Index

Abdullah, Mohammad (Sheikh Abdullah), 189
activism
anti-apartheid movements, 57
anticommunist, 95
antinuclear, 88–89
and the Cold War binary, 181
civil rights, 4, 90, 103, 122, 187, 194, 199
decolonization, 8, 76, 108
Ghandian, 87, 89, 179
Indigenous rights, 88
labor, 155
and nationalism, 21
New Left, 93
peace, 20, 75, 86, 89–90, 101, 192
and religion, 92, 139
transnational, 10, 22–23, 112, 119, 194, 196
advocacy. See also Africa Bureau, See also Scott, Guthrie Michael, and international advocacy
anticolonial, 61, 75–76, 109, 112, 182, 197
anticommunism, 62, 111, 122
and Africa, 21
for Africa, 105, 117
change upon success of gaining power, 21, 103
and claims-making, 3, 18, 23
and financial backing, 110
and gatekeeping, 63, 67–68, 78–79, 95, 101, 226
after independence, 175
Indian support for African decolonizing movements, 22, 61, 79
and the individual, 18, 69, 91, 228
intermediaries, 24, 133
international, 5, 8–9, 114, 178, 180, 185, 196, 200, 202, 222, 226
and journalism, 73, 80
and Katanga, 124, 134
and Kaunda, 133
limits of international, 7, 9, 11, 24, 113
and mining, 143, 147, 159, 163
and Naga nationalism, 38, 54–55, 81, 189, 198–99, 221, 223
and Namibia, 148, 165, 223
and nonviolence, 87
paradox of anticolonial nationalists, 79
peace, 100
public versus private, 156–60
and religion, 17, 21, 80
and self-determination, 60
and South Africa, 66, 93, 164, 170
and South West Africa, 66–68, 155
and unregulated spaces, 9
transnational networks, 80, 112, 204, 226
transnational networks defined, 19
Western, 2–3, 60
and the World Peace Brigade, 103
for the World Peace Brigade, 193

265

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Africa Bureau, 61, 65, 67, 74, 77, 95, 111, 128, 132
African continent
Armstrong in, 127
decolonization, 3, 12, 21, 57, 59, 80, 168, 188
international advocates and, 54, 56
investment in, 117
and the United Nations, 123
World Peace Brigade’s absence from, 104
African National Congress (ANC), 158, 225
African-American Institute, 117–19, 147, 159, 163–64
Alexander, Ray, 155
Algeria
Dar es Salaam as anti-Algiers, 21–22, 97–98, 102, 110, 112, 114–15
French atrocities in, 76, 182
independence, 3, 18, 23, 80, 106
Kennedy on, 110
and Naga independence, 72
National Liberation Front, 112
and OAS, 123
SWAPO meeting in, 159
Tshombe imprisoned in, 238
and the UN, 224
war, 57, 72, 85, 119
Alice in Wonderland metaphor (looking glass), 75, 227
All-India Muslim League, 33
American Baptist Convention, 39, 207
American Committee for Aid to Katangese Freedom Fighters (Americans for Katangese Freedom), 122–24
American Friends Service Committee, 104, 106, 179, 194
American Metal Climax (AMAX). See also Rhodesian Selection Trust or Roan Selection Trust (RST), See also Hochschild, Harold K.
and decolonization, 131–32, 164
and Erasmus Kloman, Jr., 163
and financial backing, 118
and Katanga, 117–18, 137
and Kaunda, 22, 117, 123–24, 131–32
seeks to distinguish itself from other Copperbelt companies, 134
and SWAPO, 22, 156–69
and Tanganyika Concessions, 124
and the African-American Institute, 119
and the Hochschilds, 132, 134, 164
and Winifred Armstrong, 18, 129, 164
Anglicans, 77–79, 88, 94, 215
Angola, 128, 137, 141, 159
annexation, 49, 86, 151
anthropology, 30, 45, 76
anthropologists, 20, 44, 55, 61, 63–64,
131, 160, 167, 229
anticolonialism
anticommunism, 155
and African American civil rights, 112
and African elites, 132–33
in Africa, 61, 76, 79–80, 87
in Asia, 35, 50
and capital, 114, 148, 161
and civil disobedience, 97
and the Cold War, 127, 159
and Cruise O’Brien, 123
in East Africa, 113
financial support of, 119
and India as postimperial, 177
and Katanga, 117–19, 126, 142
and Kaunda, 100, 104, 106, 118, 123
and Kennedy, 109–10, 129
and mining interests, 143, 147–48, 162
and Naga independence, 224, 233
and nationalism, 8, 13, 22, 53, 75, 79, 85, 90, 100–1, 103, 112, 197, 239
and nonviolence, 87, 101–2, 107
and postcolonial India, 185, 227
and the Peace Mission, 216
the right kind of nationalist, 99, 114
in South Africa, 98
in Southern Africa, 102
training, 158
transnational networks, 90
and the UN, 167
and the white man’s burden, 64
antiracism, 106, 113, 133–34
antiwar movements, 93
Ao, Imkongliba, 51
Ao, Kijungluba, 207
Ao, Longi, 39–40, 42, 203–4, 212
Ao, Shilu, 214, 222
apoloitical (nature), 23, 62, 71, 181–82, 192, 198–99, 201, 204, 228
Armstrong, Winifred, 18–20, 126–29, 139–40, 162–65

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Arunachal Pradesh/North East Frontier
Agency (NEFA), 175

Assam
Baptists in, 40
chief minister of, 203–4, 209, 215, 227
and the Delhi-to-Beijing Friendship
March, 230
Department of Tribal Areas for the State
of Assam, 37
governor of, 34, 47
Ledo, 23, 200, 203
and Naga independence, 50–52, 185–88,
218
and railways, 34
State Assembly, 220

Astor, David. See also Observer
(newspaper)
and advocacy, 68–69
and Naga independence, 61–65, 71–80,
221, 224
newspaper editor, 20
and the World Peace Brigade, 221

Australia, 69, 100
autonomy
and difference, 186
and India, 187
international recognition of, 5
and international advocacy, 4, 80
and Katanga, 125
and mining, 131
and minority rights in postcolonial states,
56
and Nagaland, 12, 50–51, 188, 190,
210–11, 216–17, 219, 227
and non-national modes of claims
making, 235
and the World Peace Brigade, 89

Baluchistan, 228
Baptist
American, 41, 63, 191, 207
missionaries, 5, 40, 44, 72
in Northeast India, 207
and the Peace Mission, 215
Scott perceived as, 215
Ben Bella, Ahmed, 102, 112, 115
Bhave, Vinoba, 183
Bhutan, 217
Biafra, 9, 15, 24
Bond, Horace Mann, 117
borderlands, 45, 86, 176, 204

Borders
and Congo, 125
and empire, 177, 194
and Nagaland, 4, 12
and the Friendship March, 23, 30
Indo-China, 76, 175–76, 191, 203, 224
unregulated Rhodesian, 121, 123

Bose, Subhas Chandra, 36–37
Botswana/Bechuanaland, 12, 66, 137, 141,
218

Boundaries
and decolonization, 210
dispute, 177
imperial, 64, 141
national, 15, 231
of independent states, 169
of India, 177, 184, 210
national, 10, 202, 210
and the UN, 130, 141, 151
and the World Peace Brigade, 202

Bower Betts, Ursula Graham, 45, 63–65, 71
British South Africa Company, 131
Brooks, Angela, 68
Buddhism, 72, 78

Bunche, Ralph, 120, 124–25

Burma or Myanmar
ambassador to, 193
and Friendship March, 180
Baptists in, 207
China-Burma-India theater, 21
Japanese in, 34–35
journalists in, 72
Karens in, 76, 237
and Nagaland, 1, 12, 30–31, 51, 218–19
and violence against Indians, 221
and Phizo, 48
Phizo relocates family to, 36

Cape Town, 127, 148–50, 155, 158
Central African Federation of Rhodesia and
Nyasaland, 97, 100, 116, 123, 135,
141, 161

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
and the Cold War, 111–12
funding, 17, 62, 111, 117

Chaliha, Bimala Prasad, 51, 203–5, 209,
215–16, 220, 227

China. See also Sino-Indian War, See also
Tibet, See also Sino-Indian borderlands
and the Friendship March, 23, 180,
190–94, 198, 200

See also Observer
(newspaper)
and advocacy, 68–69
and Naga independence, 61–65, 71–80,
221, 224
newspaper editor, 20
and the World Peace Brigade, 221

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Cold War
claims-making, civil rights
Christianity, and the World Peace Brigade,
and Namibia,
and nationalism, 16
civil disobedience, civil rights
Indian, international versus national,
United States, AMAX, Congo, and Congo,
and decolonization, and human rights,
and ideological orders, and Kennedy,
and minority nationalisms, and missionaries,
and Namibia, and nationalism,
and race, and South West Africa, trap,
and the UN, and the World Peace Brigade,
and Zambia,

Communism
anticommunism, and China, and the Cold War,
and China, and Namibia, Communist Party,
and Namibia, feared rise after departure of missionaries,
and Namibia, ‘godless’, Lumumba accused of being
Marxist-Leninist language, Phizo’s fears of being labeled,
in South Africa, Scott and,
in Second World War, US Congress’ Un-American Activities Committee,
and the World Peace Brigade,

Congo. See also Katanga
Armstrong in, boundaries of,
Indigenous Christians in, mercenaries in,
missionaries in, and minority problems,
and multiracialism, and nonviolence,
Ralph Bunche in, Second Congo War,
and Struelens, and the UN,
and the UN, Congolese Communist Party,
and the World Peace Brigade,

Congo Crisis, constitution
Indian, constitution
Puerto Rican,

Copperbelt, Cordier, Andrew, Courtney, Winifred,
Cripps plan, 217
critical geopolitics, 34, 42, 54
Cuba, 50, 71, 130, 159

Dahlmann, Kurt, 168–69
Dar es Salaam, 96–98, See also Africa Freedom Action Project, See also United Nations (UN), Special Committee of 17 anticolonial center, 7, 102, 112
as anti-Algiers, 22, 97, 103, 110, 114–15
Nyere invites World Peace Brigade to, 105
refugee center, 163–64
World Peace Brigade headquarters, 9, 22, 114–15
decolonization. See also United Nations (UN), Special Committee of 17 and capitalism, 148
and the Cold War, 234
Committee on Decolonization, 15
defined, 12–13
and global statemaking, 206
histories of the state and non-state in, 20
as ‘illegitimate’, 22
and the legitimacy of the state and anti-state in, 10
and misleading Communist vs capitalist binary, 159
reification of imperial boundaries, 177
scale of, 240
slowing of, 202
wind of change (concept), 11, 22
Delhi-to-Peking Friendship March, 23, 175, 178–84, 188, 190–92, 196, 199–203, 209, 220, 222, 230
Deming, Barbara, 103
Deo, Shankarrao, 182
Desai, Narayan, 199
Dev, Asha, 91
Dhadda, Siddharaj, 179–80, 184, 188, 193
diaspora, 89, 93, 106, 114, 139, 187
Dunn, Cyril, 116

East Pakistan or Bangladesh, 12, 15, 24, 60, 141, 226
Elwin, Verrier, 44
empire
boundaries of, 177
British in India, 237
British seek compromise with, 135–36
and claims-making, 32
continuities with independence, 140, 177
dissolution of European, 4, 86, 194
end of, 234
and hegemony, 17–18
logic of, 33
missionaries and, 54
Portuguese, 52
and progress, 67
rebellion against British in India, 226
and scholarship on Nagaland, 44
and settler colonialism, 67
and sovereignty, 41, 46, 56, 219
and the Second World War, 36
and the white man’s burden, 64
United States’ indirect, 90
ethnicity
and apartheid, 167
and indigeneity, 234
authenticity, 125
differences between SWANU and SWAPO, 152
ethnic divisions, 156, 168, 225
ethnic groups, 68, 121, 135, 144, 146–47, 166, 185
in India, 12, 43, 186
Katanga and Northern Rhodesia share, 124
and nationalization, 151, 234
segregation of ethnic groups, 146
and South West Africa, 167
federation, 11, 14, 125, 136–37, 141
Fellowship of Reconciliation, 62
forgottenness
trope of, 37
Fourth World nation, 53
Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph, 64

Gandhi, Indira, 94
Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma)
and civil disobedience, 97
death of, 89
and decolonization outside India, 178
disciples of, 22, 99, 179, 209
Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Trust, 110

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) (cont.)
and nonviolence, 85
Peace Foundation, 182
saintly idiom of politics, 178, 183
and the sarvodaya movement, 88–89
as savior, 78
South African activism, 87
Gandhian politics
and civil disobedience, 97, 196
and the civil society movement, 20, 220
discipline, 91
Kaunda as neo-Gandhian, 123
moral authority, 209
Nagaland as Gandhian dream, 77
nonviolence, 86, 179, 182
peace army, 86–87
Phizo and Gandhian legacy, 77
roots of the Peace Mission, 215–16
top-down nature of movement, 183
and the World Peace Brigade, 99, 112, 200
Gandhigram Ashram, 21, 85–87, 94
genocide, 191, 239
geography
imperial, 32
of UN mandates, 151
political, 29–32, 34, 36, 41–44, 46, 202, 223
shared, 123, 135
and states in waiting, 239
Ghana, 3, 117, 127, 141, 159, 165, 224
government
of China, 23, 191–92, 199
of India, 187, 209
Great Britain
British Army, 34–36, 44
Raj, 35, 187
guerrilla warfare, 22, 24, 73, 98, 102–3, 112
Gundevia, Yezdez Dinshaw (YD), 209–10, 222
Hammarskjöld, Dag, 108, 120, 126, 139
Hansberry, William Leo, 117
Herero, 60, 66, 94, 149, 151–52, 160, 225, 236, 239
Herero Chiefs Council, 67–68, 165, 236
hill regions, 223
Himalayan foothills, 1, 31
Hindi, 219
Hindu, 39, 43, 77, 88, 190–91, 208, 215
Hochschild, Harold K., 117–18, 132, 134, 164
Hong Kong, 180, 193
Houser, George, 93, 99, 109, 164
Howard University, 117
human rights, 68, 74, 87, 166, 181, 224, 234, 237
humanitarianism, 5, 15, 65, 107
Hutton, John Henry (JH), 63–65, 68, 72
Hydari Accord, 47, 51
identity
attempted supression of, 55
Christian, 39, 208
and claims making, 151
ethnicity as political, 235, 239
and Naga nationalism, 56, 64, 68
and Phizo in London, 61, 63, 65, 222
tribal, 43
ideology, 10, 90, 108, 156, 226
ideologues, 77
imperialism
advocates and nationalists were embedded in, 225
and anthropology, 54
and Christianity, 40
civil servants in India, 55, 72
critics of, 50
and corporate policy, 132
critics of, 64
geographies of, 32
German, 144
and history, 71
imperial remnants, 206, 222–23
indigenous opposition to, 37
and the Naga archive, 3
and naming, 152
nostalgia, 206
and paternalism, 80
postcolonial imperialism, 118, 224
relationship of anticolonialism and US
civil rights, 112
and scholarship, 44–45
UN Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries
and Peoples, 130
United States as, 153
and the white man’s burden, 64–65
and the World Peace Brigade, 103
Imphal, 34–35
India
Indian Army, 48, 176, 182, 191
Indian National Army (INA), 36–37

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Indian Northeast
Baptists in, 206–7
and Chalilha, 209
Chinese invasion of, 176
and the Cold War, 16, 110, 138, 140, 143, 169, 234
and decolonization, 188
and the Friendship March, 178, 190, 200–1
foreignness of, 177
journeys through, 35
and Naga hill peoples, 12, 29, 31
and Nagaland peace talks, 202–3
and subnationalism, 188
and the UN, 15
and transnational networks, 22
and tribal identity, 186
and the World Peace Brigade, 22, 115

Indian Union
and anthropologists, 64
autonomy within, 216
and anti-nationalism, 187
and Chalilha, 209
Goa as territory, 52
Naga loyalty to, 39
Nagaland organized within, 51, 190, 218, 228, 237
Nagas reject, 47
organized within, 52
proposed revisions of, 218
and religion, 185, 208
indigeneity, 234–36

Indigenous peoples
anti-imperialism, 37
clergy, 39, 207
Indian princes, 218
nationalisms of, 8
and nationalism, 34, 231
rights activist, 55
rights and the UN, 224, 236
and sovereignty, 46, 237
territorial rights of, 145

Indochina, 50
Indo-China War, 211
Indo-Pakistan War, 219
insurgency, 23
in Bangladesh, 15, 141
in Congo, 123, 238
counterinsurgency, 21, 211
diplomacy, 9
Naga, 41, 73, 81, 182, 188–90, 203–9, 211, 214, 216–18, 220–22, 233

national movements, 143, 175, 201
Phizo and, 2, 59, 77
international civil society, 10, 16, 19, 81, 86, 95, 97, 110, 119
International Court of Justice, 7, 227, 238
South Africa case, 165–69
international order
failures of postcolonial international order, 237
and Naga nationalism, 10, 54
and postcolonial states, 113, 141, 231
and the pairing of liberation and subjugation, 237
outside the state, 20, 185
and the United Nations, 5–6, 8, 14, 58, 60, 96, 231–32
and US hegemony, 18
international peace movement, 8, 16, 77, 85–86, 92, 95, 175, 178, 182, 192–96, 200
internationalism, 102, 178
Iralu, Tefta Zografi, 61
Iralu, Vichazielie (Challe), 40, 60–61, 65, 223

Japan, 34–37, 44, 49, 179, 191
journalism. See also journalists by name and advocacy, 73, 225
on Algerian war, 72
conflation with advocacy, 56
on the Friendship March, 190
and decolonization, 5, 45
and JFK assassination, 117
and the Minority Rights Group, 62, 69, 177
on mining, 132
and Nagas, 69, 73, 213, 224–25
and nationalism, 57

Kachins, 237
Karens, 76, 237
Kashmir, 49, 53, 94, 175–76, 180, 185, 187, 189, 208, 222, 227
Katanga. See also Tshombe, Moise
anticolonial critiques of, 161
and AMAX, 18, 117–18
and federation, 14
anticommunist movements, 122
mercenaries, 72, 123
and mining interests, 131–32, 137, 161

Published online by Cambridge University Press
Katanga. (cont.)
perceived illegitimacy of, 80
regional dynamics of, 135
secession from Congo, 11, 14, 22, 57, 72, 86, 91, 96, 118–26, 128, 130, 134, 141, 176, 188, 233, 238
and Tanganyika (Tanzania), 97
as template for independence movements, 160
and the UN, 11, 73, 108, 139, 141
and the World Peace Brigade, 9, 98–102, 105–6, 113–14, 135, 238
World Peace Brigade undermines, 9
Kaunda, Kenneth
and AMAX, 22, 118, 124, 131–33, 156
Christian, 104, 124
first Zambian president, 139
and Katanga, 123
and Narayan, 93
as neo-Gandhian, 123
and nonviolence, 134–35
knowledge of international audiences, 106 leaves power, 238
in London, 133
plans Freedom march, 96, 197
and Prain, 133
and Scott, 79
and the Soviets, 138
at the UN, 130–32, 160
and UNIP, 88, 105, 123, 135
use of advocates, 21–22, 139–40, 233
and the World Peace Brigade, 16, 21–22, 101, 102
Kennedy, Edward M., 128
Kennedy, John F.
assassination of, 117
and Armstrong, 139–40, 162
and civil rights, 195
and decolonization, 109–10, 126–29
and Kaunda, 99
and self-determination, 13
and the Peace Corps, 107
and the UN, 108, 130, 160
Kenya, 79, 93, 109, 127
Kenyatta, Jomo, 79, 93
Kerina, Mburumba (Eric Getzen), 20, 67–68, 109, 117, 139, 149–54, 156–58, 163–64, 236
Khan, Zafarullah, 193, 227–28
King, Martin Luther Jr., 87–88, 113, 196
Kire, Easterine (Iralu), 1
Kohima
Battle of, 34–35, 38
Naga capital city, 31–32, 35–36, 39, 44, 48, 233
Konzongo, Jariretundu, 149–56, 158, 161, 163, 167, 236
Kuhangua, Jacob, 137, 141, 149–50, 152, 154, 163–65, 170
Kurds, 9, 69
Kutako, Hosea, 5, 66, 68, 149, 160
labor
in decolonizing nations, 127
forced, 214
limits of independence seen through, 19
manual labor celebrated, 88
migrant, 145
and mining, 131, 133–34, 146–47, 154–57, 161
mobility, 141
and Namibian nationalist movement, 170
trade unions, 114, 154–55
unrest, 52, 185
US movement, 88, 92, 195
Lazar, Ed, 179, 183, 190–91, 193, 200
League of Nations
African nations in, 165
and minorities, 58
mandate, 6, 57–58, 60, 144, 147, 165, 169–70, 233–34
Trust status, 151
Lesotho, 12, 18–19, 218
liberationists, 108, 115, 117, 126, 160
Lima (Peru) Football Disaster, 213
Lincoln University, 67, 117, 129, 158
Loft, George, 104, 116
London
Africa Bureau in, 128
as center of power, 7
debates about Northern Rhodesia, 101
Indian High Commission in, 73
Kaunda in, 133
Nagas in, 71
Nehru in, 61
Phizo in, 2–4, 21, 56–57, 59–63, 68–69, 74, 80, 214, 222, 233–34
Scott in, 94
and the World Peace Brigade, 230
Lumumba, Patrice, 108, 120–21, 138
Lundas, 121

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Minority Rights Group/International Committee for the Study of Group Rights, 62, 69, 111, 177, 224

missionaries
as advocates, 4–5
Baptist, 39, 44, 72, 191, 207
and colonialism, 63–67
in Congo, 139
to China, 122
and education, 124
Kaunda as son of, 99
and Naga nationalism, 39, 44, 203, 206–7
in South Africa, 167
to Tibet, 68
Tshombe as, 121
Mizoram, 43
Mokokchung, 39, 51
Mondlane, Eduardo, 102
Mozambique, 98, 102
Mushonga, Paul, 116–17
Muste, Abraham Johannes (A.J.). See also Fellowship of Reconciliation
and advocacy networks, 8
death of, 202
and the Friendship March, 184, 188–89, 192–94
as individual, 95, 201
and US civil rights, 194, 202
and the World Peace Brigade, 22, 88, 91–93, 102–7, 180
and the World Peace Brigade’s failures, 197–200

Muthukumaraswamy Aramvalarthanathan (M. Aram), 179–80, 220
Nagaland Observer Team, 220–21

Naga
Naga nation predates Indian independence, 42
Naga Baptist Church, 41, 204, 208–13, 220–21, 230
Naga Club, 32–34, 39
Naga insurgents (the Underground), 211, 215
Naga Nation, 39
Naga National Council, 46–49
Naga People’s Convention, 51–52
Nagaland. See also Phizo, Angami Zapu,
See also Naga Hill Ministers Peace Mission
and the 1962 Sino-Indian War, 187
archives, 58
as case study for postcolonial states, 10,
74
and China, 216
Christian population, 38, 208
declaration of Independence, 21, 46
Federal Government of, 211–12, 214,
217
and India, 12, 189, 206, 210, 216, 237
India creates template using, 53
journalism in, 59, 61, 66, 69, 71–72, 177,
224
missionaries in, 5, 40, 44
as model for advocacy, 80
Naga Hills become Nagaland in 1963, 42
named People’s Republic of Nagaland, 48
nationalist movement, 1, 29, 47, 52, 74
and Nehru, 52, 190
Phizo blamed for violence in, 75
plebiscite, 47
political geographies, 29–32, 36, 43–44
and the Princely States model, 218
scholarship written by Nagas on, 45
and Scott, 23
Scott’s seven scenarios regarding, 217–19
and the Second World War, 34, 37
and sovereignty, 210, 213–17
as special type of state, 228
and the UN, 49
violence in, 180
Wokha, 203
and the World Peace Brigade, 180, 199,
202
Nagaland Baptist Church Council, 23, 40,
203, 230
Nagaland Peace Mission, 204, 209
Nama peoples, 146, 239
Namibia
nationalists, 7, 137, 140, 146, 164,
169–70
Namibia or South West Africa. See also
Herero
achieves statehood, 238
and AMAX, 18, 117, 132, 134, 162, 165
and Armstrong, 109, 139
and the Cold War, 169
and decolonization, 188
Ethiopia and Liberia, 165–68
former German colony, 144–45, 239
former League of Nations mandate,
144, 170, 225, 233
and international advocacy, 5, 21, 155,
171
and the International Court of Justice,
165–69
and Jacob Kuhangua, 141
and League of Nations mandate, 60
and mining interests, 22, 144–48, 161,
170
protest at UN on behalf of, 128
and reparations, 239
and Scott, 67, 94, 102
and South Africa, 76, 80, 115
South West African Authority,
145, 163
and SWAPO, 148, 150, 154, 238
and the UN, 6, 57, 60, 137, 149, 151–52,
162
UN Committee on South West Africa,
14, 58, 60, 67, 94, 144, 148–49,
160–61
and the World Peace Brigade, 115, 209
Ya Toivo deported to, 149
Narayan, Jayaprakash (JP)
and African nationalism, 21, 79–80
and CIA funding, 111
and the Friendship March, 190–93,
197–98
and the Indian Union, 216
as individual leader, 201
at the Gandhigram Ashram conference,
85–86
Gandhian disciple, 20, 22, 77, 85–87, 93,
179, 209, 216
Hindu detractors, 191
and Kenyatta, 94
and MLK, 113
and Nehru, 110
and Naga nationalism, 75–77, 81, 85, 94,
189, 199, 202, 209, 215, 218–20
and the Naga Baptist Church Council,
230
and the Nagaland Baptist Church
Council, 23
and the Peace Mission, 203–5, 208–9,
215–16
resignation, 23, 197, 220
and Tibet, 23, 190–92, 199, 202
and transnational advocacy networks, 8, 95, 206
at the UN, 80, 105
and the World Peace Brigade, 21, 88–89, 91, 93, 179, 181, 183
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 94
nationalism. See also anticolonialism, and nationalism, See also Phizo, Angami
Zapu, See also anticolonialism, in
Africa
African movements for, 21
and the American Revolution, 226
and the archive, 19
and AMAX, 124, 147, 157, 163–64
and capital, 140
and capitalism, 170
claims-making, 24, 32, 34, 44, 196, 222, 232, 234
counterrevolutionary, 135
and the Congo Crisis, 137
Cuban, 71
Dar es Salaam as center of, 97
East Bengali, 15
Hindu, 190–91
illegitimate, 22, 80, 96, 118, 141, 169
and imperial wars, 50
Indian, 33, 185–86
international advocates for, 3
and international advocacy, 9–10, 54, 56, 59, 65, 78, 86, 90, 109, 139, 180, 182, 197, 201, 206, 226, 231
and Katanga, 115, 119
and the League of Nations, 58
legitimate, 10, 33, 53, 101, 136, 141, 148, 156, 159, 167, 169, 216, 228, 240
linguistic-nationalist movements, 50
and ‘modern’ civilization, 32
Naga, 1–2, 4, 12, 21, 23, 33, 38, 41, 48, 54, 189
Naga struggle narrated by Nagas, 45
nationalisms, 16, 52, 130, 141, 185, 202, 225
nation-building, 44, 74, 182
and non-state advocates, 5, 7, 20
and nonviolence, 183
opponents of, 13
Puerto Rican, 217
and postcolonial nation-states, 23, 29, 31, 53, 80, 232, 239
and recognition, 10
and religion, 16–17, 39–41, 204
revolution, 13
and states-in-waiting, 8
subnationalism, 188
and the UN, 4, 167
and the United Nations, 49, 63, 130, 144
and unions, 155
and violence, 214
Zambian, 98
natural resources, 119, 130–31, 143, 145, 169, See also mining
extraction, 130, 145
blank check narrative, 1–2, 50
and China, 175, 177
critics of Naga state proposal, 51
death, 176
disputes over definitions of tribe, 51
fissiparous tendencies, 12, 53, 70, 176, 185–88, 227
forced relocation policies, 49
and Goa, 52
on hill regions, 31
and the Hydari Accord, 47
and moderate Nagas, 50, 190, 211
and the Naga People’s Convention, 52
and Naga nationalism, 24, 73
and Naga state, 51–52, 227
Narayan asks for money, 110
Nehruvianism, 176
and Scott, 61, 94, 189, 204
Sixteen Point Agreement, 51
Soviet influence, 186
visit to Kohima, 48
New Delhi, 7, 15, 29, 34, 40–41, 50, 52, 107, 175, 178, 205, 207, 212–13, 223
Newmont Mining Company, 147, 154, See also Tsumeb mine
Nkrumah, Kwame, 117, 141, 159, 165
nonalignment, 16, 176
non-state
actors, 15, 19–20, 77, 114
actors and war, 91, 118, 211
archives, 19
blurring of state and non-state categories, 20, 200

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Index

non-state (cont.)
Naga hills as, 32
war, 118

nonviolence, 86
and AMAX, 163
and civil disobedience, 87
confrontation, 86
and the Friendship March, 196
Gandhian, 77, 86–87, 89, 97, 178–79, 183, 188
and global decolonization, 81
and the international peace movement, 8
and Kaunda, 99, 135
and Naga integration, 189
and Naga nationalism, 199
and Namibian independence, 166
and Zambian independence, 100, 134
North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), 40, 44, 51, 218

Nujoma, Sam, 102, 150–52, 154–57, 163–65, 167

Nyasaland, 135

Nyerere, Julius, 22, 79, 88, 93, 96, 102, 105, 113–15, 141, 197

O’Brien, Conor Cruise, 73, 123–24, 139
Murderous Angels, 108
UN special envoy, 139
Observer newspaper, 57–58, 61, 68–69, 72–73, 116, 225

Odendaal Commission, 167
Odendaal Plan, 167

Organisation de l’armée secrete (OAS), 123

Ovambo, 146–47, 149–52, 154–55, 239

Ovamboland, 151

Ovamboland People’s Congress, 148, 150

Ovamboland People’s Organization, 150

pacifism, 23, 77, 88, 90, 103, 107, 115, 183, 195, 199, 221, See also international peace movement

Pakistan
Astor in, 69
independent, 29, 74, 106, 187
and journalism on Nagas, 72
partition, 186, 210
Phizo in, 2, 49

pressured to deny Friendship Marchers
visas, 180
wars with India, 187, 219

Palestine, 9, 71–72, 87


pan-Africanism, 20, 92

Pandit, Vijayalakshmi, 61, 66, 69, 73–77, 79, 166, 227

partition, 34, 151, 186, 210

partnership, 106

passport, 60–61, 168, 192, 231

paternalism, 67, 80, 222–23, 225

Patterson, George, 68–69

Pawsey, Charles, 45, 63, 65, 223

performance, 70, 160

petitioned, 118, 144, 149, 152, 238

Phizo, Angami Zapu. See also Naga
– National Council, See also Scott, Guthrie Michael, and Phizo, See also
– London, Phizo in
 accuse India of human rights abuses, 74

Angami tribe, 36, 42
and Astor, 69, 73

Baptist, 77

blamed for death of rivals, 64

body returned home, 233

in Burma, 36–37

death, 2, 234

difficulty of claim, 66

fallout with Sakhrie, 49

as former imperial citizen, 61

gatekeepers, 59–63

and George Bernard Shaw, 226

and international advocates, 4, 20–21, 49, 57, 226

Iralu funds, 40

and journalism, 68–69, 72, 221

missing papers, 3

Nehru works with opponents, 50

never returns to Nagaland, 233

and Naga nationalism, 1, 4, 47, 65, 74, 211, 230

and Namibian nationalism, 7

and Netaji, 37

in Pakistan, 49–50

and politics of exile, 205

and recognition, 10

rejected proposal to Nehru, 190

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
and resource conservation, 48
and Scott, 65, 206, 229
Scott advocates for, 94
Scott as messenger for, 189
and sovereignty, 54, 74
and the People’s Republic of Nagalan, 48
and transnational advocates, 80
and violence, 48, 75, 77, 81
as violent criminal, 65
vouched for, 64
political economy, 5, 18, 20, See also
Armstrong, Winifred
postcolonialism. See also nationalism, and
postcolonial states, See also United
Nations (UN), Declaration on the
Granting of Independence to
Colonial Countries and Peoples
adventurers, 72
and African nationalism, 78, 96
critiques of state sovereignty, 206
declared, 224
elites, 119
and empire, 224
federations, 136
and geopolitics, 54
India, 4
and international order, 113
minority rights in postcolonial states, 106
and multiracialism, 134
nationalism, 62
and settler colonialism, 53
stability of nation-states, 124
state governments, 5
UN recognition of nations, 11
Prain, Ronald, 132–34, 139
Prasad, Devi, 230–31
Princely States, 187, 218–19
protectorates, 66, 217
protest, 77, 79, 87, 93, 134, 195, 230
Pruitt, Ida, 191–92
Puerto Rico, 217
Quakers (Friends), 87, 92, 95, 109, 220–21,
See also American Friends Service
Committee
racism, 66
Ram, Suresh, 20, 22, 179–80, 198, 221
Ranger, Terence, 116
recognition
and the 1960 UN Declaration on the
Granting of Independence to
Colonial Countries and Peoples, 23
of African nationalisms by Kennedy, 128
of India by UN, 185
of indigenous territorial rights, 143
international, 3, 11, 24
and legitimacy, 169
legitimacy granted through international, 240
and minority nationalist claims, 8, 10
and Naga nationalism, 52, 54, 57, 65, 211, 214, 227
and Ovambo, 152
and postcolonial nationalism, 231–32
and religious networks, 18
and self-determination, 13, 60
in South West Africa, 151
and sovereignty, 29, 204
and SWAPO, 156
of Tibet, 191
and the UN, 6, 12, 14–15, 47, 50, 152, 228
and the UN Declaration on the Granting
of Independence to Colonial
Countries and Peoples, 130, 234
and the World Peace Brigade, 116
of Zambia, 105, 118
reconciliation
politics of, 206–13
refugees, 129, 163–64
religion
and activism, 195
and the Cold War, 17–18, 99, 127
of doubt, 77–78
and Indian nationalism, 185–86
international networks of, 5
and minority nationalism, 16
and Naga nationalism, 12, 32, 39, 223
and pacifism, 88
in South West Africa, 68
and the World Peace Brigade, 77, 88
reparations, 239
respectability, 71, 124, 140
Rhodesian Selection Trust or Roan
Selection Trust (RST), 67, 131–33,
139, 147
Rockefeller Foundation, 133, 139
Rose, E. J. B (Jim), 61

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Index

Scott, Guthrie, 64
Sahay, Vishnu, 64
Sakhrir, Theyucuthi (T), 47-49
Salisbury, 104, 116
Sarvodaya movement, 88-89, 93, 179-80, 182-84, 188, 190, 220-21
scale
of decolonization, 240
goalitical, 186
of marches, 196
of Naga Church, 206
of political questions, 205
Scott, Guthrie Michael, 65-66
Africa Freedom Project leader, 97
and African nationalism, 60, 66, 78-79, 149
Anglican priest, 78
anti-apartheid activism, 20, 66, 166, 209
and anticommunism, 77-78
Armstrong advocates for, 128
Astor as patron, 61
attacks mining interests, 131-33, 161
British, 8, 75
and Chaliha, 215-16
and the Cold War, 135
critic of empire, 64
deporation from India, 23, 220, 223
disagreements with Astor and Pandit, 73
Dunn’s attempted biography of, 116
and failures of Naga nationalism, 196
and the Friendship March, 188-90, 193, 196-98, 221
financial backers, 111, 132-33, 139
as gatekeeper, 68, 226
at the Gandhigram Ashram conference, 21, 85
gift for empathy, 182
go-between for Phizo and Nehru, 189
as guru in religion of doubt, 77-78
on histories of decolonization, 24-25
on India and postcolonial imperialism, 224-25
as individual leader, 92, 201
and international advocacy, 59, 61-62, 67, 75-76, 78, 81, 95, 108, 143, 166, 189, 198, 204, 221, 223, 225-26, 228-29
leaves Africa Freedom Action Project, 102-3, 197
many interests, 198
and minority rights, 62, 74, 94
on minorities and the international order, 57-58
Nagas identify as Baptist, 215
and the Nagaland Baptist Church Council, 23
and Namibian nationalism, 21, 67, 165, 225
and Narayan, 75
and Nkrumah, 165
and nonviolence, 77, 81, 107, 135
and the Peace Mission, 209, 221-22, 230
and Phizo, 75, 79-81, 95, 190, 205, 214, 228
and postcolonial nationalist movements, 205
protests South African consulate, 134
resignation refused, 197
reveals thorny nature of international advocates’ power, 95
and self-determination, 166
seven scenarios for Naga nationalism, 217-19
and state sovereignty, 219
and transnational advocacy networks, 206
at the UN, 23, 66-68, 80, 94, 105, 108-9, 131, 223
at the UN (Committee on South West Africa), 160
at the UN (Special Committee of 17), 131, 134, 138
and the US South, 196
and the World Peace Brigade, 88, 94, 230-31
and Zambia, 22
secession. See also Katanga, secession from Congo
in Bangladesh, 24
in Biafra, 24
and Nagaland, 217
Second World nations, 138
and nationalist claims making, 32-38
China-Burma-India theater, 21, 34
in India, 44, 49
security

https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009305815.015 Published online by Cambridge University Press
Tanzania or Tanganyika. See also Nyerere, Julius
and advocacy, 79
Armstrong in, 127
independence, 18
and SWAPO, 139
and the World Peace Brigade, 180–81
Tatum, Arlo, 87, 104
Tatum, Lyle, 104–6
Tenyidie, 39
territory
and advocacy, 4, 20, 185
borders, 178
boundaries of, 125, 231
conception as act of narration and imagination, 32
and decolonization, 67, 120, 129
and ethnicity, 168
and extraction, 143, 160, 169
and the Friendship March, 190, 196
Goa as, 52, 86
and indigeneity, 235
integrity of, 75, 171
and legitimacy, 153
and naming, 226
minority protections for, 6, 180
and conscription, 152
postcolonial, 137
and recognition, 211
and sovereignty, 10, 58, 184, 226
as states-in-waiting, 8
rights, 145
UN trust territories, 144, 234
Thailand, 219
Third World nations, 53, 91, 107, 113, 138, 224
Thompson, Laura, 20, 61, 65, 229
Tibet
and the Cold War, 122
and the World Peace Brigade, 200
missionaries in, 68
Nagas eschew connection to, 12
and Narayan, 94, 190–93, 197, 199, 202
nationalism, 9, 15–16, 23, 60, 80
Toibruk, 66, 166
tribe
Angami, 36, 42
and anthropologists, 64
and autonomy, 210
and colonial empowerment narrative, 123
dual definitions, 44
Elwin advises Nehru on, 63
and identity, 43
in India, 31, 44, 177, 185–86, 188, 209
and Katanga, 125
as marker of difference, 43
and modernization, 44
and national development, 24
and religion, 186
as 'premodern', 42, 45, 71
as threat to postcolonial state, 53
as tribe, not nation, 42, 76, 205, 210
in South Africa, 68
in the Indian constitution, 51
nationalisms, 8
trope
of forgottenness, 36
Tshombe, Moise, 121–26, 135–38, 140–41, 238
Tsumeb mine, 145–47, 150–51, 154, 157, 160–61, 170

Union Minière, 121, 123–24, 131–34
United Arab Republic, 136
United Nations (UN). See also international order, and the United Nations, See also Namibia or South West Africa, UN Committee on South West Africa
2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 237
and advocates, 80
and AMAX, 161
authority of, 12
called Communist, 138
charter, 54, 166, 211
and China, 184
and the Cold War, 138, 231
and Congo, 120–21, 125, 138
in Congo, 116, 176, 188
and history of decolonization, 25
as incompetent, 153
Declaration of Universal Human Rights, 54
envoy, 11, 139
expansion of, 125
forum for international law, 6
Fourth Committee on Colonialism, 14–15, 108
Good Offices Committee on South West Africa, 151
grants legitimacy, 8, 167
Indian delegation to, 66
and indigeneity, 236
and international advocacy, 9, 62–63, 109, 143, 196, 223
and international law, 6, 140, 224
as an institution, 8
and Katanga, 11, 22, 73, 119–20, 123, 125, 139, 238
in Katanga, 121, 134
Liberian delegation to, 68
limitations of, 57
and minority rights, 58, 62, 223, 225
and the Naga National Council, 46–47
and Naga nationalism, 49, 59, 211, 220
and Namibia, 152–53, 168–69, 171
and nationalism, 150
Narayan at, 79
and nonviolence, 78, 86, 90
observation mission, 222
opposition to Tshombe, 124
peacekeeping, 72, 107–9, 176, 238
petitioning to, 5, 34, 58, 60, 68, 108, 149, 153, 162, 187, 224
and recognition, 4–5, 53, 118, 228
and Scott, 67
Scott at, 23, 67, 109, 198
and self-determination, 141
and South Africa, 71
South African nationalists and, 133
and sovereignty, 124
Special Committee of 17, 96, 130–31, 134–38
state-centrism, 86, 185
and states-in-waiting, 143
and SWAPO, 152–53
SWAPO at, 148
as system of international order, 5, 8, 14
testimony before, 4, 105, 128, 130–32, 134, 137, 160, 169
trust territories, 140, 144, 234
Ya Toivo at, 150
Year of Africa, 4
United National Independence Party (UNIP), 88, 101, 105, 123, 135
United States
activists from, 89
United States (cont.)
and Baptists, 207
and civil rights, 5, 87, 113, 117, 159, 194
and the Cold War, 91
and decolonization, 14, 128
and education, 40
and hegemony, 18
and India, 38
imperialist, 153
indirect empire, 90
and international advocacy,
8, 110
Kaunda in, 99
labor movement in, 92
and Nagaland, 219
and recognition, 53
and self-determination, 13
and Tanzania, 141
and Tshombe, 125
and the UN, 129
and the World Peace Brigade, 91, 193, 198
Verrier, Elwin, 63–64, 71–72
Vigne, Randolph, 152–54, 158
violence
and the ANC, 158
and colonialism, 36
in Congo, 121, 126, 135, 238
and decolonization, 8, 78, 81, 91, 97
Gandhian peace army relied upon,
86
and imperialism, 177
Indian state, 180, 182, 201, 221
and Naga nationalism, 183, 189, 233
in Nagaland, 69, 73
Nagas tired of, 215
pacifism as abstention from,
86, 184
and Phizo, 48, 74, 77, 81
Scott on, 78
and self-determination, 13
and the World Peace Brigade, 9, 22, 104, 135
and UN peacekeepers, 72
visas, 66, 71, 108, 128, 140, 162, 192, 215, 231
Walker, Charles C. “Charlie”, 179, 197, 199
War Resisters International, 21, 81, 85, 111, 230
Ward, David, 2
Welensky, Roy, 124, 135–37
West Indian Federation, 136
West Papua, 9
Windhoek, 58, 150, 168
Wolfe, Alvin, 131–32, 160
World Council of Churches, 212–13
Third International Assembly, 212
World Peace Brigade. See also Delhi-to-
Peking Friendship March
Africa Freedom Action Project, 9,
96–104, 114–15, 179, 194, 197,
199–200, 202, 209, 211–22
Africa Freedom Project, 102
and anticolonialism, 97, 112
and anticomunism, 97, 116
as apolitical, 198
and Armstrong, 128
as army of generals, 91, 200–1
Asian Regional Council, 88, 93, 179, 184,
189
coupling of civil rights and
decolonization, 195
and civil rights, 113, 194–95
and communism, 108, 189, 192
criticism of, 105–6
and decolonization, 199
demise of, 195
Dunn’s attempted biography of Scott, 116
European Council, 94
failures of, 96, 103, 196
fissures and fractures, 73–79
as First World construction, 91
formation of, 21, 88
and the Friendship March, 190
as gatekeepers, 101
Indian and Chinese opposition to, 190
internal disagreements, 10, 102, 107,
178–84, 202, 221
and international advocacy, 16, 105,
200, 202, 228
and Katanga, 119
and Kennedy, 109
and leaders from colonizing nations, 90
and mining interests, 114, 124, 134
and Naga nationalism, 21
and Nagaland disputes, 199
negative capability, 231
as nonstate actor, 118, 191
and nonviolence, 8, 87, 99, 113, 184, 193
North American council, 92
and peace, 89
and the CIA, 112
origins of, 86–87
and the Peace Mission, 209
prioritized individual advocates, 91
regional councils, 88
supports Kaunda, 135
tensions within, 196
testimony before UN, 105
twin aims, 102
and transnational advocacy,
90, 185, 196
and Zambian nationalism, 22
World Peace Council, 192

Ya Toivo, Andimba Toivo, 149–51, 155,
158, 160, 238
Ya-Otto, John, 146
Year of Africa, 4
Yergan, Max, 122
Young, Gavin, 72–73, 225

Zambia or Northern Rhodesia, 96–98,
114–15, See also Kaunda, Kenneth,
See also United National
Independence Party (UNIP)

achieves independence, 18
and AMAX, 18, 132–33, 137, 147,
161–62
anticommunist movements and, 122
Armstrong in, 127
and the Copperbelt, 14, 131, 137
and international advocacy, 5, 21
and legitimate nationalism, 136
Katanga as distorted mirror of, 123, 125
and the Lunda, 121
and Muste, 106
peace march through, 100, 107
recognition of, 105
as state-in-waiting, 133, 238
and SWAPO, 147, 159
and UNIP, 88
Zimbabwe or Southern Rhodesia, 7, 57,
97–98, 100, 117, 121–22, 127,
147
as decolonization hotspot, 97
Zomia or Upland South East Asia, 12,
45–46
Zürich, 60–61, 226