indians as we are so little known. We have Chiefs in many places but no Chiefs can do things against the will of the people. They are not feudal Chiefs but only head of the people. All Villages are under Panchayats system of its own and they are quite independent having nothing to worry about interference in all the internal matters.
Every Naga family has got its own house and lands for cultivation. No families need worry for land. The land belongs to the people forming mostly individual property. We never pay land tax and we never paid tax to the British. The feeling of personal ownership with perfect liberty is ingrained in the life of our people. As a result our nature hungers after absolute freedom.

Psychologically this form of existence has much to do with our national struggle to remain independent without interference. To the Nagas independence is a desire.

No man is so rich (not even the Chiefs) nor any family is so poor as to worry for the next month.

No man possesses so much land depriving others, such a practice the community shall not allow. The shrewd British never interfered with the people, not even their land. Arrest was something unknown. Police was not necessary and only about thirty police used to be kept for traffic duty in Kohima town. The people were left alone and perfectly free, but no improvement was encouraged. As a result socially and economically Nagas remain the same today as we were hundreds of years ago. But this is not something to be regretted. Our apparent backwardness is an asset to us. We start our new life on virgin soil with modern plans.

It was known to India that the Nagas have never been very quiet under the British even before the last war. When war came, and our country became the scene of a terrible battlefield, the spirit of adventure for many found an outlet. To many it was a thrill with modern weapons. But the war also changed the mind of our people. It dies not pay to fight other men’s war and war is to be avoided if at all possible. So the bitter experience we passed through will not be all a loss to our future generations.
Leaving aside the question of advantages and disadvantages, people felt a deeper need, an experience with scarcely visits a country like a rare comet. People have seen independence in the darkness of war like the beautiful starry world which can be seen only in the darkness of the night. Peace was heard in the thundering sound of bombs and cannons. The meaning of defence can be realized only on a battlefield. The people who value life in higher conception and who lived in the war shattered country have seen independence more clearly than anybody can paint a picture. All is like a vision that can never be forgotten. Will any sensible man like to leave even a remote chance for his children to live on the battlefield again?

I can only repeat once again that it is unfortunate that Indians do not know us and we did not know the Indian leaders before. But then we never made any secret about our determination to be independent regardless of the consequences and independent country had to face. I believe that the chord of bondage that kept out two people tied together in slavery having been cut off, we shall be able to trust one another better in our freedom as equals. Our relationship will grow spontaneously through new understanding and mutual trust.

As small nation you can trust us. As a big nation we shall have confidence in you.

In conclusion let me enumerate briefly that:
(a) There is no secret and no danger in Naga Hills
(b) The final say is with the people and not with a particular individual
(c) The Nagas are not planning Machiavellian politics
(d) The consideration of balancing a power or seeking a strong partnership is out of question
(e) The Naga people are not against the Indian Union
(f) The Governor’s “Ten Year Agreement” based on Naga demand or any other agreement must be settled in a constitutional manner without any show of force or coercion or trickery
(g) I must be released or tried in a law court of justice
(h) Freedom, liberty and peace are the first and the last consideration
(i) The Nagas stand for sanity appealing to you for an understanding.

Finally, let me say that our stand was not through pure selfishness of gain or glory. It was something deeper than that. Situated as we are, surrounded by the biggest nations in the world like India on one hand in the west, on the other hand China in the northeast, and a most determined people like the Burmese in the east and Pakistan further south and then, still further of a people toward north whose future destiny is still in the balance who are racially Tibeto-Mongolian with a geographical contiguity toward the east rather than toward the west, placed as we are in such a situation, we cannot ignore existing facts and overlook remote responsibilities. So we have a special responsibility to consider the welfare of our future generations and for maintaining tranquility for a lasting peace where we have been sandwiched in an inextricable position with diverse nations on all sides.

The Nagas were divided by the British administration into three major units. About one-fifth of Naga population with that much in proportion of our land were administered from British India. About the same proportion was administered by British Burma. And approximately sixty percent of the population occupying a territory of about seventy percent of Nagaland were left untouched and undisturbed who were absolutely independent having no homage to pay to any other country and no country has the right to encroach on their territory.
Nagaland is a compact geographical unit with clearly demarcated boundaries before the advent of the British. The boundaries that were shifted after British occupation for administrative convenience were officially recorded.

I hope on careful consideration, the inevitable position we occupy will be appreciated. It is not through irresponsible isolationism of foolishness or with an evil motive of aggression for which we have been struggling to regain our independence for the last seventy years, ever since we were conquered. The first attempt was made within three months, and in the every first year of surrender we besieged the British forces on two occasions but help and reinforcement were always available from India soil.

With the rest of the Eastern people you also hated imperialism whether white or brown. All the Eastern people were on in that. We all stood against and fought like one man. I hope the Eastern free nations shall not try to dominate again their weaker sister nations in any form against their will. If such policy be pursued there can be no happiness in this world.

Sd/-

A. Z. Phizo.
Appendix: VII

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

Naga National Council,
Naga Hills, Kohima.

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 recognized 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 the voluntary basis are expressly to remove from the minds of the people and Government of India any possible difficulty to accept and recognize 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 Naga people for freedom and independence from India, and lastly but with a genuine feeling of goodwill to avoid any possible injury that many 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 percent Nagas being in favour of severing governmental connections with India.

A plebiscite such a now proposed to be voluntarily taken be 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.

Throughout these recent years of their direct association 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 curb the Naga right to self-determine 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 ignores or runs contrary to this basic 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 a 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 the government of India and their accredited representatives that in so far as 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 are they
aware of this, they are anxious to strengthen India’s hands to achieve the desired need. It would, however be foolish on the part of India to be deceived into 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 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 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 when it is remembered 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 art 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 the Naga Sovereign State. The exact date 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
A.Z. Phizo
President
Kohima Naga National Council
January 1, 1951.
THE HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

Abroad “S. S. Lushai”

River Brahmaputra,

Silghat- Tezpur, Assam.

Sir,

Ever since 1879 when the British finally conquered Nagaland after 30 years of intermittent war the Naga people had considered the end of British rule a consummation devoutly to be wished. The struggle to regain our independence continued to prove abortive as obviously the British would not leave Nagaland without leaving India. August 15, 1947 only marked the change of Masters for the Nagas. To remedy this position, the Naga National Council, on behalf of the people of Nagaland, made many fervent appeals to India to return the Independence of Nagaland. All the appeals spoken or written fell on deaf ears. Stronger appeals had to be made.

Therefore on January 1, 1951, the Naga National Council intimated the Government of India that a voluntary Plebiscite on the issue of Naga independence would be taken by the Nagas. The date for the commencement of the Plebiscite was later fixed in another letter dated April 11, 1951 to the Government. In both the letters Government were invited to send observers to the Plebiscite which was inaugurated on May 16, 1951.

The voluntary Plebiscite, which had now been concluded assumes a definite place and the purposes of it were made perfectly clear in the second
paragraph of Naga National Council’s memorandum dated January 1, 1951, which read- “This Plebiscite shall be a voluntary Plebiscite on the part of the Naga people and the purposes 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 recognize 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 Naga people for freedom and independence from India, and lastly but 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 percent Naga being in favour of severing Governmental connection with India.”

The Plebiscite now being concluded, the Naga National Council has great pleasure to bring to your notice the result of it. The conclusion of the Plebiscite reveals in a very concrete form the evidential and conclusive proof of the Naga National aspiration for independence. The verdict of the people has been for the constitution of the Nagaland into a separate sovereign state in which they can live their own lives, and guide their own destiny. The Nagas have reused to occupy a place they consider to be worthy of their dignity and harmful to their interests. They are determined to be free and to become an independent nation so they can develop their own country and exploit their country’s natural resources for the benefit of the children of the soil.

The Naga Independence issue is a simple matter. We do not consider it to have become a subject of controversy. It has not become a “case” in the sense of it being a dispute. We believe that our differences in this political matter can be settled in a dignified manner.

The present generation have the proud privilege to live in an age of REASON and we the Nagas consider ourselves fortunate to be a part of this
historic moment with its great responsibilities in which every people has a role to play. In its search for peace and security, the civilized world is in a greatly agitated state. What the future has in store for the Nagas time alone can show. Besides God, India today holds our destiny in her hands.

Whether we the Nagas shall shed our tear in joy or whether in sorrow and anger is a matter which India will decide.

For the past five years, the Nagas have spared no pains to settle their political issue with India. In reverence to Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation and the great country he led we have not at any time adopted a belligerent attitude toward India. Well known as head Hunters, the Nagas, however, do not belong to a pugnacious family, and they have great conviction in the efficacy of the creed of non-violence.

We do not intend to recall the not too happy relations between India and the Nagas which have marked the last five years. It is not for the Nagas to be sorry for the way they are now being treated; it is for them rather to feel ashamed. The Nagas have been deceived at every turn-legally or otherwise-by the authority in power today. The Agreement of June 1947 is a case in point. Concluded between the Naga National Council on the one side, and his Excellency the Governor of Assam on the other, the agreement, besides others, provided the non-alienation of land in Naga territory.

The Government of India, soon after, started altering Naga Hills Boundaries; lands were acquired for Forest Reserves, 85 square miles of Oil bearing Naga village land were leased to the Burma Oil Company. The provision assuring that the Nagas need fear no exploitation had been belied by the permission given to the Burma Oil Company to exploit and drill our oil. For this, Government of India is reported to have already received a sum of Rupees Ten millions out of an agreed royalty of Three Hundred millions.
The customary laws of the Nagas were to be respected. Being democratic, the Naga people are directly concerned with matters relating to judicial, executive and law making responsibilities. Naga customs were not interfered with by the British during the 68 years of their rule. Five years of Indian Administration in Nagaland has disclosed that ancient Naga customs and institutions will not persist very long. The Naga form of pure democracy is not to be permitted. By unilateral action the Agreement was abrogated by India. The Government did not even take the courtesy to inform the Nagas of their action.

No good purpose will be served by our dwelling at length upon the past wrongs perpetrated to our people by India. To do so would only create ill feelings and hatred between India and Nagas. Whatever we have said is said with the best of intentions and it needs to be emphasized here that we have stated these things only to make India understand the Naga position better.

The Great Indian Leaders have accomplished so thorough a job in condemning domination by one people over another and the curse of imperialistic designs of one nation against another particularly towards the weaker and backward ones that there is little left for Nagas to say on the subject. It may as well be considered impudent on the part of the Nagas to repeat that the desire for freedom and independence is human nature. This human instinct compelled even the Man of Peace-Mahatma Gandhi-to tell the British, “Quit India and leave us to ourselves, leave us even to Chaos.” The voice of patriots for freedom will resound in every country fearlessly.

History will not remain stagnant and no better opportunity than the present will ever present itself again to India for her to write her history in the principle of non-violence. If India chose the present moment to leave the Nagas to their rightful place, it will not only save the fate of the Naga people but will go a long way toward putting India on the path of real glory.
The history of our two people under the British was a disgrace, and the less we talk about the story of bondage, the better. All that is now a matter of the past to India. It exists only in the pages of history. To the Nagas it still stands a living reality. Having been slaves for too long a time under White Imperialist Masters there is a great temptation and danger with many resurgent Asians today to become imperious one against another. The conduct of our Asian nations should be such as to promote common prosperity and it bids fair that they refrain from doing anything likely to imperil our very existence.

If Mahatma Gandhi has been a living man today there would not have arisen the necessity for the Nagas to take a nationwide Plebiscite on their stand for Independence.

Mahatma Gandhi considered it was within their lawful right for the Nagas to be independent, if desired, of India. Making this statement at Bhangi Colony, Delhi, on July 19, 1947, the Mahatma expressed his readiness to stake his life in defence of the Naga right as well as of India's honour, for he felt India to have no right to make a forcible incorporation of Nagaland with the Indian Union. Any disgraceful act, to Gandhi, brought dishonour to India.

The Naga people realize that sentiment is not to be looked for in politics, but, they almost invariably lend credence to the utterances of the Indian leaders, not to take them as a place for refuge but for the sake of the truth that they bear. Things that the Indian leaders utter all go to show how deeply they are acquainted with the affairs of humanity—particularly of the suppressed and dominated people wherever they may be found. The knowledge we gain of Indian leaders through their great books and important public statements make us wonder whether we should write anything at all, since they know and express so much better about the curse of imperialism and the effect of suppression. Inaugurating the third session of the ECAFE at Ootacamund on July 1, 1948, Prime Minister Nehru said:
“The sooner it is realized that, politically, every country in Asia should be completely free and be in a position to follow its own genius within the world organization, the better it will be.”

“One thing certain is that there will be no peace in any part of Asia where an attempt is made by one country to dominate another by force.”

In the talk of World Government in the inter-Parliamentary Union meeting at Rome, September 8, 1948, the Indian delegate, Mr. R. R. Diwakar, said:

“The way in which the liberty of my country was acquired reflects credit both on India and British, and the later chose the right moment to concede this. The method of controlling the nations, which are not advanced, should never be that of permanent restriction. No country is good enough to control another one.”

Man’s memory is short. It is only five years now since India achieved her independence, but now we begin to see that certain sections of the Indian Press have started agitating the feeling of the Indian people and exhorting the Indian authority to take severe measures against the Nagas. Time and again we have declared that we are neither enemy to India now are we against the Indians, but friends and well wishers. This statement cannot be better illustrated than by actual practice in our actions. It is unwise on the part of the Indian Press to label the Nagas as enemies to India when feelings of comradeship exist so abundantly on both sides. It must be remembered that Nagas and Indians were strangers to one another during the time of the British. Entry of Indians into Nagaland was not allowed without a “Pass.” After the transfer of power to Indian hands Nagas have been remaining peaceful; they have not agitated against Indians, they have not killed a single Indian nor have they on any occasion uttered a single word against India. As a friendly people we speak frankly. If we regarded by Indians as “unfriendly and hostile” when we have done nothing against India, we fail to understand what type of people India will consider as her friends.
It is not the policy of the Naga National Council to fight against India. If the council became incapable of controlling the passion of the Naga people, it will be dissolved-allowing events to take their own course. We sincerely wish that such an occasion would not occur but if it does occur, it will be as an outcome of such exploitative and suppressive measures as the Indian authorities may bring into operation.

The policy of non-violence which guides the activities of the Naga National Council in the struggle for independence is not inspired by the non-violence of the weak. It is inspired by the belief that the non-violence of the strong, as defined by Mahatma Gandhi, is an active and effective force and an honourable means to achieve ends which are both noble and lasting. Into this type of non-violence no element of hatred or fear enters. The right to assert itself regardless of consequences colours and permeates every practical operation of the policy. When Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru in his broadcast to the nation while accepting HMC’s proposals on June 3, 1947, saying “We must make it clear that political ends are not to be achieved by the methods of violence now or in the future.”

He was formulating a policy of deep significance. When this same sentiment was again expressed by the Honourable Defence Minister, Sarder Baldeve Singh while addressing the National Defence Academy on November 23, 1950, at Dehra Dun by stating:

“We have declared time and again that we shall not resort to war to settle any dispute. That is our basic policy.”
It was no parrot cry. In the word of Mahatma Gandhi:
“India has never wage war against any nation.”

Whether India will fling this time-honoured tradition into the winds and suppress the Nagas struggle for independence by the force of arms or uphold their glorious legacy and establish a firmer friendly relation with the Nagas and
thereby amicably settle our differences and make the Nagas grateful to India forever to come is a question for India to consider.

With the verdict of the Naga adult population embodied in the Plebiscite papers of our sincere feelings of goodwill to the Government and people of India. It is the prayer of the Naga people that the Government of India will respect the desire of the Naga people for having their own independent state, separate and sovereign. To allay the fear and suspicion of India, Nagas, on their part, will agree to accept an Indian national to be the President of independent Nagaland for a stated period.

If evidence in any other form than by way of this Plebiscite were required, it will be willingly and readily given. We are, however, of the opinion that other forms of evidence will prove to be the same. Our hope is that India will not long delay the attainment by the Nagas of their freedom, but take such steps as are necessary to let the Naga nation assume full responsibility for managing their affairs under their own national Government free and sovereign.

Yours Faithfully,

Sd/-

A. Z. Phizo
President,
Naga National Council,
Kohima.
Appendix: IX

The Shillong Accord:
The Shillong Accord of 11 November 1975 between the Government of India and the Underground Nagas:

1. The following representatives of the underground organizations met the Governor of Nagaland Shri L. P. Singh, representing the Government of India, at Shillong on 10 and 11 November, 1975.
   1. Shri Temjenba
   2. Shri S. Dehru
   3. Shri Veeniyi Rhakhu
   4. Shri Z. Ramyo
   5. Shri M. Assa
   6. Shri Kevi Yallay

2. There was a series of four discussions. Some of the discussions were held with the Governor alone; at others, the Governor was assisted by the two Advisers for Nagaland, Shri Ramuny and Shri H. Zopianga, and Shri M.L. Kampani, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs. All the five members of the Liaison Committee namely Rev. Longri Ao, Dr. M. Aram, Shri L. Lungalang, Shri Kenneth Kerhuo and Shri Lungshim Shaiza, participated in the discussions.

3. The following were the outcome of the discussions:
   (i) The representatives of the underground organizations conveyed their decision, of their own volition, to accept, without condition, the Constitution of India;
   (ii) It was agreed that the arms, now underground, would be brought out and deposited at appointed places. Details for giving effect to this agreement will be worked out between them and representatives of the Government, the security forces, and members of the Liaison Committee;
It was agreed that the representatives of the underground organizations should have reasonable time to formulate other issues for discussion for final settlement.

Dated, Shillong
11 November, 1975

I. TEMJENBA; S. DEHRU
Z. RAMYO; M. ASSA; On behalf of the Government of India
KEVI YALLAY
On behalf of the representatives of underground organizations.

SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT TO THE SHILLONG ACCORD ON 5 JANUARY 1976


1. It was decided that the collection of arms initially at collection centres would commence as early as possible, and will be completed by 25 January 1976. Initial places of collection to be decided through discussion between Commissioner, representatives of underground organizations and the members of the Liaison Committee.

2. Once all the arms are collected, these will be handed over to Peace Council team at the respective places of collections.

3. Peace Council team will arrange to transport the arms from collection centres to Chedema peace camp and arrange guards, etc, for safe custody of arm.
4. Similar arrangements at agreed place/places will be made in Manipur with concurrence of the Manipur Government.

5. The underground may stay at Peace Camps to be established at suitable places, and their maintenance will be arranged only by the Peace Council. Any voluntary contribution from any source will be made to the Peace Council, who will utilize the fund according to necessity.

BISETO MEDOM KEYHO; PUKROVE NAKRU; L.P. SINGH
Z. RAMYO; I. TEMJENBA Governor
Dated, Shillong
5th January, 1976.
Appendix: X

The Question of Nagaland State:

The history of the creation of the State of Nagaland and for that matter, its existence has been one of confusion, double standard, vivisecting the territory and integrity of the Naga albeit the vested interests of the so-called a few Naga politicians of the time and after. Obviously, the creation of Nagaland State was the semester design of the Indian /Government to nullify the successful plebiscite of 1951 that favoured reaffirmation of the declaration of Nagas' independence of 14 August, 1947. The Indian Government manoeuvred intensively with the motive of dividing the Naga people (especially, in the 1950s), and in fact, some naïve and short sighted Nagas were succumbed to the temptation pills. It is pathetic but a reality. One cannot take it lightly the active initiation and involvement of the Indian Government and its agents to dilute the Naga national movement of which, for instance, mention may be made of the immense role of the Indian Intelligence Bureau (IB); S. M. Dutt a shrewd officer of IB was said to be one such manipulator/architect towards formation of Nagaland State. The Naga National Council (NNC) which was the only popular political organization of the Nagas did not approve of the creation of Nagaland State for reasons known to most of the sensible Nagas of the time so also today. Hence, the creation of Nagaland State should be construed at the backdrop of the Naga National Movement for self-determination.

The creation of Nagaland State on 1st December, 1963 had cost so dear to the Naga people. It can be said that the scheme is solely to the advantage and interests of the Indian Government at the cost of Naga integration, integrity, and Naga aspiration for sovereignty. The Indian government had robbed in many more innocent Nagas to run the puppet government so that many Nagas are being baptized into the Indian State system and are confusing many more Nagas. The Nagas are shackled and blind folded in many ways at different stages from
without (especially by the Indian State) and within (by some Nagas as the agents of the Indian State). The process has made many Nagas mad for power, authority, money, wine, luxuries and the list goes on. Could these Indian-influenced Nagas liberate the Nagas at all. It is a big question mark. And again, are these ‘bought’ Nagas and inhibition to the cause of the Nagas for self-determination? Is Nagaland State the Nagas really want? Should Nagas compromise her birthright/freedom with Nagaland state? Would these ‘bought’ Nagas contend with rampant corruption purchasing people and people’s loyalty by the medium of money? The answer need not be written here; it is already in the minds of every sensible Nagas. But it is just that, the force of temptation is great, and it could be greater over time if not realized on time.

Beloved Nagas, is it not ripe a time to combat war-footing against the divisive and oppressive designs of our adversaries? True, many Nagas have been victims of this design. It is disheartening and threatening. It is pitiful that some Naga politicians/opportunists have not listened or cooperated with the clarion call of the Naga public to refrain from participation in the Indian run State system. However, there have been some developments that, Naga people, by and large, have begun to realize the irrelevance and the disintegrative nature of the existence of Nagaland State, which is standing right against the building of a Naga nation-state.

Victory to Nagalim!

Delhi: November 14, 1998.

NAGA PEOPLE’S FORUM