

# THE CRISIS IN MIZORAM : A STUDY IN GEOPOLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

By

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A Thesis

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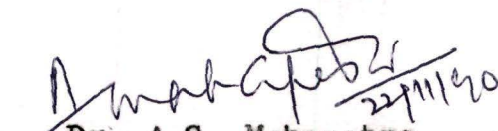
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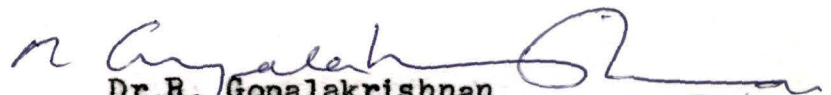
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22 November, 1990

This is to certify that Sri S. N. Singh has carried out his research work for his thesis entitled 'THE CRISIS IN MIZORAM: A STUDY IN GEOPOLITICAL PERSPECTIVES' under my guidance. He fulfilled all the requirements laid down in the Regulation of Ph.D. Programme. This thesis is the result of his own investigation and neither the thesis as a whole nor any part of it was submitted to any other university/Educational Institute for any research degree or diploma.

  
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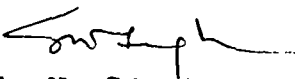
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The views expressed in the study are entirely of the author and the views and opinions of other scholars are duly cited in the text. Needless to say that the omissions in the study are either <sup>due to</sup> ~~due to~~ ignorance or ~~due to~~ negligence ~~due to~~ ~~the~~ the sole responsibility lies with scholar.

Place: Shillong

  
S. N. Singh

Dated: 22<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 1990.

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CHAPTER - I

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## INTRODUCTION

The entire belt of North-Eastern India is a zone of ethnic and political tension, which in turn bred political turmoil in the form of armed revolt or insurgency. Mizoram is not an exception. The land which was <sup>a</sup>paradise for anthropologists, has become now-a-days, a part of local and regional instability. This instability has to be studied and analysed from the geopolitical perspective, as the region has become the focus of attention at national and international scale. The North-East Region, represented a melting pot of heterogeneous races,<sup>1</sup> language and cultures. The migration of races originated from the East or North-East to West. In the process of migration inter-mingling of races took place in the region, and then many of the inhabitants confined themselves to the difficult terrain of the mountainous periphery. The geographical distribution of phenomena kept them isolated and this phenomena enabled them to retain their traditional characteristics.

In the North-East Region, identity and individuality (of groups and sub-groups) crisis assumed serious proportions

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1. R. Gopalakrishnan 1987. Territorial Structuring and aspects of geo-administration in North-Eastern Region of India - NEHU Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Vol.4 Oct - Dec. 1987 p.24.

Each tribe and sub-tribe of the region is in the race for recognition of its racial identity upon which the demand for regional autonomy in political and economic terms has been propagated subsequently. This has given way to regionalism and irredentism in different forms in different parts of the region. Such claims based on narrow parochial considerations, fomented tension and crisis which ultimately encouraged secessionist movement. In fact, the ethnic and linguistic affiliations remained the most powerful elements of regional movements in the region particularly in Mizoram. The creation of Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram had consequent impact in the minor ethnic groups, who were stridently rooting for autonomy, for example the Hmar, the Lakhers and the Chakmas,

The Government of India had to compromise with the situation by allowing smaller ethnic groups to have autonomous District Councils - Chakma, Pawi, Lakher D.C., but not smaller states (may not be economically viable) that may go against the name of national integration<sup>2</sup>. But all these changes are the results of power struggle based on intense ethnic chauvinism and irredentism. This ultimately proved the role of geopolitical undercurrents.

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2. Jean Racine - A Contribution to Geopolitical Analysis of India(in) Pascal Girot(ed) International Geopolitical Analysis, London, 1987 p.94.

The colonial policy largely aimed at excluding the area from the remaining part of the region and the country. They initiated specific policy measures that not only permitted the retention of traditional equations in political, economic and social relations, but also enabled the population to come under the limited influence of change. This, then, suggested that the administration's intention was of maintaining the status-quo rather than dealing with development and instability. The specific politico-administrative measures aimed at minimum interference while ensuring maximum mobilization to the policy measures. These were followed by the specific financial considerations, relaxati<sup>3</sup> and grants that maintained the status-quo. They also initiated a form of representation, which largely comprised the various chiefs. This re-set the role of the population at large.

It was out of strategic necessity that a loose system of political administration was established in these frontier areas. Communication remained meagre if not non-existent. The contact with outside world was tenuous,

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3. The Assam Frontier Tract Regulation 1880, The Scheduled District Act 1874, The Chin Hills Regulation Act 1896, Government of India Act 1919, Innerline Regulations Bengal and Eastern Frontier 1873.

which suited their geo-political interest. But, in the process, British failed to percieve and appreciate the economic and political requirements of the area and consequently neglected them. This policy, in fact, continued up to the 1940's and 1950's.

These aspects along with traditional aloofness, led to <sup>the</sup> conceptualisation that incorporated a conservative political establishment allied to, and providing justification for, the tribal resistance. Political perception of the mountainous inhabitants was that the centralization of power would deprive them of their legitimate authority. This to some extent still pervades their attitude.

The systematisation of the administration, therefore, was made intentionally different. The tribal societies found it difficult to perceive this distinction. To them these efforts were only means of bringing them under political sub-ordination. This suggested that the legal instruments were not implemented effectively to introduce political changes unless the tribal political culture is pre-disposed (to which the tribal society is not attuned).

The British kept the inhabitants particularly the tribals of eastern frontier of the region as a 'museum piece'

by inventing an exotic barb around them through the introduction of various Rules and Regulations. The British subjects were debarred from going beyonds the 'Inner line' without a permit from the District authority. This was primarily intended to maintain peace and non-interference in tribal affairs and economic exploitation. But its results were not bright. The tribals lost their contact with the plains people and thus a cleavage between the plains people and the Hill people was created by the British authority in India.

Based on the recommendation of the Bordoloi Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly, the Constitution of India incorporated a provision in the 'Sixth Schedule' for the social and economic development of the Hill Districts of the North-East. These districts fell under the category of 'Excluded Area' or 'Partially Excluded Area'. Lushai Hills District (now Mizoram) came under the 'Excluded Area'<sup>4</sup>. This arrangement was sequence to the colonial policy and was continued in order to safefuard interests of the tribal people after independence. It is said that this policy had to do more with geopolitical<sup>5</sup> considerations that took into

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4. Government of India Act 1919, Government of India Act 1935.

5. Constitution of India 1950 ( Sixth Schedule of the Constitution), Government of India.

account different racial and cultural identity as well as politico-economic basis of the Hill Tribes inhabiting North East India.

At the fag end of the British Raj in India, a plan was proposed by a British constitutional expert, R.Coupland to create a buffer state comprising the 'Excluded and partially excluded Areas' in the eastern most part of the country. The plan was not acceptable and consequently shelved and discarded.

The colonial administrators annexed, expanded and integrated different tribal districts with the mainland for their own imperial interests. But they did not interfere in the inhabitant's internal affairs, and left them to manage their affairs according to their own respective tradition. The British did not take initiative to bring them into the mainstream of national life. Rather by their attitude and approach they encouraged differences between and among the plain people and the Hill inhabitants by creating an artificial barrier under the cover of 'Inner line'. The declaration of Hill Areas as "Excluded Areas" tended in the long run to insulate the aspirations of the inhabitants of the

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6. R.Coupland, 1944. The Constitutional Problem of India Part III, London, p.164.

hill section from sharing common perspective with the rest of the inhabitants of the country.

The present state of Mizoram was a part of Assam known as Lushai Hills District. It was one of the districts of Assam in the extreme southern fringe of N.E. India. In 1954 the nomenclature of the Lushai Hills district was changed to Mizo Hills District<sup>7</sup>, by the Act of Parliament which later on in 1972, was elevated to the status of Union Territory - Mizoram<sup>8</sup> and subsequently, attained its Statehood on February 20, 1987.<sup>9</sup>

Mizoram is located between  $22^{\circ} 19' N$  and  $24^{\circ} 19' N$  latitude and  $92^{\circ} 16' E$ <sup>93 26E</sup> longitude covering a geographical area of 21087 sq.km with a population of 4,93,757<sup>10</sup> (1981 census). It had an average density of 23 persons per sq.km. The state of Mizoram is surrounded by Burma in the East, Manipur and Cachar district of Assam in the North, Tripura and Bangladesh in the West and again Burma in the South. Geographically, it is 277 km from North to South, 121 km from East to West. The Tropic of Cancer goes through the middle of the State (just south of Aizawl town  $23^{\circ} 30' N$ ). (Map No 1)

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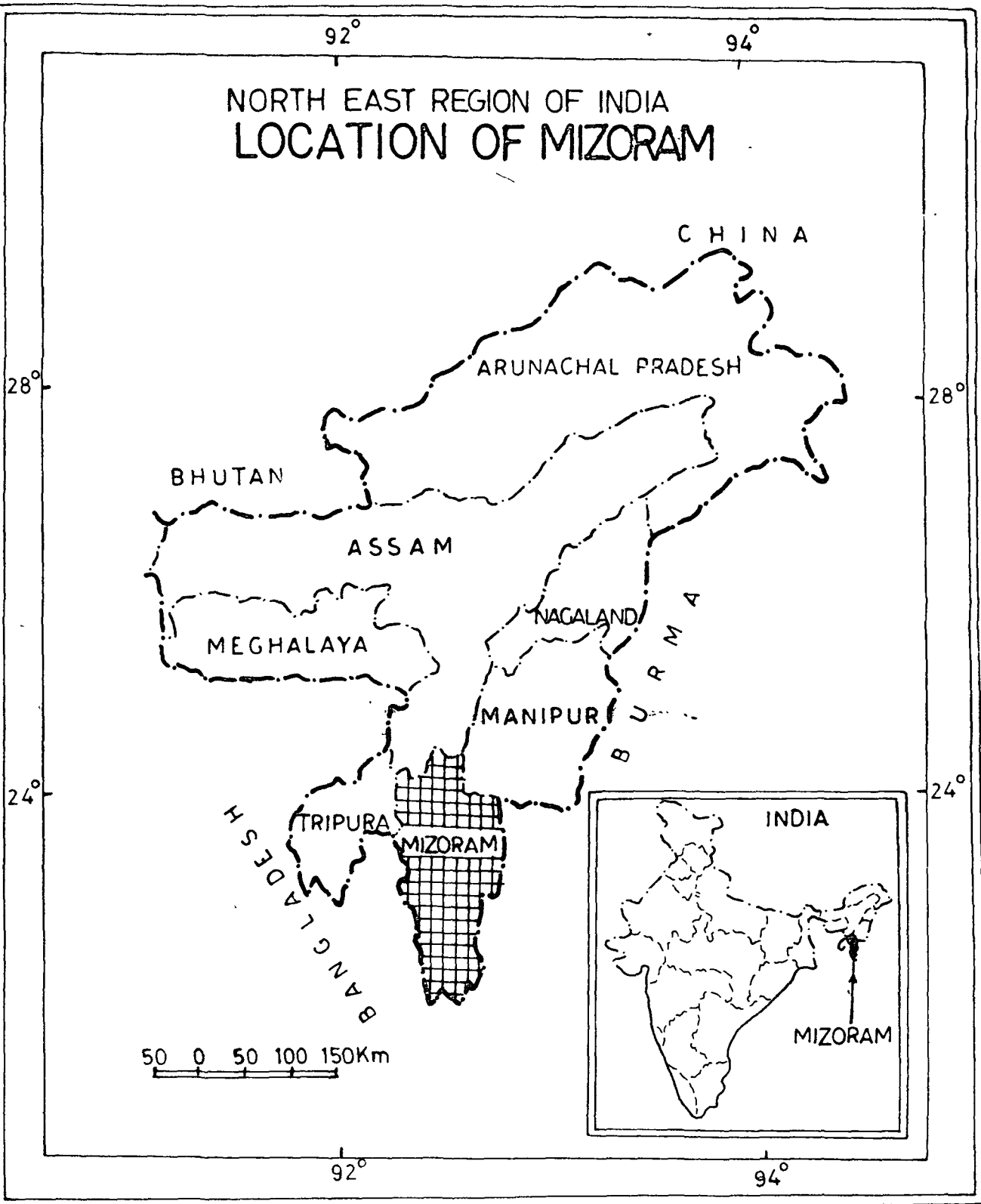
7. Amendment of the Constitution, 1954.

8. North-Eastern Area (Reorganization) Act, 1971 (27 amendment).

9. North-Eastern Area (Reorganisation) Act, 1986 (53rd amendment).

10. (i) Survey of India Map. (ii) Statistical Handbook of Mizoram, p.10.

NORTH EAST REGION OF INDIA  
LOCATION OF MIZORAM



Map No 1

The geographical location of Mizoram is of great significance, and forms an ideal field of geographical (and Geopolitical) study. It has a long inter-State border with Assam (123 km) Tripura (66 km); and Manipur(95 km). Besides, Mizoram shares international borders with (from three sides) Burma in the East and South (404 km) and Bangladesh in the West (306 km). This has divided the Mizos and their associated (cognate) clans.<sup>11</sup> It has a complex North-South trending mountain terrain which is, thickly forested. Alongwith its inaccessible and isolated nature, the southern margins and the trijunction points (of Mizoram - Tripura, Assam; Mizoram - Manipur - Assam; Mizoram - Bangladesh - Tripura; and , Mizoram - Burma - Bangladesh) have formed an important core of activities at the time of instability (insurgency). This is the reason why this frontier state has exaggerated strategic and geopolitical significance.<sup>12</sup>

The important characteristics of the state of Mizoram can be summed up as -

- (i) It has a predominantly mountainous terrain
- (ii) It is predominantly composed of tribal population.
- (iii) Its accessibility is limited to Silchar-Aizawl Highway (NH 54). The communication within the State is also limited.

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11. Statistical Hand Book of Mizoram 1987, p.12.

12. R.Gopalakrishnan, n.1.p.25.

- (iv) It has predominantly subsistence agriculture with wide-spread jhum cultivation.
- (v) Its socio-economic profile is confined to tribal structure.
- (vi) Its economy is dominated by small-scale industry and cottage industry that substantiates local needs, and
- (vii) The tribal population is highly politicised and is predominantly Christian. Significant non-Christian elements in the Southern part of the state have added to the <sup>Tendency of</sup> balkanization of the state.

Mizoram is the cradle of diverse communities like the Lushai, Khasi, Paite, Bete, Powi, Lakher, Hmar, Riang, Tlanglau, Bawm, Chakmas and so on. They are mostly of Mongoloid stock, who migrated to the present location from the southern and south-western parts of China through upper Burma. The inhabitants are mostly Christians (83.81%) followed by Buddhists (8.19%) and others Hindus (7%) and Muslims (0.45%). The literacy figure in Mizoram is one of the highest in the country, next to Chandigarh, Delhi and Kerala (70.42%)<sup>13</sup> as against all India average of 36.23%. Despite the high literacy, Mizoram as a whole is economically backward. This backwardness is largely

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13. Basic statistics of North-Eastern Region, 1987, pp.94-98.

due to unfavourable natural environment, the poor and inadequate communication network (11.89 km per 100 sq.km as against 47.02 km of all India). It is more or less isolated from the rest of the country. The communication within the state itself is also limited. The mountainous terrain of the state has exerted substantial influence on the agriculture which is the main source of livelihood of the people.

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Some Terminological Clarifications:

The use of the term 'Geopolitics' has long remained proscribed, as it connoted designs for territorial expansion and the ideologies that encouraged such an action. The constant figurative use of the term had further diluted its significance. But, persistent review of relevant literature suggested that Geopolitics was in effect a study of complex relationships between political and geographical configurations of a territorial Unit. Applying it on a scale, Geopolitical reasonings revealed alternative approaches to interpretation of crisis situations and parameters and their

---

14. Ibid, p.86.

15. Methodological and terminological definitions and clarifications have been adopted from R.Gopalakrishnan, Draft Manuscript of article on "Reflections on Political Geography of India". In addition to this, R.Gopalakrishnan's works on various aspects of Political Geography of the North-Eastern States have been widely and exclusively used and quoted in the present work.

impact on stability. In other words, inherent in such an understanding was the accounting of spatial configurations while examining the relationship between forces and masses and that crisis on scale were interrelated. Thus, the present study not only accounts for the role of permanent geographical features but also of change and movements which occur for a short time over a small area. These changes and movements frequently unsettled, or speed up and/ or at times overturned the peculiar power relationships to create specific pattern of spatial ensembles. The articulation of which outlines the value of geographical reasoning.

By the term 'crisis' we mean the consequences of the locational attributes at local, regional and national levels. In other words, problem faced by a given territorial population group/sub-group and its inter-relationship with the environment. The environment in such a context is applied in a wider sense and covered perception and responses. Frequently, crisis is often used in conjunction with problems. The present attempt adopts the same approach but with one qualification <sup>that the</sup> ~~case~~, problems/or crisis faced by a territorial group with a definite territorial parameter transforms itself when there are changes in preconditions.

The study of the relationship of the geographical conditions and political processes are the primary task of

political geographer. Apart from the knowledge and background of economic and geo-political implications, the field of study also embraces the application of concepts of State power through which measurement and evaluation of the State policies could be made.

The influence of the 'core' on the activities of the 'periphery' (Mizoram) inevitably leads us to an area-analysis emphasising the tactical concepts and processes. The identification and formulating explanation for questions like under difficult terrain condition with limited resource potentials, how insurgency developed become obvious. Other aspects like the psychological background and the environment that made the inhabitants responsive to these conditions fall within such a perspective.<sup>16</sup>

The conflict of two or more opposing interests are the inherent causes for aggravation of problems everywhere. The two opposing interests in this case were the State (Central Government) and the dissidents comprising of traditional pressure groups and extra-mural forces. The final outcome of the two interest groups depended much on the mobilisation of resource and management of the crisis parameters.

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16. Patrick O. Sullivan, 1985, Geopolitics, London, p.9.

Mizoram, by virtue of its location at the periphery of the North-East part of the country reflected the interaction and tension between the State and ethnic nationalism. These have created a dynamic socio-economic structure that reality responded to the changes introduced in the mountainous landscape. Traditional patterns and modernization have exhibited clash of interests between the State, the pressure group and the population. This also reflected a sustained rivalry between them. The resort to insurgency was a means to eradicate this conflicting relationship for despite the attempts of the State to rationalise social and economic relationships, violence as a means to redress problems has continued.<sup>17</sup> These were either launched by the majority population group like Lusei and affiliated groups, or by the minority groups such as Pawis, Lakhers, and Hmars, etc. The crisis parameters were also different from the pattern of State formation. These influenced the nature of conflicts and had determined the development of the territorial unit's extent. Ample testimony is provided by the size and shape of the unit as well as by the recommendations of the boundary Commissions. The demarcation of the boundary were also clear reflections of settlement pattern of constituent territorial units as in the north Mizoram particularly those sections

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17. See R.Gopalakrishnan, 1990, Political Geography of India's North-East, Vikas, New Delhi.

bordering the thickly populated plains of Cachar, Manipur, Tripura and Bangladesh plains.

Mizoram was conceived to represent a specific social organization and social economic relations. It also indicated the advantages the erstwhile intermediary territories achieved through State intervention. However, it allowed the individual and factions to challenge the existing pattern and required use of administrative machinery (legal or illegal) to force a change in the pattern.

Because of its evolution, terrain condition and policies, Mizoram lacked behind in economic, social and political development. It represented strong entrenched feudal element and was re-inforced by virtual divisions. Influence of modernization process and exposure due to the World Wars enabled the traditional pressure groups to seek separation. In consequence, the State experienced dependence and under-development; its economic and political rhythms were reactions to change or to the impulses generated in other parts of the country.<sup>18</sup>

Crisis or problems, therefore, reflected the responses of a territorial population/sub-group to a given set of circumstances - these circumstances were primarily locational

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18. Ibid.

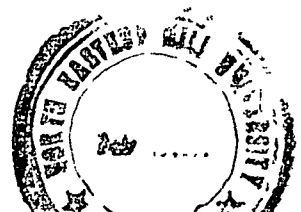
attributes of the State.

The geopolitical perspective emerged when relationship between people, territory and ideology was sought on the basis of the distribution of geographical phenomenon of the State. In other words, crisis was the manifestation of inherent drawbacks of the territorial unit and the response of the inhabitants who continuously strove to offset these drawbacks vis-a-vis regional and national conditions.

The crisis posed a threat to the traditional imperatives. It is premature to deal extensively the responses of the government, for the diagnosis of the ecological aspect is only at the beginning stage. The impact of this depended on a variety of unpredictable factors including the attitude of the participants (also the leaders of the political organizations) and the shape of the public opinion. Much depended on whether these crisis were coherently interpreted as a part of the overall ecological imbalance, or whether a rational path to equilibrium can be treated with vividness and equity.

Initial response was to strengthen the co-operative tendencies in the state. They were, however, of greatly different views of causes/<sup>and effect</sup> and were product of circumstances

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of intense perceived diversity. It did not lend itself to solution by way of regional contrast.<sup>19</sup>

It is an accepted proposition that physical and ecological phenomena affected the political events in a state. It is more applicable to Mizoram where geographical environments has had a tremendous influence on the developments in the State. The socio-economic changes were due to the same phenomena. The course of events and pattern of development in Mizoram can be analysed in the light of some important factors such as distance, accessibility, resource endowment, location of territorial groups, perception and as response of inhabitants distributed in a wide territory.<sup>20</sup>

Mizoram, like the other State of the North-East has a peripheral location. This peripheral location offered an ideal ground for <sup>the</sup> study of the interplay of distance, dependence and differences which interact with each other to create a mosaic of uncertainty within the territory and the people living therein.

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19. See K. Gopalakrishnan, 1990, Ideology, Autonomy and Integration in the North-East, Omsons, Delhi.

20. See Gopalakrishnan, n.12

Purpose, Objectives and Justifications:

The purpose and objective of the present study is to understand and identify the geopolitical viability of Mizoram. The present study becomes important when the strategic and security environment of the country is considered. Thus the study of political-geographical processes suggest a close inter-relationships and linkages between Environment-processes-population-behaviour. Geographers are equipped to tackle the political processes and spatial consequences directly. Explanation of areal arrangement and landscape forms a natural fall out of the present study. It is also contended that the locational perspective goes a long way in understanding the politico-geographical processes operating in Mizoram. Moreover, political processes are inseparable from the societal forces by which man orders his political life.

The scope of the study includes the conspicuous alternative i.e., the rationale of which being adaptations and responses. The study will identify the action-space of the people which they have individually perceived and responded to. These are co-relates of social and psychological mechanism on which the geographical attributes of Mizoram have spatio-structural implications. There are two distinct

co-relates in the study; these are space and time. These suggest qualitative implications offering contextual considerations. The study thus includes following hypotheses.

### Hypotheses

- 1) Generalisation concerning the location of the State can be organised into some sort of geopolitical framework.
- 2) The processes of change affected political and geographical patterns and relationship as evinced in places, area and landscapes. It has direct influence on the succession of events, actions and operations that man employed to establish and maintain change in the political pattern in geographical space.
- 3) Perception of a population can be related to appraisal of the environment on a spectrum between opposite extremes of determinism and possibilism.
- 4) Environmental possibilism which interprets man as a free agent choosing between the wide or limited range of choices made available by his environment.
- 5) The fact that these react to environment as it is provided rather than as it really is with decisions being made in the light of perceived factors and past experiences.

Review of Literature.

The literature on Mizoram available so far is not comprehensive. Earlier, the British administrators, who were in charge of district administration made an attempt on the anthropological aspects of Lushai Life and that the administrative convenience in view. The army and the civil officers highlighted the land and the people from the administrative and strategic points of view. For example, J. Shakespear, who was the Superintendent of Lushai Hills for fourteen years acquired a knowledge of the Lushai and other tribes inhabiting the district and published a valuable book, 'The Lushai-Kuki clans' in 1912. Another book entitled 'History of Assam Rifles' was published by L.W. Shakespear in 1929. N.E. Parry, the Superintendent of Lushai District in 1920 wrote "A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Ceremonies" in 1928 and "The Lakhers" in 1932, B. Carey and H.N. Tucks wrote a book "The Chin Hills - A History of the People" in 1931. A.G. McCall wrote "Lushai Chrysalis" in 1949 which was descriptive in nature throwing light on social systems of the Lushais. But these original works of the British administrators concentrated mainly on the sociological and anthropological aspects of the Lushais and other tribes stressing their mode of life and environment. The

growth of political and administrative system, policy and prospects along with the socio-economic problems of the Mizo tribals were peripherally treated in these studies.

The post-independence works on Mizoram have no doubt widened the range of study, but no work has been done on geopolitical aspects of Mizoram. The interplay of space and politics has been completely untouched as yet. L.B. Thanga (1978), Lalthangliana (1977), A.C.Roy (1982), N. Bibedon (1980) have written comprehensive books on Mizoram which highlighted social, political and administrative matters. The economic aspect of Mizoram has been studied by D. Bose (1967), P.C.Goswami (1969), J.B. Baveja (1970), N. Saha (1973) and K.K. Upadhyaya (1985). The publications of the government of India and the Government of Mizoram also dealt with social-economic aspect of the state. R.N. Prasad (1986) and V.V.Rao (1987) highlighted the evolution of the government and the party politics in the state. The historical aspects of Mizoram were studied by A.Makenzie(1869) A.S. Reid (1893). However, none has touched the geographical aspects. J.M. Cosh, and H. P. Das (1970) have only studied geography of the region, including Mizoram, but it, too, is not complete in all respects. It has ignored the impact of geographical factors on the political process of Mizoram.

Recently, two books on geopolitics in the Indian context have been written: Debabrot Sen's 'Basic Principle of Geopolitics and History' (1975) is the most original work on the subject but it is mainly concerned with the theoretical aspect of the subject with relation to history and geography. However, it is a great source and a guide to the present study. The second book on geopolitics is by G. S. Singh (1966) 'Maratha Geopolitics and the Indian Nationalism, but it deals mainly with Maharashtra whose context is different from that of the North-East Region (Mizoram).

#### METHODOLOGY

The present research is based on empirical method and follows the line of J.R.V. Prescott, R. Muir and R. W. McColl. The emphasis on description, analysis and evaluation of inter-relation between geography and politics as done by McColl in his political ecological approach (1966) has been made. The organisational basis for the study of interrelationship between political-process and environment as followed by R. Muir (1975) has been kept in mind in the analysis. The behavioural approach in which the political authorities instigated landscape changes through legislation concerning security, territorial integration, socio-economic policy has also been taken into consideration.

The present work mainly depends on the secondary source such as books, magazines, articles available in various libraries, published and unpublished works of scholars. The old government records, the reports of various commissions and committees have also been consulted. The Constituent Assembly debates, Assembly and Parliamentary debates have been utilised for the analysis of the work. The Survey of India, Shillong and Silchar branches have been fully utilised. Topographical maps and various other records have been of great help to this researcher. The field work mainly included on-the-spot study of natural environment and human activities, economic functions, political and social behaviour the people of the State. The personal contact with the personnel of various state and central government organizations are worth appreciating.

Other data have been collected from the statistical handbook of Mizoram and the "Basic Statics of North-Eastern Region", N.E.C. Secretariat, Shillong, and various Directorates of Agriculture, Industry, Education, Statistics of the State. The Border Road organization's net work in the state and the neighbouring areas have also provided materials for the study. The data collected for the purpose have a geographical

and territorial basis. The region wise, i.e., district, Sub-division, Block or village-wise classification has been made, which will facilitate in analysing spatial attributes of the political process (political system) or Mizoram. Geopolitically, the international boundary and the security problems of the most sensitive part of the country can be analysed with the helps of data, charts, maps and secret documents collected from different sources.

Chapterisation:

The entire research work has been grouped into nine chapters. The first chapter begins with the theme of the research and its relevance and importance of the study with reference to local, regional and national significance. This chapter also includes the objectives, methodology, review of literature and hypothesis.

Chapter II deals with the entire physical environment of the State which throws light in detail on the physical potentialities of Mizoram. In brief, it discusses the physiogeography, geology, climate and vegetation, soil and resource potentialities.

Chapter III discusses the historical evolution of Mizoram and population characteristics and their settlement

during the pre-independence and post-independence periods. Chapter IV throws light on the socio-economic profiles of Mizoram. The agricultural landscape and economic potentialities are the main subjects of this chapter. The communication network is also another important part of this chapter.

Chapter V highlights the evolution of the boundary of Mizoram from the beginning to the present time. The second part of the chapter deals with the administrative subdivisions of the state. Chapter VI analyses the development of political institutions both traditional and modern, and their interrelationships.

Chapter VII speaks of the political participation of the Mizos and their political perception and behaviour and the role of the tradition of the Mizos in influencing the decision-making process. Chapter VIII deals mainly with the insurgency and counter-insurgency and finally, the settlement with the MNF.

Chapter IX deals with the problems and prospects of the whole project, including the testing of the hypotheses.

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CHAPTER - II

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## GEOGRAPHICAL MILIEU OF MIZORAM

Geography has remained as one of the dominant factors in setting the destiny of a Nation. The actions and re-actions of the State and its elites are determined by the politico-geographical factors. No one can deny its role in the development of human civilization. Further, the politics of a State to a considerable extent is determined by its geographical attributes like location, size, physiography, climate and natural potential and so on. Natural resources are the permanent source of strength of State.<sup>1</sup>

Mizoram is a mountainous region. It consists of seven long North-South traversing parallel ranges with intervening valleys which formed a panoramic physiographic features of 'TONGUESHAPED' area or hogback "the middle portion high and tapers downwards in North-South direction"<sup>2</sup>. An areal survey gives an impression of a shape of a bitter gourd or squash which has<sup>3</sup> been cut horizontally and put in North-South direction on the ground. The ripples on the squash symbolise the ridges and the down space between the

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1. N. D. Palmer & H. C. Perkin. International Relation, (3rd) Edition  
Delhi p.45.

2. H. P. Das 1970, Geography of Assam, National Book Trust,  
Delhi, p.160.


ripples as valleys. In fact, these parallel ranges are not continuous, rather these are broken into innumerable small hills, locally called 'Tlang' with sharp and pointed hill tops. These looked like hundreds of Pyramids grouped together. The slopes are steep on all sides and the average height is about 900 metres above sea level. S. P. Chatterjee pointed out that a traverse from Tripura borders in the west to the Eastern Frontier of Mizoram along  $23^{\circ} - 45'$  N parallel would reveal the presence of eight smaller ranges and equal number of valleys. Most of the ranges are of cuesta type and the slopes are much steeper in the West than in the East.<sup>3</sup> The terrain is immature and young and subject to continuous denudation in response to various exogenetic processes. The landform in the State of Mizoram ~~is~~<sup>is</sup> the result of erosion in which the running water had played a major role from the very beginning.<sup>4</sup>

The conspicuous geomorphic elements in the area are both structural and topographic 'highs' and 'depressions' and flats and 'slopes' sprinkled on the topographic surface of








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3. S. P. Chatterjee, On physiography of India (in) Gazetteer of India (ed), Publication Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, Vol.I, p.4.1950.
  4. Satellite Remote Sensing Survey of National Resources of Mizoram, Remote Sensing Agency, 1979, Report vol.1 p.20

# MIZORAM RELIEF MAP

10 0 10KM.



## HEIGHT IN METRES

-  1800 & ABOVE
-  1500-1800
-  1200-1500
-  900-1200
-  600-900
-  300-600
-  BELOW 300

Mizoram in a linear fashion. The longitudinal parallel to sub-parallel ranges with synclinal narrow valleys with a series of hummocks are punctuated throughout the geographical extent of Mizoram. The ridges are highly dissected with the formation of gorges, spurs, keels and knols. These were formed due to erosion during the isostatic adjustment<sup>5</sup>. In general the Western limbs of the anticlines are steeper than the eastern limbs. Faulting in many cases, produced steep fault scraps especially along the steep dipping fault planes.

The difference of elevation between valley floor and hill tops greatly varies from west to east, the range being 200 m to 600 m. The steep hill ranges are more towards east than to west. (Map No 2)

The major drainage pattern follow the north south trending depressions and gorges in low level topography, separated by high land topography in between them. The depressions and gorges, in most cases are the physiographic expressions of faults or other structural pattern. The tributaries and streamlets forming angular, sub-parallel to parallel and dendriatic drainage pattern run both parallel and across the topographic depressions and highs. The slopes of the streams are moderate.

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5. Geological Survey of India, 1974 Geology and Mineral Resources of States of India, Part IV, Misc. Publication, pp.93-98.

GEOLOGY.

Geological study of a region is essential to understand the geographical phenomenon in its entire perspective. So far as Mizoram is concerned, no thorough exploration has been made. However, preliminary information has been collected regarding geological formation.

The area consists of a great flysch facies comprising monotonous sequences of shale and sandstone which are thrown into North-South trending folds. The rocks are believed to be the southerly extension of the Cachar Hills and probably were laid down in a delta or estuary of large river during late Tertiary period.<sup>6</sup> Later, the study of the rocks of central northern Mizoram indicated that a series of longitudinal - anticlinal hills and narrow synclinal valley were due to compressional effect.<sup>7</sup> Further, the study which examined the sedimentation behaviour and tectonic history of Central part of Mizoram, sub-divided Surma Series on litho-stratigraphic basis into B<sup>h</sup>aban and Bokabil sub-groups. It further sub-divided it into lower, middle and upper formation. Barail series was identified in the eastern part of Mizoram by them.<sup>8</sup> It has

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6. T.H.D. La Tauche 1891, Records of G.S.I. vol. XXIV part II.
  7. M. M. Munshi 1964, Geological Mapping in parts of Mizo Hills, Assam (unpublished report of G.S.I. for 1963-64).
  8. Nandy Mukherjee and Majumdar 1972, Geological Mapping and Mineral survey in parts of Mizoram, unpublished progress report of G.S.I 71-72.

been noted that sedimentation took place in deep sea feysch environment by the action of turbidity current mechanism. The successive sedimentation of arenaceous and argillaceous rocks were later transformed into north-south trending longitudinal anticlines and synclines.<sup>9</sup>

Table - 1

The generalised stratigraphic succession of Mizoram.<sup>10</sup>

Geological age	Group Name	Formation	Rock type	Area
Recent Pleistocene Mio-pliocene	Surma	Alluvium Bokabil	Mainly in river beds, Grey, Friable loose sandy shale.	-
Miocene	Surma	Upper Bhuban	Sand stone	Whole hill Range of Central and Western part of Mizoram.
		Middle Bhuban	Shale	In North East Mizoram particularly in synclinal core of Mat and Tuichang river. Eastern part of Mizoram.
		Lower Bhuban	Sandstone	Darzo hill range.
Oligocene	Barail	Barail	Shale and Silt stone	Exposed to Eastern part of Mizoram, demanded Hills.

<sup>9</sup>.G.S.I. 1974 n.p 5  
<sup>10</sup>.Ibid,p.96

ECONOMIC GEOLOGY.

The geological structure of Mizoram discussed earlier clearly leads us to believe that there is no economic potentiality of rocks in Mizoram. No mineral worth mentioning lies in the underground. The future is at the same time not bleak as <sup>per</sup> study made by the (ONGC) survey party. This study points out the possibility of storage of petroleum on the anti clines of Vairengte ridge and in the vicinity of Chhatachura range.<sup>11</sup>

MAJOR REGIONS OF MIZORAM.

In view of general topographic arrangement of Mizoram, the whole area is divided into following natural regions:<sup>12</sup>

1. Mountainous region
2. Ridges and high land regions
3. Plain land or Flat land (low land areas).

1. The Mountainous terrain region can be further subdivided into : (a) Mountainous region of North East, (b) Mountainous region of Central Mizoram, (c) Mountainous region of south east region.

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11. Ibid, p.94

12. Ibid, p.27.

The mountainous terrain of north east is above 1500 metres ASL. It has poor density of population with little or no agricultural prospects. The Central region falls under Chalfilh range in which Zopuitlang (1992 m) and Bualpuitlang are prominent. In the Southern region, Phawngpuitlang is conspicuous. The heightest peak of Blue Mountain (2165 m Phawngpui) falls under the region. The river Kolodyne passes through it. The region is inhabited by the Lakher tribe.

Low land region:

In fact, low lying areas in Mizoram <sup>are</sup> rare except in small patches here and there in between the Mountain ranges. In the North-West Mizoram between the rivers Longkhaih and Tlawng, there is a small area below 600 m near Lokichera and Bhairabi. Similarly, near Demagiri, the river Kurnpnuli and its tributaries form a small low lying area. Down south, low land lies west of Tuichawng and its tributaries <sup>13</sup> Kawnpui river (having average height of 500 m). In the East near Champai covering an area of 11 Km is a flat land suitable for wet rice cultivation. Similarly, in the Mat river area near Thenzol (25 miles for Serchip) and North Vanlaiphai in the Eastern part is a small low land area suitable for <sup>14</sup> wet cultivation.

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13. B. C. Allen, Gazetteer of India(Lushai District p.457).

14. Ibid.

## CLIMATE

The climate of Mizoram in general is modified by its physiography. Although the Tropic of Cancer passes through the middle of the State, it enjoys moderate climate. It is generally cool in summer but very cool in winter. The summer temperature ranges between 19°C and 29°C while the winter between 11°C and 24°C. The autumn temperature is usually between 18° and 25° Centigrade.<sup>15</sup>

However, there is absence of great fluctuation throughout the year except the valley region surrounded by the mountains. During winter the remote places of high altitude of Champai region; Zote, <sup>and</sup> Ngur in the east, <sup>and</sup> Bualpui and Phonpui (Black mountain) in the south experience low temperature. Similarly, the maximum temperature during the summer season in areas like Kanhmun, Lakicherra, Bhairabi and in the north western part of Mizoram Demagiri and Chawngte, Tuipang area in the south. In short, the places of higher altitude have low temperature while that of low altitude, high temperature.

### Rainfall:

The entire North east India comes under the direct influence of Monsoon. Hence, maximum rain/<sup>is</sup> between May and

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15. Ibid, p.95.

September. Mizoram has annual rainfall of 254 cm. The North western part of the State (in Longai, Tut and Dhaleshwari<sup>16</sup> region) get maximum rainfall of over 350 cm. annually. The southern part of Mizoram including Lunglei area also get higher rainfall of over 350 cm.<sup>17</sup>

Table - 2

District Monthly Rainfall Statement During 1986 in Mizoram(in mm)

Month	Aizawl Dist.	Lunglei Dist.	Chhimguipui Dist	Mizoram
Jan.	8.1	Nil	10.0	6.0
Feb.	25.0	2.0	0.3	9.0
Mar.	79.2	3.0	8.2	30.1
Apr.	312.0	169.0	121.0	201.0
May.	133.1	100.3	71.0	101.4
Jun.	269.4	242.0	381.3	298.0
July	457.0	477.0	310.2	425.0
Aug.	404.1	437.3	465.3	436.0
Sept.	370.0	539.0	276.0	392.0
Oct.	207.2	146.3	157.0	170.0
Nov.	135.0	58.0	110.0	101.0
Dec.	3.0	10.3	2.0	5.0
Total	2403.1	2134.2	1933.3	2175.0

Source: Statistical Hand Book of Mizoram, 1987, p.34

17. Directorate of Agriculture, Mizoram. Aizawl, 1987.

Seasons:

Based on the temperature and rainfall in Mizoram four seasons have been classified. These are:-

- 1) The cold season or winter (Nov - Feb )
- 2) The warm season or Spring (Mar - May )
- 3) The rainy season or Summer (June - Sep )

The October is a sticky transitional month, the rain is not quite over and the cold weather not set in. <sup>13</sup>

The Cold Season:

The temperature during this season ranges between 11° and 20° centigrade. The season is pleasant and re-freshing during the morning and evening hours. The sky is clear and deep blue without any patch of cloud.

The Warm Season:

The temperature in the season ranges between 19° and 29° centigrade. There is occasional rainfall and the sky is not clear. During the later part of the season severe thunderstorms <sup>occur</sup> preceded by dust raising squalls. The

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18. O.H.K. Spate, India and Pakistan - A General and Regional Geography, London 1963 (reprint) p.41.

rainfall increases in the later part of season which is<sup>19</sup> always accompanied with thunderstorms and squalls. Thunderstorms are the common phenomenon in the weather of Assam particularly the pre-monsoon rains are associated with thunderstorms.<sup>20</sup>

### Rainy Season:

The season lasts for longer duration and the heavy rainfall comes during June to August/which covers 89% of the total annual rainfall.

### Soil:

The soils of Mizoram <sup>have developed from the parent rocks as</sup> ~~are~~ Shale, sand stone and mudstone. The letritic soil with high percentage of acidity is the common characteristics of the soil of Mizoram. The P<sub>2</sub>O<sub>5</sub> <sup>value</sup> varies from 4.1 to 5.8 The organic carbon content in the soil is also found inadequate.<sup>21</sup> The soil is poor in potash and phosphorous. Due to heavy rainfall the soils ~~are~~ are mostly wethered and leached. They are known as laterites

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19. S. Basu 'An article on weather and climate (in) Gazetteer of India (ed) vol.I, Ministry of I & B, Publication Division, 165,p.107.

20. n 2 p.30.

21. O.P.Singh 1988, Soil of Mizoram, Thin characteristics and management for agriculture development. An article presented in Social Scientist Meet at Aizawl, March,1988.

which consists of silicate, aluminium<sup>22</sup> oxide and iron oxide. Being low in humous content their colour is yellow, and reddish and <sup>The soils are</sup> extremely porous unsuited for agricultural purposes. The soil of Mizoram can be grouped into high hills soil, mid hills soil low, hills soil and valley soil.

### Vegetation.

Natural vegetation of Mizoram depends on climate and soil. The climate (particularly rainfall is a major factor in its growth followed by soil and topography. The vegetation of Mizoram can be grouped under the following main heads.<sup>23</sup>

#### A. Tropical forest:

(i) Wet Evergreen .

(ii) Moist temperate.

#### B. Mountain Sub tropical forest -

#### C. Mountain temperate forest :

(i) Wet temperate.

(ii) Moist temperate.

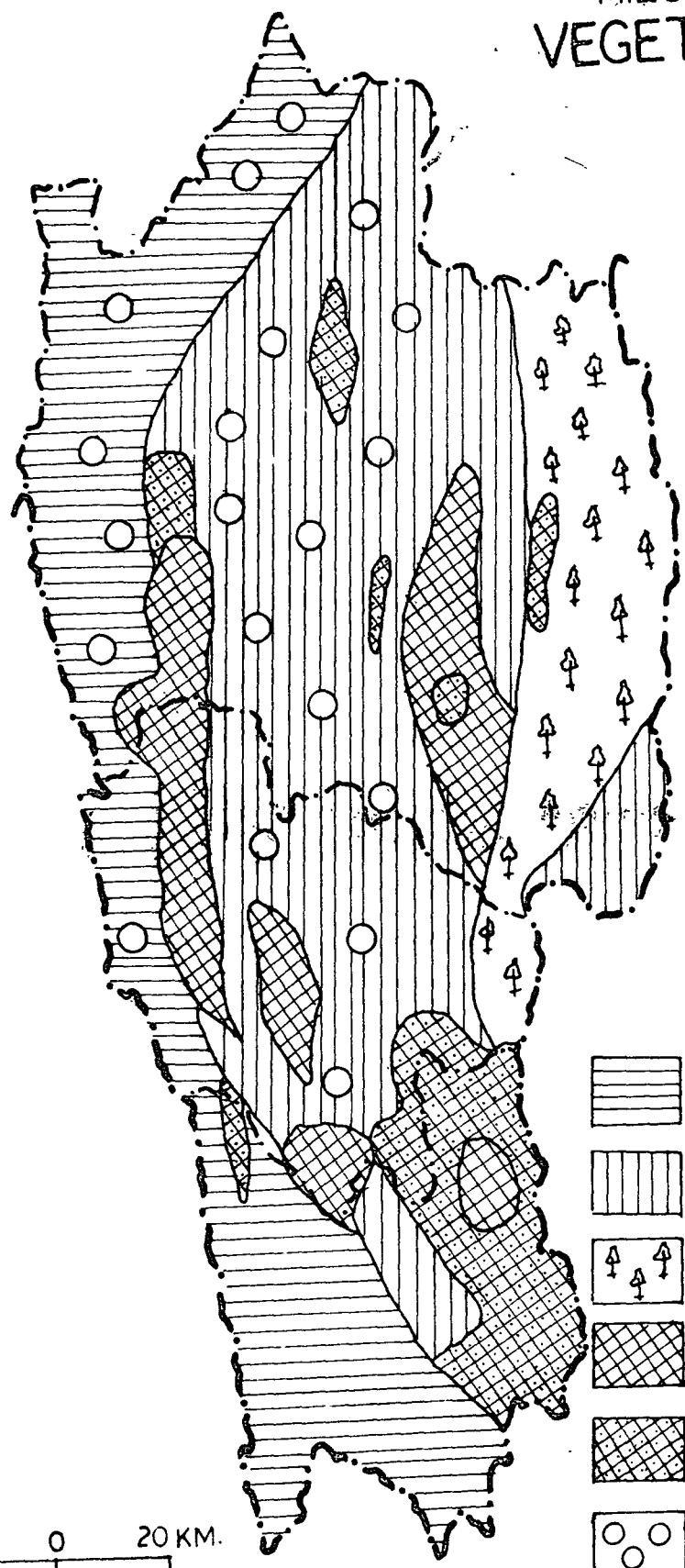
The tropical evergreen forest are found in the north western part and south western part of Mizoram (Map<sup>3</sup>) where the rainfall is fairly high. The luxuriant growth of vegetation accounts for 75% of the region.


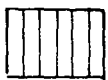
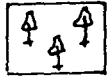
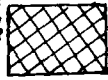
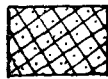
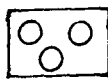
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22. L.Pachau - Regional structure of Mizoram, Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation NLU, Shillong, 1986.

23. H.G.Champion, A Preliminary Survey of Forest Type of India, op.cit. O.H.K. Spate, n 18, p.66-67.

# MIZORAM VEGETATION



-  TROPICAL EVERGREEN FOREST
-  SUB-HIMALAYAN SEMI-EVERGREEN FOREST
-  SUB-TROPICAL PINE FOREST
-  SUB TROPICAL HILL FOREST
-  MIXED FOREST
-  OVER LAPPING BAMBO

20 0 20 KM.

Map No 3

2. Sub-Himalayan semi-Evergreen forest.

This type of vegetation is confined to the central and northern part of Mizoram (see Map) where mixed variety of vegetation prominent. Bamboos of different varieties are abundantly grown.

Mixed forest:

In the south eastern part of Mizoram there is mixed forest in vast area. The forest includes *Depterocarpus*, *Albizza*, *Lebeck*, *Tectona gaudis* etc.

Sub-Tropical Pine forest:

The pine forest although confined to Meghalaya region at higher altitude also occur in the north-eastern part of Mizoram (see Map). The plantation of Pine tree has also been taken up by the side of Silchar-Aizawl National High Way beyond Kolasib.

Other Vegetation (Bamboos and Orchard):-Bamboos and wild grasses of different varieties are widely found in Mizoram which overlap other vegetation. Banana of different species are widely grown all over the state. The commercial value of some of them is high. Similarly, Tapiaca is a specimen of vegetation found in Mizoram which has nutritious food value.

DRAINAGE.

The drainage pattern of Mizoram is virtually shaped by its physiography and the geological structure. Mizoram as a whole is mountainous and parallel ranges from north to south exists. The drainage thus follows the synclinal valleys and between the parallel ranges. The physiography of the land appears to be 'hogback' (i.e. the middle portion of the region is raised. Consequently, most of the rivers originate from such ridges or ranges and flow down either north or south. A few rivers flow in the westward direction and belong to chindwin rivers system.

The nature of lithography and stratigraphy reveals that the ground water potentiality ~~is~~ ~~is~~ very poor. ~~is~~ shale and sand stone do not allow downward percolation and run off is higher as such ground water storage is meagre. The rugged and mountainous topography causes gorges, water falls and steep sided valleys. The rainfall which is the only source of water supply to the rivers of Mizoram, is well spread through out the year except November, December and January. However, all the rivers are not perennial.

The drainage pattern of Mizoram (see Map 4) in general appear to be trellis, dendritic ~~and~~ rectangular and parallel.

Most of the rivers either flow northward or southward and a watershed is formed in the middle of the state. The important drainage system of Mizoram is analysed below.

Tlawng Drainage System:

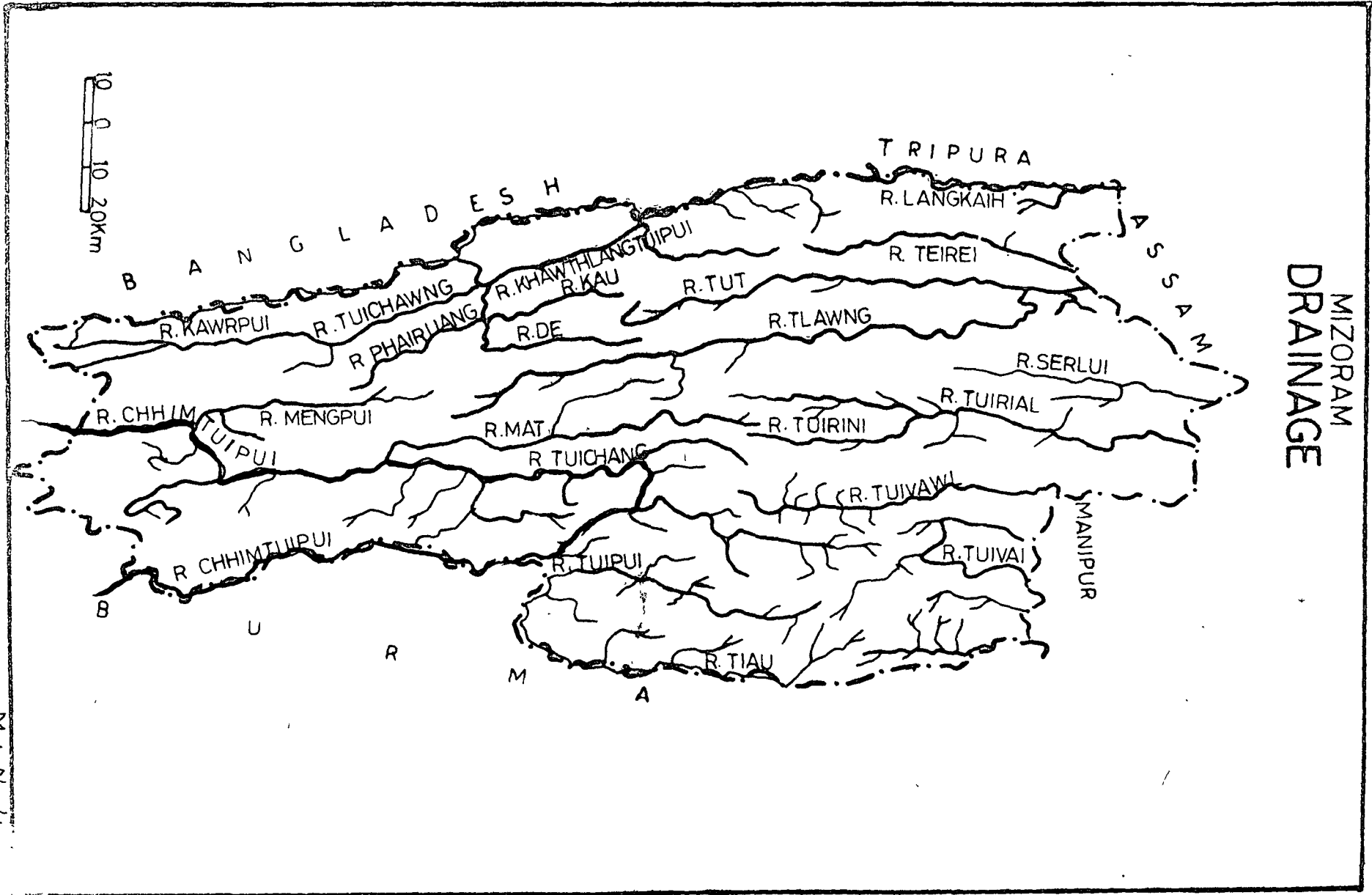
The river Tlawng (Dhaleshwari) is the longest river (102 km.) of Mizoram which passes from south to north in the western part of Mizoram (see Map) and then it enters into Cachar plain and ultimately joins Barak river. Originating from Zobawk village (8 km. east of Lunglei town and engulfing the tributaries namely Gatur (Tut) and Pakwa (Teirei) in the western flank; and Medium lui and Bhairabi cherra from the eastern side flows majestically in north. Tut and Terie run parallel to Thawng for about 60 km. and then joins the river Tlawng. In the same area north flowing Sailut lui and Longai river and Thingtland (Singla) are important. The river Longai forms the border between Tripura border between Tripura and Mizoram in the west.<sup>24</sup>

Tuirial Drainage System.

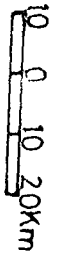
The river tuirial (Sonai) is next important flowing northward which passes through Chailfilh range in the east

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24. Ibid.



MIZORAM  
DRAINAGE



Map No 4

and Mualkhang tlang, Ungarchhungtlang and Persen Chhiptlang in the west. The river Turini joins in upper portion of the river.

Tuivawl Drainage System:

The river Tuivawl and its tributary Tuivai forms an important drainage system in the north east part of Mizoram. These rivers form the borderline between Mizoram and Manipur to great extent and finally joins Barak river at Tipaimukh.

Tyao Drainage System:

The river Tyao originating from a ridge between Vaikhawtlang (1066 m) on Indian side and Zopichhip (1618 m) on Burmese side, flows down south for 83 km. and forms the boundary line between India and Burma, and then joins Tuipui running parallel to it. The river then joins Bionu (Tuipui) coming from the opposite direction.

Chhiantuipui Drainage System:

The river Chhiantuipui (Kolodyne) is an important river which forms the boundary line between India and Burma in south east part of Mizoram. Originating from Burma and then forming the boundary line right from Sabawngte village in the south to the point where it joins Tuipui river (coming

from north) near Mullianpui village. The river then turns north west where two rivers Mat and Tuichang meet at two different points. The river then crosses the Chhimgtuipui district.

Khawtiangtuipui (Karnfuli) Drainage System:

The river originates in Mizoram and flows westward and then enters into Bangladesh and finally joins the Bay of Bengal. The drainage system is of rectangular or parallel pattern. The important rivers flowing parallel to each other are Tullianpui (Sazai lui) Kau and De. The river Tuichang and its tributaries Muthului, Jamilalui and Tlangpuilui join from the western side; and Dante lui, Rangtalui, Roilui from the eastern side.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>. Ibid.

RESOURCE POTENTIALITY.

Apparently the resource potentiality of Mizoram is bleak. The geology of Mizoram does not fore-tell good hope of minerals. The shales and sand stone have no economic utility at the present technology based of applications. Even good quality of sand is brought to Mizoram. from Assam (Cachar) for construction purposes. However, it is anticipated that some petroleum reserves may exist on the anticlinal ranges of Kengte Pahar ranges beyond Vairengte.

The hydro-power potentiality in Mizoram is abundant. Mizoram have water potential ( 3 mw ) to the tune of 31291 and hydro-power potentiality stand at 384. Only. At present installed capacity of Micro-hydel scheme is one MW. If the river Kolodyne or Dhaleswari is damed at the upper stages the production of electricity would go upto meet the internal requirements.

Summing up the whole Mizoram is a mountainous region ranging from high hills in the east to small ridges and conical hills here and there in the western and central Mizoram. In the western part even in the flat land in western part of the south west Mizoram is really oasis in whole mountainous region. The rocks are young and devoid of economic

values. There is no economic minerals in Mizoram and hence the economic activities are limited. The soil of the region is porous and lateritic with high percentage of acidity. Therefore, it is unsuited for agricultural purposes. There is no underground water hence acute water problem exists. This also affects the economic activities of the people of Mizoram.

The peripheral location of the State coupled with physiographic hazards affect the development of communication network. The climate is invigorating but people are confronted with various problems due to natural constraints. The physiography of Mizoram has also great impact on the accessibility pattern of the region. The north-south trending ridges cause immense trouble in communication network. Due to this reason all roads in Mizoram pass through these ridges in <sup>the</sup> same north-south direction. The east-west road construction is costly troublesome and risky on account of physiographic arrangements of the ridges. The Zig-Zag roads with ups and downs affect adversely the mobility of the vehicles and transportation of materials.

The availability of plain land is <sup>limited</sup> in Mizoram. As such the settlement of population is scattered. The sparse population and limited agricultural activities are the sign

of backwardness. The inhabitants live on the hill tops or on the spur of the ridges. The possibility of a compact settlement is out of question.

Physiography has a great impact on the isolationary trend in Mizoram. The landlocked region surrounded by mountains with steep ridges and dense forest <sup>has</sup> made communication bottle-necks in Mizoram. Free access to other parts of the country by other means of communication is also restricted. Thus different tribes have been localised in the isolated pockets of Mizoram. The internal rivalry among the tribes leading to inter-tribal warfare are the result of natural constraints and communication gap among them. Due to inaccessibility each village is an independent State like small Greek States which maintains independent entity.

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CHAPTER - III

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## HISTORICAL EVOLUTION AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The majority inhabitants of the state belong to the Kuki-Chin group of Tibeto-Burman branch of Indo-Mongoloid races.<sup>1</sup> Through the influence of events and time, this group came to be well dispersed spatially before administrative delimitations were carried out. As a result, the inhabitants of the groups were found to be dispersed in significant percentages in the Churachandpur district of Manipur, Cachar district of Assam eastern parts of Jaintia Hill district of Meghalaya and north Tripura districts. Besides, they are also found in substantial numbers across the

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1. It has established beyond doubt by the indologists that 'Kirat', a Sanskrit word signifying the wild non-Aryan tribes living in the south of North-East India were Mongoloids in origin. There is mention of 'Kirat' people in Yajur-Veda and Artharva-Veda.

Reference of 'Kirat' in great epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata has been made. These 'Kirats' belong to Sino-Tibetan group of race which originally belongs to some where in East China either in the area to the East of the Hoangow valley or near about the head water of the Yang-Tse-Kiang. They came to India under various groups.

The 'Kirats' and other Mongloids have abode in the North-Eastern ranges of the Himalayas particularly along the Indo-Burma Borders ranging from north to south.

See also, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee 1951, Kirat Janaskriti - The Indo-Mongoloid, Their Contribution to History and Culture of India, Royal Society of Bengal, Calcutta, p.77.

frontiers in Burma and Bangladesh<sup>2</sup>. In addition, there are substantial representation of non-Mizo tribes such as the Chakmas and Riangs in the southern and south western parts of the state.

The historical pattern of settlement of the region and consequent definitions of the limits of the region to form a different territorial unit, illustrated the operation of various processes. These processes were consequential in not only identifying the content of the population of the state but also the conditions that were gradually superimposed on the state's geographical landscape. This later aspect was to a substantial extent responsible for inducing crisis parameters to emerge with persistant regularity. The patterns of migration, and the distribution of various Mizo tribes and other cognate sub-groups go a long way in explaining the phenomena of change and the inbuilt dynamism in the state's polity. In this regard, it can also be stated that some of the geopolitical compulsions as well as impulses also evolved simultaneously. It also attributed the state with characteristics that were at once conducive to divide the state polity.

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2. Capt. T.H. Lewin, Wild Races of South-Eastern India, London, 1870, p.56.

### EARLY MIZO HISTORY

The early history of Mizo is virtually based on legends, traditions, customs and beliefs. The administrators and scholars had to face difficulties in tracing the historical evolution of the Mizo tribes. Nevertheless, there are innumerable folk-songs, tales and fables that provide raw materials for their <sup>the study</sup> migration and early settlement in the regions.

There is <sup>a</sup> common belief among the Mizos that their ancestors immigrated from a place called 'CHHINGLUNG'.<sup>3</sup> Historians and anthropologists are of opinion that this place is in ~~the~~ southern China. The Mizos were pushed out of Chhinglung by a powerful people. The Mizos think that their forefathers came from the cave one by one and when a couple belonging to Ralte sub-tribe came out, the loud talk caused the guardian God of the cave to close the cave fearing over population.<sup>4</sup> Recently, an attempt to interpret this legend rationally has been made. Chhinglung is said to mean not a cave but the name of a prince in China (the correct word Chin Lung) who was the son of Huang T. of the Chin dynasty (221-207 B.C). The prince was annoyed with his father and thus left the Kingdom and settled in Burma.<sup>5</sup>

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3. K. Zawla, 1976 Mizo P Lute Leh an Thlahte Chanchin. (An Ancient History and Culture of Mizo People), Aizawl, p.5.
  4. L. B. Thanga, The Mizos, Gauhati, 1978, p.1.
  5. R. Pudaite, 1963, The Education of the Hmar People, Manipur, pp.21-22

It is an undisputed fact that the Mizo came from <sup>the</sup> East and their original home was in Mekong Valley. K.Zawla asserted that the Mizo people came to the Chindwin belt about 996 A.D. They lived there barely 200 years. The cruel chiefs and the great famine in which many people died forced the rest to leave the land. Before they left they planted a banyan tree at Khampat and took a vow in front of their Burmese neighbour that they would return to Khampat. During their movement the first place of halt was at Lengtlang<sup>6</sup> about 1466 A.D. There was absence of a chief and each family grouped together and each sub-tribe settled in separate villages. The sub-tribes were the Lushai, Ralte, Chawangthu, Khenkte, Hauhnar, Chuange, Chuanthang, Ngente, Punte and Parte. Westward movement of Mizos from Lengtlang to the present Mizo country took place between 1700 and 1730 A.D.

#### Causes of Migration.

The migration of the Mizo tribes from the North-West Burma to down South and then to the West and the present Mizoram (earlier Lushai Hills District) took place due to several reasons. The tribes moved to the new place for better and adequate land for cultivation. The other causes can be

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6. Thanga n.4 p.3

summed up as the fear of insecurity which they felt during their habitation. The frequent inter-tribal disputes and pressure from the powerful tribes compelled them to migrate to the safer places. History bears evidence that they moved to Kabaw Valley from North-West Burma in 1814<sup>7</sup>. Further, they had to face famine (Mautam) at a regular interval of 50 years. Consequently, these tribes had to change their places of habitation. The great famines of 1882, 1911 and 1959 bear the testimony to the fact.

Insecurity was the order of the day during the early history of Mizo life. The perpetual fear of attack compelled them to move to safer and defensible location in the interior. The higher ridges were normally sought, as they were easily defensible. This is a fact that early troubles and raids synchronised with the westward movement of the nomadic Kukis in the outer ranges. These Kuki tribes moved later northward under the pressure from the Lushai clans who occupied the higher ranges in the interior. Frequent raids, compelled the sub-tribes and clans to move into the interior locations. The defeated groups of the Kuki-Chin branch moved to a safer place that was normally away from the core areas. This was the reason of movement for the several groups of Tibeto-Burman

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7. Vanlawma, R. My Country and I (in Mizo), Aizawl, p.62.

elements along the Tibeto-Chinese and Burma-Tibet-China border Under these circumstances Mizos occupied the Kabaw Valley from 8th century A.D. Due to pressure exerted by the Shan Movement, the Lushai moved westward towards present day Mizoram from the fear of Pawis. Even in the Lushai hills area, the process of re-distribution and readjustment between the various sub-groups continued until the British came in 1890's.

Isolation was enhanced by mountaineous terrain which promoted settlement of smaller groups of people. They were not physically related to each other. Obviously this suggested communication gap<sup>8</sup> that resulted into inter and intra-group rivalries and power struggles.

#### Shan State and Kabaw Valley Settlement.

The first Mizo migration took place in the present Shan State of Kabaw Valley in Burma after they left Chhinglung.<sup>9</sup>\*

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\*H. Songte opines that many of the great Mizo festivals are connected with the Shan State festivals. The Mizos claim Khampat in Burma as their oldest town built by them systematically which reflect their real skill and art of constructing buildings. However, the Mizos were forced to leave Khampat due to terrible famine 'Thingpuitam' and shifted to other places to live in.

8. Ibid. p,62.

9.K. Zawla n.3 p.11.

Chin Hills Settlement:

The life at Khampat was miserable due to natural constraints like famine, shortage of food-materials, etc. The Lushai tribes decided to move westward in search of better source of livelihood. They moved towards North and North-West in organised clan-wise migration. They occupied areas along the Indo-Burmese frontiers in Chin Hills in the early 14th century A.D. They settled and established villages clan-wise. Some of these villages are still in existence such as Seipori, Suaipui, Saipui, Saihmun and Bochung.\*<sup>10</sup>

During the mid 16th century A.D. the first batch of Mizo crossed Tiau river and settled in the area of present

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\* Thus a large number clan wise settlement sprang up. The number of compact villages like Khampat ~~was~~ very few, the Mizo villages were scattered and exhibited lack of accessibility and intra-village communication. This resulted in the development of a tendency of inherent independence in isolation. This enabled them to maintain separate identity. In other words, a separatist tendency grew among them and each village adopted its own structure of political, economic and social relations.

10. Liangkhaia, 1976, Mizo History(in Mizo) p.21.

day Mizoram and they were called by the Bengalis or Assamese as Kukis.<sup>11</sup> The word Kuki has assumed different meanings. The term (Kuki) was given by the Bengalis to distinguish the tribesmen from the plain settlers.<sup>12</sup> Major Shakespear has referred the term 'Old Kuki' and 'Khawtlang' to differentiate them from the Lushai. These old Kukis migrated from Burma and went as Chittagong Hill tract<sup>13</sup> and Hills of Tipperah. In the Chittagong Hill Tract, the term Kuki means the inhabitants of the interior and inaccessible mountain tracts. In Cachar, it generally meant some family of the 'Thado' or Khawtlang clan. It is categorised locally as new and old Kuki Chin people constitute the eastern most group of Indo-Mongoloid branch and were linguistically similar to the Burmese, the Lolos and the Kachins (Singphos) but culturally different and are akin to Nagas and Bodos.<sup>13</sup> The Lushai are one of the well known tribes of the Kuki-Chin group of the people.<sup>14</sup> The first batch of Mizo tribes who migrated from Chin Hills into the present Mizoram and then to Cachar were the Rangkhols, Betes or Hmars with their sub-clans. These were called Old Kukis. Even today many villages settled by these people in Mizoram are still in existence such as Khawbung, Zote, Biete, Khelte, Darngawn, Leiri, Lungtan which were initially settled by them (Thado and old Kuki).<sup>16</sup> Broadly speaking, there are five major

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11. Imperial Gazetteer of India, (Calcutta, 1909, p.618).

12. Lewin n.2, p.56

13. Major Shakespear, Lushai-Kuki clans (Reprint, 1975) p.147.

14. Chatterjee, n.1, p.77.

15. G.A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, 1976 (New Ed) Vol.III, Part III, p.55.

16. Rev. Liangkhaia, Mizo Chanchin (Aizawl), p.8.

tribes, <sup>they</sup> are Lusei, Ralte, Hmar, Paite, Pawi, etc., The minor sub-tribes are commonly as known as 'Awzia!

Lusei:\*

The Lusei sub-group consists of ten commoners and six chief ~~50~~ clans (Thangura chief). The commoners are Pachuau, Chhangte, Chawngte, Hauhna, Chuaunga, Chuahang, Hrahse, Tochhawng, Vanchlawng and Chhakchhuak. The chief clans are Zadeng, Pallian, Thangluah, Rivung, Rokhum and Sailo.<sup>17</sup> Search for economic livelihood compelled them to migrate westwards. Thangluah and Rokhum passed through the Hills moved west as well as to Tripura and Sylhet border. They were followed by the Zadeng, who penetrated the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Thangluah moved westward as far as Demagiri and Barkhal. Pallian followed the same route as the Zadeng. The Lushai tribes have moved forward from South-East round about 1810 and established complete supremacy of the North Lushai Hills between 1840 and 1850 A.D. The Sailo Clan came into prominence and successfully subdued all their rivals.<sup>18</sup>

Paite:

The Paites belonged to old Kuki group. (Paite means goers). In Mizoram they are confined to an area between two

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\*(i) Lu means Head, Sei means to cut (T.H. Lewin 'A Fly on the Wheel', p.370).

(ii) Lu- Tribe, Sei -(ten) - (Lusei stand for tenth tribe, V.L.Siama - Mizo History).

17. J. Shakespear n.13, Aizawl, p.3

18. A.G. McCall, 1949, Lushai Chrysalis, London pp.35-36.

rivers Tiau and Run, in the north eastern Mizoram. Paites living central part of Mizoram have lost their language but those living in Manipur (Charachandpur) and north-east Mizoram have preserved their traditional traits.

Ralte:

The Raltes belong to Kuki group who came from <sup>The</sup> north. They were subjugated by the Duliens who migrated from Chin Hills. They have distinct social customs and have noticeable difference in the dialects. They were allotted a separate portion of village land.<sup>19</sup> They are predominantly located in western Lushai villages of Lenkhunga, Kalkhom and Lalrhima. The Ralte sub-group have accepted the dominance of the Duliens but continued to maintain their traditional customs and language.<sup>20</sup> Among the Duliens, the Ralte language is understood and the Sailo chiefs habitually used Ralte language.

About the middle of 16th century the Rankhal settled down in the area (near the Cachar border) but were subsequently pushed northward by the Thado tribe, The Thado tribe had settlements in the Lushai and Chin Hills by replacing the Rankhol and bete tribe. But the Thados, like those they replaced, could not resist the advancing waves of Lushai tribes. The

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19. Grierson n.15,p.81

20. Ibid,

The Lushai clans moved northward by about 1810 A.D. and the Thado were gradually pushed northwards of Lushai Hills to Cachar between 1840 and 1850. The Thados of Chin Hills were similarly conquered by the Sokte<sup>and</sup> were driven towards North into Manipur where they settled in southern region of Manipur.<sup>21</sup>

Shendus:

The Shendu tribe includes all the Haka-Chin tribes including the Lakhers (Klangklanga) and also other Chin tribes such as Maras.<sup>22</sup> The British called them Shendus.<sup>23</sup> Lt. Phayrs (1841) refers to the Tseindus and gives a list of 13 Tseindus clans some of which can be identified with Mara clan and others appear to be Poi.<sup>24</sup> The Shendus according to Mackenzie were a formidable nation living to the North-East of Blue mountain. These tribes appear to be more numerous as a people than any other Indo-Chinese Hill race who extended over a large part of the country.<sup>25</sup> These clans were independent of each other and their expeditions appeared to be organised.

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21. C.A. Soppitt 1976, A Short Account of the Kuki -Lushai Tribes, Aizawl, p.7.

22. Carey and Tuck - The Chin Hills pp.4-6.

23. N.E. Parry - The Lakhers, 1932, p.5.

24. Phayre, Accounts of Arakan , p.2(op cit Parry p.5).

25. A. Mackenzie, 1884, The North-East Frontier of Bengal, p.335.

The Lakhers as a separate tribe were first mentioned in 1852. Capt. Tickell refers to the tribe as Heuma or Shendus. Heuma is the name of the Lakher village in north Arakan known to the Lushais as Vaki.

Lakhers:\*

The Lakhers inhabited south eastern corner of the Lushai Hills district and south of Haka sub-division of the Chin district of Burma. Geographically this tribe was located west of Kolodyne river and south of Blue Mountain . The Lakher villages were located in the large bend of the river.\*\* The principal Mara tribal groups were Tlongsai, Howthai Zeuhnanh Lialai, Sabeu, and Heima. The Shendus covered Poi as well as Lakher tribes. The Lakhers were surrounded by the Fanais and Lushais on west, Chins in the east and north and the Khumis,<sup>26</sup>

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\* The Lakher (call themselves as Mars) a term given by the Lushai to these tribes as they first saw a Mara woman plucking cotton; la-means cotton, kher - means to pluck).

\*\* Kolodyne whose source <sup>lies</sup> in the Hills near Haka and flows in a southerly direction. ~~The river~~ takes sharp turn and flows northward till it again takes turn southward near Mullianpui village and flows down to the Bay of Bengal.

26. T.H. Lewin, 1869. The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and Dwellers therein, p.98.

<sup>in the north</sup>  
Matus and Khyengs, which were the tribes of the Arkan Hill Tracts. The Maras were a branch of the 'Lai' tribe of China and spoke language/dialect which were similar to 'Lai'.

Like all other Indo-Burmese <sup>Tribe</sup> Maras also come from the north and settled to the present location from different places of Haka Sub-division of the Chin Hills due to constant pressure in their frontier particularly from the East. They crossed Kolodyne and settled in the vicinity of Tisi river and adjacent regions. It is the common belief that the Lushai have been driven northward and westward by the Shendus.

Chakmas:

The Chakmas are a distinct tribe localised in the South-Western part of Mizoram. This tribe belonged to Eastern group of the Indo-Aryan family whose dialect was Chakma. It was a corrupt form of the Bengali language written in corrupt Burmese script. Risely classified them in the group of the Mongolian racial types. Chakma emigrated <sup>from</sup>

Arkan and then to Chittagong Hill Tracts (now Bangladesh)

27

in the last quarter of 19th century.\*

Among other tribes (whose reference has been made earlier) The Hmar, the Paite and the Riang figures most in the demographic map of Mizoram. The Riangs are mostly in the north west area of Mizoram along the Tripura border,

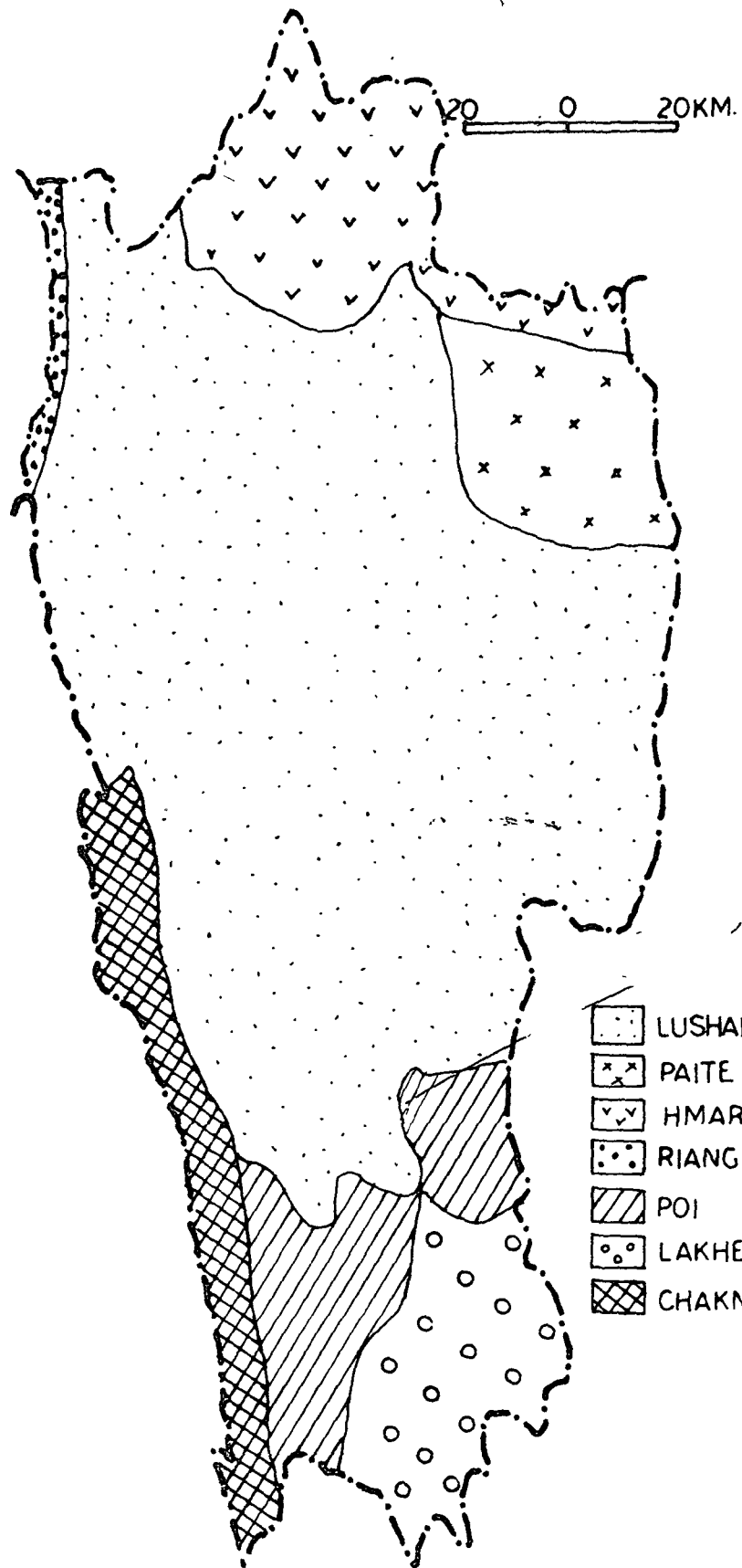
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\* Chakmas hold the opinion that they came originally from a country called Champango or Champanager. But this is a disputed fact. According to some it is located near Malacca which would ascribe the Malaya origin. Others say that Champanager is situated far to the north in North-Western province of Hindustan.

Chakma lived a settled life like the Mizos. In the south eastern part of Mizoram, by the time Thangluah Sailo and Zadeng Lal's (or chief's) extended their power upon Chittagong Hills, there was not a single Chakma in the Lushai Hills except some captured as slaves by the raiding Lushai tribes. The raid on Chengri Valley in 1889 by Liangpunga was also the result of Chakma intrusion in the hunting reserves of the Lushai Lals. According to Jaiswār, Kharbari of Dinlibagh, the Chakmas entered into Mizoram along with Zakhupa, a Tlangaw Lal who moved westward to present Mizoram. He ruled over Ngharun and Mullianpui. At first his Chakma followers settled within his land and then migrated to Tipperah and Borapansui. By 1918 some Chakmas lived in Marapara under the chief of Pu K.Zing. In 1925 some were found settled in Aivapai and Mualvawm under Fuldengsui 'Lal'. During the Second World War British organised Chakma Transport Corps and a large number of them remained in Mizoram and did not returned back to Chittagong. Some families (175 families) emigrated from Chittagong Hills into the Lushai Hills district in 1949. Over the years and due to their cultural interaction with the people of other races mainly Bengalis, they have lost much of their original ethnic characteristics and speak a dialect (Chakma) which is almost the same as South-Eastern Bengalis but there is still some thing which make them a distinct cultural and ethnic identity.

27. T.H. Lewin, 1870. Wild Races of South-Eastern India, London, p.86  
See Nalini Natarajan, The Chakmas, (in) North-Eastern Affairs, Shillong. 1973.

# MIZORAM



Map No 5

while the Hmars and the Paite are in the north-east corner of Mizoram. Similarly, the Pangs, the Bawms, and the Tlanglau are in the south and South-Eastern part of Mizoram mostly in the Poi and the Chakma areas.

Thus, different tribes and sub-tribes came down to the present Mizoram, in successive waves and settled down in different parts of the present Mizoram. (see Map 5.)

The tea plantation in Cachar started in 1855 and within a short period the southern part of Cachar bordering the Lushai Hills were covered by tea plantation. The British took interest in its expansion on vast commercial line. This created a misunderstanding among the Lushais and they looked at these efforts as a step to encroach their hunting ground and eventually absorption of their territory. The response of the inhabitants was in the form of frequent raids and kidnapping. This compelled the British to formulate measures to prevent their recurrence.

#### Lushai Expedition 1871-72:

The first expedition of 1869 failed miserable. This was followed by another expedition in 1871-72. (on July 11, 1871). One column advanced from the north i.e. from Cachar, the other from Chittagong side. The Cachar column moved onward

from Tipaimukh and overpowered the Lushai Chief Poiboi and moved forward to finally reach Champai, where, a settlement was made with the chief. Accordingly, the Government was given free access to Lalbura village.<sup>28</sup>

The Chittagong column following the course of Karnfuli river via Demagiri moved upward. On the way the column stormed upon Lengura and Vantura chief and destroyed Savunga and Lalngura villages. The aim of the expedition was not an annexation of the Lushai Territory nor a retaliation but to strengthen the former policy of conciliation. The Lushais were forced to surrender and recognise the superior power of the British. The backbone of the Eastern Lushai Chief was broken. The western Lushais made friendship with British and worked as the Gateman in Souther Frontier. The Kukis of Cachar became fearless from Poiboi. Trade relation with the Lushais was restored and bazars were set up by the British. (Chansil, Bazarghat) etc. Annual Durbar of the Lushai chiefs was also arranged.

<sup>29</sup>  
Lushai Expedition 1888-89:

During the Burmese war (1885-86) the British took precautionary measure to prevent disturbances likely to occur

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28. L.W. Shakespear 1929, History of Assam Rifles, p.61  
(also) Bengal Judicial Proceeding(Secret), Government of Bengal, No.252.
29. Report on the Lushai Expedition of 1889-90, Intelligence Branch, Q.M.G. General's Deptt. Simla, 1893.

in the Lushai Hills. Accordingly, three officers namely Lt. Stewart, Baird and Shakespeare were deputed to survey the frontiers in the South. In course of work, Stewart and two other soldiers were killed by Hausata at a place 20 miles from Rangamati. This enraged the British and compelled them to take punitive action against the Lushai. Col. Tregear, and Capt. J. Shekspear were in-charge of the expedition. The column moved forward and burnt the village of Hausta and a fort at Lunglei was established. A durbar was arranged in which Howlongs chiefs expressed their loyalty to the British. But this brought only a temporary peace. Later, a section of the inhabitants reactivated their raids in the adjacent plain areas. This led to another expedition known as Chin-Lushai expedition of 1889-90 which <sup>was</sup> operated from Silchar and Chittagong. 30

The main objectives of the expedition were:

- (i) To punish the tribe which committed depredation in the British Territory.
- (ii) To subjugate the tribe and make them loyal.
- (iii) To explore and open out as yet only partly known country lying between Chittagong and Burma.
- (iv) To establish posts in the region so as to ensure complete pacification and the recognition of the British power.

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30. Robert Reid 1942, History of Frontier Area Bordering on Assam from 1885-1941, Shillong, pp.8-13.

The expedition moved from Demagiri to Fort Lunglei. Patrol road between two places were made and field telegraph line~~s~~ laid down (which was extended later upto Haka in Burma). The expedition was successful in punishing chiefs who were responsible for Chegri Valley raid. The Military outposts were set up at Aizawl and Changsil. Fort Tregear was established and political officers were appointed at Aizawl and Lunglei with a view to controlling the Lushais.

Thus all the principal tribes of the North and South Lushai Hills were brought under control. The Chin-Lushai expedition of 1888-89 became the landmark and a turning point in the history of Lushai Hills. Accordingly, a unit of administration was established under the province of Assam with headquarters at Aizawl. Capt. Browne was appointed political officer of North Lushai Hills on April 1, 1890. The South Lushai Hills was created <sup>same year</sup> a separated district with headquarters at Lunglei under Chittagong division of Bengal and was placed under a political officer. The officers were instructed not to interfere with the Lushais in their internal affairs. But they were asked to keep watch on the movements and intention from outside so that prompt action can be taken in case of adverse situation.\*

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\* There was temporary lull in the Mizos camp. They were, infact, preparing for another onslaught. The political officer at Aizawl Fort was ambushed on the way by. This led to another expedition which was sent from Silchar to recapture Changsil and Aizawl posts. The column moved ahead and the situation was brought under control. The Chiefs were captured and deported to Jail.

Thus the whole drama of British expedition ended in complete subjugation of the Lushais one by one. The chiefs realised that it would be futile to fight against the British force which was superior in all respects. The British policy of retaliation (burning and destruction of villages) were recast. The chiefs agreed to pay loyalty and accepted British domination. Finally, amalgamation of two units of administration was made and ~~the entire district~~  
The administration <sup>of the entire district</sup> was brought under the jurisdiction of the Assam Government. The Chin Hills Legislation Act of 1896 was imposed which put restriction on the movement of outsiders in Mizoram. This marked the beginning of stability in the area.

These developments then suggest that the Mizo society was a complex and conflict ridden society in which various tribes and sub-tribes, prominent among them being Lusei, (Tab.3&4) Ralte, Paite <sup>and</sup> Hmar, ~~(continued)~~. However, their geography and environment revealed a remarkable parallelism with the fundamentals. The dominating Sailo sub-tribe had capacity to absorb the culture of other groups and sub-tribes to the persistent external influence. The spatial distributions of the tribes and sub-tribes reflected an indication in which the Sailo group had occupied the central position

in the Mizo tribal hierarchy and thereby <sup>was</sup> capable of preserving the tradition, similarity, and identity. The entire group has adopted Sailo dialect as common lingua-franca.

Table - 3

Ethnic Composition

Name of Tribe	1901	1961	1971
Lushai	36362	-	-
Ralte	13827	-	88
Hmar	10411	3188	4524
Paite	2870	-	-
Pawih	-	4587	10320
Lakher (Mars)	-	-	11625
Chakma (Takam)	3647	3683	-
Riang (Tuikuk)++	-	-	4828
Others	3955	-	-
Mizo	-	213061	251136

Source: 1. Census of India, Assam, 1971.

2. B.Poonte, Zoram Thlirma, Aizawl, District Council look press, 1965.

In 1921 and 1911, the population was recorded as quoted in N.E. Parry 'The Lakher' p.4.

The Mizos call <sup>the</sup> Chakma as Takam and Riang as Tuikuk.

++(Takam means object to be butchered, and Tuikuk means the dwellers near water).

Table - 4

Tribe wise distribution of Population of Mizoram  
(1981 Census )

Tribe	Population
Mizos (Lushais)	3,40,110
Chakma	35,241
Lakher	25,322
Pawi	34,116
Kukis	12,190
Emars	13,102
Rianga	4,086
Dhupis	105
Khasis	340
Nagas	41
Miscellaneous	19,104
Total	4,93,757

Source: Census of India, Mizoram, 1981.

Table - 5

Religion wise population of Mizoram (1981 Census )

Religion	Number of persons	P.C
1. Christians	4,18,840	83.81
2. Buddhists	40,429	8.19
3. Hindus	35,245	7.14
4. Muslims	2,205	0.45
5. Siks	421	0.09
6. Jains	11	-
7. Others	1,606	-

Source: Statistical Hand Book of Mizoram, 1987 p.17

Consequent <sup>upon</sup> the discussion so far, the demographic pattern and nature of social relations in the state revealed the significant impact of the geographical phenomena. It also highlighted the importance of ~~economic activities~~ <sup>economic activities</sup> in influencing the pattern of inter and intra group relations among the inhabitants of the state. These later aspects exerted their considerable influence on the nature of population distribution, pattern of economic development and social relations. Constant re-distribution of population due to migration, frequent inter and intra group rivalries and clashes

as well as the limiting impact of geographical phenomena, kept the population of the state under check. However, with the administrative consolidation and stabilisation, the population of the State indicated of growing trend. This is evident from the fact that at the time of first census in the state(1901) (Table - 6) the total population was 82,434 persons with an average density of 4 persons per square kilometre. This increased to 4,93,575 persons with an average density of 23 persons per square kilometre in 1981.(Table 4&6) The following table clearly indicate the trend of population growth in the state.(Table -6&7)

Table - 6

Trend of Population growth - Mizoram

Year	Population in '000	Decadal variation	P.C. of Decadal variation
1901	82434	-	-
1911	91204	+8770	+10.64
1921	98406	+7202	+ 7.90
1931	124403	+25998	+26.42
1941	152786	+28382	+22.81
1951	196202	+43416	+28.42
1961	266063	+89861	+35.61
1971	332390	+66327	+24.93
1981	493757	+161367	+48.55

Source: Statistical Hand Book of Mizoram, 1987, p.17.

Table - 2  
Growth rate of Population in *N.E. India*

State	(Millions) 1901	1981	Growth rate P.C. 1901 to 1981
Arunachal Pradesh.	0.02	0.63	-
Mizoram	0.08	0.49	491.71
Nagaland	0.12	0.77	661.48
Tripura	0.17	2.05	1088.63
Manipur	0.28	1.14	404
Meghalaya	0.12	1.32	289.95
	3290000	19902826	505.01

Source: 1. Census of India report, 1981 cited in B.P. Singh  
*et al.*, The Problem of Change, Oxford Press,  
1987, p.141.

2. <sup>Stat</sup> Statical Hand Book of Mizoram, 1987.

Some Essential Characteristics of the Population of the State:

Mizo Villages

Geography has also a great impact on the settlement pattern and its size in Mizoram where the compact villages having population of more than five thousand is rare. Most of villages are scattered and show the predominant influence

of relief and its distribution. Out of 400 villages of Aizawl district only six villages (6.67%) contain over two thousand heads and more than 60% come within the population range of 200 to 2000 persons only. Similarly, in Lunglei and Chhimituipui districts 70% of the population fall within the range of five hundred persons only. This clearly indicates that the southern districts of the State are mostly sparsely populated (Table - 8).

Table - 8

Size of villages in Mizoram (District wise)

(1981 census )

District	No. of Village	0-199	200-499	500-1999	2000-4999	5000 & above
Aizawl	400	122 28.72%	128 32.82%	124 31.79%	26 .67%	-
Lunglei	163	59 36.65%	68 42.24%	31 19.25%	3 1.86%	-
Chhimituipui	170	64 37.65%	71 41.76%	34 20%	1 59%	-

Source: Census of India Series 31, Mizoram , 1981.

The location of settlement <sup>was</sup> the expression of the geographical factors favouring a particular site in the entire landscape of the region. In the agricultural country like India, the favourable factors are like nearness to the agricultural field, ~~the availability of~~ raised and level land availability of water throughout the year and free from flood. The pattern of settlement in the region exhibit some contrasting features. The western part where relief is low, <sup>and</sup> valleys ~~are~~ wide and not unhealthy, most of the settlement sites are located in the valleys. But in the eastern part where streams valleys become inhospitable due to their slopes and harsh climate, hill crests and slopes offer the alternative base for human habitation. Further, the valley dwellers try to lay their houses as close as to river bank as possible and as a result the settlement ~~is~~ mostly linear in pattern. On the other hand the settlement lying on the hill tops ~~is~~ somewhat compact. In <sup>those</sup> <sup>where</sup> cases the settlement <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ located in hill slope, it was, however, developed an ~~elongated~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~long~~ straggling along the contours.<sup>31</sup> From the accessibility point of view, the settlement ~~was~~ preferred near the suitable place of transport and communication. Thus settlement in Mizoram can be identified as belonging to:

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31. R. L. Singh (ed) 1971, A Regional Geography of India, Varanasi, p.509.

- 1) Settlement on the hill top and hill slopes
- 2) Settlement along the rivers
- 3) ~~the~~ settlement along the watershed.

Nearly 55% of the total settlement is concentrated in the hill tops and slopes. The entire eastern and central part of Mizoram the settlement is on the slopes of the mountain where the average slope is more than  $45^{\circ}$ . It is clear that Lunglei hill ranges, Hnathial hill ranges, Thorang hill ranges and Sertlangpui hills, the high degree of slope accompanied with rugged topography restricts the settlement <sup>to</sup> the top of the hill.

#### Settlement along the River Valley:

In the most part of Mizoram, the human settlement is confined to the river valleys along the rivers Tlang, Tuichang, Tuliapui, Kawrpui in the west. The important villages situated along the Tuichang river are Chawngte, Tuidang<sup>ck</sup> village and along the Tulian pui river, are Sachan, Devasury, Thingkhai, Tuikawi and Sumasimi.<sup>32</sup>

#### Settlement along the Road Side:

It is most common throughout Mizoram. The Silchar-Aizawl-Lunglei and Tuipang National Highway (NH 54) provide the best

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32. P.Rinawma, 'Geomorphology and Agricultural Development of Mizoram', Unpublished Thesis, NEHU, Shillong, 1986.

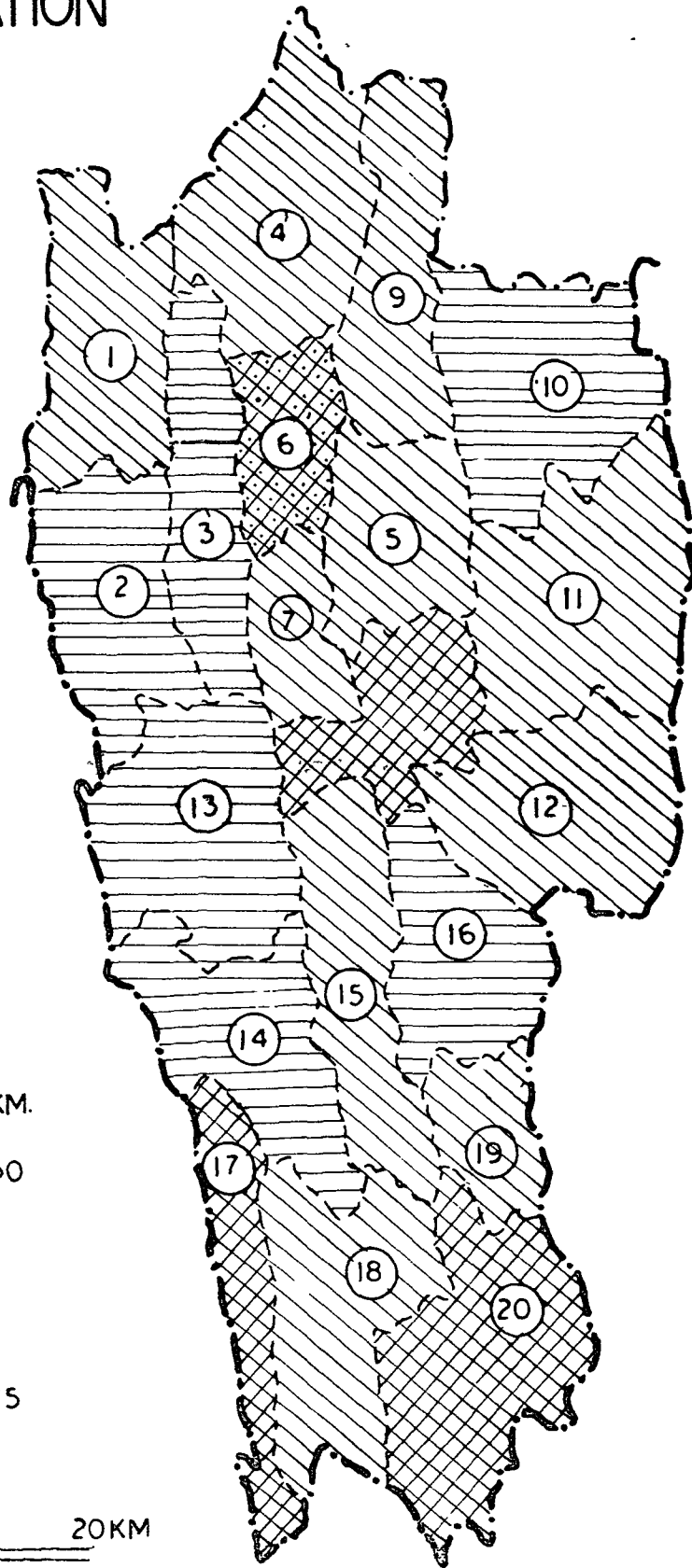
example where the earlier settlement was on the road side. The present settlement is mostly concentrated on the roadside, where the ~~accessibility~~<sup>accessibility</sup> and supply of all essential commodities are easily available. The Lunglei-Demagiri Road, Lunglei-Burpui Road and Lungsen-Chawngte and Seiling-Champai<sup>roads</sup> are the important roadways where human settlement has been concentrated. The important settlement along Lunglei-Buarpui road ~~is~~<sup>is</sup> Thuawpui, Lunglei, Serte, Surtlangpui and Kawhawk villages.

The important settlement on the watershed zone of Phairang river and Tuichang river are Lungvang and Rualalung. Settlement along the watershed is prominent in the Surtlangpui, Lungdai and Thunpui Tlang and De river.

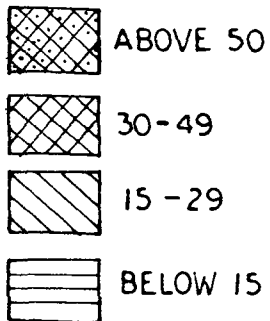
#### Population Density and Distribution:

Density: The density of population of Mizoram increases from West to East due to the decrease of humidity and Temperature. (Map 6) The eastern side is suitable for human habitation, But the high density of the population in Lungsen Block and Chawngte Block is mainly due to influx of the Chakma tribe from Bangladesh. The eastern part of Lunglei district i.e. in Hnathial Block where the topography is rugged with narrow valleys, the place is inhospitable for human habitation due to harsh climate. The North-Western part of Lunglei district is thickly forested

# MIZORAM POPULATION 1981



Block wise  
DENSITY PER SQ. KM.



20 0 20KM

and the topography is dissected with numerous streams flowing northward and thus the settlement is difficult. Watershed areas along with the important places of settlements are Bungle, Laisawral, Lungchem, Kanchhuah, Puankhai, Chaupui and Sach anlui.

The distribution of population in Mizoram reflected the arrangement of hill and valleys which have determined the settlement pattern of the population. The lowest density of population i.e. 23.42 per sq.km. which was initially only 13 in 1961 clearly leads us to understand the geographical factors responsible for low density of population in Mizoram.

The population trend could not be analysed districtwise for want of data, for the earlier period as it was under Assam. <sup>The border district were non-existent.</sup> But the 1981 census <sup>in fact</sup> reflected the highest growth rate of 61.44% in Chhimituipui. In Aizawl and Lunglei its corresponding growth rate was 48.46% and 39.23% respectively.<sup>33</sup>

The population distribution of Mizoram exhibited a general trend that the density was low in the mountainous region of North-East, Eastern Central region and the western central region. Census of India, Mizoram, 1981, indicated that the distribution of population in districts of Mizoram was uneven

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33. Census of India 1981, Series 31, Mizoram.

(Table-16). The Aizawl district shared more than 65% of the entire population followed by Lunglei and Chhittuipui districts. The reason for the low density in other districts was not only the geographical factors like topography and climate but also lack of poor communication network and trade facilities followed by changes in administrative status and consequently overspilling of government expenditure. The northern region of the state had wide trade route facility to connect it with the main trade cities of Silchar, Karimganj, Hailakandi. The river route also linked northern centres of Mizoram with Cachar. As such the concentration of population in Aizawl District is proportionately higher than the southern parts. Western region has density ranging between 15 to 29 persons <sup>per</sup> sq. km. The south eastern and south western region had the density of 30 to 49 persons per sq.km while the central region in the vicinity of the capital town of Aizawl it is the highest i.e. 156 person per square kilometre. The blockwise distribution (see map<sup>No. 6</sup>) of population clearly indicated that the highest density of population of 156 persons per sq.km lay in Tlangnuam Block followed by Chawngte 48 persons per sq.km Serchip 33 persons per sq.km and Tuipang 33 persons per sq.km. The Tlaungnuam Block has the agglomeration of urban settlement of Aizawl town which automatically increased the density of population (Aizawl Town

population). Serchhip Block with<sup>a</sup> total population of 23428 enjoyed moderate climate and sufficient flat land in the Mat river areas.

Chawngte has hot and humid climate with luxuriant vegetational cover. But this Block gave shelter to Chakma tribe who normally lived on the river valley side and not upon the hills or ridges. The higher density of population was also due to frequent influx of population from the neighbouring country (Bangladesh). Tuipang Block encompassed the district town Saiha which ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> fast developing town with a population of 7,013 persons. This Block had the concentration of the Lakher tribe.<sup>34</sup>

The population density is low or moderately low in Blocks of Khawzawl (6) Darlawn(25) Thingdawl (23) Lokicherra(22) Lawngtalai (20) Aiback (20) Elungdar (20) Sangau (16). The population is low but the influencing factors like topography, climatic conditions were not unfavourable for the concentration of population. However, the other factors like inaccessibility and location (away from the main trunk route), did not attract the people to settle therein.

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<sup>34</sup>. Ibid.

The lowest density of population (below 15 persons per sq.km) exist~~s~~ in some Blocks in the remote area. These Blocks are West Bnghmum, Reick, West Phaileng, Ngapa, Hnathial and Lungsan. West Bungmam has the lowest density (7 persons per sq.km) followed by heick. The main reason for the low density in the state is the nature of terrain with comparative lack of communication facilities. The early settlers ~~were~~<sup>immigrated</sup> from the eastern region. Further the deep and narrow river valleys did not allow for more settlements in the area. For example, Bunglum Block is flanked by the mountainous terrains of the Chittagong hill tracts of Bangladesh which does not provide any outlet. Thus enclosed Block hardly has any prospect to encourage population growth. So is the case with the Hnathial and Ngopa Blocks which fall in remote area. The northern side of Ngopa forms the boundary with Manipur where the communication is difficult from the both sides. The eastern side coinciding with Burma border \ faces high mountain ranges and inaccessible area.

The districtwise density is highest in Aizawl district (27.1 persons per sq.km) followed by Lunglei (19.1) and Chhimgai (17.0). This decreasing trend of population density is attributed to the degree of accessibility. Besides this

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35. A.K. Agarwal, Demographic Features of North-East India, An article in Social Mirror: Shillong, Journal of Social Study Centre (3-4, 1985).

geographic environment, the distance from the main administrative centres of Aizawl also significantly influenced the density distribution. The density in Chhintuipui district ~~has increased~~ by the fresh arrival of the Chakma tribe from the erstwhile E. Pakistan (Now Bangladesh). Inaccessibility is also an important factor to be taken into consideration.

Analysing the spatial distribution of the tribal population it is evident that the Lusei population with the dominant Sailo clan was concentrated in the middle of the state primarily in the Aizawl and Lunglei districts. The Lakhers are mainly concentrated in the Chhintuipui district between the Kolodyne river and Lunglei (population Map). Some powerful villages of the seven tribes of the Lakhers (Maras) on the east of the upper Kolodyne river in the Kaka sub-division of the Chin Hills still exist. The Lakhers are the branch of the 'Lai' tribes of Chin and speak a language similar to Lai. They are the same people as the Shendus. The Arakanian always called them Shendus. The Lakhers are mostly concentrated in Tuipang Block (No.19) and a few villages of the neighbouring Blocks of Sangau and Lawngtlai Blocks. The Pois district Council has its Headquarters at Lawngtlai while that of Lakhers at Saiha.

The Chakmas are mostly concentrated in the western part of the State predominantly in Chawgate block. In fact, they have adopted Bengali culture and they usually speak Chakma language which is practically a corrupt form of Bengali. Among other tribes (whose reference has been made earlier) the Hmar, the Paite and the Riang figure most in the demographic map of Mizoram. The Riangs are mostly in the north west area of Mizoram along the Tripura border, while the Hmars and the Paite are in the north-east corner of Mizoram. Similarly, the Pangs the Bowns, the Tlanglau are in the south and south-west of Mizoram mostly in the Poi and the Chakma areas.

There has been considerable immigration from other states of India, of which Assam provided the 1/4 of the total number. The total <sup>immigration from Assam</sup> figure comes to 24067 (1981 census). Next to Assam, Tripura provides (3665 persons) 15.22% followed by Bihar 9.92% (2388 persons). They have been employed in different trades and are working as skilled or unskilled labours. These people have come there mostly in search of food and work as labourer and shop-keepers. The Aizawl market is flooded with non-Mizos and most of the shops of different varieties are monopolised by these people; Some of the foreign countries particularly Bangladesh is also providing skilled labour in building construction they are mostly coming through Cachar district of Assam and their share comes to about 5%.

Rural and Urban Population.

The growth of urbanisation is the index of industrial prosperity of a state as a whole in which the percentage of population are engaged in non-agricultural activities. In this respect (according to 81 census) more than 75% of the population of Mizoram live in Rural areas. This indicated clearly that the population is predominantly agricultural. Prior to 1971 Census, there was only one class IV town i.e. Aizawl in the whole of Mizoram. At present there are six towns recognised in the census register as towns. These are as follows:-

Table - 9  
**MIZORAM URBAN POPULATION**

Name of Town	Area in Sq.Kms.	Population	Density
1. Aizawl	110	74493	381.86
2. Kolasib	36	8282	230.06
3. Serchip	15	7329	488.60
4. Champai	20	7477	374.35
5. Lunglei	85	17205	202.41
6. Saiha	53	7018	132.42
Total		.. 121804	

Source: Statistical Handbook of Mizoram, 1987, p.15.

Mizoram is distinguished by an overwhelming predominance of tribal population: 93.55 per cent of the total. This is the highest percentage for any State in India. Equally striking is the share of tribal population in urban population: 89.05 per cent. This again is by far the highest proportion for any Indian State. By that token, urbanisation in Mizoram is characteristically native, a feature which is rare in most tribal parts of India.

The other notable features of <sup>urbanization of</sup> Mizoram ~~urbanization~~ are as follows:

- i. Almost one-fourth of the State's population is urban. In other words, the urbanisation level of the most tribal State of Mizoram is higher <sup>than</sup> that of the country.
- ii. There are six towns (Table - 9) spaced at a mean distance of about 64 kms. from each other. All are administrative centres and most of them are located on the Silchar - Aizawl - Lunglei National Highway.
- iii. Aizawl, the State capital, is the biggest. It shares nearly two-thirds of the total urban population ~~in~~ of Mizoram. It is more than four times bigger than the second <sup>large in</sup> town of Lunglei.

- iv. Although Mizoram towns are comparatively small in population size yet these cover extensive areas: Aizawl 110 Kms., Lunglei 85 Kms., and Saiha 53 Kms. There is abundance of urban land for development.
- v. The State's urban population recorded a phenomenal growth rate of 222.61 per cent during 1971-81. This is attributed partly to the emergence of four new towns. Equally critical has been the rapid growth of Aizawl whose population grew by 134.70 per cent during the decade. This can be explained first by the expansion of its administrative functions, secondly by the extension of its territorial jurisdiction from 18 Kms. in 1971 to 110 Kms. in 1981, and thirdly by some influx it experienced because of the disturbed conditions in the countryside.

Although Mizoram is undisputedly backward at present due to its physical remoteness, an agricultural economy which ~~is~~<sup>of</sup> a low productivity scale, and politically disturbed conditions till recently yet it is poised for fast development in years to come. It is carrying out meaningful programmes to replace shifting cultivation by a settled one; it is strengthening its infrastructure base of power, transport and communication; and it is eager to promote industry. In this task,

the State is favoured by the homogeneity and high literacy rates of its population, a variety of physical resource base, and liberal financial assistance from the Central government. The process of economic growth would provide a stimulus to urbanisation which needs to be given a proper direction.

A perusal of the state documents shows that the government is aware of the growing urban problems but it is yet to frame a long term urbanisation policy. Its major concerns in this regard are as follows:

- i. to execute and complete the Aizawl Capital Expansion Project, particularly by constructing new buildings to accommodate the government offices, and by raising an adequate number of dwelling units to house the government employees;
- ii. to construct in phases, 200,000 running metres of link steps to connect residences and office buildings with the main roads due to the hilly terrain in Aizawl.
- iii. to work out a sanitation plan for Aizawl;
- iv. to prepare base maps for mofussil towns in the State for the purpose of designing the Town Master Plans; and
- v. to provide financial assistance to local bodies for both remunerative (e.g. construction of shops and market centres) and non-remunerative (e.g. road construction) schemes.

The State's approved outlay for urban development (including the Capital Expansion Project) is Rs.5.50 crores under

the Seventh Plan. This comes to barely 2.12 per cent of the total outlay.

Against the background of what has been stated above, we may now deliberate over some critical issues relevant to any possible urbanisation policy for the State. The first issue pertains to consolidation versus dispersal of settlements. As early as 1966, the Study Team under the chairmanship of Tarlok Singh had recommended regrouping of small and highly dispersed villages so as to reduce the cost in provision of education, health, water supply, and postal services. Likewise, a regrouping of village clusters into central places in order to facilitate the task of providing urban services and also to function as viable centres of industrial production based on local resources may be given serious consideration.

In the same vein, one may reflect over the increasing concentration of population in Aizawl. The process is being helped not only by the growing administrative and economic functions of the place but also by a liberal allotment of urban land for house building in this capital town. As a result, an increasing number of people from the countryside are tempted to migrate here. What may be required now is to strengthen the economic base of Aizawl, through ancillary industry in particular, and to regulate its physical growth

in the most appropriate manner so as to minimise the future costs of providing services. Looking at the physical resource potential of state, coupled with its homogeneous and literate society, one can be optimistic on this count. The need is to adopt policies which may include among others: (i) thrust to industry and trade at Aizawl; and (ii) development of a number of fairly well distributed central places acting as industrial and service centres for local areas. To begin with, each of the assembly constituency or the development block could have one such place. Alongwith, the service and production base of the existing district headquarters can be further strengthened.

This automatically gives a three tier hierarchy of development centres, including the State capital, district headquarters, and the block centres. It is reiterated <sup>that</sup> the State may better opt for a policy of centralisation rather <sup>than</sup> of dispersal at every hierarchical level to its own economic advantage.<sup>36</sup>

#### Occupational Structure:

Mizoram is totally an agricultural state where 83.52% of the population depend on agriculture. ~~Highly~~ <sup>The</sup> age structure of the population of Mizoram shows that only 41% come under

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36. Urbanization and Urban Development Policy Issues of the North-Eastern Region, Shillong, July, 1988 (Series No.39).

the real working force (Table - 10) ~~is~~ is engaged in primary activities.

Table - 10  
Distribution of Population According to Age Group  
(Percentage)

0-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & above
43.37	10.24	9.04	7.83	11.75	7.83	4.82	5.12

Source: A.K.Agrawal, Demographic Features of North-East India, (in) Social Mirror, Shillong, 1985.

However, the work participation rate has fallen in Mizoram (from 45.61 in 1971 to 41.21 in 1981) (Table - 11) unlike Manipur and Tripura. The female participation has equally reduced mainly due to change in working characteristics.

Table - 11  
*of total population*  
Percentage of Main Workers (Mizoram)

Year	Male	Female	Total
1971	51.43	39.46	45.61
1981	49.14	32.73	41.21

Source - Ibid

The census figure indicates that the rural workers engaged in cultivation is highest in Mizoram. (Table-12) <sup>This is</sup> even larger than the national average <sup>where</sup> both male and female constitute the working force.

Table-12

<sup>occupational</sup>  
~~Table-12~~ Distribution of Main Workers in 1981: Mizoram  
in percentage of total work-force.

Cultivators	Agricultural Labour	Household Industries	Other workers
72.11	2.56	1.28	24.05

Source A.K. Agarwal Demographic features of NE India in Social Mirror, Shillong 1985

The incidence of agricultural labour is less in Mizoram. More than 60% of the marginal workers are in urban areas of Mizoram and only 40% are engaged in rural areas.<sup>37</sup>

Age Pyramid:

As mentioned in Table - 10 nearly 43.37% of the population come under the age of 14 years who do not come under the range of working force. Generally the age group of fifteen to forty-nine is considered to be the main working force while age group of

37. A.K. Agarwal, Demographic features of North-East India (in) Social Mirror, Shillong, 1985.

above sixty years is also excluded from the list of working force. In short, it is enough to say that 32% of the population work to feed 68% of the population in Mizoram. 37a

Sex Ratio:

The sex ratio unlike other states of North-East region is almost equal in Mizoram. It is 936 per thousand male population. The ratio is higher in rural than in urban area (Table - 13):

Table - 13  
Sex Ratio ( Every One Thousand)

Total	Rural	Urban
936	949	896

Source - Statistical Hand Book of Mizoram 1987 p 16

The other tribes have responded to the call of the christian missionary drive to spread education in the most inaccessible interior also.

Mizoram has conspicuously high percentage of tribal populatioj. Among the tribals the Mizos constitute 85.4%

followed by 8.027% Chakma. Others are negligible but <sup>can</sup> not be ignored otherwise. The Dim<sup>a</sup>sha, Garo, Khasi, Naga and Rieng have also a certain percentage of population though not so much important. <sup>38</sup> Among the Mizos also sub-tribes like Lakhers, Pawi, Hmars have maintained their separate identity by preserving their languages and cultural traits, Linguistically. The Lusei has the highest sizeable population of 79.22%, followed by Chakma 6.57, Lakher 3.58%, Pawi and Hmar 1.09%. <sup>39</sup>

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38. Statistical Handbook of Mizoram, Aizawl, 1987. p.17.

39. Ali Ahmad 1982, National Symposium on Language and Social Regional Identity in India, J.N.U., New Delhi, p. 37.

Literacy:

With the advent of Christian missioneries in Mizoram <sup>at the beg</sup> educational institutions at primary level started rapidly throughout the state and movement for eradication of illiteracy started on war footing. Roman script was popularised among the Mizos who had no script of their own earlier. They accepted the same Roman script and mass convers~~ion~~<sup>ion</sup> and mass literacy programme started. In 1901 literacy percent was low <sup>being</sup> only 0.90% which increase to 59.50 percent in 1981 (chart No 7) (urban literacy 73.89% rural 54.67%) (Table - 14). In Aizawl and Lunglei districts the percentage is higher than 70%. It is less in Chhimiupui district. Difference in urban and rural literacy is 13.74% only, followed by 21.45% and 28.25% in Lunglei and Chhimiupui districts respectively. Everywhere

<sup>40</sup>  
Table - 14

Literacy P.C. Male, Female, Urban-Rural

<u>1971</u> Total	<u>1981</u> Total	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Urban</u>
53.79	59.50	65.99	52.57	54.67	73.89

Source: Census of India, 1981. <sup>NEC Shillong</sup>  
Basic Statistics of North-East Region, 1980-85.

40. Census of India 1981, Series 31, Mizoram.

## GROWTH OF LITERACY IN MIZORAM

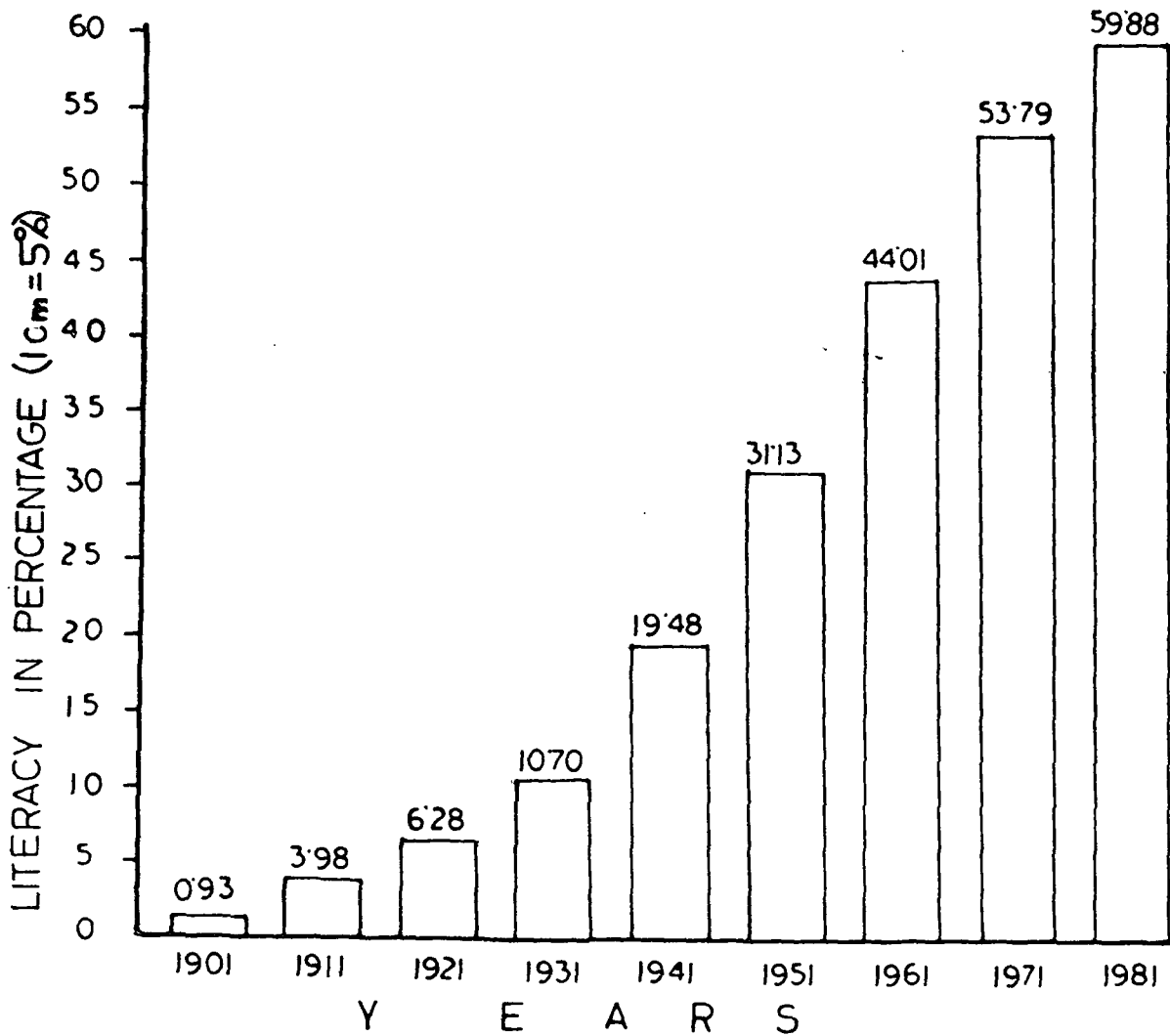


chart No 7

the male literacy is higher than the female one. The variation increases from the north to south which is of <sup>that</sup> order of 9.49, 16.93 and 26.07% in Aizawl, Lunglei and Chhimitupui districts respectively. In Chhimitupui district the literacy percentage is lower because of the overall poor literacy percentage of the Chakma tribe. The higher percentage of literacy in Aizawl district (Table-14) as compared to other districts of the State has largely been the result of better accessibility condition of Aizawl district. Besides, the establishment of the Head<sup>q</sup>quarters of the British administration as well as the main centre of missionary activities in state gave an added advantage to the Aizawl district. In addition to this among the traditional population groups, the Saisos were comparatively better placed to absorb the modernising tendency emanating from the British consolidation of the areas.

The blockwise analysis of literacy (Tab-15&16) gives an idea that the Blocks of Aizawl district (65.30%) have higher percentage than the Blocks of Lunglei (56.89%) and Chhimitupui District (37.07). The interior Blocks of Lokicherra (49.67%) and W.Phaileng (32.20%) of the Aizawl district have low percentage mainly due to lack of accessibility. But the lowest percentage among all the C.D. Blocks of Mizoram goes to Chawngte (15.89%) whose (Male 24.18% and female 6.58%) literacy is exceedingly

deplorable. It is mainly due to inaccessibility and the discriminatory treatment of the Missionery as the Block had different population composition i.e. the Block had predominantly the Buddhist Chakmas inhabitants.

Table - 15

District wise literacy in Mizoram (1981 Census)

Name of District	Population					Literacy (P.C)		
	Total	Male	Female	Urban	Rural	Rural	Urban	Total
Aizawl	340826	176242	164584	97591	243235	61.16	75.61	65.30
Lunglei	86511	45998	40513	17205	69306	52.62	74.10	56.89
Chhimituipui	66420	34999	31421	7018	59402	34.08	62.37	37.07

Source: Census of India ,1981, Series 31, Mizoram.

Table-16  
Mizoram(Block-wise literacy (F.C))

	Popu- lation	Male F.C.	Female F.C.	Total F.C.	Density
<u>Aizawl</u>					
1. Lokicherra	24,444	55.07	43.95	49.67	21.72
2. W.Phaileng	16,838	36.81	25.86	32.20	13.42
3. Reiek	10,973	68.57	61.47	68.57	13.00
4. N.Thingdawl	35,351	67.76	62.72	65.38	23.16
5. Larpavi	18,066	69.14	59.53	64.65	25.37
6. Thangnuam	93,769	79.60	70.02	76.48	156.28
7. Aikawk	11,671	70.72	61.96	69.42	20.05
8. Serchhip	23,428	71.95	62.24	65.59	33.46
9. Thingsulthlieh	20,638	71.99	63.80	67.99	22.98
10.Ngopa	20,956	66.19	56.65	61.46	13.92
11.Khawzawl	35,807	69.19	57.76	63.48	25.68
12.Last Lungdar	28,885	69.31	61.00	63.59	19.92
<u>Lunglei</u>	Total	69.31	61.00	65.30	27.1%
13.W.Bunghmun	12,239	53.87	37.20	46.29	7.26
14.Lungsen	31,127	45.85	27.57	37.53	<b>14.65</b>
15.Lunglei	34,530	73.01	62.52	68.10	21.85
16.Hnathial	80,615	68.71	61.23	65.03	14.34
	Total	62.55	50.46	56.89	19%
<u>Ch. Imtuipui</u>					
17.Cnawngte	16,983	24.18	6.58	15.88	47.97
18.Lawngtlai	18,517	45.09	33.51	39.89	20.32
19.Banqau	8,777	30.42	45.06	52.69	16.43
20.Tuipang	22,143	53.99	34.87	44.76	32.85
	Total	44.55	28.73	37.07	17%

Source: Census of India 1981, Series 31, Mizoram.

(Also) Statistical Handbook of Mizoram: 1987, pp.15-16.

Population factor remains a major consideration in the assessment of war potentialities of states. At local or regional level, the population of Mizoram does not exert any decisive pressure on the centre. The mixed population and lack of political or ethnic homogeneity or cohesion can retard the fulfilment of their common desire. The quality of population is far more significant than its size and density. The Mizos as a whole are strong, healthy and sturdy and united for their common aspirations for which they can take risk of life. Their strong determination for fulfilment of aspirations has unnerved the central authority. A well knit society educated and politically conscious is a great force both politically and economically far more than the total size of population and its density and the geographical pattern of distribution.

Ethnic and Cultural Diversity:

Another important variable of population is its composition in terms of language, religion, race or nationality. In Mizoram, the presence of Chakma (8% of population) having different religion (and culture) or Lakhers (having different Maras language) or Hmar or Powis having distinct cultural traits, pose, serious problem for internal political unity of Mizoram. Similarly, the mutual needs are restricted <sup>in</sup> scope in the form of <sup>technology</sup> and resources.

Conclusion.

The low density of population depicts complete absence of fertile low land area which cannot sustain many mouths. On the whole, Mizoram is full of mountainous terrains with steep slopes. Secondly, the soil is poor and scarcity of water is acute. Wild vegetation and complete absence of underground water storage capacity are the main hindrances for irrigation.

Thirdly, the population is predominantly tribals of different clans, sub-clans. But there is no ethnic problems at present. However, the Lakhers, Pawis and the Chakmas are less advanced, settled in the most inaccessible areas and thus they are in disadvantageous position. Educationally and Economically Lushais are more advanced than other tribes. The locational advantage are with them while the peripheral location in case of the Hmars, Kaites, Lakhers and Chakmas thwart their progress and their geographical isolation has enabled them to maintain a separate identity and the rising trend of sub-nationalism is the result of these factors.

There are similar tribes in the close proximity beyond <sup>international</sup> the state boundary of Mizoram. Lakhers (Mara in the east Burma and the Chakmas in Bangladesh). There is cultural affinity.

of these tribes beyond the state boundary. Similarly, Riangs of the North-Western part of Mizoram have also close affinity with the Riangs of Tripura both socially and culturally. The Hmars and the Kukis have also territorial relations with their kith and kin of Manipur, North Cachar <sup>Hills</sup> and adjoining areas of Cachar Districts.

Geographical constraints have paved the way for isolation of these tribes localised in small pockets of the state which restricted the assimilation of the sub-tribes into major tribes. The conflict between tribals and non-tribals or among the tribals themselves are mainly due to communication gap under the complicated geographical environments. The geographical elements particularly the hilly terrains trending North-South direction criss-crossing the territory encouraged each tribal group to confine themselves to a particular area and to develop strong and distinct cultural traits. This ultimately promoted inter-tribal rivalry, and rigorous animosities among them.

#### Impact of historical and population Aspect on the Theme.

The evolution of population in Mizoram and the present structure of population there are important variable upon

which the geopolitical viability of the state can be studied. The migration of population took place in successive waves, driving out <sup>west</sup> ~~east~~ toward and northward the earlier inhabitants. The physical constraints (Hills and Plateau and the communication barriers) prohibited the assimilation of all the <sup>Tribes</sup> ~~Races~~ of Indo-Burmese groups of people into one tribe. Consequently, different tribes and sub-tribes were localised into their own language, culture and customs. This, in other words, became the root cause of inter-tribal disputes and heterogeneity. Cultural homogeneity could not bind the Lushai and Hmars ~~and~~ Poi, ~~and~~ Lakher <sup>The</sup> and smaller sub-tribes together. The Christianity even could not bring them together. The smaller non-christian tribes like the Chakmas and the Riangs were treated as outsiders (Vias) thus there is inherent animosities among the tribes below the surface. The mixed population has extra-territorial loyalty beyond the boundary of Mizoram. This is a factor upon which geopolitical viability is tested. The low density of population (23 per sq.km) in Mizoram indicates besides physical and economic hardship, the geopolitical problems also. The increasing trend of sub-nationalism in the minds of the Lakher, the Pangs, the Chakmas and the Hmars, ~~and~~ can weaken the stability of the State and can threaten the unity of the people in Mizoram.

The internal cohesion and unity, which were apparently visible during the days of insurgency have subsided gradually, and the tribes and sub-tribes are vying <sup>on</sup> each other against the dominance of the majority tribes (The Lushai). The smaller groups have raised their voice in favour of recognition of their ethnic identity and local autonomy. The geopolitical order and ethnic homogeneity have <sup>been</sup> put under pressure. The smaller groups like the Pangs, the Bawms, the Tlanglau which are not occupying any compact geographical blocks may fail to voice their dissent effectively. Even if they are able to register protest they can easily be contended and adjusted, but the Lakher, the Pawis, the Hmar or the Chakmas can pose a great threat to political unity of Mizoram. <sup>As</sup> such the viability of Mizoram would suffer from constant stress and strain.

The population of a state is in itself a great force, which is the source of a <sup>strength of</sup> Nation not only in the hour of crisis, but also <sup>it can</sup> ~~can~~ play a pivotal role in the socio-economic uplift during normal period. The homogenous population is a force to be reckoned with. <sup>T</sup> Taking the advantage of the physiography of the state, the well-built Mongoloid tribes, more or less united against other groups of people (may be non-Mizos)

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41. H.J.Morganthan, 1967, Politics Among Nations, New York, p.120.

may pose threat at the unity of the country. Local variation in ethnicity does not create any problem internally, no country in the world consists of a single ethnic group. However, such a phenomenon would not last long with the rapid growth of industrialisation.

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CHAPTER - IV

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## SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF MIZORAM

The evolution of the Mizo Tribes and other sub-tribes depicts their migratory nature in the beginning of their habitation in Mizoram. These Kuki-Chin groups of Tibeto-Burman branch of Indo-Mongloid race (see Chapter III) came to the present Mizoram in different waves and occupied the area where they could find suitable land for agriculture and security. They occupied the land which was either virgin or captured the land by driving earlier settlers in the north or the West. But their migratory nature did not change and as such they went on changing the place of habitation. There was no permanent settlement till the advent of the British administration at the end of the last century.

After their permanent settlement they made their abode either on the hill tops or slopes maintaining defensive position. They developed local cultural traits which were distinguishable from one another. Their spatial distribution of settlement was geopolitically significant. The ethnic map (see map<sup>Nr 5</sup>) clearly exhibits that the more advanced group i.e. Lushai (Sailos clan) occupied the nearest area of Mizoram i.e. in Aizawl and Lunglei districts. The northern

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area was inhabited by weaker groups like old Kuki, Hmars, and Paite in north eastern region. In the southern districts of Chhimituipui there is predominance of the Lakhers (Tuipang C.D. Block) the Pois (Sangau and Lowngtlai C.D. Block) and the Chakma (Chawngte C.D. Block). The Chakma are also in sizeable number in the south western parts of Mizoram (Chawngte C.D. block and also near Demagiri) while on Tripura border, the Riangs have noticeable concentration. All these Tribes and sub-tribes occupy specific areas of their own and followed their own socio-economic patterns distinctly. A small population of the Pangs, Tlanglau and Bawm exists amidst the Poi and Chakma whose numerical strength is negligible in the socio-economic scene of Mizoram.

These tribes and sub-tribes living in specific location in Mizoram have not maintained water tight compartment relation in their mutual socio-economic life. Their mutual social relationship reflected social unity and harmonious ethnic relationship. It exhibited a close knit Mizo society. Their social and religious customs were common with little local variation. However, the Chakma indicated distinct social customs due to difference in religious practices but their agro-economic life reflected the common outlook and high sense of morality. Their egalitarian perception has



made the Mizo society, classless and casteless. The self sufficient village life was unsophisticated. They were also proud of their 'Tlewmaihna' (selfless service to needy persons). In their early economic life they used to follow barter system irrespective of their group or sub-group feeling. But, with the introduction of money economy, the exchange of commodities started in terms of money.

The advent of Christianity in Mizoram in the last part <sup>of the</sup> preceding century or in the early part of the present century had excellent impact on the socio-cultural life of Mizo people. Their mode of life was changed and their social structure was completely transformed. The Christianity spread education in Mizoram, gave them <sup>the</sup> lesson of love, sympathy and a sense of value which were completely missing during their traditional life. The Christianity paved the way for modernity in Mizoram. As a result, the life style, way of thinking and doing were radically metamorphosed. Their mental horizon widened by its teaching; and the superstitions and faith in spirit vanished. In fact, the Christianity made them adaptable ~~to~~ western culture. Its impact on socio-economic activity is also significant. A sense of individualism

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1. Chitranjan Nag 1973, Impact of Christianity on the Life of Mizos, Unpublished Thesis, Gauhati University, Gauhati.

and individualistic approach to life was sown by Christianity.

Mizo society is a well-knit society. There is no caste or class system. Their community life is comprehensive and free from any rank or status consciousness. They participate in all social or religious functions without any consideration of social hierarchy. The festivals have promoted community feelings and have helped in influencing the attitude of Mizo people. Every festival is accompanied with dance and music which is the symbol of their love and fellow feeling. The community feasts and festival have widened the boundary of community life.

Among the community festivals (called 'Kut' in Mizo) <sup>p</sup> 'Pawl Kut' <sup>2</sup> 'Chapchar Kut' and 'Mim Kut' are most important. These are celebrated on particular occasion of agricultural cycle. For example, the pawl kut is celebrated at the end of the harvest to commemorate the new year. This also synchronises with the completion of the harvest and gathering of their crops. This is the festival of children also. The Chapchar kut is the festival of spring which is celebrated before the Jhum is burnt. For this festival long preparations are made. The traditional Mizo dance called 'Chai' is performed which is shared by both male and female. The 'Mim Kut' is a

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2. L.B.Thanga 1978, The Mizos, Gauhati, p.32.

festival for propitiating the dead spirit which is observed when the first maize crop in the field is reaped and consecrate samples of new grains to the departed souls with full fanfare. After the advent of Christianity most of these festivals disappeared. A new festival namely 'Thalfavang kut' has come to be is celebrated.

In the social life animal sacrifice and arranging feasts, offering drinks and inviting large number of guests are the common cultural phenomena of the Mizo life. These strengthens fellow-feeling and stimulates interest in adventurous activities. This also promotes spirit of selfless (Tlawngmaihna) service to the needy person irrespective of social, economic, political <sup>and</sup> or any other consideration. This is <sup>the</sup> most essential part of their life. In such a natural surrounding where people are leading an isolated life. The tribal society is an ideal and the people help the poor, hungry and needy persons. No begging is allowed in Mizo society. This is the gift of nature which they have followed in their life either in the agricultural field or in office. The community life of the Mizos is deeply embedded in agricultural activity which invites the whole community to share pleasure and pain. This ultimately gives birth to a social

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3. J. Bazwana, 1988, 'Social Constraints in Mizoram' a paper presented in Seminar 'Social Scientists Meet', Aizawl, 1988.

and political unity. The development of Mizo society and its various socio-economic and political organisations are embedded in agriculture.

Mizoram is dominated by mountainous terrain (17.78% of the area) of the state is <sup>less than</sup> ~~less than~~ 150 m. average sea level, 24.89% between 150 m. and 300 m. 24.18% between 300 m. and 600 m. and rest above 600 m. but below 1200 m<sup>asl</sup>). Nearly 60% of the total geographical area comes under forest of different varieties. Only 3.1% of the total areas as against 17.55% of North-East Region and 48.5% of all India, comes under net cultivable land (Table -17).

Table - 17  
Net Cropped, Irrigated, Average Yield and Use of Fertilizer

Sl. No.	Particulars	Mizoram	N.E.Region	India
A	Net cropped area	3.1%	17.55%	48.5%
B	Average yield of rice per hectre.	924 Kg	975 Kg	1568 Kg
C	Irrigation(net irrigated area as percentage of net cropped area).	0.29%	16.47%	20.67%
D	Consumption of fertiliser.	0.035%	3.93%	6.4%

Source: Basic statistics of N.E.R.(1987), Shillong, p.32.

Agriculture in Mizoram depends upon the interaction of the physical and socio-cultural processes in which relief, fertility of soil, gradient of slopes, drainage and climatic conditions, play a pivotal role. The physical elements particularly the geomorphology had a profound influence on the pattern of agriculture in the region.

In order to have complete picture of agriculture and agro-based industry of Mizoram, it would be better to analyse the main problems of agriculture in Mizoram.

### Geomorphic Problems.

#### (1) Nature of terrain:

As discussed earlier (in chapter - II) the 3/4 of the area is under mountains carpeted with wild natural vegetation. The availability of flat land is meagre. Out of total land of 21,01,900 Hectares, 52,700 Hectares is a flat land while 63,300 Hectares is terrraceable for miscellaneous crops and 2,11,000 Hectare<sup>useable</sup> for horticulture crops.<sup>4</sup>

#### (2) Problem of Irrigation:

The prospect of irrigation is conditioned by the non-availability of underground water for irrigation. Young

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4. R.C.Lalkunga, Potentialities of Horticulture and Cropping pattern of Mizoram, Aizawl, 1976.

rocks (easily eroded) and lateritic soils make the agricultural prospects bleak. A small percentage of net irrigated area to the net cultivable land (12.3%) (Table - 18) bears testimony.

Table - 18

Cultivated and Irrigated Area '000 hectares

Total Report- ing area.	Cultivated area		P.C. of net culti- vated area to total area.	Irrigated area		P.C. of net irri- gated ar- ea to net cultiva- ble area
	Net	Gross		Net	Gross	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2102	65	68	3.1	8	8	12.3
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Source: Basic Statistics N.E.C., Shillong, 1987, p.29.

to the fact that the state has no adequate plain land for agricultural purposes. Besides, uncertainty and uneven distribution of rainfall creates hardship in agricultural activities in Mizoram<sup>5</sup>.

Agriculture.

The entire Mizo economy is dominated by agriculture. This is the main occupation of the Mizo people. At present

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5. Basic Statistics of N.E. Region, Shillong, 1987, p.29.

more than 80% of the population are engaged in agricultural and related activities.<sup>6</sup> The age old traditional system of agriculture is Jhuming (slash and burn tawlgya in Mizo language).

#### Land use pattern.

The agricultural land use pattern in Mizoram is the result of interaction of the physical and historico-socio-economic factors.<sup>7</sup> The development of agriculture depends upon physical and socio-cultural processes in which relief, fertility of soil, gradient or slope, drainage system and climatic conditions play most significant role in North-East region. In short, the geomorphology has a profound influence on the pattern and destiny of agriculture in this region.<sup>8</sup> The pattern of agriculture differs in mountains, plateaus, and plains, valley<sup>s</sup> flanks, flood plains and basins. The human factors like the duration of occupation of areas, density of population, socio-economic milieu and technological development and <sup>its</sup> application in land

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6. B.C. Allen, 1977 (reprint) Gazetteer of Bengal and North-East India, Mithal Publication, Delhi, p.461.

7. S.S. Dillon (1976) The <sup>9</sup>Impact of land form on Agricultural land use - Geographical Review of India, Vol. xxxiv of 1977, p.183.

8. Enayat Ahmad (1981) Geomorphology and Agriculture Perspective ~~in~~ Agriculture geography vol.II, Concept Publication, Delhi, pp.59-67.

Table - 19

Land utilisation statistics (1981-82) ('000 hectares)

State	Geographi- cal area (Hectares)	'Reported area for land uti- lisation	'Area put non- agri. use.	'Bar- ren or un- culti- vable land.	'Total	'Per- cent pa- sture & other grazing land.	'Land under misc. crops not inclu- ded in net area sown	'Culti- vable waste land.	'Total	'Fallow land'		'Total
										'Cu- rre- nt / fall- ow	'Fallow land other than curre- nt.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Mizoram	2108	2102	10	201	211	4	3	74	81	183	259	442

Sources: Basic Statistics, 1987, North-Eastern Council, Shillong.

utilization are equally important in the study of land use pattern of Mizoram.

Out of total geographical area of 2108 thousand hectares in Mizoram the area reported<sup>ed</sup> for land utilization is as high as 2102 thousand hectares. Out of this, land not available for cultivation is 211 thousand hectares, and uncultivable land is 81 thousand hectares while fallow land is 442 thousand hectares (of this 259 thousand hectares is fallow land other than the current fallow land. In other words, almost 21 p.c. of land is fallow land (Table -19 above).

The net area sown in 1983-84 was only 65 thousand hectares as against the 68 thousand hectares of gross-cropped area. As per report of the agriculture census 1983-84 the area sown was 72.38 thousand hectares and net irrigated area was estimated to be 8 thousand hectares the area under paddy is as high as 40 thousand hectares under jhum and 7.5 thousand hectares under wet rice cultivation.<sup>9</sup>

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9. Basic statistics of North-East Region, Shillong, 1987, pp.29-40.

Tenancy System:

The land in Mizoram excepting those of the areas covered under the town and the protected areas as declared by the Government belong to the community and the power of allotment of land for Jhuming purpose is vested in the respective village councils, within their jurisdiction. The power of allotment for other purposes, however, rest with the Government. <sup>In the domain of</sup> The shifting cultivation (Jhuming) which is the traditional practice, tenancy system is not possible in view of the fact that the land is available for cultivation only for one year and the area changes from year to year. Earlier the chiefs were the owners of the land who distributed the land to villagers with the help of 'Ramahauls'. (who are expert in land affairs like Patwary in <sup>the</sup> plain areas). The distribution was need-based and a check upon the excess of private property. The village economy was self contained and the chiefs maintained low level of equilibrium in society by sharing poverty through the provision of some social security (Bawi system).<sup>10</sup>

In North-East India particularly Nagaland and Mizoram, the land use system is mostly restricted to hill slopes below 1,000 metres where high rainfall with low density

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10. A.K. Agrawal, Developments of Mizoram Economy and Assessment (in) Eastern Economists. Oct.15,1989.

of population ~~restricts~~<sup>restricts</sup> any better alternative land use. While selecting the site preferences are given to the land which was left fallow in the last cycle of cultivation in the block, land which is more sunny and where less weeds grow, land facing east, <sup>and</sup> level land which does not erode.

Type of Farming:

All the areas in Mizoram excluding reserve forest, streams, river beds, roads, towns and villages including very steep slopes are used for shifting cultivation.<sup>11</sup> This is the primitive system of land use on hill slopes of mountainous region of North-East India. It connotes a farming system in which the hill slopes are cleared of

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\* Shifting cultivation is also known as jhuming in Assam, 'Kumari or Padu' in Kerala, 'Chand' in Ceylon, 'Tanggya' in Burma, 'Ladang' in Indonesia, 'Kaingu' in Philippines, 'Swidden' in Latin America. The chief characteristics of shifting cultivation are (a) rotation of fields, (b) slash and burn of vegetational species (c) keeping the land fallow for a number of years for regeneration of forests (d) use of human labour was cheap input (e) non-employment of draught animal (f) use of simple implements like dibble stick scrapers.

11. S.H.K. Deb Burman, 1971, 'The Study of Jhum and Jhumias in Tripura, p.10,

grasses, vines and small bushes during the dry season; ~~the~~ <sup>felled</sup> plants are left to dry for a month or so and burnt there. ~~as a result of this system of slash and burn~~ <sup>is termed</sup> as 'slash and burn' ~~system of slash and burn~~.

The Jhuming no permanent tenancy system is possible as the jhum land changes from year to year. The size of jhum land (called 'Lo' in Mizo language) <sup>is called</sup> to family (Ramtheh) depends on its resourcefulness in terms of man power and seeds available. The area for which a tin full of seeds <sup>is necessary is</sup> termed as 'Tinkhathmun' which was supposed to yield ten to thirty 'Phur' (one Phur is equal to three tins) is taken into consideration while allotting to the farmers.<sup>12</sup>

Agricultural production in the hilly areas is mainly oriented towards the attainment of self-sufficiency and there is, in fact, absolutely no tendency to preserve surplus stock for sell or for exchange for better amenities. In certain communities the surplus food grains in some household is voluntarily transferred to the deficit farm houses under the customary system of 'tlawmngaihna'. Thus the surplus food grain is utilised not for material gain but

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12. B. K. Roy Burman, 1970, Demographic and Socio-Economic Profiles of the hill of North-East India, Delhi, p.279.

for humanitarian purposes <sup>and</sup> in performing various types of ritual feasts. Agriculture in Mizoram is still ~~is~~ in an infant stage. It has to arouse interest in cultivating for supplementary income. Mizoram is not agriculturally a viable state. The cereals produced here can hardly meet the requirements for a few months and for the rest months <sup>of the year</sup> they have to depend on others. <sup>13</sup> (Table-20).

Table - 20

Various Essential Commodities Imported, Outside by S & T Deptt., Mizoram for the year 1985-86 & 1986-87. <sup>from</sup>

Year	Rice in Qtls.	Atta in Qtls.	Petrol in M.S & In M.T.	H.S.D. in M.T.	S.K.O in M.T.	G.C.I Sheets
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1985-86	1662890.00	2443.00	1717.11	2187.10	1940.21	-
1986-87	712414.00	1762.00	2070.8	2070.6	3137.10	

source: Director of Supply and Transport, Aizawl (Collected from Statistical Hand Book of Mizoram, 1987.p.88.

13. Seminar on strategy for Planned Eco.Deve. of Mizoram, July, 1976. (Seminar Proceedings)

Major crops and their distribution

Like other parts of India the agriculture in Mizoram is crop oriented and emphasis is on food crops. The main food crops in Mizoram are paddy, maize, yam sweet potato, vegetables, ginger, cucumber, water-melon, Chillies, cotton and til.

There are two principal cropping seasons in Mizoram. Kharif (Fur) and Rabi (Thal) like <sup>that</sup> rest of India. The Kharif season starts from the beginning of the pre-monsoon rain (late March) and sowing is done by the end of May. In the wet rice cultivation transportation is done in late June or early July. Weeding starts only in late May which lasts till September followed by harvest of the Kharif crops from August to December. The Rabi season starts from the early part of September and sowing is completed by the end of October.

Mixed Cropping:

Mixed cropping is <sup>a</sup> very common practice with Jhum cultivation in Mizoram. A variety of mixed crop like paddy - pumpkin → Maize → cotton → yam → cucumber → water melon and other vegetables are widely grown in Mizoram. During the Rabi season beans, cabbage and mustard ~~seeds~~ are grown in the same plot of land.

### Crop Rotation:

Crop rotation is an important aspect of agriculture in order to preserve soil fertility. In the early part of April the farmer begins with vegetable and Maize. The vegetable ~~family~~ includes pamokin, cucumber, brinjal and chilly. The agriculture begins with the on-set of the monsoon. For the cultivation of cash crop like sesamum, tobacco and ginger the farmers selected fertile plot of land and these crops are not mixed up with the vegetables and other crops. During paddy seedling, the seeds of cucumber and pumpkin are mixed together and not sown separately. Nearly 75% of the cultivable land is utilised under Kharif crop which includes rice, Maize, <sup>14</sup> ~~til~~, <sup>sesamum</sup> yam, ginger, sugar-cane.

### Rice.

Rice is the staple food crop in Mizoram which is grown throughout the State (either <sup>through</sup> wet-~~rice~~ cultivation or terrace cultivation) The wet-rice cultivation is practised in plain areas near Champhai (11.27 km long and 4.83 km wide), ~~and~~ near Vonlaiphai (10 km long and 0.80 km. wide) and near <sup>area</sup> Thenzol (Mat river basin). There are two varieties of rice grown in Mizoram. The early variety is sown in April and

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14. A. K. Agrawal, 1988. From Jhum to Settled Cultivation in Mizoram - Paper presented to Seminar, NEHU, Shillong.
  15. S.K. Biswas, 1976 'Cropping Pattern Potentialities in Mizoram A paper presented in Seminar on Strategy for planned economic development of Mizoram, Aizawl, July, 1976.

is harvested in the middle of May. The late variety is sown in May and harvested in middle of November. In the Jhum cultivation farmers dig shallow hole with the help of iron capped spade (Tulh lawh). The annual production of rice can ~~only~~ be sufficient for six months at best only and for the rest months <sup>of the year</sup> rice is imported from outside. The annual production of rice during the year 1986-87 was 48,000 metric tons while the requirements was 80,000 metric tons. Thus a deficit 32,000 metric tons ~~which~~ <sup>an</sup> is additional burden on exchequer <sup>the State</sup> (Table-21). 16

Table - 21

Agricultural Output of Mizoram (1951-85)

Year	Paddy Lakh tons	Maize qtls.	Ginger thousand tons.	Sugar cane qtls.	Potato qtls.	Pulse qtls.	Sesame qtls.
1950-51	1.22	372	15	585	4	500	51
1971-72	0.99	520	38.38	2,860	20	900	142
1977-78	1.60	672	67	3,500	30	1,360	170
1979-80	2.90	2500	70	6,500	45	4,175	200
1983-84	4.00	4200	68	8,000	65	5,000	220
1984-85	4.50	5200	70	9,000	70	5,000	250

Source: Directorate of Agriculture and Deptt. of Economics and Statistics, Govt of Mizoram

16. R.Thangsanga, 1988, Approach to increased production of Rice in Mizoram, A paper presented to Seminar NEHU Campus, Aizawl.

Maize:

This is the most important food crop of Mizoram, <sup>next to rice</sup> It is grown within a short time and helps the people when the rice stock is almost nil. It is also used for feeding poultry farm. It is sown in early April in Jhum land. ~~It is~~ Gentle slopes and bright sun-shine with sufficient rainfall provide suitable fields for maize cultivation.

Sugar-cane.

The sugar-cane is grown on hill slopes below 3,000 ft. The juice is extracted by pressing machine (Fuherkhawl) and is used for preparing gur (Kurtai). The juice is used <sup>also</sup> as cold drink ~~also~~ and leaves as fodder. Mizoram is selfsufficient in Gur. The sugar-cane is a tropical crops which requires high temperature and high rainfall.

Till: (Sesamum)

This is an important oil seed grown in the loamy or clayey <sup>soil</sup> loamy with proper drainage. It is widely grown in Western Mizoram in Demagiri and Changte area.

Ginger:

The agro-climatic condition is helpful for the cultivation of ginger, turmeric and chilly. The area under ginger has gone up from 712 <sup>h</sup> hectares in 1982-83 to 1715 <sup>h</sup> hectares

in 1984-85 with increased production from 3277 Mt. to 7904<sup>Metric Tonnes</sup> Mt. <sup>Metric tons</sup>

Although it is a perishable commodity which requires quick disposal, the poor road communication in Mizoram dampens the spirit of farmers due to delay in disposal of these commodities. It can give good return to farmers in case it is quickly sent to nearby markets.

<sup>crops</sup>  
Rabi (Thal):

Crops grown in a small area which includes mustard seed, cabbage, beans and tomatoes. These are widely grown in river-valleys where alluvium deposits are suitable for their cultivation. Mizoram is not agriculturally a viable State. The cereals produced here can hardly meet the requirements of the people for a few months and for the rest of the period it has to depend on imported materials (See Table-21).

Fishing:

Mizoram is late in the development of fish culture. Some rivers provide fertile ground for the development of fishery. The river Karnaphuli, <sup>and</sup> Chhimtuipui (Kolodyne) provide abundant fish in the area during the period <sup>from</sup> of February <sup>to</sup> and May. The fish is cheap in Demagiri area but the poor communication and non-availability of ice, preservation the fish stock cannot be sent to outside market for sale.<sup>17</sup>

(Table - 22)

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17. Director of Fisheries, Government of Mizoram Aizawl.  
(See Statistical Handbook of Mizoram, 1987, p. 6).

Table - 22

Fish Production in Mizoram ( 1985-86, 1986-87)

(production in tonne)				
1985-86	1986-87	Average Price (Per ton)	Value of production (in lakhs)	
			85-86	86-87
2066	2250	40,00	826.40	900.00

Source: Dy. Director of Fisheries, Mizoram and statistical Handbook of Mizoram, 1987, p.36.

Animal husbandry:

The essential equipment of an ordinary farmer includes a pair of bullock or buffalo for ploughing or drawing carts, a cow to propagate the species or to give milk. But this is quite uncommon in Mizoram. Due to difficult terrain the farmers in Mizoram do not keep these animals excepts in wet rice cultivation areas. But poultry <sup>and</sup> ~~or~~ piggary have been common in Mizoram which <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ the important source of food and income ~~and~~. The number of pigs and dogs and <sup>hens</sup> ~~chickens~~ is higher than other animals(See Table -23). Recently, dairy development around Aizawl town has) taken place by the permanent Nepali settlers.

Table - 23

Livestock(Cattle) Census (1986-87)

Buffalo	Mithun Goyal	Horse Ponnie	Sheep	Donkeys	Pigs	Goats	Dogs	Poultry
1431	1402	1419	882	26	81032	27539	18441	672783

Source: Directorate of Animal Husbandry & Veterinary, Mizoram, Aizawl.

Fruits

Tropical fruits are abundantly grown in Mizoram. Pineapple, Banana, Oranges and Pears are common tropical fruits. The pineapples can fetch good income to the growers but lack of storage and transport facilities and <sup>distance</sup> from the market, put the growers in disadvantageous position. The production of these fruits (Table-24) indicates bright prospect if transport and storage facilities are provided.

Table -24  
Horticulture Development in Mizoram

Fruits	Area(Ha)		Production(qtls)		Value of Product in Rs	
	85-86	86-87	85-86	86-87	85-86	86-87
Banana	1418	1500	60,000	65,000	150	180
Pineapple	360	400	50,000	52,000	100	104
Citrus fruits	1580	1700	60,000	65,000	300	330

Source: Statistical Handbook of Mizoram, Aizawl, p.36.

Plantation:

Among the commercial crops, attempts have been made to develop Coffee, Rubber and Tea plantation. Coffee plantation has been taken up near Kolaship (100 Km from Silchar) and it is hoped that it would be fruitful result. Similarly, rubber plantation has been taken up near Bilkhawthlir where 1,000 hectares have been covered under the plantation. Sericulture development near Vairengte, Kolaship, Darlawn, Kawnpui, Durtlang, Champhai area has been taken up where production of 3,500 Kg of cocoons worth Rs.3 lakhs has<sup>18</sup> been obtained as profit.

Agricultural Tools and Implements:

Due to physical and economic factors and the nature of relief, mechanisation of agriculture is not possible in Mizoram. Tractors, <sup>and</sup> power-tillers cannot be used in such inaccessible areas where jhuming was practised. The scientific method of agriculture is not possible under such geographical constraints. The agricultural tools and implements include Dao, Kodali, Shovel, Pick axe, Cross cut saw.

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18. K. K. Upadhyaya, 1986, Development Problems and Prospects of Mizoram, Delhi, pp.53-55.

FORESTRY

Forestry is also a major economic enterprise which increases the state revenue. In Mizoram, out of total geographical area of 21,087 sq.km., 15935 sq.km. comes under different categories of forests. The forests in Mizoram are classified into three groups: tropical, wet ever-green ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> tropical semi-evergreen ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> and mountain sub-tropical forest. Thick bamboos of different varieties and wild grasses are found everywhere in the state.

In Mizoram afforestation activities are limited in creating <sup>mono cultivate</sup> ~~of~~ plantation ~~with~~ ~~of~~ teak, Gomari and Pine. Recently Sal (*Shorea Robusta*) and Sundi (*Michelia champaca*) have also been raised successfully on experimental basis. At present <sup>an average of</sup> one lakh hectares ~~area~~ is recorded under plantation along Silchar-Aizawl <sup>h</sup> Highway right from Vairengte onward. Attempts <sup>have</sup> also been made to increase plantation on various categories including commercial plantation to the extent of 60,000 hectare in Lungleng and Chintuipui districts. Teak (*Tectona grandis*) plantation of about 1,000 hectare has been done on Silchar-Aizawl National Highway mainly in <sup>the</sup> north of Kolashib. <sup>19</sup>

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19. State Bank of India , Lead Bank Scheme Survey report on Mizoram, Shillong, 1972. pp.18-19.

Mizoram has vast resources of bamboos which can be utilised in pulp and paper industries besides other minor cottage industries. As per the feasibility report from the raw material available in north eastern region of Mizoram alone a pulp and paper factory can be established with a capacity of 200 tons of papers daily. Besides plywood industry on bamboo resources may have bright prospect. There <sup>is</sup> abundant Dipterocarpous species in south Mizoram which are in high demand for plywood industry.

Forest Revenue:

Forest is the major source of revenue in most parts of India particularly in Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore but it is very poor in Mizoram despite 60% of the total land come under forest. The total revenue under forest. Although there is scope for development. Nearly 58,400 families with 1,40,000 workers are engaged in agriculture and forestry. The poor communication facilities are responsible for low return from forest. However, research and survey of forest has revealed that the barren land of Mizoram, particularly the Mat basin, North Vonlaiphai and Champai area can be converted into bright centres for forestry which can give employment to many people under various categories.

Extraction of Agar(incense) is the most lucrative foreign exchange earning enterprise. If encouraged to undertake this scheme poverty from the face of poor people of Mizoram can be blotted. There is also possibility of exploiting commercial ~~sin~~ <sup>is</sup> yamon (Dalchini) which ~~are~~ abundant in Mizoram.

20

Forest Based Industries in Mizoram.

1. Saw Mills/Rice Mills/Oil expellers	..	171 Nos.	
2. Cane and Bamboo works	..	49 "	
3. Carpentry/Furniture works	..	380 "	
4. Paper Mills - (Proposal already submitted to Government)			
A. State owned protected forest area	..	1300 Sq. Km.	
Reserved Forest	..	5255 .22 "	
Wild life sanctuary	..	572 "	
		<hr/>	
Total		7127 .22 "	
B. Village Council owned/controlled forest			
(a) Village safety & supply reserved forest		1782	"
(b) Unclassified forest		5240	"
		<hr/>	
Total		7022	"
C. District owned/controlled forest			
(a) Protected forest	3470		
(b) Reserved Forest	3630	1786	"
(c) Wild sanctuary	210		
(d) Village safety and Supply-Reserved Forest	..	866	"
		<hr/>	
Grand Total		16935	"

20. Conservation of Forest Mizoram 1985, Some facts about Mizoram(Extention series Forest Extension Division, Aizawl).

Power (Electricity):

Although Mizoram is gifted with vast water resource having natural sites for <sup>hydro electric</sup> power generation, the power consumption and production in Mizoram is very poor. The important rivers like Tural, Tlawng, Chhimituipui and Karnfuli are still untapped.

Electricity came to Mizoram in 1962 when Aizawl town was electrified with a generator of 75 K.W. followed by Kolashib and Lunglei (1969), Serchhip and Hnathial (1971) Lavgtlai (1976) Champhai (1977). \* The cost of laying transmission lines and their maintenance is very high (<sup>21 Rs</sup> 1.50 per unit) although sold at subsidised rate of .50 paise per unit. Recently 66 K.V. lines from Dullavcherra (Cachar) have been connected to the towns of Mizoram. The Serlui micro hydel of one M.W.T. started function<sup>ing</sup> from 1983-84. There is possibility to develop in hydro-power on important rivers.

The per-capita consumption of electricity is 25 Unit as against 40 of North-East Region and 154 of India. This indicates the backwardness. However, the future of hydro-electric power generation is very bright. Most of the river water

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\* The total installed capacity (KW) of 21 power stations is 1610 K.W.

is wasted unutilised. There is possibility harnessing the major rivers of the state and the power obtained from this rivers can be utilised for agriculture and industrial purposes.

Communication network in Mizoram:

The communication network is the harbinger of any country. It paves the way for the flow of idea, knowledge and cultural assimilation besides material transshipment. Added to it, the road to modernity is opened which enriches the country by accelerating socio-economic developments leading to industrialisation.

The importance of communication network in Mizoram is most significant from socio-economic and strategic points of view. The inaccessibility and isolation due to natural constraints can be mitigated by developing communication network which may augment economic prosperity in Mizoram. Highly accessible areas are usually highly developed area in the world because it leads to material progress.

Mizoram has been relatively an isolated and land-locked state due to its location and physiography. It is easily accessible from Bangladesh and Burma but connected by the strategic Silchar-Aizawl Highway with the rest of India. The means of communication in Mizoram includes road,

waterways and airways. Road transport was given priority by the British from the beginning<sup>22</sup> (Table - 25).

Table - 25

Roads during early part of 20th Century

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I.	1. Aizawl - Falm Road via Champai	..	(101 miles)
	2. Lunglei - Tuipai Road	..	( 73 " )
	3. Aizawl - North Vanlaiphai Road via. Melriat-Chhingchip.	..	( 88 " )
	4. Aizawl <b>Lunglri Road</b>	..	( 106 " )
	5. Aizawl Tipaimukh Road via. Nausel Sihphir.	..	(73 " )
	6. Lunglei - Demagiri Road	..	(41 " )
	7. Aizawl - Thenzawl-Lunglei Road	..	( " )
	8. Aizawl - Dwarbonf (Cachar district)	..	( 104 " )
	9. Aizawl - Cahngsil via.Sairang	..	( 21 " )
	10. Lock-trace Road - Champai	..	( 54 " )
	11. Lunglei - Haka Road	..	( 58 " )
II.	(A) <u>Road in 1936</u> (Cart driving)		
	Aizawl - Sairang Road	..	( 13.50 " )
	Aizawl Stn. Road	..	( 6.75 " )
	Sairang Stn. Road	..	( 2.00 " )
	Lunglei Stn Road	..	( 2.36 " )
	Demagiri Stn. Road	..	( 1.00 " )

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22. K.Thangzuala, 1976, Strategy For Planned Economic Development of Mizoram on Transport and Communication, A paper presented at the Seminar on Strategy for Planned Development of Mizoram, Aizawl, July 1976.

II.(B) Eridle path (fit for ponies)

Sairang - Chansil	..	( 6.25 miles)
Aizawl - North Vanlaiphai	..	(80.25 " )
Aizawl - Falam (Burma)	..	(78.50 " )
Aizawl - Lunglei	..	(102.50 " )
Aizawl - Tipaimukh	..	( 71.87 " )
Lock - Trace Road	..	( 51.75 " )
Lunglei - Demagiri	..	( 42.14 " )
Lunglei - Hakka (Burma)	..	( 58.00 " )
Lunglei - Shekwar	..	( 67.14 " )
Dokhma - Kolodyne	..	( 31.25 " )
Zongling- Tong-Kolong	..	( 42.00 " )
Tuipang - Chakhang	..	( 45.00 " )
		<hr/>
Total		1770.15 "

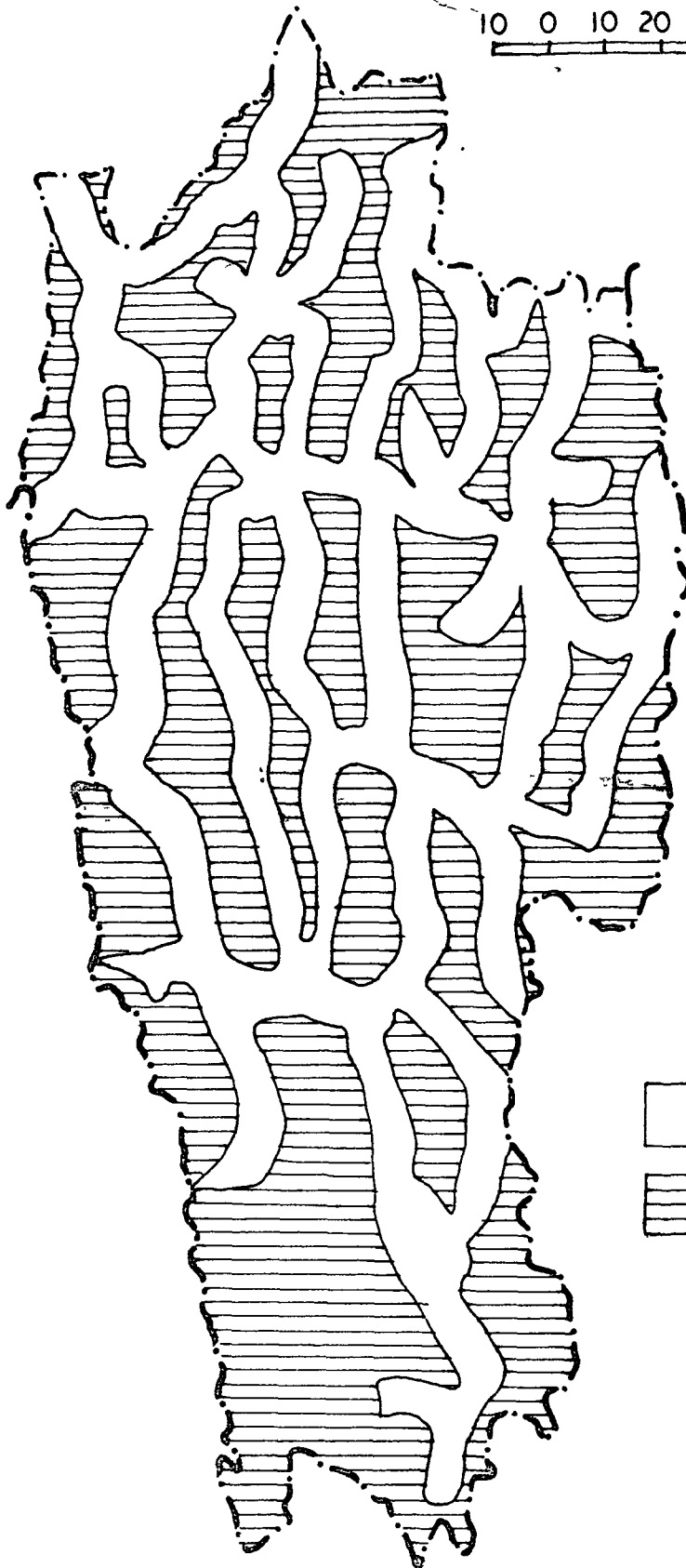
Source: Report on Administration of the Lushai Hills for the year 1935-36, Government of Assam, Shillong 1936, page.17.

Accessibility Pattern.

The morphological characteristics of Mizoram particularly relief, soil, and climate are important determining factors of accessibility pattern of Mizoram. The North-South trending parallel ranges force the people to construct roads in the same direction. The East-West road constructions is difficult

# MIZORAM ACCESSIBILITY PATTERN

10 0 10 20 30 40KM.



□ ACCESSIBLE AREA  
▨ INACCESSIBLE AREA

and risky due to steep gradient and difficult curves. Cutting of escarpments <sup>is</sup> difficult. Inaccessibility is characterised by adverse topography accompanied with socio-economic backwardness and isolation. (Map No 8)

#### Road Pattern:

On the whole the road pattern in Mizoram is rectangular with some parallel pattern in certain areas. Briefly the following groups have been made in the road pattern of Mizoram.

1. Parallel pattern in the central and Western part of Mizoram. It links Aizawl and Lunglei districts.
2. Rectangular pattern in the eastern part of Mizoram.
3. Ferk pattern in northern half of Aizawl district.
4. Linear pattern in the south.
5. Deranged pattern in western part of Aizawl district.

#### Road Density:

It is lowest in the country, being 16 km per 100 sq.km. (earlier 5.45) as against 41.35 in Assam 25 km. <sup>in</sup> Meghalaya, 36 km. Nagaland, 40 Km. Manipur and 47.27 km of all India average. Normally the area of high density coincides with the area of low relief and high productivity. <sup>con</sup> Adversely, the area having uneven topography has low density. This is applicable cent percent in Mizoram where settlement is sparse due to

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23. Basic Statistics N.E.C., Shillong, 1987.

See also. Lalkhama, Keynote address on strategy for planned Eco-Development of Mizoram, Seminar on strategy for planned Development of Mizoram, Aizawl, July, 1976.

difficult mountainous terrain with absolutely no economic activities. The entire territory is full of ups and downs. The loose sediments, undulating topography, and hill escarpment cause hardship in road construction.

Communication during pre-independence days:

The river route was the only means of communication before 1947 for transportation of man and material through country boats. The forest products were also transported through the same routes. The river Karnafuli linked Chittagong and Fangamati via Subhalong. The river headpoint in the Lushai hills was Demagiri (Tlabung). The north eastern region was connected with the river route of Tuivai and Turiat (Sonai) which formed arteries of water ways communication. The Turiat linked Maniarkhal, Amr<sup>a</sup>ghat and Sonaimukh. The Tuivai served Darghalghat (Cachar district) to Tipaimukh, Zohman and Tuivawl Chhuah. The river Dholeswari (Tlawng) was main source of communication between Lushai Hills and Assam through Cachar district, which connected important places like Lalaghat, Hortoki, Bhairabi and Sairang. Agricultural products, bamboo<sup>s</sup> and other cereals from Mizoram were sent out through this route and all other materials received in Mizoram were brought through this route. Infact, it was the heartline of the Lushai Hills during those days.

These river routes did not cope with the rising problems and urgency of the situation which compelled people to open surface transportation. The importance of road communication during the British days was felt and the mule-track started through forced labours and the following<sup>24</sup> bridle path (6 to 8 ft. wide) were constructed.

Capt. T.H. Lewin while leading the army column from Chittagong to recover Mary Winchester in 1872 constructed land route from Tlabung to Lunglei which was further extended to Haka (160 kms. ) towards the end of the last century. Similarly, the British also constructed Lock's Trace Road from Champai to N. Vonlaiphai. During the 2nd World War, the Dwarbond Road (Silchar to Aizawl) was constructed by the Indian Tea Association in 1938 in order to meet the defence requirements. The first four wheeler(Light petrol) reached Aizawl in 1942.

After independence the first road construction between Aizawl and Lunglei was initiated by S.K. Barkakati, (the first Indian Deputy Commissioner of Lushai Hills) on voluntary basis in 1950. But the problem of road communication was not solved. The post Chinese aggression is a major watershed in the history of road communication in Mizoram. The

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24. N. N. Lama (BRTF) 1985, Puspak Silver Jubilee Magazine, 1985, Road Communication in Mizoram, Aizawl.pp.30-33.

necessity of linking the far flung and inaccessible area in east with rest of India was felt not from the strategic point of view but also far from the point of socio-economic development of the area. Before 1961, there was only 2 km of black-top road around D.C. office and gravel road of 19 kms between Silchar and Aizawl existed. The road construction got momentum after insurgency in 1966 which infused a new sense of urgency in the road building programme.

Important Roads in Mizoram<sup>25</sup> (Map 9)

1. Silchar-Aizawl Road:

This is the heart line of Mizoram. This road connects nearest rail head Silchar through which bulk of materials are transhipped to Mizoram. This is the only route which links Mizoram with rest of India. From Silchar to Lailapur (Cachars' last border point) the road is plain but it rises abruptly and passing through Vairengte, Kolashib, Thingdoli, Kawnpui, Lungdai, Schiphir, Durtalang ~~It~~ reaches Aizawl. The road passes through the elevation of over 900 metres and through escarpments of important north-south trending ranges.

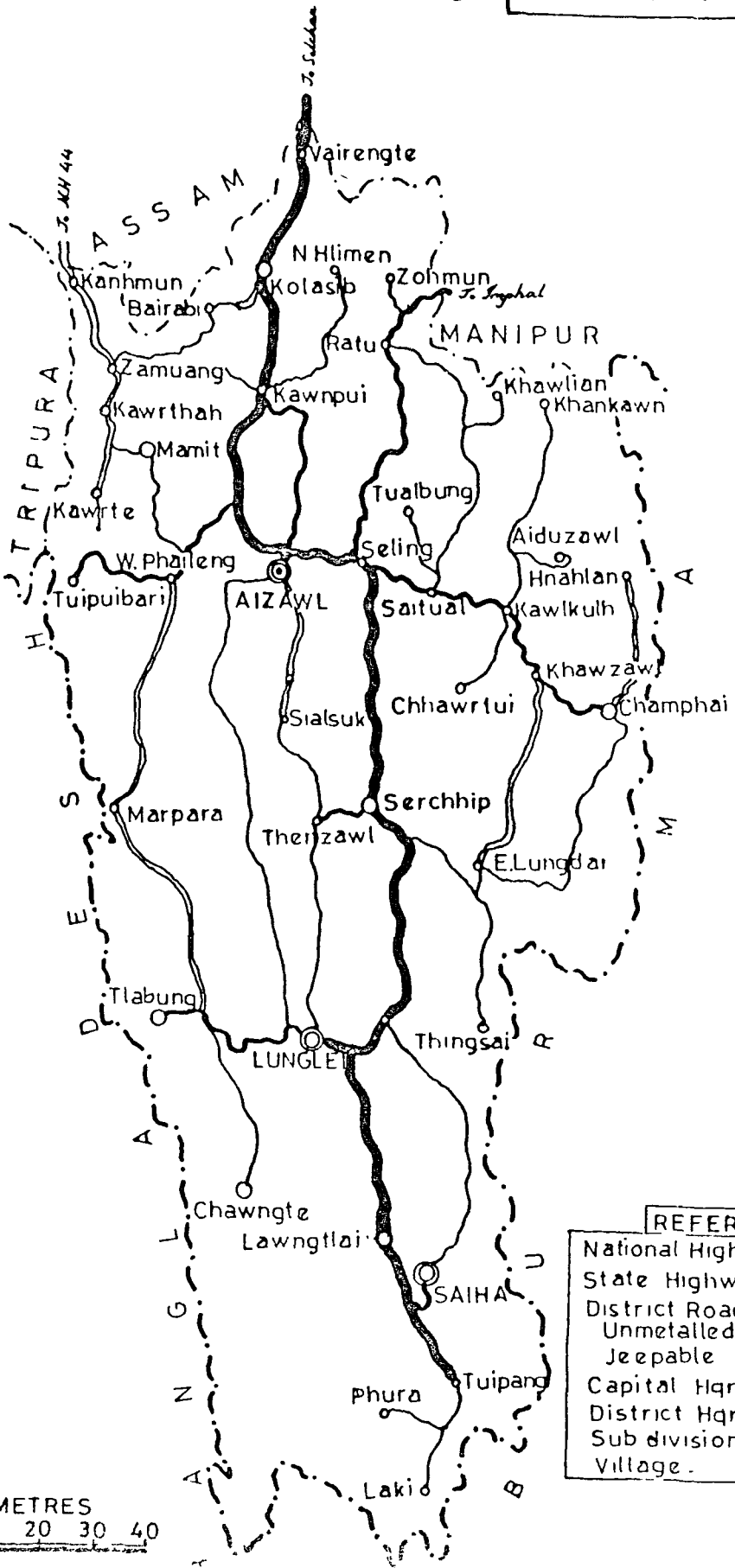
Lunglei - Tlabung (Demagiri) Road.

This is the only truckable road which connects Lunglei

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25. P.W.D., Mizoram, Aizawl, Development plan of Mizoram, (Abstract of statement).

# ROAD NETWORK



KILOMETRES  
10 5 0 10 20 30 40

REFERENCES	
National Highway No 54	
State Highway	
District Roads:	
Unmetalled Truckable	
Jeepable	
Capital Hqr	
District Hqr	
Sub divisional Hqr	
Village	

Map No 9

town (1105 metre) and Tlabung and <sup>other</sup> important villages in the western part of Mizoram at the elevation of 20 metre only. This road has a strategic importance which connects the other side of international border of Bangladesh. This road crosses Phairung and Tuichang rivers and anticlinal ridges of Runtung and Lungsen. This road was completed in 1972 by Border Road Organisation.

Lunglei-Aizawl Road.

The National High Way (No.54) is most important in Mizoram which connects Silchar in the north and farthest south point Tuipang in south. It connects State capital town Aizawl and district Hqr. Lunglei also. This road was started in 1963 and was completed in 1971 by Border Road Organisation.

Lunglei-Tuipang Road.

This road is separated from Lunglei-Aizawl road at a point 8 Km. away from Lunglei town and runs in southern direction upto Tuipang village. This road passes through hilly tracts of soft and loose sedimentary rocks. There is frequent landslides during rainy season between Thinfal and Lawngtlai. This road was completed in 1968.

Seiling-Champhai road.

This is a most important road which links Mizoram with the eastern border of the State. This road has geo-strategic significance. It originates from Aizawl-Lunglei road at Seiling and then goes to Champhai, the border town of Mizoram which is closed to Burma in the east.

Lunglei Thenzol Road.

Decending down from Lunglei town towards deep and narrow Tlawng river syncline it goes upto Thenzol. Similarly Thenzol is also connected with road originating from Serchhip on Aizawl-Lunglei road.

Kotkawk-Sangaw Road.

It is separated from Lunglei-Aizawl road after 60 Km from Lunglei town. This road moves eastward upto Sangaw village which is also the block headquarter of Sangaw C.D. Block under Chhimituipui district. After reaching Chhimituipui, the road climbs up to Darzo hill and ~~then~~<sup>goes</sup> serpentine. ~~It~~<sup>is</sup> This road passes through south Vanlaphai village also.

Lunglei-Buarpu Road.

Connects Lunglei town with Buarpu village which is in the north west part of Lunglei district. It passes through

Thuampui, Lungdai, Serte, Surtlang and reaches Buarpu.

Lungsen-Chawngte Road.

This road connects Lungsen village and Chawngte village in western part of Chintuipui district. The road runs towards southern direction following the watershed zone of Phairang river and Tuichang river. The road links Lungrang and Fualalung villages.

Thus the total mileage of road in Mizoram undertaken by various agency (Table - 26) indicate that it was far below the national average. In Mizoram it is 16 km per 100 sq.km.

Table - 26

Details of Existing Status of Roads

as on 1985-86

<u>S1</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Roads</u>	<u>Length</u> <u>(Km)</u>
<u>Under P.W.D.</u>		
1.	Aizawl - Thenzawl - Lunglei	169
2.	Kolasib- Vairabi - Zamuang	67
3.	Khawzawl - East Lungdar	71
4.	Ratu - Suangpuilawn - Khawlian	56
5.	Hnahthial - South Vanlaiphai -Sangau	60
6.	Lungsen - Chawngte	53
7.	Bilkhawthlir - Phaisen	25

<u>S1 No.</u>	<u>Name of Roads</u>	<u>Length (Km)</u>
8.	Bilkhawthlier - Saiphai	20
9.	Vairengte - Saiphai - Saipum	26
10.	Khawbung - East Lungdar	34
11.	North Vanlaiphai - Thingdai - Hnahthial	155
12.	Diltlan - Chawngte	40
13.	Zemabawk - Selesih	14
14.	Hlimen - Khawchhete	4
15.	Champhai - Tiau	20
16.	North Vanlaiphai - East Lungdar	22
17.	Saitual - Phullen - Suangpuilawn	85
18.	Lunglei - Buarpui	75
19.	Saiha - Bualpui - Sangau	80
20.	Lawngtlai-Saiha - Feeder	20
21.	Saiha - Chhualung-Siata - Chapii Zawnglung - Tuipang	120
22.	Kawlchaw - Tongkolong Via.Palak Lake.	80
23.	Kawlchaw - Tuipang via.Serkawr	20
24.	Keitum - North Vanlaiphai	48
25.	Aizawl - Tlawng	15
26.	North Vanlaphai-Thingsai - Sangau	115
27.	Serchhip - Zawlpui	4.60
28.	Vairengte - Phaisen	16

<u>S1</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Roads</u>	<u>Length</u> <u>(Km )</u>
29	Champai - Hnahlan - Mibung	80
30.	Buhchangphai (7 km of Kolasib) Bairabi Road.	18
31.	Champai - Phaizau	13
32.	East Phaileng - Suangpuillawn via.Rungdil	46
33.	Thenzawl - Chhipphir	15
34.	Sakawrdai - Zohmun	14
35.	Vairabi - Soarhliap	4.50
36.	Laite - Lawngtlai	50
37.	Saitual - Keitum	80
38.	Lungléi - R.Tlawng	8
39.	Chawngte - Borapansuri	35
40.	Zobawk - Baulawng	22
41	Saireng - Lengpui	10
42.	Tuipuibari - Kampui West	17.61

43.

Under N.E.C. Scheme

1.	Aisawl - Mamit - Vanghmun - Kumarghat	78
2.	Kawnpui - Bairabi - Gharmura - Hailakandi	52
3.	Khedacherra - Damcherra - Zamuang - Kawrlethawveng - Tuilutkawn	116
4.	Kawzawl - Sinzawl - Thanlawn (Mizoram portion).	130

<u>Sl No.</u>	<u>Name of Roads</u>	<u>Length (Km)</u>
5.	Lwarpo - Kanhman	2
6.	Phairuang - Bungmun	30
7.	Jiribam - Churrachandpur - Aizawl	22
<u>Under Forest Department (V.R)</u>		
1.	Sangau - Phaunpui	11
2.	Khawnawi on BRO road to Sialsihkawn (Ngengpui Sanctuary)	3
3.	Zamuang - Lungkawlh	7
4.	Phura - Palak	5
<u>Under Central Sponsored Scheme</u>		
1.	Kolasib - Tipaimukh	150
<u>Under Boarder Road Organisation</u>		
1.	Silchar - Aizawl - Tuipang (NH 54)	531.70
2.	Hranghalkawn - Lunglei (NH 54A)	8.50
3.	Venus Saddle - Saiha Link (NH 54B)	27.38
4.	Kanpui - Serkhan - Aizawl via. Durtlang.	47
5.	Sairang - Tuipuibari	134
6.	Seling - Tipaimukh	139.23 (This road links Tate capitals of Manipur and Mizoram)
7.	Seling - Champai	150.30
8.	Surchhip - Thenzowl	34.13

<u>Sl No.</u>	<u>Name of Roads</u>	<u>Length (Km)</u>
9.	Lunglei - Demagiri	88.36
10.	Lawngtlai - Ditlang - Parva	207.00
11.	Faileng - Demagiri	167.75
12.	Thenzawl - Bunghmun(NLC)	117.50
13.	Kawlulh - Munbung(NEC)	107
14.	Champai - Nvanlaiphai (NEC)	144
15.	Nalkawn - Chamdur	130
16.	Demagiri - Borapansuri	38.25
17.	Tuichawng - Marpara	75
<u>Under Agriculture Department</u>		
1.	Samlukhai - Tlaungkual	15
2.	Aizawl - Thenzawl Road link	4
3.	Sihphir - Chamdur	4.50
4.	Muallungthu - Darkhuangram	8.50
5.	Lawngtlai - Tuiphal	4
6.	Bilkhawthlir - Saietyzan	5
7.	Zuangleng - Zawlpui (Mat valley)	5
<u>Under Development Department R.L.E.G.P</u>		
1.	Sihpui - Zemabawk	6
2.	Ailbawk - Sabual	40

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<u>S1</u> <u>No.</u>	<u>Name of Roads</u>	<u>Length</u> <u>(Km)</u>
3.	Serchhip - Sailam	15
4.	Buarpui - Dist. Boundary	25
5.	Lunglei - Sertlangpui	15
6.	Rawmibawk - Tuipui - Ferry	12
7.	Tlabung - Lanthai	8

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Source: P.W.D. Road Development Plan of Mizoram.

as against 47.27 of all India average (Japan and U.S.A. have 69.7 km and 63.7 km. respectively).

Mizoram is still not on the rail map of India. Work is going on in full swing to extend the Katakhal-Lalaghat railway line to Bhairabi (Mizoram). After its completion, the pressure on road communication would be minimised.

Though, Mizoram is on Air map of India. The Tural Airfield is not large enough to facilitate safe landing of big commercial planes. Consequently only Helicopter services are safe in Mizoram at present.

The communication bottle-neck inside Mizoram and with rest of India has been the main reasons for its agro-economic backwardness. The inadequacy of transport has direct bearing on the mobility of the people, on agriculture and rural development, on supply of fertiliser, seed and food grains and on the exploitation of forest resources. This inadequacy resulted into social fragmentation and lack of political and economic cohesiveness in Mizoram. The feeling of isolation and simmering discontent<sup>26</sup> against the Government, decreasing loyalty towards the central Government, decimal feeling of ownness as the defenders of the last outpost of the country are all rooted in pure communication network.

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26. Lama, n.24.

A time comes when the state is cut off from the country and its effect on socio-political relation becomes pernicious.

It is mainly the geographical elements which thwarted<sup>a</sup> the early exposer of moder civilization in Mizoram. The spread of Christianity in Mizoram in the beginning of the present century had given a sense of value to them and their mental horizon had been widened. This had been supplemented to certain extent by obliterating communication barriers by enlarging the transport network.

Psychologically their narrow perception (degree of feeling of Indinanness is comperatively less) is attributed not only to perepheral location, but poor communication system also (the villagers in the remote area have to walk on foot for 15 Miles for purchasing common items like salt, Kerosine etc. from the nearest market). The rising frustration and growth of sub nationalism are not only the results of poverty but also of poor infrastructure. The poor transport infrastructure has also hindered the interface<sup>27</sup> between the Mizos and the plain people on a wider scale. As a result, the Mizos failed to foster the cosmopolitanism or a secular urban mind which the Khasis were also to inbibe even in the

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27. Researcher's interview with different cross sections of Mizo society.

middle of earlier century. The Khasis not only came under the sway of the British civilisation but they also reached out to a wider segment of Indian population via such easier road outlets as Shillong-Sylhet or Shillong-Guwahati High ways. The geographical isolation fostered the exclusivity and strengthened the tribal identity out of fear of insecurity which only the cosmopolitanism is able to dissipate.

Agro-Industry:

Mizoram is industrially a most backward State primarily due to two reasons: poor communication network and scarcity of raw materials. Other reasons are the shortage of power and high cost of transportation. The shortage of skilled and non-skilled labour is not less important. Basically, the State is agriculturally prominent where 73% of the population are engaged in agriculture and 16.40% are engaged in non-agricultural activity. The State has no mineral potentiality. As a result the prospect of heavy industry is not bright. Further, its peripheral location and away from the raw material centre and market place make the future of heavy industry dark. Thus, the only alternative to the people of Mizoram is to develop small -scale industries, based on indigenous raw materials available in the State; The important

agro-based industries are analysed below:

(1) The Agro-processing industry in Mizoram is mainly confined to ginger<sup>and</sup> fruit processing industry. There is wide spread production of ginger in Mizoram which contains Oleo-rasign content which is essential for flavouring the baked products, beaverage and in medical purposes. Nearly 2,200 tons of Chillies are grown in Mizoram which can easily provide materials for one unit of Chilly powder making industry. This can be more profitable to the growers than exporting the raw Chillies outside the State. Besides, there is scope for the promotion of horticulture-based industry like banana powder, banana chips or other food processing, and fruit-canning industry can be profitable investment in Mizoram.

Bamboo shoots canning industry:

Keeping in view the high demand of canned bamboo shoots in western countries, Misoram can set up a small industry where bamboos are abundantly grown. It would be more profitable and would give employment to many families.

Lemon grass oil extraction:

The leaves of lemon grass (*Cymbopogon citratus*) are the source of aromatic oil used in perfumery cosmetics, etc. This

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28. A.K.Agrawal, 1988 'Industrialization in Mizoram, Need and problem ' (booklet) Khadiagramodhyog, Bombay, p.523.

grass is abundantly grown in the eastern part of Mizoram.

Soap making industry:

At present there are only two soap making factories<sup>es</sup> of inferior quality in Mizoram which do not meet the requirements of local people and as such the bulk of soap is imported from outside.

Cottage industry:

The art of weaving is part of the Mizo culture. The Mizo women weave very beautiful and attractive designed clothes. At present there are four weaving extension service centres at Bilkhawthlir, Zobawk, Hnahthial, Demagiri and Thenzol. Besides, there are production-cum-demonstration Centre at Kolasib.

Cane and Bamboo Craft:

Traditional products of cane and bamboo crafts are available every where in Mizoram both for domestic <sup>as</sup> for sale purposes. The Mizos are experts in making of bamboo hats whose demand is high in western countries. Besides, other hand-crafts based on cane and bamboos can be profitable investment which can also solve rural unemployment.

On the whole, Mizoram is a backward State which transpires from mass poverty and <sup>low</sup> per capita ~~low~~ income. The poor communication, high incidence of unemployment and low consumption of power reflect the industrial backwardness of Mizoram. Further, the cost of production in almost all units of Mizoram is comparatively higher ~~to~~ *Than* similar units in other States. As such, the industry cannot have better prospect unless infrastructure is built up and raw materials are properly utilised.<sup>29</sup>

The viability of <sup>a</sup> State is determined on the extend of its socio-economic dimen~~tion~~. This is true in case of Mizoram. The viability, here, means capacity to stand on its own strength and remain alive independently without any outside support. In other words, the State should not be reduced to <sup>the</sup> a status of being parasite for its existance.

The viability of any unit gets strength from its physical and natural resources utilised properly to accelerate State economy. The natural potentiality, developed infrastructure and properly harnessed river water potentialities for hydropower generation are inevitable for the

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29. B. K. Roy Burman, n 12, p.279.

enrichment of the State. Economic factors on the whole have a great weight in the evaluation of the strength of the political units and its viability.

The socio-economic profile analysed in this chapter draws a dismal picture of its economic viability. Taking the suitable variables (Table -27) of population, area, density, net-cultivable area, food production, forest resources, human resources development etc. along with the sister states of North-East region, the viability can be analysed. N. N. Bhattacharjee has analysed this problem on the basis of co-relates and has prepared a composite index which reflects lowest level of viability in case of Mizoram (187.7) followed by Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya, Only Assam stands at medium level (764.1)<sup>30</sup> The important reasons for Mizoram's low level viability can be deficit food production, under developed industry poor infrastructure, unutilised natural (water power), potentiality, low per capita income and high price index (1985+ Mizoram Rs.661, Gauhati, Rs.515 All India Rs.540) mass unemployment and neglect of forest industry. The State

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30. N.N? Bhattacharjee, 1989. Viability of States of North-East India, an article (in) Journal of North-East Council for Social Science Research, Vol.3, No.1, April 1, 1989, pp.2-5.

Table - 27

Indicators of Socio-Economic Development in Mizoram

Variables	A.P.	Assam	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Tripura
Forest ('000 hect.)	5154	2861	1515	823	713	288	603
Net cultivable land (P.C.)	2.00	34.3	6.3	8.6	3.1	13.9	23.5
Net irrigated area to cultivable land.	21.4	21.2	46.4	25.9	12.3	40.5	11.3
Yield of food-grain per Hq, (KG) 1983-84.	1051	1055	1571	1179	796	1058	1385
Per capita production (KG) 1984-85.	222	127	216	112	86	153	155
Electricity per power consumption (KWH) 1984-85.	27	42	13	69	25	49	21
Villages electrified (31.3. '85)	25	54	30	27	45	71	39
Road average length per hundred sq. Km.	6.74	40.06	18.50	22.57	16.08	37.90	48.00
Surface road total road length (P.C.)	46	16	63	37	34	27	21
Fertiliser consumption KG. per hect. 1979-80	0.70	2.06	14.60	3.30	0.70	0.50	5.50

Table-27(contd...)

Variables	A.P.	Assam	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Tripura
Major forest product qty. sum value(Rs.'000)	<u>158</u> Cum 36057	<u>1352</u> 64872	-	<u>3</u> 163	<u>59</u> 3742	<u>172</u> 7343	<u>21481</u> 9768147
Annual area under shift- ing cultivation(1983)	700	696	900	530	630	190	223
Annual rainfall(mm) 1981	3039	2177	1686	2177	1686	1686	1686
Hydro power potential and utilisation(M.W.)	28850	998	1729	1311	384	812	43
Installed capacity (Micro-hydel)	10420	5.7	5.8	1.05	1.00	1.5	1.00
Surface road length	2060	8166	1972	2761	1138	879	1293
unsurface " "	10693	51413	3349	2450	1370	5409	6680
Total	12753	59579	5321	5211	2508	6287	7973
Railway		2365.87				.35	12.38
Average Road length per 100 sq.km.(1.4.85)	6.74	40.6	18.50	22.57	16.08	37.90	48.00

Table -27

Table -27 (contd....)

Variables	A.P.	Assam	Manipur	Meghalaya	Mizoram	Nagaland	Tripura
Surface Road (Total length P.C.) (31.3.87)	46	16	63	37	34	27	21
Length of Highways total Km. 1980-81.	12072	52047	5334	4433	1124	5336	6779
No.of hospitals	23	125	20	13	12	37	17
No.of beds	1254	12534	302	2065	1003	1169	1277
Yield of foodgrain per hect.(1983-84 kgs)	1051	1055	1571	1179	796	1058	1385
Per capita production (1984-85 Kgs)	222	127	216	112	86	153	155
Per capita Income (1979-81)	NA	960	822	850	1115	830	-

Source: Basic statistics of N.E. Region, N.E.C., Shillong, 1987.

revenue<sup>31</sup> from all other sides is very poor which does not even make the establishment cost of the government offices. The State does not contribute any amount to the income tax<sup>32</sup> department (scheduled tribes are exempted from income tax).

The <sup>2</sup>Economic development is also associated with human resource development. In Mizoram there is <sup>a</sup>high level of human resources in urban centres and low level in rural areas. The spatial distribution of level of human resources present sporadic pattern. (Table-28)

Table -28  
Distribution of Level of Human Resources

Mizoram	Very low	Low	High	Very High	Total
Level of Human resources (P.C.)	48.8	40.3	9.6	1.8	100
Level of amenities.	65.6	23.0	1.8	9.6	100

The low level of economic viability throws light on the geopolitical viability of Mizoram. The political development and multifaceted<sup>k</sup> organisations and response from the masses do not glorify the geopolitical aspect of the State. The political Institutions like District Council,

31. Basic Statics of North-East Region, 1987

32. Statistical Handbook of Mizoram, 1987, p.92.

33. U.P.Singh, 1973, Mizoram: Some Aspects of Economic Development - Indian Geographical Studies, Geography Research Centre, Patna (Research Bulletin No.1, 1973).

Regional Council and Village Council were superimposed upon the traditional institutions which were the manifestations of mass frustration. This frustration due to economic non-viability gave vent to the demand of recognition of regional and ethnic identity. Subsequently, tension, agitation and similar nonviolent oppositions were surfaced. The development of separatist tendency in Mizoram in course of time is the result of socio-economic backwardness and regional imbalance growth. All these developments have great impact on the geo-political order of the State. The socio-economic issue operating inside Mizoram (various ethnic groups like Chakma, Lakher, Pawi and Hmar) also express large territorial claims.

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CHAPTER - V

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## EVOLUTION OF BOUNDARY - MIZORAM

The evolution of boundaries of Mizoram is one of the important aspects that enables one to understand intricacies involved in understanding the geopolitical viability of the state. In more than one way, the boundary process - definitions, delimitation and demarcation - ~~has~~<sup>has</sup> revealed the underlying problems that had to be resolved. These problems remained dormant as long as the colonial power had retained its control of over the sub-continental affairs. With its withdrawal the inherent centrifugal forces surfaced with persistent regularity. One of the forms of which initiated discontentment in the field boundaries of the state was the division of the Mizo-Kuki-Chin group of people between more than one state.

If one takes recourse to historical process and pattern of migration, it is clear that the Kuki-Chin group, of which the Mizos are part, ~~have~~<sup>has</sup> been variously distributed in the region. Gradual extension of British administration and the recognition of territories of the traditional rulers and areas, such as that of Manipur, Cachar and Tripura, gave very little latitude for any extension of the limits. Moreover, the inhabitants of

the present day Mizoram, had territory that was characterised by village Republics. Each of these republics, representing a distinct clan or sub-clan occupied specific areas<sup>1</sup>. These areas were characterised by -

- (1) Village settlement or homestead lands
- (2) Jhum lands and
- (3) Hunting grounds

At the time of boundary delimitation, it was the traditional hunting grounds of the respective villages and population groups and sub-groups that were affected.

In this regard it may be noted that commercial activity in the form of establishment of tea plantations closely followed colonial consolidation of the region. As many of the plantations seemingly encroached upon the traditional hunting grounds, the respective villages and clans of the Kuki-chin group retaliated by raids, kidnapping etc. These induced reaction in the form of expeditions that brought the entire Lushai hills under British control and influence

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1. See chapter on Historical evolution, Migration and spatial distribution of Population - Chap. II.

Once this was achieved, the process of boundary delimitation and demarcations ~~were~~<sup>was</sup> initiated so as to safeguard colonial, commercial and strategic interests in this part of frontier of British empire in India.

Before going into details of boundary formations in the state, it is better to highlight the salient aspects of conceptual developments that are relevant to the present study.<sup>2</sup>

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2. The major boundary concepts can be identified as:

1. The concept of natural boundary
2. Nationality and boundary concept
3. Imperialism and boundary concept
4. Contractual concept of boundaries
5. The Geometric boundary concept
6. Power politics boundary concept.

1. The natural boundary concept is the most common applicable concept of boundary demarcation since the beginning of the civilization. The concept has been highlighted by Pounds (Norman J.G.Pounds 1951 The Origin of the Idea of Natural Frontier in France. Annals, Association of American Geographers Vol.41,pp.145-157). Accordingly, the natural course of mountains, rivers, forests, and watershed, are applied while demarcating the boundary of a State.

#### Nationality and Boundary Concept:

As a reaction of the concept of Natural boundary this concept was propounded. This is based on the principle of nationality. Fichte, a German scholar admitting the notion of natural law stressed upon the common language and culture which according to him seemed higher than that of rivers and mountains(H.J.D. Blij 1967, Systematic Political Geography, New York), p.233). In this connection it would not be out of place

(contd.....)

Thus, keeping in view the growth and development of concepts in boundary studies, it is clear that as far as Mizoram was concerned, its boundaries showed remarkable parallel to the natural features. For example, its boundary with all its neighbours. (national as well international) indicated the close adherence of natural features such as river courses or mountain ranges. Even within the State, the administrative divisions like the community development Blocks indicated remarkable similarity. The internal features of this was reinforced by the facts of dispersed nature of settlements.

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to mention the view of Cobban that national self-determination is inherent in nationalism. This principle is mainly responsible for altering the boundaries of States of Europe after the first World War. (Alfred Cobban, 1951 National Self-Determination, University of Chicago Press, pp.5-6).

#### Imperialism and Boundary Concept:

According to this concept boundary stability is denigrated in a sense that it is an effort to limit the growth of a living thing. Imperialism looks upon world-wide sense of a space for the sake of exploitation. The state is like an organism which develops, in a natural way.

Ratzel has studied the frontiers or boundary and observed that the frontier was a peripheric organ of the state and the bearer of its growth, its security, conforming to all changes of the state organism. (Ratzel' Die Gastze Des vanm-llchan Wachatums der staatem, 'p.234).

(contd....)

British territorial expansion more or less followed the strategic and commercial perspectives and consolidations in the Indian sub-continent. In the process, they came into contact with people and area which are totally different and subject to local, regional conditions. The colonial administrators bypassing the traditional arrangements of territorial units, contemplated on specific boundary agreements with the people who later became their subjects. However, boundary delimitation between those units assumed significance in not only politico-economic relations but also in

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#### Contractual Concept of Boundaries:

This concept is based on the theory of state in which a contract is made between the ruler and the ruled. This has been applied to explain a wide variety of institutions. According to this concept, two countries agree on a line and follow the line of boundary in their mutual intercourse.

#### The Concept of Geometric Boundaries:

The simple boundary pattern has been adopted in the USA, Canada, Australia and in some other parts of the world. The common use of rivers as boundaries was ignored. It was adopted for the practical matters of exploration, transportation and cartography. It is virtually based on geodetic mechanism upon which geometrical lines can be drawn as boundary line.

#### Power-Political Boundary Concept:

This concept has been propounded by Boggs and Haushofer. The environment in which Haushofer revolved his boundary concept  
(Contd....)

inter and intra-relations within and outside the state. These agreements for the first time recognised the limits of the various peoples of the region. It also became a recognisable territory with defined action-space that (subject to the policy direction) either remained within or outside the purview of imperial development perspectives and priorities. Later, after independence these territorial boundary transactions either became source of dispute between states or became responsible for the pattern of development. Thus it analysed along development of territorial jurisdiction of the state of Mizoram.

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was surcharged with political turmoil(S.W.Boggs 1940, International Boundaries) The defeat of Germany in 1st World-War brought humiliation and loss of territory. His boundary concept is summed up in his own words: "A Biological battlefiled in the life of the people in the realm of power politics, boundary lines are made as truce line as dictated by the powerful states". Spykman based his concept of boundary on his idea of power(Spykman, N.J. American Strategy in World Politics Frontier Security, Int. Org.New York). According to him, boundary is not only a line demarcating legal system but also a line of contact of territorial power structure. He also pointed out specific boundary at any given historical period became, then, merely the politico-geographic expression of the existing balance of forces at the period.

During the period of boundary delimitaion, the work of Geographers like Holdich and Lyde amply illustrated the British viewpoint. Holdich and Lyde held the opinion that boundaries were like barrier or bounds and the best boundaries (i.e. those least likely to be causes of war) must be mountains, Lakes or deserts, while lines of longitude and latitude are bad boundaries. Brigham also emphasised the boundary as 'economic equilibrium'. He observed that the

(contd.....)

Relevant Background.

The evolution of the boundaries of Mizoram is closely associated with the early migration of the Mizo tribes (see also Chapter - II). In the absence of adequate historical evidence, the early evolution of the boundary has been based on generalisation. The Mizos migrated from the south-Eastern part of H<sup>u</sup>nan province of China and came to ~~the territory of~~ Burma in the early part of 15th century A.D. They lived at Tlangkha, north of Falam (China Hills in Burma). They were the descendents of Thangura. From him sprang six lines<sup>3</sup> of Thangura Chiefs - Rokum, Zadeng, Thangluah, Pallian, Rivung and Sailo. Being economically hard pressed, all these chiefs and their followers moved westward in search of better livelihood

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forces of nationalism created smaller states in Europe while economic forces demanded big states.

See. S.B. Jones, 1959, 'Boundary Concepts in the setting of place and time', Annals, Association of American Geographers V.49, 241-255. V; Adami, 1927, National frontiers in Relation to International Law Trans. T.T. Behven, OUP, London, S.W. Boggs, 1940. International Boundaries; A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems, New York, Columbia University Press.

S.B. Jones, 1945, Boundary Making : A Handbook for Statemen, Treaty Editors and Boundary Permissions, Washington.

3. S. Chatterjee, 1985 Mizo Under the British Rule, Delhi, p.8.

and suitable land for agriculture. They were superior and stronger <sup>than</sup> to the early settlers and hence, they easily drove them further west and north. These people who were driven out in the extreme north were the old Kukis. Thus, these six lines of Thangura chief became the masters of the territory and spread over a territory which was not properly recorded at that time.<sup>4</sup>

It appears from the above observations that the Mizo settlers spread over the entire mountainous terrain east of Tripura Hills. But the boundary did not follow any geographical parameter, and hence it was vague. No body thought of

- 
4. In course of time Rokum, Zadeng<sup>as</sup>, Rivung chiefs were reduced to insignificant position due to inter-tribal feuds. The Pallian chief who were known as Pytoo (Paite) were once a very powerful tribe. They had a considerable hold on the adjoining territory on the border of Sylhet and Tripura. They were hard pressed by the Sailos of Lalulla's clan and gradually ceded the northern Hills to them and inhabited the hills adjoining the hills of Tripura. The Thanglah moved in the extreme southern Hills and his descendents reached upto Burkhal (Chittagong). 'Rothangpuia' popularly known as Ruttonpoes settled in the vicinity of the present Demagiri. Among the Lushai clans, the Sailos were the most powerful, whose chiefs Lalulla established firm control over the entire North and Southern Lushai Hills. Lalulla established a dynasty rule in the entire Lushai Hills till its annexation by the British. His four sons Laling Vhoom, Lalsavhoongh, Mungpiran and Buta, were equally powerful. Buta's descendents occupied the territory in between Manipur and Burma and were described by the English as chiefs of Eastern Lushai clans. Mungpira's son Sukpial, who became later a powerful figure in Anglo-British relationship, localised geographically in the Western part of Lushai Hills, His tribe was known as Western Lushai. Howlongs, a cognate branch of Sailos moved towards south and became the master of some parts of south Lushai Hills.\*

\* Chatterjee n. 3 p. 2

making final demarcation in this respects. As a matter of fact, the entire region which was inhabited by the Lushai and other Tribes was unadministered and the necessity of demarcation was not thought <sup>of</sup> upon. This was reinforced by large scale dispersion of Mizo population. The inter-tribal disputes among Mizos tribes was common. They were virtually independent. But the folklores of Mizo speaks of Raja of the Vai people (Vai means outsider i.e. non-Mizo). These Rajas were the feudal Lords of Manipur, Tripura and Rangamati. Thus, it appears that the three feudal areas have influenced developments in the state. The Manipur Maharaja's territorial control extended up to the northern boundary of Mizoram i.e. Jiribam areas of Manipur which sheltered the Hmar tribe. The Tripura Raja extended his control up to the large areas of <sup>the</sup> Hill tribes east of the Tripura Hills. The Tripura Raj comprised of the British District of Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Sylhet, Cachar, the Garo-Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Lushai Land and Chittagong Hill Tracts. In Pemberton's report<sup>5</sup> it is shown that all the Lushai countries, situated south of Cachar belonged to the Tripura Raj (1917:474). He stated that the independent Tripura territories extended

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5. Pemberton's Report (1835), 1917:474.

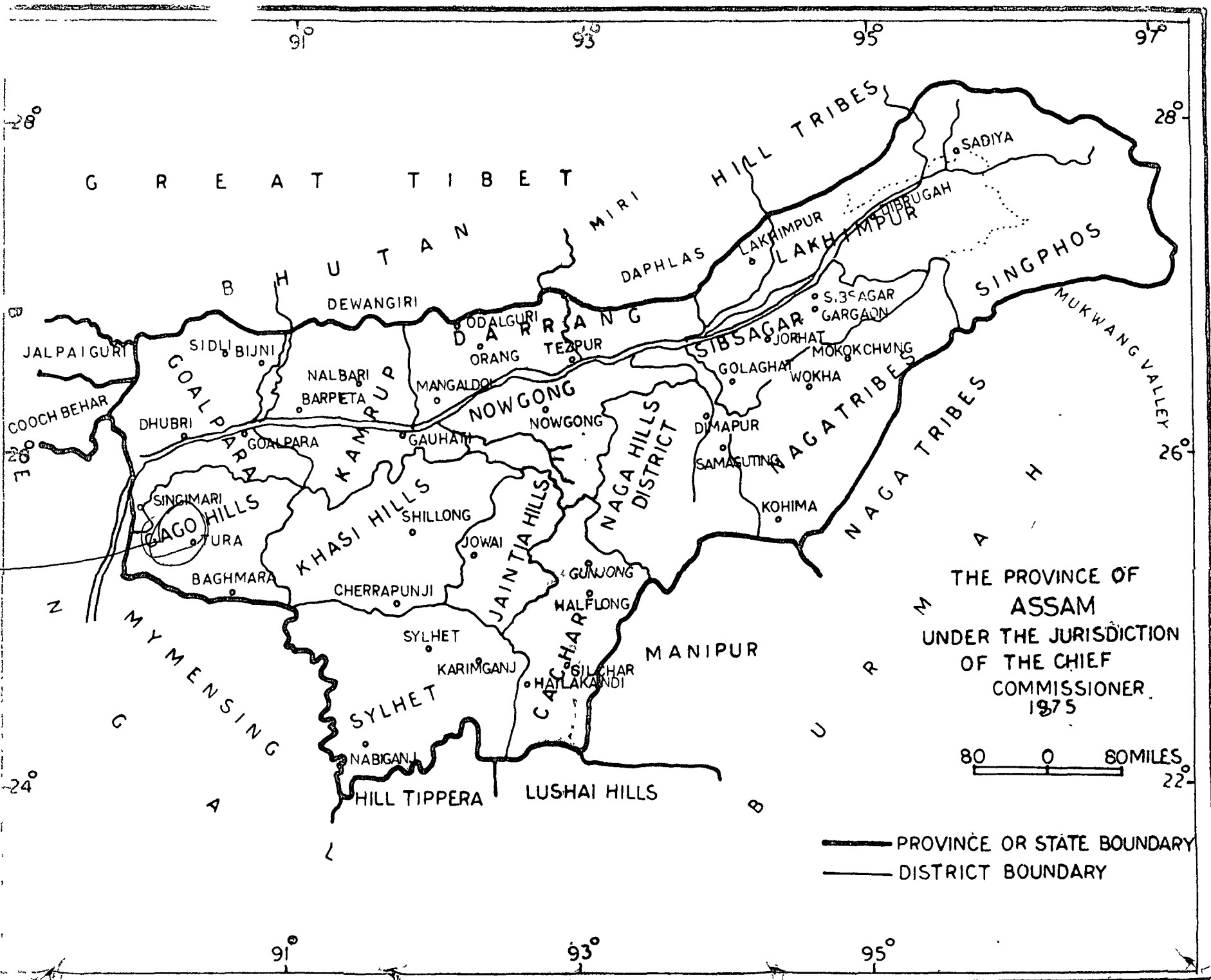
upto Tipaimukh.<sup>6</sup> It appears, however, the links were comparatively weak. The following statement quoted from Reid makes the point clear.<sup>7</sup>

"While Zorok ruled a separate village he laid claim to the land of the Chengri valley people and informed them that in as much as they were not tributary either to the British Government or to Maharajas of Tipperah, he intended to assert his regent to their lands, as an elephant hunting grounds. The Chakma Raja also played an important role, sometimes as a buffer state and sometimes as an intermediary between the Mizo Tribes and the larger society under the control of the British. The Chakma queen Kalindi hani allowed the British to use her territory when British took expeditions to pacify southern Mizos. The kingdom of the Chakma Queen extended up to Demagiri right inside Mizoram."

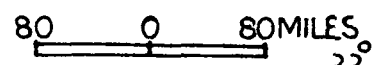
From the report of Pemberton, it appears that the Lushai country, East of Tripura was under the control of Tripura rulers but Mackenzie observed that Tripura's authority over the Lushai had never been settled or was absolute. <sup>That</sup> The Lushai acknowledged no allegiance to the Raja of Tipperah is certain.<sup>8</sup>

The Mizo had no connection with the Ahoms who ruled Assam from the first quarter of the century <sup>13<sup>th</sup></sup> to the beginning

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6. Sandya, E.F. 1917, Bengal and Assam, Bihar - Orissa, quoted by B. B. Goswami, Mizo Unrest, Jaipur, p.116.
  7. Reid, R 1942, History of the Frontier Areas - Bordering on Assam, p. 8.  
op.cit. B.B.Goswami Mizo Unrest, . . .
  8. Mackenzie, Alexander 1834, History of the Relations of the Govt. with the Hill Tribals of North-East Frontiers of Bengal, Calcutta, p.292-294.



THE PROVINCE OF  
 ASSAM  
 UNDER THE JURISDICTION  
 OF THE CHIEF  
 COMMISSIONER,  
 1975



— PROVINCE OR STATE BOUNDARY  
 — DISTRICT BOUNDARY

Map No 10

of second quarter of 19th century though Ahoms had vast contact with the Hills areas of Assam (map 10). But they had close contact with tribes living in the Chin Hills<sup>9</sup> of Burma because, it was the same place from where Mizo had emigrated to the present territory. But Mizos had no peaceful and cordial relation with the neighbouring areas of Cachar, Sylhet, Tipperah, Chittagong and Manipul<sup>10</sup>\*

It was evident that beyond Tipperah (Tripura) the Raja had no absolute power over these migratory Tribes. The then Government of Bengal considered the raiders to live in territory controlled nominally by the Raja of Tipperah and

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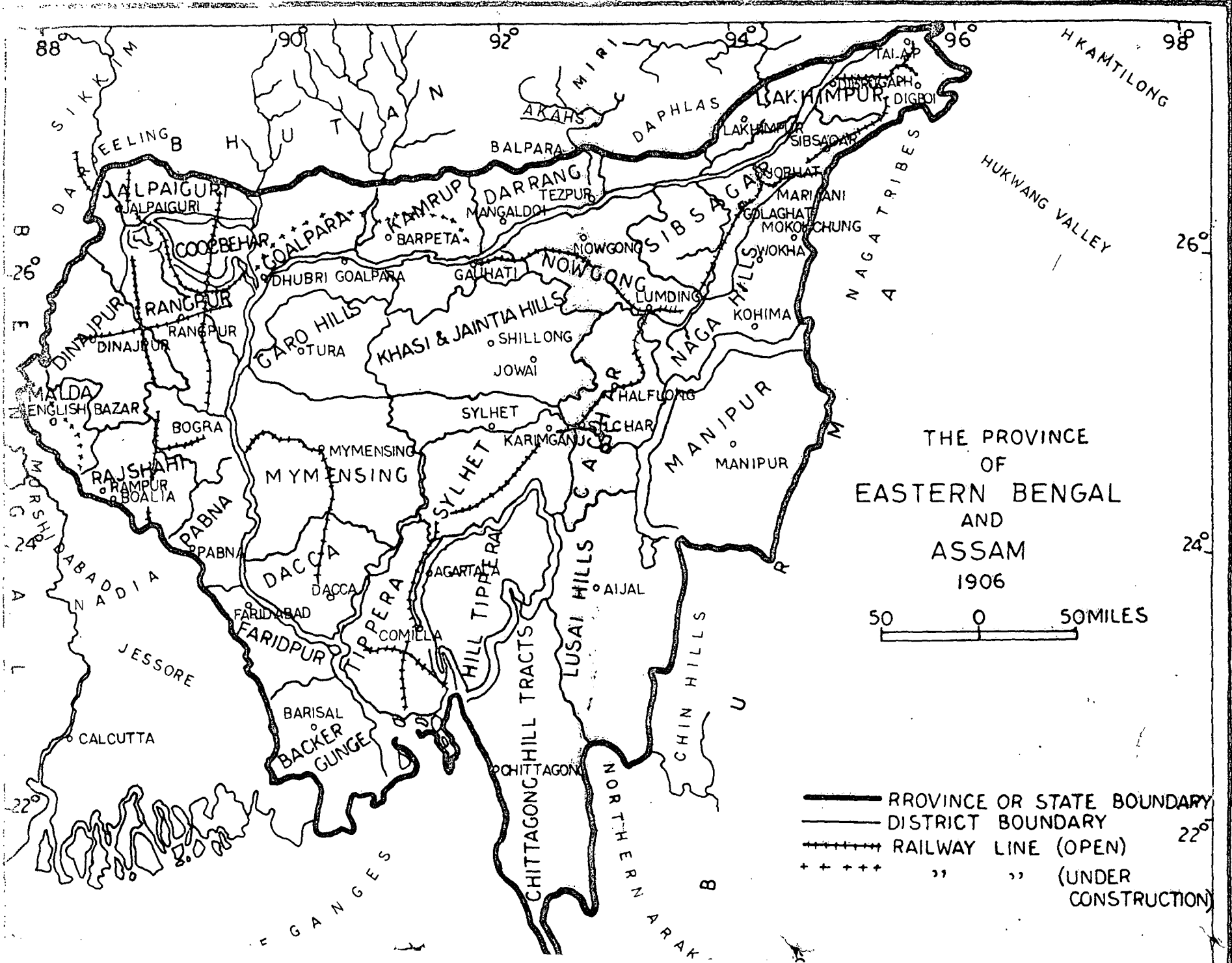
9. S. K. Bhuyan, 1949, Anglo-Assamese Relation (1771-1826) Gauhati.

10. This was largely because of their migratory nature in search of suitable land to settle permanently. They initiated frequent raids and committed atrocities on the settled inhabitants of the bordering areas of Cachar, Chittagong, Manipur and Tripura who had settled permanently. These Mizo raiders used to plunder, loot and collect human heads and thus came into contact with the king of Tripura, Manipur and Cachar. This is substantiated by the report of Col. McCulloch, the Political Agent in Manipur who expressed concern over the increasing power of the Mizos whose conflicts with other tribes living in Manipur was noticed. McCulloch suggested that as the Mizos are known to belong to Hill Tripperah, they should be restrained through the Raja from raiding the plains.

\* Sandya, n.6, p.474.

did not pay any revenue but only presents of elephant's tusks and other commodities. The Kachubari raid of 1844 forced the British to seriously consider the security of the British frontier. Thus the Government of Bengal asked the Raja of Tripura to return the Kachubari captives and to produce the culprits before the British authorities at Sylhet. From all the evidences the Government of Bengal concluded the de facto independent status of the Pytoo and Kuki areas as well as about the loose hold of the Raja of Tripura on the Pytoo tribes. Thus, the misconception in the British administration regarding the control of Maharaja of Tiperrah over the tribals of <sup>Cashmir part</sup> East including the Lushai <sup>thus</sup> was cleared. They decided to tackle the situation independently. The territory under question or any part thereof had never been subjugated or conquered by the Mughal emperor nor by any other adjoining powers.

So long as the Lushais were calm and quiet within their natural surroundings and leading an independent life, the British were least bothered but the frequent raids and atrocities on the British subjects in southern plains of Cachar and Sylhet compelled the administrators to contemplate on controlling the situation.



Map No. 11

The commercial tea plantation suffered a major setback due to frequent Lushai raids. Thus, the expedition of 1871 induced the British authority to demarcate the boundary of the Lushai Hills. However, the early demarcation was vague and imaginary. The successive development of the boundaries between the Lushai Hills and the British India is systematically described below.

From 1847 onwards raids were carried out repeatedly by the Lushais on villages in Cachar, Manipur, and Sylhet areas. Prior to such raids the southern frontier in Cachar was vague. The British authority realised the necessity of boundary delimitation between the British territory and the Lushai country. Mr. Edgar, the then Deputy Commissioner of Cachar managed to reach an agreement with a powerful Lushai Chief Suakpilal and a 'Sannad' was signed on January 14, 1871 in a village called Panchangkai down Sonai Valley which is the landmark in the history of British rule in the Lushai Hills. The boundary line according to this sannad was as follows.<sup>11</sup>

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11. Bengal Judicial Proceedings (B.J.P) 1869 Nos.289-308  
cit. H.K. Barpujari, 'Problems of the Hill Tribes,  
Gauhati 1976 p.142.

"Starting from G.T.S.Chhatta chura, the boundary shall run in a S.E. direction to the mouth of the Bhairabi Chura at its junction with the Dhaleshwari river, where it shall take a North-East direction to the top of the Bhairabi Tilla and from there to Noonvai and on to the Barakali Cherra at its junction with the Sonai river, then S.E. to Tipaimukh at the junction of Barak river".<sup>12</sup>

To observe the sanctity of the boundary the leader of the survey party suggested a new boundary between Cachar and Lushai hills. The Government of Assam strictly adhered to the boundary settled in 1871. Reopening on the matter was considered to be politically risky because any alternation of the 'Sannad' would lead to misunderstanding and suspicion of the Chiefs.<sup>13</sup>

#### Boundary Settlement After the Expedition:

Before the Lushai expedition of 1871-72 the topography of the Lushai country was unknown to the British. The boundaries in many cases were imaginary or vaguely defined. As such, the order of Governor-General-In-Council was given to take a survey party in each expedition column. These parties made commendable work. They topographically surveyed 6500 sq. miles of new and difficult country and filled up the detailed geographical information in the survey map. The surveyers

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12. B.J.P. October, 1871 No.209, cit S.Chatterjee Ibid p.82.

13. Indian Foreign and Political Department Pol Proceeding August, 1874 No.24 cit Chatterjee, n.4 p.42.

recommended the new boundary on the basis of fresh survey, which were:<sup>14</sup>

1. From the Blue mountain in the latitude of  $22^{\circ}31'N$  to  $23^{\circ}22'N$  the frontier line passes through a country which is inhabited by the Howlong and Syloo Tribes who until the last year owed no allegiance to the British Government.

2. From Pookling to Cachar the boundary of Chittagong Hill tracts and of the Hill Tripura traverses a region almost wholly unknown to the English. Mr. Tanner, Dy. Superintendent of Revenue Surveyer, urged to discard the former boundary altogether, for it had never any existence except on papers.<sup>15</sup> Tanner also proposed the connection of Chittagong Hill tracts with Cachar, after the readjustment of the boundary. Edgar also submitted in his memorandum in connection with boundary that :-

It was difficult to delimit the western <sup>boundary</sup> limit of Sukpilal's. He said that he had no influence in the west of the range on which Chattachura was situated. The country west of Sukpilal was nominally the subject of Tripura Raja, but the the eastern boundary of the Tripura Raja's territory was

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14. A. Mackenzie, British Relations with Hill Tribes of North East Frontier of Bengal, Calcutta p.316.

15 Chatterjee, n.13 . p.80.

uncertain. According to Pemberton and others the independent Tripura territory extend up to Tipaimukh. Little earlier than this the independent Tripura was redesignated as Hill Tripura and this created a confusion between all the Hills (as the area between the south Cachar and Chittagong Hill tracts seemed to have been of about the same time included in Cachar District). It was suggested that the best geographical boundary between Hill Tripura and the Lushai Hills would be the continuation of the watershed that divides Sylhet from Cachar. The Kukis of these places belong chiefly to Darlong and Pytoo families. The Darlongs inhabited the area on the south and Pytoo near the Sylhet.<sup>16</sup>

A well defined boundary line was all the more necessary for administrative convenience. Most of the recommendations of the Boundary demarcation parties were accepted by the Government of India. The recommendations related to the eastern boundary of Hill Tripura, boundary between Cachar and the Lushai Hills, and the <sup>between</sup> Chittagong Hill Tracts and Lushai Hills. Defence of the frontier remained the primary consideration in drawing the boundary.

The notification of 1875 framed under the section V of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873 sought to

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<sup>16</sup> . Ibid, p.80

demarcate the Lushai Hills frontier from the plains of Cachar (This was to locate the boundary from the police outpost set<sup>17</sup> during the British expedition against the Lushai in 1881. (The extracts of the two notifications of 1875 and 1933 were included (in the appendices II and III) separately). These appendices made the points clear. Under this notification the boundary line started from a few miles north of Jhalnacherra, then, along the Dhaleshwari river in southern direction of the Jhalnacherra grant across the Jhalnacherrakhal to the top of the range of Hills immediately east of the Khal and culminated in the northern direction to the Baruncherra grant.

The boundary line then traversed in a easterly direction till the Rengti Pahar range, from the western branch of Rengti Pahar, as far as the source of the Jalinga, and then traversed along Jalinga river to the south east corner of the Sonacherra grant. The line followed the eastern boundary of Sonacherra and Noarbund grants to a road along a police outpost, then to Kukni river, and then in a south easterly direction to the western boundary of the Manierkhal grant, the boundary line finally trended west and south to

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17. Indian Foreign Deptt. Notification No.2299 p. dated the 23th August, 1875. Assam Gazette, Sept.11, 1875.

the river Sonai then to Mainadhar and then following the western grant to the river Barak.

Mizoram-Manipur boundary.

Boundaries are most sacrosanct upon which the future of the nation depend. These <sup>18</sup> are like the razors edge of which were suspended the modern question of war or peace <sup>and</sup> of life or death for nations. Il-defined boundary had always been the cause of border trouble in the Lushai Hills (now Mizoram). But before the specification of the tribes it was almost impossible to complete the task of boundary settlement and delimitation. The Governor-General-in- Council, after the Chin-Lushai conference, recommended the demarcation of boundaries of the Lushai Hills. Accordingly, the Government of India set up a Boundary Commission headed by P.Maxwell and H.W.G. Cole to demarcate the boundary between the Lushai Hills - and Manipur<sup>19</sup>. From January 22 to February 9, 1900, the Commission was engaged in the field work and made an extensive survey of the Lushai country adjoining the Manipur state. The Commissioner reviewed considerable information about the area from of the Chin-Manipur Boundary Commission of 1898. But the commissioner detected the error

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18.. Curzon 1908, Frontiers, London, OJP cit.R.D. Dikshit, Political Geography, p.70.

19. I.F.External A. Oct.1900 No.150-151(Demarcation of the Boundaries between the Lushai Hills and Manipur.  
' .Chatterjee, n.13.p.136.

of the earlier commission relating to the highest peak in the Lungling Hill. After the completion of the survey, the Commission submitted the following report on the boundary alignment.

"The boundary commences at the Junction of the Tuivai river with the Barak river, known as Tipaimukh, there is a revenue survey pillar on the left bank of the Tuivai, about 50 yards to the south west of the junction, which marks the trijunction point of the Manipur State Cachar and Lushai Hills district"<sup>20</sup>

Proceeding up the Tuivai round Senvail Hill and under Babarchang Hill, the boundary followed the course of the river until it received its tributary the Tui-Toi stream, thence up the Tuitoi stream to one of its sources at a saddle known as Bongkot, where a boundary pillar has been erected, thence crossing to the east side of this saddle down a stream, which is one of the sources of the Vang-Vun Lui and continuing down this latter stream until it falls in to the Tuivai river. Thence again up the Tuivai river, flowing now north or Chepui Hill, and following the course of this river until it receives the Tuikesi stream north west of Lungleh Hill. Thence up the Tuikui stream to its course below boundary pillar of the Manipur-Chin boundary, situated on a saddle about four miles east of Lungley Hill, where

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20. Ibid.p.136.

the Tuivai river is the boundary, the left bank is the boundary of the Lushai Hills and the right bank that of Manipur.<sup>21</sup> (Appendices II & III).

The Government of India accepted the new boundary line between the Manipur State and Lushai Hills as demarcated by the Maxwell Commission and this boundary continues to be valid till date.

Manipur and Lushai Hills (Mizoram) boundary.

As per notification of 1933 the Manipur boundary with Mizoram begins from the trijunction of Lushai Hills and Cachar districts of Assam, and Manipur State. From here Runding river follows the downward stream of Barak, and reaches to a place near Tipaimukh where the river Tuivai from Mizoram side meets. From Tipaimukh, the junction point of the Tuivai and Barak river the boundary line follows midstream of Tuivai river up to the confluence of Tuitoil line with Tuivai and then moving upward along the source of Tuitoilui, the line crosses the saddle Bangkok and then moves along the Vangvunlui southward till it meet Tuival and then moving along the midstream of Tuivai in

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21. I.F. Extl A, May 1900, 150-151 (Demarcation of the boundary between the Lushai Hills and Manipur, report of Commissioners.

upstream side, the boundary line meets Tuise river (Appendix III).

This boundary demarcation was virtually on the same line as recommended by the Commission headed by P. Maxwell and H.W.G. Cole that delimited the boundary between the Lushai Hills and Manipur as referred earlier in the chapter<sup>22</sup>.

Mizoram-Burma Boundary.

Chin-Lushai Hills Boundary:

§ The Manipur-Lushai boundary demarcation was made no doubt but the problem between the Chin Hills and the Lushai district remained unmarked. This was seriously thought upon. Formerly, the south Lushai district had close connections with the Chin Hills administration. Both the administrations accepted Tyao river as their boundary. But the boundary between the North Lushai Hills and Chin Hills was never delimited. The boundary adjustment between the Chin Hills and the Lushai Hills became all the more important after the incorporation of Kuboo Valley of Manipur in Burma. With the fall of the Eastern Lushais in 1892. The Government of Assam initiated the matter in this regard. But the revolt of

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22. Ibid.

Manipur in 1891 as well as law and order problems in Chin Hills and Lushai Hills during the period compelled postponement of the decision regarding boundary delimitation. The Government of India entrusted the task to a Boundary Commission in 1901. The Commissioners W.C.M. Dundas and A.C. Bateman demarcated the boundary and submitted the following report:

"The boundary commences at the confluence of the Tuipai and Tuisai streams. There is a Chain and pillar placed there on the left bank of Tuisai and 5 yards from the confluence of Lushai and Chin Hills. The boundary now goes up the stream of the Tuisai where Tuimang meets. This direction is due north and south, thence, up the Tuimong to a point where its tributary the Bapui-Lui meets it, finally up the Bapuili to its source below a pillar marked L/C H/3 on Vai-Khohmun, which is also the source of the Tyao, the reorganised boundary between the Chin Hills and Lushai Hills district".<sup>28</sup> The readjustment of the boundary in 1901 completed the hitherto incomplete tasks of the Government. This Boundary is now the recognised international boundary between India and Burma.

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23. I.F. External A, June, 1901, Nos. 1-2, Demarcation of the of the two boundaries the Chin Hills and the Lushai Hills.

Southern Boundary of Mizoram;(Mizoram,Burma Border):

(West to East):-

The boundary line start from the trijunction point at Keokradong (where India, Bangladesh and Burma meet). (Appendix III) The boundary line moves to the eastern direction to Rengtlang thence, to the source of a small stream Varanglui or Mraikchaung to its confluence with Kolachaung (Sakullui) originating from the northern by the side of Dumzaotlang. From here, the line follows the midstream of Sekullui to the north of the Khawtlang or Zyucha stream and then the midstream, this river to its source on the Samaug or Kwiman range. From here the line goes southward along stream (West Kumari) (where the boundary pillars was placed) and then south ward till it joins the Kolodyne (Chimtuipui river, then straight across the Koladyne river follows the east Kumarilui (This river joins the Kolodyne from opposite) to the mouth of Khugza or Kwiman stream (Also East Kumari) to its source in the Kaisitlang (Where a boundary stone has been placed). Then from here the line moves southward to the source of Fale or Shwelaik stream and then down the stream of the same river to the junction with Sulla and its junction with the

Kaikhen or Khinkon stream (Where a boundary stone has been placed). Then upto midstream of the Kaikhen to the source of Paralui, thence down the midstream of the Paralui to its junction with the (Tishi, Tuisi or Michang) Wablung.

Eastern boundary (Mizoram and Burma):

The river Wablung moving toward joins with Kheimu stream; the Kheimu stream to its source on the Kahria or Kwahria (Khasia) Klang; thence south along the crest of the Kahria or (Kwahria) tlang to the source of the Raphuva; which joins Boinu (Kaladan) river; thence down the midstream of the Boinu (Kaladan) river to its junction with the Tyao; thence the midstream of the Tyao to its source on the Viko Tlang; thence down the midstream of the Tuimang to its junction with the Tuisa; down the midstream of the Tuisa to its junction with the Tuivai river to its junction with the Vangvumlui; thence up to the midstream of the Vangvumlui to its source at a saddle known as Bonghot where a boundary pillar is fixed. From here the boundary line crossing the western side of the saddle reaches to the source of the Tuitoi stream; down the Tuitoi stream to its junction with the Tuivai river. Thus the eastern boundary with Burma was finally demarcated.<sup>24</sup>

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24. Foreign Deptt. Notification No.2299p dated Aug.,20,1875 (Assam Gazetteer Sept.11,1875 pt.Ib,p.497. Notification of 1933.

Mizoram-Assam (Cachar) Boundary.

Cachar(Assam)Lushai Hills Boundary Adjustment:

After the demarcation of the Chin Hills and Lushai Hills boundary, the task of delimitation was almost completed except for the rectification of the boundary between the Cachar district and Lushai Hills district. The matter was brought to the notice of the Government of India by Mr. Fuller, the chief Commissioner of Assam, in 1903. He informed that the Cachar Lushai Hills boundary which was given in the Chief Commissioner's notification on June 24, 1875 though somewhat vague in its terms, was formally sufficient for practical purposes. Since the pacification the Lushai had <sup>had</sup> been moving northward towards the plains of Cachar.

Frequent questions regarding the boundary had consequently arisen, especially in connection with the felling of timber along the different rivers which cross it. The settlement of land near the boundary had been delayed because of the uncertainty as to the land to which it belonged. This caused inconvenience to the operation of land settlement undertaken by Shalespear in 1898-99. The Chief Commissioner advocated a revision and a more scientific demarcation of the boundary. He proposed to

transfer a tract which geographically belonged to the Lushai Hills<sup>25</sup> and which contained same Lushai hamlets. Fuller pointed out this tract as a resort for the Lushai who were discontented with their Chiefs and who escaped from the control of the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills. This tract was traversed by the road from Silchar to Aizawl, the maintenance of which was exceedingly difficult for the Silchar authorities, whereas under the Lushai system of administration, it was comparatively easy. Part of the tract that was included in the reserved forest as was known as Inner Line Reserve. Thus, the control of the Forest Department would not be affected by the shifting of the forest lands from Cachar to the Lushai Hills.<sup>26</sup> (map 12)

The southern boundary of Cachar since the time of Edgar's treaty with Sukpial (1870) and been more or less based on political consideration than on geography. The Chief Commissioner proposed the connection of the vague southern line of the Cachar boundary. Two alternative lines were suggested. One to the north running from the west of the Chattachura or Sidheswar - Sirispur range down the Bhagsurra stream to its junction with the Dhaleswari rivers; the other to the south running from the east of the same range and down a tributary of the Pakwa stream to where it joins the Dhaleswari.<sup>27</sup>

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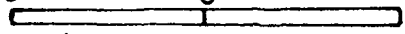
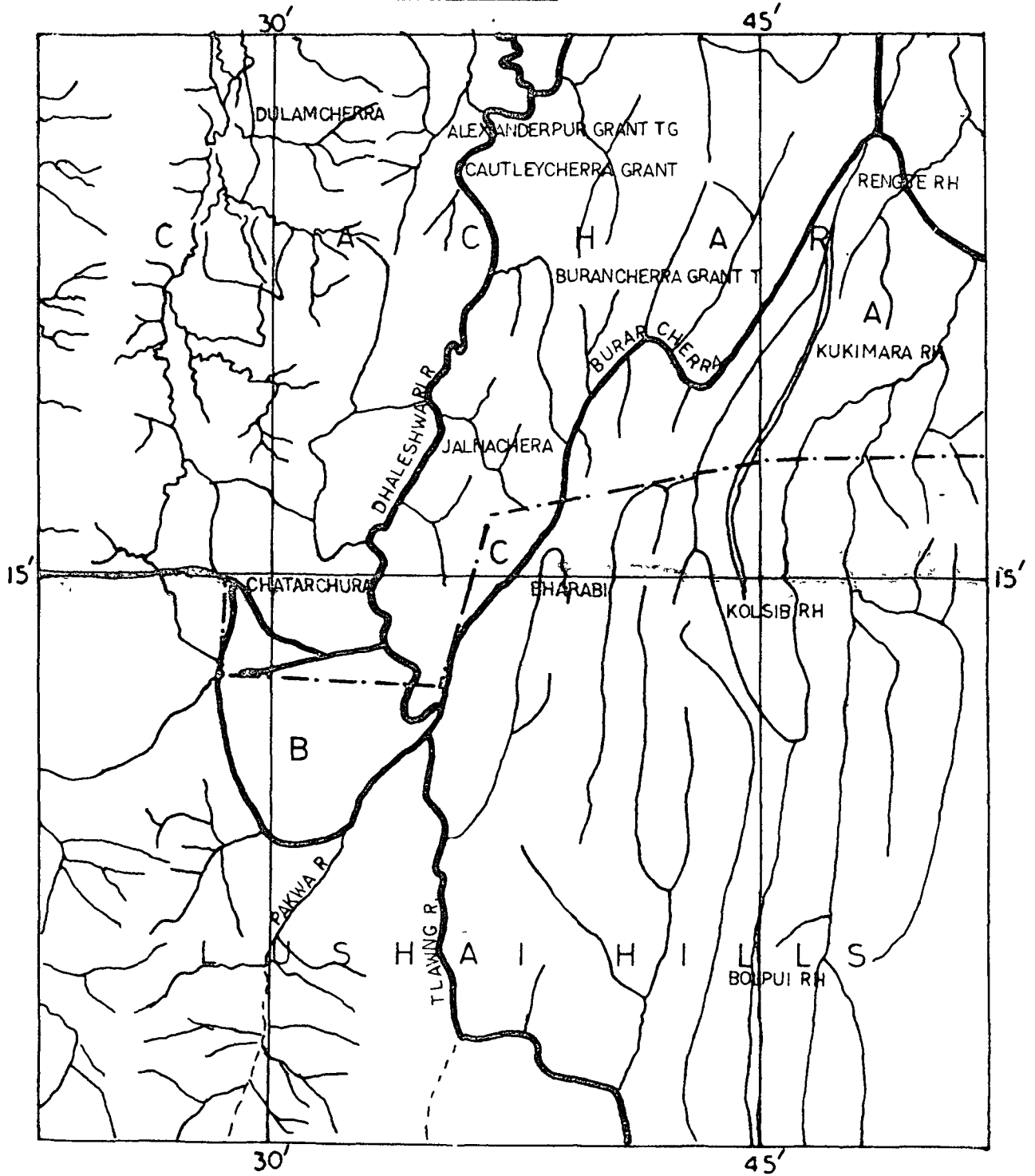
25 .External A, March 1904 No.44-46, Transfer of a Tract of Land from the Cachar district to Lushai Hills district and of two smaller tract of land from the latter district to former.

26 . Ibid

27 . Ibid

# TRANSFER OF TRACTS FROM LUSHAI HILLS TO CACHAR DISTRICT (ASSAM)

5                      0                      5 MILES

Key  
 A to Lushai Hills  
 B & C to Cachar

Map No 12

Fuller pointed out that the northern line would exclude from Cachar district some land suitable for rice cultivation so he preferred the southern line. He further submitted that the boundary adjustment did not merely involve a transfer and <sup>in</sup> tract of land from Cachar to Lushai Hills but it also involved two smaller but additional tracts from Lushai hills to be transferred to Cachar ( Map 12) The proposed transfer might lead to some legal difficulties and problem because they affected the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. Both the Governments of Assam and the centre, came to the conclusion that the readjustment of the Cachar-Lushai Hills boundary was necessary, but the main obstacle in this respect emerged from the Indian High Courts Act. 1865. Later Governor General agreed for the transfers in the greater political and strategical interests. Accordingly, the Governor General-in-Council approved of the proposal of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and sanctioned the transfer of tract of land from Cachar to Lushai Hills and two smaller tracts from the latter to the former.<sup>28</sup>

Normally, local national or international boundaries are modified by the geographical environment, economic consideration and political pressure. In Mizoram, the geographical

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28 . Ibid

factors (like rivers and mountains) got priority over other two. Economic considerations were never thought upon seriously. The British administrators sometimes considered the strategic importance of the eastern frontiers of India. The protection of the colonial interest of prosperous tea industry in Cachar was also taken into consideration. The detailed description of the boundary of Mizoram bears testimony to the fact that the political elements and not geographical elements played decisive role in demarcating the boundary.

Delimitation of the boundary of Mizoram(earlier Lushai Hills district) was modified subsequently as per Government notification 1933 (Appendix III). Accordingly the present boundary stands as follows.<sup>29</sup>

Northern boundary (Cachar and Lushai Hills - from west).

The northern boundary begins from the trijunction point of the districts Sylhet (old Assam) and Tripura East situated on the Lungai river nearly 1 km. South West of the confluence of Medlicherra with Lungai river. From this point the boundary line follows the eastern direction along the Chhattachura range (Chhatachura peak 2071 ft.) and then following the source of the Pakwa river (Teirei) to the downstream point where the river joins the Tlwang (Dhaleshwari) river. Then upstream of

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29. Foreign Deptt. Notification  
n.27

Bhairbi chura up to its source and then crossing the Bhairabi range, from here the boundary line follows the midstream of Hmar Luangpui up to its confluence with Baruncherra, then following the midstream of Baruncherra upward till it meets Chhiumluang lui, then moving along the midstream of this river up to its source where it crossed the watershed. The line follows the Dhalai river up to till the trijunction point. (where Hailakandi and Silchar sub-division of Cachar district, and Lushai Hills district from a trijunction point).

From this trijunction point, the boundary line moves in trends south easterly direction till it meets Rukni river where Teidu Lui joins, then, following the midstream of this lui the Boundary line cross Bongkon Range and then the midstream of Baghkhal or Tuishaului up to the point where Suanglawn lui meets Baghakhal and then following the Suanglawn lui to its confluence with Turial (Sonai) river where the line extends the north eastward where Teivangnek stream meets Sonai. From there the line follows a small feeder of Teivang Muzlkhangtlang lui and then crossing the range, the line moves along the midstream of Lungkhulh, a tributary of Rundung and Rundung line up the point where this river meets Barak. Rundung line is the

Trijunction of Lushai Hills, and Cachar district of Assam and Manipur state. This is the final boundary demarcation between Assam (Cachar district) and the Lushai Hills district (Now Mizoram)<sup>31</sup> .

boundary Between Tripura - Mizoram:

The recommendations relating to the eastern boundary of Hill Tripura, that is boundary between the Lushai Hills and the Tripura Hills (Now Tripura State) is drawn as follows:

The boundary line follows the river route of the Longai Valley which passes through the Hachil and Jampui ranges and proceeds upto its source, then across to the Dolajem peak and then by the recognised southern boundary of the Fenny river. This has~~g~~ been accepted as the boundary of Tripura and the Lushai Hills drawn in 1904, long after the annexation of the Lushai Hills.

Again the boundary between Tripura and the Lushai Hills (Mizoram) was recast vide notification No.2107 AP dated 9th March ,1933 (Appendix III). Accordingly the boundary starts from the ~~t~~trijunction of the Tripura - Karim<sup>32</sup>ganj Assam and Mizoram situated at Longai river that originates

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31 . Ibid.

32. Notification No.2107 AP dated 9 March 1933.

from the Jampuitlang Range. The river flows in northern direction, The boundary line which passes in southerly direction up to the midstream of the Longai river and then ~~along~~ its tributary Sailutlai and then to its source Betlung-Sibpeak (height 3033'). The boundary line then proceeds in southerly direction reaching to a Hill called Betting peak (2234') which is the ~~trijunction~~ point of Tripura, Mizoram (earlier Lushai Hills and Bangladesh earlier Chittagong Hill Tracts) ~~following within East Pakistan~~.

Administrative Divisions in Mizoram

District Administrative Machinery:

Prior to 1891 there was no regular administrative set-up in the Lushai Hills District. It began in the year 1891 when the territory was divided into two administrative sub-divisions - North Lushai Hills (under Assam Government) and south Lushai Hills District, (under Bengal Government,<sup>33</sup> The Tracts known as Rutton Puiya villages including Demagiri in the Hill tracts of Chittagong was also included within the south Lushai Hills and was placed under the administration of Bengal Province. This status lasted for 7 years. In 1898 the Government of India decided to amalgamate the two sub-division into one.<sup>34</sup>

Chin-Lushai Hills conference of 1898 combined the two sub-divisions into one and was placed under the administrative control of the chief Commissioner of Assam, and was designated

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33. B.J.P. Political Deptt. May, 1896 No.1 File L 171.  
See- (a) Proclamation No. 1698 E dated 6 Sept. 1895 North Lushai Hills with Assam. and (b) Proclamation No.1697 E dated 6 Sept. 1895 South Lushai Hills with Bengal.

34. Proclamation No.591 EB dated 1 Sept., 1898.

as the Lushai Hills District. The Lakher area of the Pawi-Lakher region called as Lakher Land came within the actual British control 30 years after the occupation of the Lushai Hills (There was frequent raids by the unadministered villages in the Lakher area on the administered villages in the southern border of the Lushai Hills) The Government decided to annex the territory, but it was delayed due to raids and murders <sup>that</sup> took place in Lungleih sub-Division. The Superintendent thought that the trouble in the area could be forestalled only when the unadministered areas could be brought fully under the British control.

Baw Conference January, 1922:

A meeting was held between district Officers of Lushai <sup>plus</sup> <sup>4.15</sup> <sup>Arakan</sup> three districts at a Village called Baw <sup>by</sup> on determination of boundary (the villages of the independent area were divided among the three districts of Lushai hills, Chin Hills and Arakan). It was, however, felt that because of lack of communication facilities in the area, the full benefits of the settlement would not be obtained till the proposed road from Tuipang to the Kolodyn river was completed. <sup>35</sup> Although the villages were taken over by the respective district authorities no immediate arrangements were made for

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35. Administrative Report of the Lushai Hills for the year 1918-19, Govt. of Assam, Shillong p.3.

administration in 1924 . The formal inclusion of the area as British territory took place in 1931 when by notification, the Lalongling area (which was formerly an area of political control of the south of Lushai Hills District) <sup>of the British</sup> was included in the province of Assam. <sup>36</sup> Subsequently, all the laws and rules enforced in Lushai Hills District were extended to this area by the Assam Government.

Gradually, administration started taking roots in Lakher land. In 1938 McCall reported that the Lakhers came under control. The British Government later decided to define the boundary unilaterally. Thus, the boundary of all the plains district of Assam with neighbouring Hill areas inhabited by the tribes were determined by an 'INNERLINE' Regulation. This was done through the section 2 of Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation of 1873. This regulation introduced the 'INNERLINE' concept and was applicable <sup>to</sup> ~~of~~ the southern frontier of the Cachar District. <sup>37</sup> Under the provision of the above section the Government prohibited all British subjects from going beyond the 'Innerline' without a pass

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36. Notification No.475- X of the Government of India, in the foreign and Political Deptt. dated 30th July, 1931.

37. Administrative Report of the Lushai Hills for the year 1933-34, Government of Assam, Shillong p.10.

from the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar.

During <sup>the</sup> Pre-Independence <sup>period</sup> or in the beginning of post-Independence period there was psychological resentment <sup>among the local</sup> over the nomenclature of the District (Lushai Hills) which signified the dominance of a particular tribe (Lushai) where as other tribes like the Pawis and the Lakher, and other smaller tribes <sup>also</sup> have sizeable population. Accordingly, the nomenclature was changed from the Lushai Hills District to Mizo Hills District <sup>38</sup> in 1957.

The North-East Areas (Reorganisation) Act of 1971: <sup>39</sup>

The political map of the entire North East Region was changed with the passage of the North-East Area (Reorganisation) Act. 1971. Mizo Hills District was upgraded to the Union Territory status. The territory was divided into to three districts; <sup>namely</sup> ~~called~~ the Aizawl District, Lunglei District, and Chintuipui district (comprising of the regional council of Pawi-Lakhar area). The head quarters of the new districts were located at Aizawl, Lunglei and Saiha respectively. <sup>40</sup>

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38. Amendment of the Constitution 1954 Parliament Act No.18.

39. Government Gazette Notification <sup>on</sup> North East Area (Reorganisation) Act 1971 Sec.6.

40. Government of Mizoram Notification No.GAD/13/72/38 dated Aizawl 1st September, 1972.

In January 1975 four new sub-divisions in Aizawl district were created. These were Aizawl (Sadar) Mamit (H.O. Mamit), Champai (H.Q. Champai), Kolasib (H.O. Kolosib)<sup>41</sup>. In Lunglei District two sub-divisions were created viz. Lunglei (Sadar, H.Q. Lunglei) and Tlabung (Demagiri)<sup>42</sup>. The Chintuipui District had no sub-division in the beginning. But subsequently, three sub-divisions were created namely Chawngte, Saiha (Sadar) and Longtlai. Each Sub-Division was under<sup>a</sup> Sub-Divisional Officer. Saiha was also the H.Q. of Lakher District Council, Lawngtlai was the H.Q. of Pawi District Council and Chawngte that of the Chakma District Council.<sup>42</sup> Thus altogether there are at present three districts and nine Sub-Divisions.

#### Circle System:

In 1901 an important feature of administration was introduced in the Lushai Hills District. This was known as circle system.<sup>43</sup> This system was introduced with a view to exercising more efficient control over the Chiefs in order to strengthen the administrative control over the territory. The whole district was divided into 18 circles (12 in Aizawl sub-Division and 6 in Lunglei Sub-Division). Each circle was

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41. Government of Mizoram Notification No. GAD/13/72/Pt/65-68 dated Aizawl 29th January, 1972.

42. Govt. of Mizoram Notification No. GAD/13/72/Pt/69-71 dated Aizawl 29th Jan., 1975.

43. Administrative Report of the Lushai Hills for the year 1901-02, Govt. of Assam, Shillong, 1902 p.2.

placed under the charge of a circle interpreter (CI)<sup>44</sup>.

Community Development Blocks.

Community Development Block like in other States was organised on all India pattern. In the beginning there were six C.D. Blocks in Aizawl Sub-Division, i.e. Aizawl, Kolasib, Mamit, Serchip, Saitual and Champai and three in Lunglei Sub-Division i.e. Lunglei, Lawngtlai, Hnathial (Table - 30).

Gradually, the C.D. Block in the tribal areas were converted into Tribal Blocks under special scheme adopted by the Ministry of Home affairs in 1956, with an object to determine the pattern of development suitable for tribal life. The object to determine was, to wean away the tribal people from the practice of shifting cultivation and to induce them

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<sup>44</sup> All orders of the Superintendent were transmitted through the interpreters and they were held responsible for carrying out of the orders by chiefs and the people. They sent fortnightly reports of all events occurring in the circle. The interpreters were the channels of communication between the chief and the people on the one hand and the Superintendent or the sub-divisional Officer on the other. The circle system was, however, abolished subsequently because the system undermined the authority of the chiefs.

to take to settled agriculture. Besides, it also aimed to facilitate public health, medical facilities, communication, education and art and craft.

Details of community Development Block in Mizo District during third Five Year Plan are:<sup>45</sup>(Table-29)

Table - 29

Details of Community Development Blocks in Mizo District  
During 3rd Five Year Plan

S1 No.	Name	Total Population	Tribal population	P.C. of tribal people to total population	Area of Block in Sq.miles	Year of conversion as tribal Dev.block.
1.	Aizawl	30758	26,450	86	338	1961-62
2.	Kolasib	22548	21,466	95	1012	1962-63
3.	Pauwi-Lakher	30515	30,515	100	1230	1962-63
4.	Mariet	16350	16,350	100	1187	1963-64
5.	Serchib	20102	29,102	100	1840	1964-65
6.	Lunglei	22473	22,334	99	1230	-
7.	Saitual	20591	20,591	100	778	1965-66
8.	Champai	22915	22,915	100	612	1965-66
9.	Hnathial	15810	15,810	100	820	1965-66

Source: Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development Programme, Assam, Planning Commission, 1967  
op.cit.A.C.roy, Mizoram Dynamics of change, p.324.

45 . A.C. Roy 1982, Mizoram, Dynamics of Change, Calcutta, p.324

The geographical factors played vital role in the demarcation of the boundary of the Mizoram. <sup>Although</sup> The other factors like historical, economic and political were less prominent but not completely insignificant. The detailed analysis of the demarcation of the boundaries, sub-division and community Development Blocks of the entire state of Mizoram would reveal the the truth. The three districts viz. Aizawl, Lunglei and Chhimituipui and the twenty development blocks within three districts are separately analysed as follows:

Aizawl Districts:

The northern boundary of the district coincides with the northern boundary of the State. The southern boundary of Aizawl district and the northern boundary of the Lunglei district is discussed here. The two district boundaries followed prominent rivers, hills and ridges. Starting from the east, the boundary line originates from the point where the river Tyao flowing in north-south direction ~~which~~ forms the International boundary between Burma and India. The river Tyao takes bend westwards and then flows south ward.(see map) to join the river Boinu (Tuipui) which flows in northward direction. The

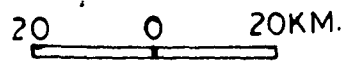
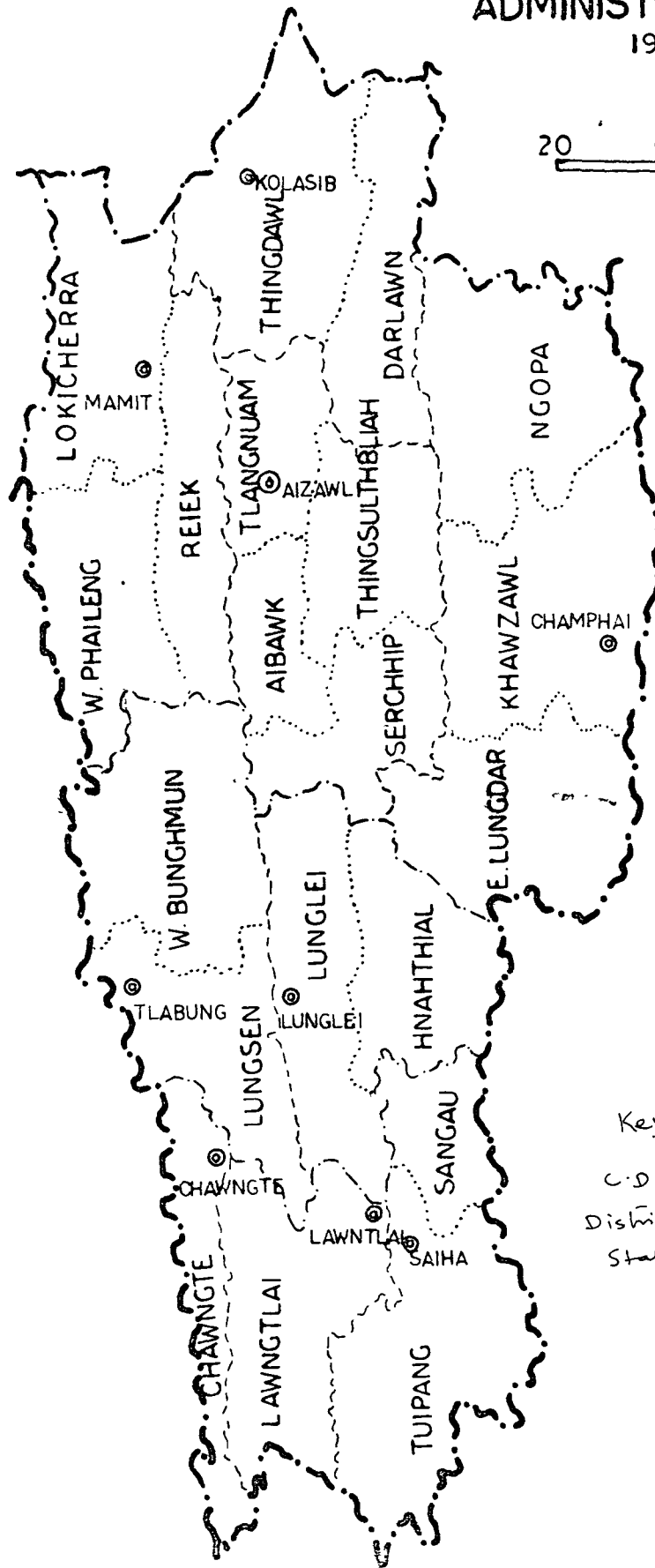
two rivers coming from the opposite direction meet near Tullianpui village and then flows in<sup>1</sup> north west direction. The meeting point forms the boundary point<sup>46</sup> between the Lunglei district and Chhimituipui district.

While taking bend westward the river Tyao meets the river Tuipui which flows in southward direction, the meeting point forms the northern boundary lines of Lunglei district. Here, also a small river Buchunlui meets the Tyao river. Moving along the course of Buchunlui, the northern boundary of Lunglei district begins. The line takes the course of Tuichang river which meets the river Mat downstream. The boundary line further goes upward following the river-stream of Mat river in north direction and then its tributary in the Westward direction where the boundary line meets the Tlwng river (before that the line follows the stream of Varvalui and another small streams). The boundary line then follows the course of river of Tlawng in northward direction. It takes further westward direction where the line is intersected by the river Gatur (Tut) flowing parallel to the river Tlawng. The boundary line between the parallel rivers of Tut

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46. Revenue Department Govt. of Mizoram, Aizawl Map.  
see. Census of India 1981, Series 31 Mizoram  
Detailed Map of the District, C.D. Block.

MIZORAM  
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION  
1981



Key -  
 C.D. Block Boundry .....  
 District Bound ~~~~~  
 State Bound ~~~~~

and Tlawng then follows the course of small stream and hill ridges. After crossing the Tut river the boundary line moves westward and meets Marlui, the stream of which leads to the end of westward limit of the district boundary which ends at the point where the Marlui meets the Tuliapui river.<sup>47</sup> The course of river forms the International boundary between Bangladesh and India (Mizoram).

It is, thus evident that the major rivers and their tributories either flowing northwards or southwards from the boundary line which separates the Aizawl district with the Lunglei district.

There are at present twelve C.D.Blocks in the Aizawl district (see map)<sup>3</sup> The boundary of these twelve blocks are also geopolitically significant. The demarcation of the boundary of these Blocks is by and large based on natural courses of important rivers.

Lokichera C.D.Block.

Lokichera C.D.block is sandwiched by Longai (Longkha) river in the west which also forms the boundary of Tripura and Mizoram; and Tut and Tlawng (Dhaleswari) river in the east. Chhatachura range demarcates the northern

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<sup>47</sup>.Notification of Innerline, 9 March, 1933, No.2106 AP.

boundary of the block which is also the northern boundary of Mizoram. The river Sangmflui forms the southern boundary of this unit to a great extent.

Reik C.D. Block.

The boundary of this Block is also demarcated by the river Gatur (Tut) in the west and Tlawng river in the east and the north. The southern limit is made by Kayek Peak (4500 ft) which separates the Reik Block and the west Bnghmum Block.

North Thingdawl.

The boundary of this Block is carried out by the river Tlawng and Bhairabilui in the west and Turial (Sonai) river in the east. The river Tihu makes the southern while the river Chinlung and Rengti range form the northern boundary.

Tlangnum and Aibawk.

These Blocks are also flanked by the river Tlang in the west and Turial and Mat rivers (in case of Aibawk) in the east. The northern and southern lines follow the hill ridges and the tributaries of Mat and Tlawng rivers.

Darlawn, Thingsulthliah, Serchhip.

The boundary of Darlawn C.D. Block is flanked by Turial river in the west, Tuivawl in the east. In the extreme north east the river Barak descending from the Manipur side forms the border line between Mizoram and Manipur. Tipaimukh is located at the confluence of Tuivai and Barak river. Thingsulthliah Block is sandwiched by river Turial in the west and Tuivawl in the east. Both the rivers flow from south to north. The river Mat for some distance forms the southern boundary of the block which separates this Block from the Serchhip Block, but for major part, the hill ranges of Serchhiptlang.

Serchhip C.D. Block.

Tuichang river flowing southward forms the eastern boundary of this Block. The western boundary line is shared by Mat river and Tlawng river majestically flowing in opposite direction. In the northwestern part of the Block, the river Mat forms the boundary but subsequently, passes through the Block area and in the Southern portion it again falls on the boundary line. The Tlawng river passing through the southwest corner of the Block area forms the boundary line. A tributary of Tlawng Luilui covers the area between the

Mat and the Tlawng river which forms the boundary in the north.

Ngopa C.D. Block.

Ngopa Block lies in the north-east corner of the State whose northern boundary is demarcated by the river Tuivai and some ridges. The river Tuivaw forms the western boundary while the river Tuimang and Damdillui forms the eastern boundary; the southern limit is determined by Damdil lui in the south east and Tuivawl and its tributeries in the south west.

Khawzawl C.D. Block.

This Block is sandwiched between the river Tuivawl in the west and Tyao in the east (Tyao river also forms the eastern boundary of the India and Burma) The Northern boundary is carved by the river Tuisa and Damdil lui. The southern limit is determined by Sumental lui in the east and Taipui in the central part and Tuichang in the north west.

East Lungdar C.D. Block.

The rivers Taipui and Tuichang form the northern limit of the Block jurisdiction to a great extent, while the Tyao river passes through the eastern boundary of the Block

(as well as the Mizoram). This Tyao river takes bend westward and as such the southern boundary of the Block is also demarcated by the same river but again this river takes southward course and joins Bionu river downward. The river Tuichang coming from the northwest direction of the Block takes eastward course and forming the Southwestern boundary goes down to meet Kolodyne river Chhmtuipui. The Suchunlui also shares the carrying of the southern boundary of the Block.

Lawngtlat C.D. Block:

This Block is geographically bounded by the river Tuichang in the west, Chhmtuipui in the east, Mengpuilui and its tributary and also a tributary of the Chhmtuipui (Kolodyne) river form the northern boundary of the Block. The southern limit is set by the International boundary between India and Burma (Arakan)region). The tributary of Chhmtuipui coming from the western side namely Samak, Sanchung, west kumari and Sihlui form the eastern boundary.

Tuipang C.D. Block:

This is, in fact, the original Lakher land lying in the south-eastern corner of the state flanked by Burma in the east and south. The Boinu (Tuipui) river coming from Burma (Chin hills) sides form the eastern boundary of the Block. The

Chhimgtuipui river (Kolodine) form the western limit of the Block while the northern limit is confined to the mountain ridges of Lungbunglang (1791 mt) and Lungchanlang, Niavhtlang.

Sangau C.D. Block.

This Block is the homeland of Pavi tribe which is located in the north-east corner of Chhimgtuipui district. This Block is bounded by Tuipui(Boinu) river in the east which flows majestically from south to north and then takes left turn. It dissects the Chhimgtuipui district and flows down south and finally joins the Bay of Bengal near Akyab. The same river forms the western boundary of the Block to some distance in north and also in the ~~east~~ while the hill ridges separate hill Block from the southern Block i.e. Tuipang.

Lunglei District.

The boundary between the Lunglei district and the Chhimgtuipui district is also demarcated with the help of geographical features. It has a natural boundary on the basis of rivers and hill ridges. The southern boundary of Lunglei district and the northern boundary of Chhimgtuipui district is geopolitically significant.

Boundary Line Between Lunglei District and Chhimituipui District.

Starting from the east, the boundary line originates from the point where Tyao river (which forms the international boundary of India and Burma) flowing southward mingles with the Boinu river flowing northward (This also lies on the International Borderline between India and Burma) near the village Mullianpui. Then, the boundary line follows the small river course (a tributary of Boinu), in southward direction upto the place of origin, then boundary line takes the ridge Pangkana Tlang and then follows the route of Darzo river, a tributary of the river Chhimituipui, flowing southward (Chhimituipui river makes a curve and after completion of the bending, it descends down to southern direction) joins Chhimituipui river. (The meeting point is 3 miles north west of Vartek village under Sangau C.D. Block). The boundary line then, following the course of the river Chhimituipui goes in the southerly direction upto a place which is 3 miles north of Saihakai (new Saiha), and then, takes west turn following a small river route. The boundary line crosses the Mn 54 (Lunglei-Saiha) at Balhlakawn. Then, again moves up following the route of a tributary of river Mengpailui (which joins Chhimituipui river at Kawrthindeng). The line reaches downward upto a place called Khawmavi and then takes turn and moves

upward taking the route of small river which joins the Mengpuilui. The boundary line after crossing a ridge follows the river (Tributeries of the river Phairiang from east and west) and reaches Chawngte. North of Chawngte, the boundary line follows the river Tuichawng northward (the river originates from the southern ridge, flows northward and joins Karnfuli river) right upto Thanzamasara from where it takes turn in western direction where the line coincides with the confluence of the Thega (Kavnpui) and its tributary from the east near Barnasuri). From the above description it is evident beyond any doubt that the entire boundary line between the Lunglei and Chhimtuipui district follows the river route every where from east to west with intervening ridges here and there.

Within the Lunglei district the demarcation of the four C.D.Blocks namely, West Bunghmun, Lungsen, Lunglei and Hnathial is also more or less guided by the natural courses of the rivers and hills. The description of the boundary of the Blocks justify the role of geographical features in shaping the boundary.

West Bunghmun Block.

West Bunghmun Block is sandwiched between Thetlang river in the east and Harina river in the west (this also

forms the border between Bangladesh and Mizoram). The northern limit is determined by the river Mat and the tributaries of Tut and Tlawng rivers while the southern limit is carged by the river De and Kau which joins Karnfuli river in the west.

Lungsen C.D. Block:

The Mengpui lui and Kongten lui and Hnawngre lui form the eastern boundary of the Block while Thega river forms the western boundary. In the south, the Tuichavng and a tributary of Phairuang form the southern limit while river Sazuk, De and Saillui form the northern limit.

Lunglei C.D. Block:

This Block is flanked by the river Mengpuilui and Tlawng river in the west and Mat and Chhingtuipui in the east. The river Mengpuilui and its tributary form the southern limit while the northern limit is set by the Aibawk Block.

Hnathial C.D.

Hnathial C.D. Block:

This Block is surrounded by the river Mat in the west and Tyao in the east. The southern limit is shared by the river Mat, Chhintuipui and their small tributaries while northern limit is set by the river Buchunlui in the east and the Tuichang in the west.

Chhimituipui District:

With the attainment of Union Territory status in 1972 three new sub-divisions viz. Chawngte, Lawngtlai and Saiha (Sadar) were created within the Chhimituipui district. The district headquarters is Saiha (which was treated as a village even upto 1971 census). In 1981, it was treated as Census town having a population of over 700. The upgradation of the Pawi-Lakher region into a three units based on three distinct ethnic tribes, has a far reaching political and social significance. Geo-politically, it has a great counter-balancing force. Each sub-division has the majority of a particular tribe; for an example, the Chawngte sub-division has an absolute majority of the Chakma tribe while Lawngtlai and Saiha (Sadar) have majority population of the Pawi and Lakher respectively. Each tribe has a separate district council which coincides with the jurisdiction of the respective sub-division of Chhimituipui district. The creation of the sub-division on the basis of tribe is mainly due to political reasons than ~~the~~ administrative convenience. This has been done for fulfilling the social, political and economic aspirations of each tribe. The inter-tribal dispute or ill-feeling arising out of common regional council and the exploitation of the less advanced tribe by

the politically more advanced tribe has been thoroughly studied by the government while amending the Constitution of India.

There are four C.D. Blocks namely, Chawngte, Lawngtlai, Sangau and Tuipang. Within the jurisdiction of Chawngte sub-division only one C.D. Block, Chawngte has been created for the development of the Chakma tribe. The geographical demarcation of the boundary has been made on the basis of the river coinciding the boundary of the Block. It is sandwiched between the river Tuichang in the east (which originates from the southern ridges of Parva and flows in northerly direction and ultimately joins Kurnfuli river near Tlawng (Demagiri)), and the Thega (Kwrpui river). The long mountainous ridges of Ulphumtlang form the boundary of Bangladesh and India in the south-west portion of Mizoram. The southern limit of Chawngte Block is formed by the mountain ridges of Rengtlang and Lawngautlang while the northern limit is made by Thengpailui, a tributary of Tuichang flowing in the eastern direction.

The bifurcation of erstwhile Lunglei sub-division into two separate districts, namely, Lunglei and Chhimituipui after the formation of Union Territory of Mizoram in 1972

had a great social, political and historical significance. Socially, the three major tribes are distributed in the three distinct politico-geographical regions. The percentage of literacy or per capita income of the Chakma, Lakher and Pawi are proportionately less than the more advanced Lushai tribe, who are spread over Aizawl and Lunglei districts. There is a psychological impression in the backward tribes like the Chakma, Pawi and Lakher that they are socially, culturally, and politically neglected by the Lushais. Their areas are less developed. Thus, for proper development of these tribes it was decided to decentralise administration by making smaller administrative units for them.

Earlier the autonomous Pawi-Lakher Regional Council did not meet the requirement of the three major tribes of the area. The fear of suspicion developed in the minds of the Chakma and Lakher that they were exploited by the advanced Lushai and Pawi tribes. This suspicion mounted up to a high level. The government decided to create three autonomous District Councils for each tribe separately which may give psychological satisfaction. The Chakma District Council covered the area of Chawngte C.D. Block with headquarters <sup>at</sup> Chawngte (Kamalanggar). The Pawi District Council covered the jurisdiction

of Lawngtlai and Sangau C.D.Blocks with Headquarters at Lawngtlai while Lakher District Council comprised of the jurisdiction of the Tuipang C.D.block with its Hq. at Saiha. Thus these three major tribes got their aspiration fulfilled.

The above analysis clearly leads us to believe that the geographical elements have played a decisive role in demarcating the boundaries of Mizoram both internally as well as externally. Externally, the boundary demarcation between Mizoram and Burma; and between Bangladesh and Mizoram has followed the important rivers and mountain ridges. Internally too, the demarcation between Aizawl and Lunglei district and Between Lunglei and Chhintupui districts has also been based on the natural features like rivers and hill ridges. This is equally applicable in case of different C.D.Blocks falling within the jurisdiction of three districts of Mizoram. No other criteria have been adopted in demarcating the boundary of Mizoram. To some extent, however, this also synchronises with the anthropological basis of boundary demarcation as in case of the Chakma, Poi and Lakher areas. Three units, i.e. Chawngte C.D.Block (for the Chakma) Longtlai and Sangau Blocks (for Pois) and Tuipang Block (for Lakhers) have been made on the same consideration.

After the Peace Accord of 1986 ~~the boundary issue had again cropped up,~~ The leaders of Mizoram

have claimed the area beyond the present <sup>state</sup> boundary where the Mizos are living permanently in the neighbourhood of the state. The idea of 'Greater Mizoram' is hovering the minds of the leaders and the people in general to include the contiguous Mizo inhabited areas of Tripura, Manipur and Assam.

Senior Officials of both the state Governments (Assam, ) held meeting at Aizawl and agreed on a phased schedule to solve the boundary dispute between two states. In this connection a meeting of the Deputy Commissioner level was held on May 27, 1988 and the two parties agreed to evolve the norms for ground demarcation by November 15, 1988.

During the meeting the representative of Assam Government passed for the Assam Government Notification of 1933 to be considered the basis of the proposed demarcation of 115 km. inter-state boundary while the Mizoram delegation, on the other hand stridently argued that the 1875 innerline notification (also known as the foreign department notification No.2299 p) should form the basis of the demarcation.<sup>48</sup>

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48 . The Telegraph, 17th June, 1983.

Impact of Physiography on the Evolution of Administrative  
Pattern

Physiography of Mizoram has played pivotal role in the evolution of administrative pattern from the very inception. The Lushai Hills district was a Backward district under the Scheduled District Act of 1874. The district was economically backward and the tribes were not politically advanced and as such the responsibility was thrust upon the centre to protect their rights over the land and to prevent economic subjugation by the neighbours. The administration had a duty to educate these people to manage their own affairs. Subsequently, the Indian statutory Commission, (Simon Commission) 1930 suggested that these areas should be completely excluded from the jurisdiction of the elected ministers and of Provincial Legislature. Accordingly, the Government of India Act 1935 put this district under the 'Excluded Area' where the administration was not within the purview of the State legislature. The Governor as an agent of the Governor-general was to look after the district. Thus the physiography is responsible for the administrative set-up.

It is again, the physiography that the northern part of Lushai Hills District was governed by Assam Government

and the southern part by the Bengal Government. The northern Lushai Hills formed a part of Assam under the Chief Commissioner of Assam. The southern Lushai Hills became a district in 1891 and was placed under G.S. Murray as Superintendent.

In course of time, a high level conference was held at Calcutta on January 25, 1892 with Governor of Bengal, Chief Commissioner of Assam, Burma and high civil and military officers which recommended the following considering the general physiography and the strategic location;

- (i) The whole of Lushai hills country be merged with Chief Commissioner of Assam.
- (ii) Chittagong district be transferred from Bengal to Assam.
- (iii) The Northern Arakan Hill tracts be transferred from Burma to Assam.

But ultimately only the north and south Lushai hills were amalgamated into one district in 1898 and brought under the chief commissioner of Assam.

This was done for administrative convenience only due to physiography which <sup>make</sup> favour administration easy from Assam side.

The Post-Independence administration in Mizoram was also influenced by physiography. The office of the Superintendent which combined the power of district magistrate and the Police Superintendent was decentralised. The Superintendent of the district was replaced by the Deputy Commissioner and a separate police branch with Superintendent of Police was created. In this evolution the physiographic factors and socio-economic problem with multifarious human activities under the physiographic constraints induced further administrative development. The creation of sub-division and C.D. Blocks as decentralised administrative units <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ due to physiographic hazards which caused inconveniences to the ordinary man of the district in their day to day life.

The physical relief of Mizoram (earlier Lushai hills district) has influenced the pattern of events that developed in the present state. The Lushais from the beginning used to raid the villages of the plain districts of Cachar and Sylhet out of their economic needs following river course of Tlawng (Dhaleshwari) or Turial (Sonai) river. Consequently, the punitive operation by Sylhet Light Infantry and Cachar Frontier Police followed <sup>the</sup> river routes in absence of any land route. The mountainous terrain carpeted with dense forest obstructed the column to follow other

routes. The area was unknown to the British earlier. Rennel, the first British officer (chief engineer of Bengal) visited south Lushai hills in 1800 A.D. Thereafter followed the Naaf River Expedition to turn out the Burmese out of an island, Shapuri, which they had seized. Many of the expeditions in the initial stages of administrative consolidation followed the main physiographic alignments such as river courses, etc.<sup>49</sup> Hence, it is evident that the river routes were main Channels of development of historical and political events. In internal trade and exchange of local products the river routes were the only means of operation. Changsil and Bazarghat and Sairang were the important river head points.

Mizoram, on the whole exhibits lack of exploitable potential resources. British was never influenced by the physical resources, if any, of the Lushai hills. In fact,

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<sup>49</sup> In January 1861, a military expedition under Major Ravan followed the river course of Kornphuli and marched to Rottonpuia's village who was the chief offender. Capt. Lewin had encounter with the Shendus near the mouth of Sulla river where he was wounded. The famous raid of 1871 along the Cachar and Chittagong borders in which the Lushais destroyed the tea garden of Moierkhal, Ainakhal and Katlicherra and Alexanderpur encouraged the British to take punitive action. Brig. General Bouchier and Edgar, Deputy Commissioner, Cachar followed the Barak river up to Tipaimukh with the force. The Chittagong column under Brig. General Brownlow and Capt. T. Lewin moved along Karnphuli river route to recover Mary Vinchester. The Lushai expedition 1888-89 led by Col. Tregear and Capt. J. Shakespear and subsequently, Chin-Lushai expedition 1889-90 to punish the tribes also followed river routes.

They were interested to protect the commercial interest of the British planters whose bright prospect of tea industry induced British administration to make them free from the Lushai raids. The commercial interest of the British was vital and the tea industry was expanding rapidly in Cachar and Sylhet districts. This interest forced the authority to take punitive measures against the Lushai raiders who were under the impression that their hunting ground was gradually encroached by the British.

Thus, it can be stated that physiographic conditions exerted substantial influence on the nature of the activities and responses in the state. Their perception and response to situations thus illustrated constraints in which they operated.

The response of the tribal inhabitants of this area was encouraged by the physical milieu i.e. they revived series of hit and run attack on the adjacent areas of Cachar plains particularly the tea plantation. This hit and run tactics can be attributed to the fact that the traditional hunting grounds of these tribes usually happened to be located near the settled districts. Further this responses can be set to follow: (chart 14)

RESPONSE - PERCEPTION FRAMEWORK

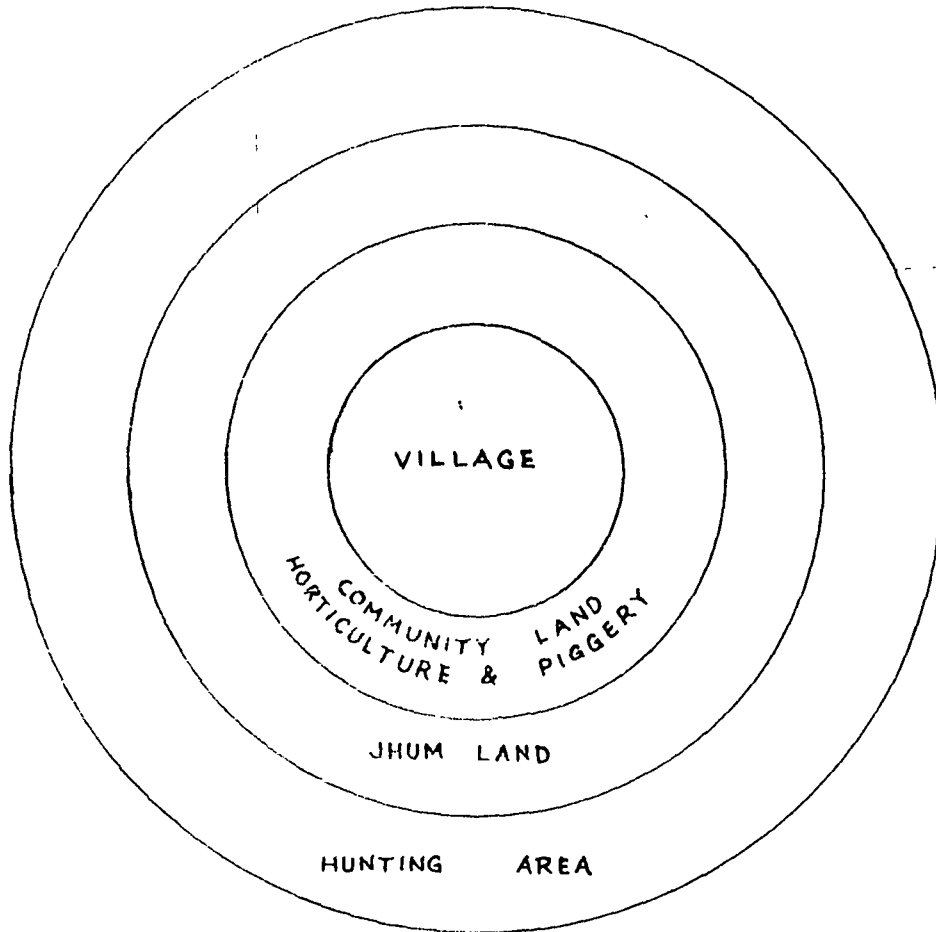


chart 14 -

Generalizations and Observations

<sup>It is clear from above</sup>  
~~Mizoram~~ at the local level, there was a definite spatial arrangements and interaction of the tribes. The Lushais, the Lakhers, and the pawis occupied the core and central position, while the Chakmas and the Reangs were by circumstances <sup>were</sup> compelled to occupy peripheral location, i.e. western Mizoram. Their minimal contact was hardly conducive for cultural exchanges or growth. In their isolation, their inward looking values, codes and ethics remained centred around village, clan and the chief. Its parameters were defined by the territorial extent.

Broadly speaking, all tribes in Mizoram lived and exhibited relatives conformity till recently. Each settlement village was a composite one. They were the extensions of the parent one, with all links maintained to give it a definite identity. These settlements were scattered and dispersed throughout Mizoram. Because of inter and intra-tribal rivalries, most of the settlements were located at the mountain tops. This was perhaps their collective response to the existing environmental condition. This was expressed in terms of a balance between their

material needs and availability of resources in the area. Their level of technology and the way the resources were exploited including the practice of jhum were, therefore, agents restricting their scope of activities.

Thus, as a result of the influence of terrain, their history of movement to the area and the methods of exploitation of resources, the tribes were able to establish a definite pattern of relationships. The three major tribes, the Lushais, the Lakhars and the Pawis had democratic system of administration. This was ideally suited because of the nature of dispersion. Again, during the period of settlement, the Lushais in general and Sailos in particular (sub-clan of the Lushais) were able to establish their sway by having their dialect as the lingua-franca. Their system was characterised by mass participation in the decisionmaking process. On the other hand, the Lakhars and the Pawis, having settled in areas south of the Lushais around river Koladyne, followed a more autocratic form of government. Yet, common to all the tribes was the dominant influence of the chiefs. This was reinforced by and through the community-based activities, exclusiveness, strong beliefs in the control of their affairs and self-sufficient simple ways of living. All this changed with the incorporation of the area with the British India.

The process of incorporation of the area ended as late as 1924, when the inhabitants of the Lushai hills began participating on a large scale in the regional and national events. In this regard, it should be noted that these tribes raided the regions to the north, i.e. Cachar, south western territories near Demagiri and places adjoining Chittagong hill tracts. The British response was in the form of expeditions that began in 1871 and culminated in 1890-91. The British followed a policy of non-intervention and maintained a loose control over the Hills. They backed the tribal chiefs in administration of the area.

However, <sup>the</sup> restrictions imposed on their movement within and outside their territory exposed the claustrophobic feelings among the inhabitants. Curtailment of independence, imposition of tax, anti-slavery measures, etc. were some of the initial British steps that created wide spread disenchantment among the tribal inhabitants. Despite the development efforts the above mentioned measures disrupted the traditional pattern of life and livelihood e.g. freeing of slaves deprived the chiefs and other influential members of labour for their jhum fields.

Again, as the chiefs were the primary instrument and go-between, the ruler and the ruled, developed difference

that become important. This alongwith the cessation of inter and intratribal feuds, aggravated the resentment. Thus, the earlier built in restraints in their social and administrative structure binding the chief with the populace was broken. Social harmony was disrupted that was compounded by the absence of alternative source of much needed replenishment of resources.

As a result, the imposed changes did not build a strong infra-structure of organised administration as the other provinces within the tribal society, it created a void that was not easily understood or assimilated by the people. On the whole, administration was in the nature of consolidation and carried out by the chiefs in the traditional pattern. There was a total absence of effective measures for the development of their economy or an alternative to substantiate additions the accrued through raids to adjoining area. Whatever advances that were initiated by the British served their interest alone in the district and sub-divisional headquarters. The discomfiture of the tribal inhabitants towards these measures were expressed in their folklore, e.g. <sup>a</sup> the folklore described the loss of freedom and the perpetual claustrophobic feeling of being hemmed by the British in all sides, etc.

Although , security of life and property was assured with the onset of the British, there was no widespread acceptance of their administration. In fact, it is not wrong to suggest that the incipient animosity between the ruler and the ruled had its origin at this juncture. In addition, it had also led to erosion of traditional democratic system of village administration and gave rise <sup>to</sup> clear demarcations in the form of influential chiefs, petty officers and the poorer section of the populace. The gap between the former two and the latter increased substantially to divide the society.

This was indeed a significant step towards detribalisation that was followed by effective legal and administrative measures which prevented and restricted free movement of people from other provinces into Lushai hills. The British rule was not the only agent of change, but there is no doubt, that the Lushai Hills District experienced a profound change.

The most important instrument of change was through the missionary activities that immediately followed annexation of the area by the British. Important changes effected were acceptance of christianity by the Lushais, Lakhers and Pawis as well as the conversion of the preliterate society to literate one. In the process, many of the innovations did not take into account the traditional institutions - for the later gradually faded into obscurity.

Suffice it to say that the overall effect of such a situation was the total weakening of their traditional way of life and livelihood. It created elite groups whose vested interests became potent factors in the future course of events.

In fact, the process of detribalisation that took place included transformation in their practices, customs and laws, religion, etc. Their exclusiveness and social organisation that was centred around village clusters became victims of change. Their social structure had undergone a deep metamorphosis.

Transplantation of traditions and practices as well as imposition of changes after annexation by the British, intensified segmentation and decision within the Mizo set up. The essential rural character of the power base was transformed to an urban base. Older group interests were changed to the interests of the elites who controlled substantial section of the populace. In short, this rapid transformation found them to be inadequate and unprepared to resist these developments. As a result, certain degree of inconsistency existed. It is an ambiguity unanswered by the tribal inhabitants themselves.

Further, the changes in the landscape was accelerated by emerging equations of spatial relationships. Developmental activities and administrative re-organisation induced changes in the cultural sphere wherein the focus of power shifted from rural areas to urban centres like Aizawl, Lunglei, Kolasib, etc., Resource - allocation and popular political participation became issues of popular importance.

In addition to the tendencies attributed to the physical milieu, extra-mural factors contributed to the discontentment and instability - both in terms of area as well as in terms of population. The ambiguity, then, was both of political and economic nature, in between the perception and responses on the one hand and environment and resources on the other. There had been combination of objectives that had elicited specific behavioural pattern. This was adaptive while retaining the essential characteristics of the people and the terrain. Most of the adaptations, regardless of the fact that participation was formal, elected government or taking part in insurgency, were impositions. For, these were restrictions placed by their geo-social framework.

Thus, the Mizo habitat at one and same time, circumscribes to a defined parameter or development in relation

to situations. Interactions, responses and reactions to stimuli represented their perception and behaviour.

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CHAPTER - VI

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## POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

### (a) TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS

#### Relevance of Traditional Institutions in Geography:

The traditional institutions are to an extent influenced by the geographical phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> During their migration as well as process of the re-settlement as static communities the geographical factors like climate, soil and water resources played a pivotal role. The geographical pressure compelled them to imbibe excessive strains which were in turn responsible for inter-clan and inter-tribal feuds. These Mizo tribes were spread over the entire area and took to migration for the purpose of security. Under such circumstances, the people, tribes and sub-tribes developed institutions of their own and their perception of space was circumscribed by the forces of geography. It is evident that geographical factors (steep ridges, deep valleys and dense forest) have kept hill tribes secluded from one another from the very inception of their settlement on the present location.<sup>2</sup> The growth of animosity and mutual distrust among the people living

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1. V. V. Rao 1987, A Century of Government and Politics in North East India, vol.III, Mizoram, Delhi, p.62.

2. B.P.Singh 1987, The Problem of Change, OUP, Delhi, p.142.

in isolated pockets of Mizoram ultimately led to the development of specific pattern of traditional Institutions. Chieftainship, as an institution in Mizoram can be explained as due to the forces of geographical phenomena. The chief was a necessity for migratory tribes where the population was unsettled and disorganised, wherein a strong man was required to act as guardian. The chief had his own perception of space - village. The village was everything for them. The chief and the villagers did not think above the village parameters. The plot of agriculture area, of household area, hunting, horticulture, jhuming and piggery or poultry area were delimited by the chief and his council of Edlers. The individual perception of space was narrow and remained conditioned by the chief and their council of edlers who realised taxes in different forms from the villagers. In consequence, it is clear that the geographical elements had a decisive role in the development of traditional institutions of chieftainship and the council of elders (Upas).

#### Chieftainship:

In Mizoram, the institution of chieftainship can be traced to the biological origin.\* The Sailo chiefs

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\*Zahmunha, being a brave and strong man was the first chief during the migration period. His sons viz. Zadeng, Paliana, Thangluaha, Thangura, Rivunga and Rokhuma became chiefs subsequently, of different villages. Thangura was most powerful among them whose descendents were called 'Sailo' who established their supremacy in whole terrain and spread over the entire region.

established their supremacy throughout the Lushai Hills excepts in Pawi-Lakher region (where they (Pawis) had their own chiefs controlling the south-eastern parts of Lushai hills) Similarly, the Paite, Thado, Ralte, Hmar, Zahua chiefs ruled their own tribes till the advent of the British.<sup>3</sup> ( Table -30).

Table - 30

*Mizoram* Chiefs in 1947

Name of tribes	No.of chiefs	No.of households
Sailo	105	15,154
Lusei Thangura	25	1,573
Ralte	7	819
Thado	2	713
Paite	4	904
Hmar	15	2,209
Pawi	30	614
Hualnge	7	1,522
Fanai	17	1,293
Mara	20	1,293
Others	28	2,050

Source: V.V.Rao, An article 'Sociology of Mizo Politics (in) S.M. Dubey (ed) N.E. India', p.217.

3. L.B.Thanga, 1978, The Mizos, Gauhati, p.8.

Powers and Position of the Chiefs:

Before the annexation <sup>of Mizora</sup> by the British in late 19th century, each village was an independent unit of administration under a chief called 'Lal' who was like a dictator. He was the hereditary chief. But it did not mean, however, that all members <sup>of</sup> of the ruling clan were chiefs rather it was only for those who were endowed with the capacity of drawing men to them under their command. A chief's power was measured by the number of his followers. The chiefs, in fact, were the head of the villages, the leaders in war, owners of the village land, protectors and the guardians of the subjects. In the beginning they enjoyed enormous powers but subsequently, they were curtailed by the British after annexation. The chiefs were the executive authority and the dispenser of the justice. In him, one could find the quality of a good guardian, a brave and dependable commander, and impeachable judge which were the essential attributes to organise and stabilise the primitive unsettled and disorganised habitats. The chiefs were endowed with vast knowledge of the villagers, their lives, difficulties and problems. In hours of crisis they used to supply essential commodities to the starving villagers.

The chiefs administered the villages with the help of 'Upas' or elders nominated by them settled all villages

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4. T.E.Lewin 1869, The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the Dwellers therein, Calcutta, p.217.

disputes, distributed land for jhum cultivation, collected taxes for the Government and carried <sup>out</sup> Government orders in the villages. The Upas or the council of elders were nominated by the chiefs at their discretion. They were like the 'panches' of the plain districts of India.<sup>5</sup> These elders were called the Upas who were rich, well-informed, broad minded and experienced wiseman in their respective fields. Their expertise knowledge helped chiefs in the smooth running of the village administration. The chiefs used to select from the persons who were the 'Thangchhuahpa' i.e. one who had done 'Khuagchawi' and were thus above petty jealousies. Besides, <sup>6</sup> upas some other officers were appointed by the chiefs to assist them in running the village administration smoothly. Besides, there were some other important officers in the villages who helped the administration. They are as follows:-

1. Zalen:- Next to Upas, another group of Officers were called Zalen who were from the aristocrat group. The chief used to consult them in critical hour <sup>1800</sup> ~~of erisis~~. These Officers were enjoying certain privileges and were exempted from paying taxes (Fathang) and were <sup>each one of them</sup> given a plot of land for cultivation and house construction.<sup>7</sup>

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5. V.V.Rao 1977, Sociology of Mizo Politics (in) S.M.Dubey (ed) North-East India, Delhi, p.100.

6. T.H.Lewin n.4 p.100.

7. The Statesman, Calcutta, Nov.10, 1952.

See L.B. Thanga, Ibid p.10.

2. Rambhauk- These were the experts on Jhum cultivation and assisted the chiefs in allotment of the land for Jhum cultivation. They knew the fertile area suitable for cultivation within the village jurisdiction and hence his experience in fair distribution of land for cultivation and house construction was always utilised. Their position was similar to the 'Patwary' in plain district of <sup>northern</sup> upper India. The chiefs were always accompanied with Rambhauks whenever they went round the agricultural field of the villages. Rambhauks were also enjoying certain privileges and exemption from the taxes.

3. Tlangau:- The chiefs order or any message to the villagers were served properly by a man called 'Tlangau' (Village-crier). The order mainly related to work to be done next day or the suspension of earlier orders of the chiefs. This work was done either at night or early morning when the villagers are in their houses. The Tlangau was paid one tin paddy from each house for their services. This resembles with the provision of 'Barahil' during the zamindari system, of Bihar.

Thirdeng:- The agricultural tools and implements of the villagers were made, repaired or changed by a man called 'Thirdeng' (Blacksmith). He held an important position in village life. Their services in those days were worth

appreciation. They were paid a basket of paddy from each house.

Puithiam:- Tribal ritual performances were conducted by a man called 'Puithiam' whose main purpose was to propitiate God and goddesses for peace and prosperity of the villagers. He was also paid one basket of paddy for his services. His position in the early days was of great importance which were reduced to an insignificant position after the spread of Christianity.

Sadawt:- Like the Puithiam<sup>a</sup> Sadawt was also engaged for similar religious performances. Both were given a special regard and veneration for their religious role. In the primitive society they helped the chief in consolidating and stabilising his position.

Khawchhiar:- In the villages of the early tribal society Khawchhiar held a significant position and was a link between the chief and the British Superintendent, and the chief and the villagers. He maintained vital statistics, <sup>an</sup> register of village house list, list of all guns in the villages, <sup>a</sup> roster duty chart to be required for social work. For this work he was exempted from house tax and manual work.

Powers of the Chiefs:

The chiefs were the main agents of the British administration in the Lushai hills. So they increased the number of chiefs taking them from other clans and allotted them vacant lands for the establishment of their villages.

The Pawis and the Lakhers had their own chiefs. The<sup>8</sup> chieftainship of the Pawis was on the same line as the Lushais. The Lakhers' chiefs were like Chin chiefs and were less democratic than <sup>those of</sup> the Lushais. The power of the chiefs was greater and the chiefs' relatives and other wealthy persons form a kind of peerage. A Lakher chief was the leader in war, owner of village land and the guardian of the people. The main duty of the Lakher chief was to protect his people, and help them in times of famine or other distress and in return, the people had to pay certain dues and services. They were always ready to render services whenever called for.<sup>9</sup>

Non-interference policy of the British emboldened the chief and made them dictator and power drunk in real sense of the term which pricked the conscience of the <sup>dishon</sup> authority

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8. J. Shakespear 1912, The Lushai Kuki Clan, London, p.216.

9. Rao n 5 p.217.

also. The British sense of justice and fair play induced them to abolish the system of the chieftainship.<sup>10</sup>

Judicial Power of the Chief:

The chiefs were the eyes and ears of village administration. They were both executive and Judicial heads of the villages. In their judicial capacity they decided all the litigations and petty feuds according to the customary laws of the society. The chiefs and 'Upas' constituted the village court and disposed of cases except heinous crimes like murder, rape, which were handled by the Superintendent. An appeal against the judgment of the chiefs was referred to the superintendent. But the superintendent always upheld the authority of the chiefs on the general principle of non-interference.

Rights and Privileges of the Chief:

The chiefs were the rightful owners of the land (ram) within their jurisdiction and the definite boundary of chief's village was clearly laid down and each one was having a 'ramrilekha' or boundary paper.

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10. B. Pakem, The changing Power Structure of Political Institution of Chieftainship in Mizoram, Journal of North East Indian Council for Social Science Research, Vol.V, No.11 Oct., 1981, pp.1-5.

(ii) The chiefs with the help of Upas distributed the land among the villagers for cultivation.

(iii) The chiefs were entitled for free labour from the villagers for construction and repair of their houses.

(iv) The chiefs were entitled to a share of the produce cultivated in their 'rams'. This share is popularly known as 'fathangs' paid by the villagers in kind.

(v) The chiefs were also enjoying privileges to get taxes from various commodities either grown or collected occasionally.

(vi) The chiefs used to get taxes from various sources, such as Sachhiach (Meat tax), Khualchhiah (bee tax), Chi-chilah (salt tax), sangah-chhiah (Fish tax), etc. Besides, tax was also collected from the traders doing business within jurisdiction. They had right to confiscate half of the paddy produced by the villagers who migrated to another villages without permission. The chiefs and the Upas were also entitled to get rupees five from a fine imposed on the villagers for doing offences. The chiefs were virtually the masters of the land and used to get free labour for their personal works. This is tant-amount to 'begari system'.

of the zamindars of the plain districts. Thus, it appears from above analysis that the chiefs were the real despots who exploited the commoners (Hnamchawn) socially, and economically. They may be compared with the feudal lords during the British days. It was intentionally done by the British authority to administer the people through the chiefs. However, there was an erosion in the status and powers of the chiefs. The lands were taken over by the government and the government became the owner of the land but redistributed again among the chiefs.<sup>11</sup>

Zawlbuk:

The Zawlbuk is one of the oldest traditional institutions of the Lushai Hills District which is a dormitory house, made by the villagers in open field by the side of chief's house. In early days, the unmarried youths were asked to sleep inside Zawlbuk and be in readiness to chase the enemy at short notice. The security of the village depended on the preparedness<sup>12</sup> and quick attack on the enemy.

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11. A.G. McCall, 1949 Lushai Chrysalis, London, pp.201-02.

12. J. Bazawna, 'Social Constraints in Mizoram' (in) ICSSR-NEERC sponsored Social Scientist Meet, Aizawl, 1988.

Zawlbuk was like a local authority consisting of two types of members: Tlangvals (grown up) and Thingnawifawn Naupang (young boys). The head of the institution was called 'Val Upa' who was elected on account of his personal quality of bravery industrious and large-heartedness. The zawlbuk was the training ground for youths in matters of general discipline and defence of the village. The youth potentialities were also channelised in making preparation for attack on enemy. Besides, the security of the village, Zawlbuk was also the centre for cultural activities, like dance, music and other allied activities. The guardians or the chiefs did not interfere in the internal work of the dormitory.

However, the Zawlbuk started declining with the spread of christianity. The life-style of Mizos was metamorphosed into western culture; and ~~life style completely changed~~. This affected the downfall of traditional institution of Zawlbuk.

### Modern Institutions

(a) Mizo District Council and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council.

#### Genesis:

Before the introduction of the Government of India Act 1919 the Lushai Hills District was a 'Scheduled District'

under the provision of the 'Scheduled District' Act 1874 on account of being a hilly area inhabited by the primitive tribes with poor economic resources. Again this district was put under the category of 'Backward area' in 1919 on the recommendation of senior officers like Robert Reid who favoured exclusion of the area from the reform scheme.<sup>13</sup> As a result the popular ministry in Assam could not exercise authority over the administration of the Lushai Hills district. The Governor of Assam was directly responsible for the administration of the backward area and the Council of Ministers was not responsible for its administration. Thus, the Lushai Hills district remained un-represented in Assam Legislative Assembly between 1921 and 1927. The Government of India Act, 1935 incorporated the provision of 'Excluded Areas' and partially Excluded Area for the Hill District. of Assam. So the Lushai Hills district, Naga Hills district and the North Cachar Hills were labelled as 'Excluded Area' while the Mikir Hills and the Garo-Khasi Hills as 'Partially Excluded' Area. The administration of the Excluded Area was carried on from April, 1, 1937 to 1947 by the Governor of Assam acting independently of the Government of Assam. The British policy

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13. Section 52(A)(2) of the Government of India Act 1919.

under the shadow of Excluded and Partially Excluded Area Act, kept these hill people isolated from the general administration. This arrangement intentionally done by the British to prevent 15 million tribals from the reforms. Taking the advantage of the arrangement, the Christian Missionaries under the patronage of the British brain-washed the simple and innocent Mizos and made them anti-Indian and thereby sowed the seed of anti-Indian feeling in their heart.

Scholars and administrators were more concerned with the future of the hills people of Assam. J. P. Mills was in favour of exclusion of all hill districts of Assam from the reforms and the formation of the Hill State under the control of his majesty Government. R. Coupland, a constitutional expert advocated for the creation of 'Crown Colony' for the tribals of Mongoloid stock inhabiting the hill tracts of eastern frontiers of India, and on the north western frontier of Burma who were <sup>consequently</sup> neither Indian, nor burmese and the innocently belong to the Indian or Burman Nation. Apparently, the tribals (Lashais) <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ not Indian in any sense of the word, <sup>14</sup> neither in origin nor in languages or appearance or in habit, <sup>and</sup> outlooks. It is mere a historical accident that they have <sup>were</sup> ~~been~~ tagged <sup>as</sup> ~~on~~ an Indian province. <sup>15</sup>

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14. R. Coupland, 1944, The Constitutional Problem of India Part III, London, p. 164.

15. R. Reid, 1944, Assam (in) Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, vol. XC April 11, 1944, p. 247.

Despite various shades of opinion put forward in this connection, the security of the British India was of paramount importance because of its proximity with China. With this and in view, Andrew Clow, Governor of Assam (1945) suggested the merger of the hill areas with Assam on the condition that the tribal customs and institutions be given due recognition and respect. In alternative separate province for hills with some link with regard to administration. ~~of certain~~ ~~be made.~~

Cabinet Mission Proposal:

The Cabinet Mission suggested that there should be an Advisory Committee on the rights of the Citizens, minorities and tribals of Excluded Areas. The Chairman of the Mission, Staffords Cripps, suggested that a proper and powerful committee should be set up to make the proposals for the administration of tribal areas. Accordingly, the Constituent Assambly set up an Advisory Committee in terms <sup>16</sup> of ~~reference~~ of the Cabinet Mission plan on January, ~~24th~~, 1947. This Committee appointed three sub-Committees. The <sup>17</sup> 'North-Eastern Frontier (Assam) Tribal and ~~Ex~~cluded Area

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16. Para 20 of the Cabinet Mission statement, May 16, 1946.

17. Constituent Assembly Debate vol.II pp.347-349.

Committee with G. N. Bordoloi as Chairman was one of them. Other members of this Committee were Rupnath Brahma (Plain tribal leader of Assam, A. V. Thakkar, Rev. Nicholsroy (Khasi leader) B. N. Rao, Constitutional Advisor of the C. A. Two co-opted members from Lushai Hills were Saprawanga and Khawtinkhuma both members of Mizoram Union Party.

District Conference:

When the independence of India became almost an accomplished fact, a section of Lushai under the patronage of the British opined to separate from Indian and join with Chin Hills of Burma. Under such situation, Macdonald, the Superintendent of Lushai Hills called a conference of the leaders of commoners and the representative of chiefs and formulated a scheme known as Macdonald scheme which included.<sup>18</sup> \* The following clauses:-

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- \* (a) There shall be a legislature which will include the representatives of the Chiefs and the Commoners.
  - (b) There shall be a judge and an auditor, a Minister and three Councilors who will constitute the executive. The Judge shall hold office for 16 years, auditor and Minister for 4 years and representatives for three years.
  - (c) There shall be a public service Commission for the recruitment of public personnel.
  - (d) The defence, external affairs and a few subjects would be transferred to Government of India.
  - (e) The territorial jurisdiction under the plan also included a part of Burma and would have access to the sea ~~in~~ the Bay of Bengal.

18. Proceedings of the North-East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Area Sub-Committee vol. II (Evidence Part I C.A.D.)  
Delhi, 1949

This scheme was unwarranted and unworkable. It reflected the ulterior motive of Macdonald <sup>who</sup> which aimed at separating the district from the country. As such the scheme was not acceptable by a sizeable section of the Mizos.

L. L. Peter, the last British Superintendent took initiative and formed a Committee of Chiefs and Commoners in 1947 which affirmed that the Lushai Hills would join India for 10 years after which they would decide their political future. This idea was also opposed by the Mizo Union Party. In the meantime Bordoloi Sub-Committee visited Aizawl and met <sup>a</sup> cross-sections of the people and collected opinion on <sup>the following:</sup>

(i) Whether the people want to remain with Central Legislature.

(ii) With the provincial legislature

(iii) Whether <sup>the people would</sup> ~~to~~ have representation in Ministry <sup>to</sup> safeguarding their interest.

(iv) To what extent people desire to have autonomy for district.

Recommendation of the Bordoloi Committee:

The Committee recommended the autonomous District Council to be constituted democratically with power of legislation over the occupation and use of land other than

reserve forest, and the cultivation of Jhum land should be left to the District Council.<sup>19</sup> The District Council shall have power to make law on the use of land, village forest and agriculture. The District Council should be entrusted to provide administration of justice. The Committee also recommended the provision of Regional Council in the District to protect the distinct culture and dialect of smaller tribes. The Committee was not keen to allow the Lushai Hills District to enjoy the status of being 'Excluded Area' as it felt that there was much advancement of the area. Dr. Guha, a famous anthropologist giving evidence before the sub-committee, suggested that no attempt should be made at assimilation which cannot take place by sudden breaking of tribal institutions. There should be gradual evolution on old foundation and the initiative should come from tribes themselves. He further opined that the future of these hills did not seem to lie in absorption in hill people but in political and social amalgamation.

Constituent Assembly and The Sixth Schedule:

The report of the North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Area Sub-Committee was placed before the constituent Assembly for discussion. There was criticism against the recommendations for creation of the District Council

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19. Constituent Assembly Debate, Vol. II, p. 112

and Regional Council in the <sup>h</sup> Hill <sup>d</sup> District of Assam. Kuladhar Chaliha,<sup>a</sup> member from Assam criticised the draft of 'Sixth Schedule' as the product of the British. He said that the British was in favour of it as it wanted to sow the seed of the separatist tendency among the Indians. In other words, such a step seemed as a exercise to create 'Tribalistan'<sup>20</sup> as we have created Pakistan. The ultimate result would be the creation of 'Communistan'. Taking the thread of discussion Brajeswar Prasad, a member from Bihar pointed out that the creation of District Council and Regional Council would lead to the establishment of another Pakistan in the Country. Such a vast power in the hands of tribals would lead to chaos,<sup>21</sup> anarchy, disorder throughout the country and the creation of such Council would jeopardise the interest of the whole country. He argued that if we want to educate the tribal people in the art of administration let us enact Municipal Act. If we want to keep them separate, they would combined with Burma. The autonomous District Council would be a weapon to keep perpetually away from non-tribals and thereby a bond of friendship would go for ever. These institutions would promote aloofness and there might<sup>22</sup> not be scope of assimilation.

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(CAD)  
20. Constituent Assembly Debate, vol. IX p.1008.

21. Ibid p.1009

22. Ibid, p.1015.

Contradicting such arguments Jaipal Singh, a tribal member<sup>23</sup> from Bihar and Rev. Nichols Roy, a Khasi member<sup>24</sup> from Assam argued that it was an attempt to create a feeling of friendliness and mutual understanding and unity. Dr. Ambedkar also supported their arguments and observed that tribals in other areas are more or less Hinduised and were assimilated with the culture and civilisation of the people with whom they lived. But this was not the case of Assam. The Lushais occupied a position similar to that of Red Indians in U.S.A. Thus finally the constituent Assembly approved the provisions<sup>25</sup> of District Council and Regional Council which were inserted in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Thus, the Government of Assam enacted Assam Autonomous District (Constitution of the District Council) in 1951. The Mizo District Council for the Mizos and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council for the Pawi-Lakher and Chakma Tribes were set up in 1952 and 1953 respectively.<sup>26</sup>

### Constitutional Structure of District Council and Regional Council.

Based on the provisions enshrined in the Sixth Schedule of the constitution, the Government of Assam enacted the

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23. Ibid p.1015

24. Ibid pp.1022-33.

25. Ibid p.1025

26. Govt. of Assam Notification No. TAD/R/10/50 dated 31.7.51 and TAD/R/15/50 dated 31.7.51.

Assam Autonomous District (Constitution of the District Council) Act in 1951. Consequently, the Lushai Hills District Council (later in Mizo District Council), and the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council came into being in 1952 and 1953 respectively. The Mizo District Council worked for 20 years and was abolished in 1972 (when Mizoram became a Union Territory) along with the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council under the North-Eastern Areas (re-organisation) Act, 1971. The Pawi-Lakher Regional Council was trifurcated into three Regional Councils - Pawi-Lakher Regional Council, the Lakher Regional Council and the Chakma Regional Council and each one was upgraded to the District Council in 1972 under the same Act (Table -<sup>27</sup>31).

Table - 31

MIZORAM - DISTRICT COUNCILS AND REGIONAL COUNCILS

Name of the District Council	No. of members	Date on which constituted
1. Lushai Hills Dist. Council (Later on the Mizo Dist. Council).	24	Apr. 23, 1952
2. The Pawi-Lakher Regional Council.	12	Apr. 23, 1953
3. The Pawi-Regional Council	12 0	
4. The Lakher Regional Council	9 0	Apr. 02, 1972
5. The Chakma Regional Council	9 0	
6. The Pawi-Dist. Council	0	
7. The Lakher Dist. Council	0	Apr. 29, 1972
8. The Chakma Dist. Council	0	

Source: H. Thanganga, 1988, An Article presented in Seminar, on Social Scientists' Meet', Aizawl, March 27, 1988.

27. North-East Area (Reorganization) Act, 1971.

The main reasons behind such change was ethnicity, compact geographical contiguity, fiscal adequacy and community of interest. Over and above, the political factors were more powerful and dominating which overshadowed other factors.

Election:

For the smooth conduct of election, the District Council is divided into single member constituency on the basis of population and area.

The first Election of the Mizo District Council was held on January 4, 1952 followed by second election of January 25, 1957 and <sup>Mizo</sup> 1962. No election of the Council took place in 1967 due to insurgency. Similarly the Pawi Regional Council election took place in 1953, 1958, 1964 and 1970.

The Autonomous District Council is a local authority which has a definite area constituted in the pursuance of Art. 244(2) and 275(I)(a, (b) of the Indian Constitution. It has a corporate character having perpetual succession and a common seal with a right to sue and be sued. The council consists of members elected on the basis of adult franchise. There is provision of nomination by the governor on the recommendation of the Chief Executive Member. The nominated

members normally belong to the minority group which are not represented in the council. The composition of the District Council was as follows:

<u>Name of the District Council</u>	<u>No. of members</u>
1. The Mizo District Council	24(20 + 4 nominated)
2. The Pawi-Lakher Regional Council	12( 10+ 2)
3. The Pawi-District Council	21
4. The Lakher District Council	16
5. The Chakma District Council	12

Qualification:

A person shall not be qualified to be elected as a member of the District Council unless he is a citizen of India, has completed 25 years of age and is entitled to vote in the election of member of the council, besides, he must belong Scheduled Tribe community of the District. No one shall be member of two District Council. Those who have attained the age of 21 years are eligible for vote in the District Council election provided his name is registered in the electoral roll of the Assembly. The only limitation in this case is that he must have resided in the constituency at least for six months. In case of

non-tribal, he must be a permanent resident of the autonomous District areas and must have resided within its jurisdiction for not less than 12 years.

Tenure:

The term of office of the members of the District Council was 5 years from the date of the commencement of the first meeting after the general election of the council. There is also provision for extension of the term for one year.

Rights and Obligation:

Ordinarily the members enjoy the same rights and privileges as enjoyed by the members of the legislature.

Chairman and Deputy Chairman:

There shall be a chairman and a Deputy Chairman of the Council to conduct the business of the session. They are elected by the elected members of the council. The Deputy Commissioner presides over the said meeting. In 1952 Dr. Rosiana was elected as Chairman and Tui-Khurliana as Deputy Chairman of the Lushai Hills District Council.

Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee is a miniature cabinet to carry out the Executive function of the District Council. The Executive Committee consists of one Chief Executive member and two other members. The Chief Executive Member (CEM) is selected by the members of the District Council and two other Executive Members are appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the C.E.M. from amongst the members of the District Council. Besides, there is a Secretary who is appointed by the CEM from outside.

Functions of the District and Regional Council:

The Mizo District Council and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council (now Pawi-District Council, Lakher District Council, Chakma District Council) have been provided wide ranging powers. These powers can be grouped under three headings<sup>28</sup>: Legislative, Executive and Judicial. Under Legislative side the District Council make law on (a) allotment, occupation use and settling a part of land (other than reserve forest) for the purpose of agriculture, grazing, residential or other non-agricultural purposes. Likely to promote the interest

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28. Sixth Schedule(Para 3) of the Constitution(Art.244(2) 275(1)).

of the inhabitants of any village or town (b) The management of forests not being a state reserved forests (c) The use of any canal or water course for agricultural purpose (d) The regulation of the practices of Jhum or other forms of shifting cultivation. (e) The establishment of the town and the village councils and the determination of the powers and functions (f) any other matters relating to village or town administration including town or village police (g) public health and sanitation (h) The appointment or succession of Chief or headmen. (i) The inheritance of property (j) Marriage and divorce (k) Social customs, money, lending and trading by persons other than the Scheduled Tribes.

Executive Powers:

According to para 4 (sub para 6) the councils had the executive powers to construct or manage primary schools, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads and paths, and also to prescribe the medicine and manners of primary education in the Mizo District.

Judicial: So far as the judicial powers are concerned, para 4 of the sixth schedule endows the District council to constitute village council courts and District council courts within the autonomous areas for the adjudication of trial

of suits and cases on customary laws in which both the parties are tribals.

The District Council court and the Regional Council court are the courts of appeal in respect of all suits and cases whose trial has been done by the village council courts and the subordinates District council courts. No other courts except the High court and the Supreme court of India have jurisdiction over suits and cases decided by the council courts. The council with prior approval of the Government may also frame rules and regulations for the constitutions of these courts.

Financial Power:

The District Council and Regional Council are provided with financial powers in respect of assessment and collection of land revenue and also imposition of taxes on lands within the jurisdiction.<sup>30</sup> The District Council for an autonomous district shall have the power to levy and collect all or any of the following taxes within the jurisdiction of the council. These include:<sup>31</sup>

- (a) Taxes on profession, Trades, callings and employments;

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30. Ibid para 8

31. Ibid Para 8(3)

- (b) Taxes on animals, vehicles, and boats;
- (c) Taxes on the entry of good into a Market for sale therein and tolls on passengers and goods carried in ferries;
- (d) Taxes for the maintenance of schools, dispensaries or roads.
- (e) <sup>issuance</sup> Licences or leases for the purpose of procuring for or extraction of minerals.

Further, there is provision for a District Fund for each Autonomous District and Regional Fund for each autonomous Region to which shall be credited all moneys received respectively by the District council and Regional council in course of administration of the such district or region.

As regards the tax on motor vehicles it is assigned to and collected by the State Government on behalf of the District council. The councils also derive their income from grants in-aid, loans and advances etc. from the State Government. In fact, the District Council enjoys so much autonomy that the acts of the Parliament and the State legislative on the above subjects do not normally apply to the autonomous District.

#### Village Council.

The Lushai Hills District (village council) Act was

passed in 1953 to establish village council. This was thought to be essential to democratise the old system after the vacuum created by the abolition of village chieftainship. Similarly, the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council (village Council) Act was passed in September 1954 to streamline village administration in the Pawi-Lakher region.<sup>32</sup>

Organisation of Village Council:

Village Council is the lowest unit of administration of Mizoram. The number of the village councils in Mizoram stands as 494 (373 in Aizawl, 121 in Lunglei and Chhimituipui district). On every <sup>33</sup>300 houses there is a village council which consists of 12 members depending upon the number of houses specified in the Act; one third of the total strength is nominated by the administrator (who is the government official) and rest two third are elected by the members on the basis of adult franchise for three years. Members belonging to schedule tribes who are above 25 years<sup>age</sup> are eligible for membership of the village council. The election procedure in this case is the same as in case of Assembly or Parliament election.

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32. Brochure of Mizo District Council and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council.

33. V.V. Rao, n 1.p.205.

Village Council Executive:

The Executive body of the village council consists of the President and Vice-President and a Secretary. The Secretary is appointed by the administrator or the district council. The President and the Vice-President are elected by the members of the village Council. The Meeting the village council is summoned by the President who presides over the meeting. The President may resign any time from the Executive committee. But the village council has no power to remove the President. This is highly undemocratic.

Powers and Position:

The President is the chief functionary at village level. He issues instructions and other notices for prevention of dangers such as outbreak of fire, epidemics etc. in the village. He is assisted by the Secretary who is appointed by the Government. The Secretary maintains the records of the village council. The President is also the chief custodian of the village council fund.

Function of the Village Council:

The village council is entrusted with administrative and judicial functions. The administrative function includes

the construction and maintenance of inter-village paths, roads, distribution of jhum land (earlier done by the chiefs) by drawing lots. Besides, the council also allots house sites to the villagers maintains birth and death register and regulates voluntary service ( Hnatlang) for community.

Judicial:

The village council court is the lowest court in the village whose strength varies from 3- 11 who are elected by the villagers for three years. The court tries both civil and criminal cases falling within the purview of village tribal laws and customs. Petty offences of theft, pilferage, mischief and trespass, assault, drunken and disorderly browling, public nuisance. The court can impose a fine for such offences up to Rs.50/- only. An appeal against the order or the decision of the village council court <sup>can be made</sup> lies in the subordinate district council court which can be preferred within 60 days of the judgement of the village council court.

The constitution of the village council replaced the traditional institution of the chieftainship and the council of elders (Upas) which <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ undemocratic in true sense. The

modern institution of village council has a great impact on the socio-economic life of the villagers in Mizoram. Although the council suffered from the shortage of trained personnels and paucity of funds, the <sup>24</sup> council has paved the way for democratic system at the lowest level in Mizoram. The council has no power of taxation and tax collection. However, its functioning in the remote and inaccessible villages has encouraged the villagers to follows democratic path. The President is most powerful but not dictator in the village <sup>who is obeyed & respected</sup> whose ~~command and respect~~ always lie in their heart. <sup>34</sup>

#### Analysis of the working of the District Council.

The main idea behind framing of the sixth schedule of the constitution was to provide a simple and inexpensive administrative machinery in the tribal districts of Assam so that they could protect their customary laws, traditional institutions, forests, law of inheritance, and their mode of administration of justice. The creation of the District council and Regional council was also to enable them to shoulder political responsibility in the art of administration.

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34. B. B. Goswami, Mizo Unrest, Jaipur, p.106.

Secondly, each tribe <sup>was</sup> given representation in these councils so as to defuse ethnic tension or dominance. Even the provision of nomination for unrepresented tribes or sub tribes <sup>was</sup> kept reserve. Such tribes included Riangs, Nepali, or Chakma, etc.

The working of the Mizo District Council and Pawi Lakher District Council <sup>was found</sup> did not serve the purpose for which it was created. The Assam Autonomous District (Constitution of District Council) Rules 1951 <sup>was</sup> subsequently, amended in 1954, 55, 56 and 57) thus rules framed by the Mizo District Council on the basis were also amended in 1957, 61 and 62 but these were never implemented (The Council was never summoned thrkke in a year).<sup>35</sup>

The Mizo district council and the Pawi Lakher Regional Council enacted some useful laws which served the need of the people and reduced hardship and exploitation by the chiefs.<sup>36</sup> The Mizo district Council passed laws on land and Revenue in 1957 which were subsequently amended in 1960, 63 and 67. Accordingly, the ownership of the land was transferred from

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35. Collection of Mizo District Council Acts, Regulations, Rule p.130.

36. Ibid (the Lushai Hills Housing site: Act, 1953) p.130.

the chiefs to the District and Regional Councils. The transfer of right over land was not permitted without the permission of District Council. The Mizo District Council enacted the Mizo district (transfer of land Act 1964 to regulate the transfer of land within the jurisdiction of District Council. Accordingly, the land was not to be sold, mortgaged, leased, bartered, gifted or otherwise transferred by a tribal and to a non-tribal or by a non-tribal to another non-tribal without the permission of the executive Committee of the District Council. Apparently, it seems that there is violation of the rule of law (Article 14 to 20) equality before law\* but the spirit of the sixth schedule had always been kept in mind i.e. the protection of the hillmen's land and wealth from exploitation by unscrupulous plainmen.<sup>37</sup>

The Mizo District Council and the Lakher Regional Council were supposed to ameliorate the socio-economic backwardness of the district by utilising the economic potentiality but later on the attention had been diverted towards politics on the pretention of Mini-state.

Some of the acts passed by the Council were also prejudiced. These were challenge~~d~~ in High Court and declared

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37. S. K. Choubey, Hill Politics in North-East India, p.102.

<sup>void</sup>  
invalid. For ~~an~~ example, the trading by non-tribals Act, 1954 was turned down by the Supreme Court on the ground of violation of fundamental rights (Lal Sarda, a non tribal businessman challenged the act and the Court finally set aside the Act)

The Mizo District Council worked well for few years but subsequently, failed to achieve its goal. The heavy expenditure over establishment became burden on State Exchequer. Further, resources were not properly tapped. Out of 6919 Sq. Miles of land only 70 sq. miles had been assessed.

The District Council, as a matter of fact, did not have sufficient power and authority to take effectige part in the development programme and Council did not make proper use of their power of legislation and taxation. The Council, therefore, suffered from inadequacy of financial resources and lack of sympathy from government. The Council failed to evoke local initiative and people's participation in developmental activities to a desired extent due to political instability and disturbed atmosphere which generated hatred. <sup>insecurity</sup>

Impact of Traditional Institution on subsequent Development:

The traditional institutions have far reaching impact on political and administrative system in Mizoram. The institution of Chieftainship and the council of elders (Upas) were

inevitable during the formative stage of Mizo society. Their services were required during the unsettled and disorganised life of Mizo tribes. The chief played a pivotal role in stabilising village life and minimising fear of insecurity to the villagers. Subsequently, the feeling of status consciousness (commoners and autocrat chiefs) surfaced and notion of exploitation of commoners by the chiefs was sounded in the air. This resulted into the formation of first political party the Mizo Union (MU) which became popular among the commoners. The abolition of chieftainship under the leadership of the M.U. and establishment of modern institutions like District Council and Regional Council are the subsequent development. These institutions enabled tribal people to administer themselves in all matter of vital concern and save them from the administration which was both expensive and remote. Thus the root of the modern democratic institution in Mizoram lies in the age old traditional institution of chieftainship.

The chieftainship ~~has~~ consolidated the migratory people and helped them in stabilising their footing. The

growth of sub-nationalism<sup>38</sup> on the basis of ethnicity by uniting the various sub-tribes into a common fold is also due to the pivotal role of <sup>The</sup> Mizo chiefs.

### Head of the State.

With the implementation of the North-Eastern areas (Re-organisation) Act, 1971, the Mizo hills district was upgraded to the status of Union Territory<sup>a</sup> as per para 6 of the Act and the Government of the Union Territories (Amendment) Act 1971<sup>39</sup>. As a result the Mizo District Council was abolished (Para 20 A of sixth schedule). The three other tribes of the district namely the Poi, Lakhers and Chakmas reaped the benefit of this reorganisation and three district councils were created.

Immediately after the formation of the Union Territory<sup>40</sup> of Mizoram, the Chief Commissioner was appointed to represent

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\* Akin to nationalism, regionalism is sometimes held to be synonymous with, and/or dubbed as sub-nationalism and localism and even anti-system and anti-nationalism.

38. A.D. Pant in Introduction pp.(V-VII), (in) Akhtar Majeed (ed) Regionalism: Development and Tension in India, Delhi, 1984.

39. 27th Amendment of the Constitution (North-East Area Re-organization ) Act 1971.

40. R.N. Prasad, 'Important Features of Sixth Schedule to the Constitution - An Analysis' - Journal of Political Studies, Jullundher, 1979, pp.41-42.

the state. S. J. Das, IAS, formerly Commissioner of Cachar and the Mizo Hills district was appointed the first Chief Commissioner of Mizoram. The Chief Commissioner occupies a position lower than the Lt. Governor. This arrangement wounded the sentiments of the leaders and the general people of Mizoram and hence, they represented to the Central Government. Subsequently, the post of Lt. Governor was created and S. P. Mukherjee, a retired Chief Secretary of Tripura was appointed first Lt. Governor of Mizoram on 23rd April, 1972.

#### Powers and Functions.

The Lt. Governor is the head of the State (U.T. of Mizoram) and he is endowed with legislative, executive, judicial and other miscellaneous powers. The Lt. Governor summons, prorogues and dissolves the legislative Assembly of Mizoram. But he is advised by the Chief Minister in all these matters. However, he can summon sessions under extra-ordinary circumstances (if he is not advised by the Chief Minister in this respect) Normally, the Governor including Lt. Governor acts on the advise of the cabinet in prorogation and dissolution of the house. Brigadier T. Sailo, (retd) Chief Minister advised Lt. Governor in 1978 to dissolve the Assembly when some of his partymen

defected. The Lt. Governor obliged him and dissolved the Assembly. But he has discretionary power in this respect also. Besides, all the bills (including Amendment to the existing Act) must be accorded green signal by the Governor before its introduction in the Assembly. No bill shall be introduced in the legislative assembly except on the recommendation of the L.G. (Administrator) if such bills make provision for (a) imposition, abolition, remission, alteration or regulation of any tax (b) amendment of any law with the respect to any financial obligation undertaken or to be undertaken by the Government of India (c) appropriation of money out of the consolidated fund of Mizoram.

The Lt. Governor signs the bill which have been passed by the legislative Assembly of Mizoram. The Governor, however, may reserve the bill for consideration of President who can direct the Administrator (Governor) to return the bill to the house for reconsideration. Besides this, the Governor has also special responsibility in respect of security of the Border and he may take action which he thinks necessary.

#### Administrative Function.

The Administrator (L.G.) is the custodian of State property. He must protect and maintain properties of Mizoram in consultation with the cabinet. He may act in his individual

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capacity also. It is his duty to enforce the rules and regulation in relation to the condition of services of this persons recruited for the services of Union Territory. The Administrator may call any time, the Secretaries of the department in disposal of important cases.

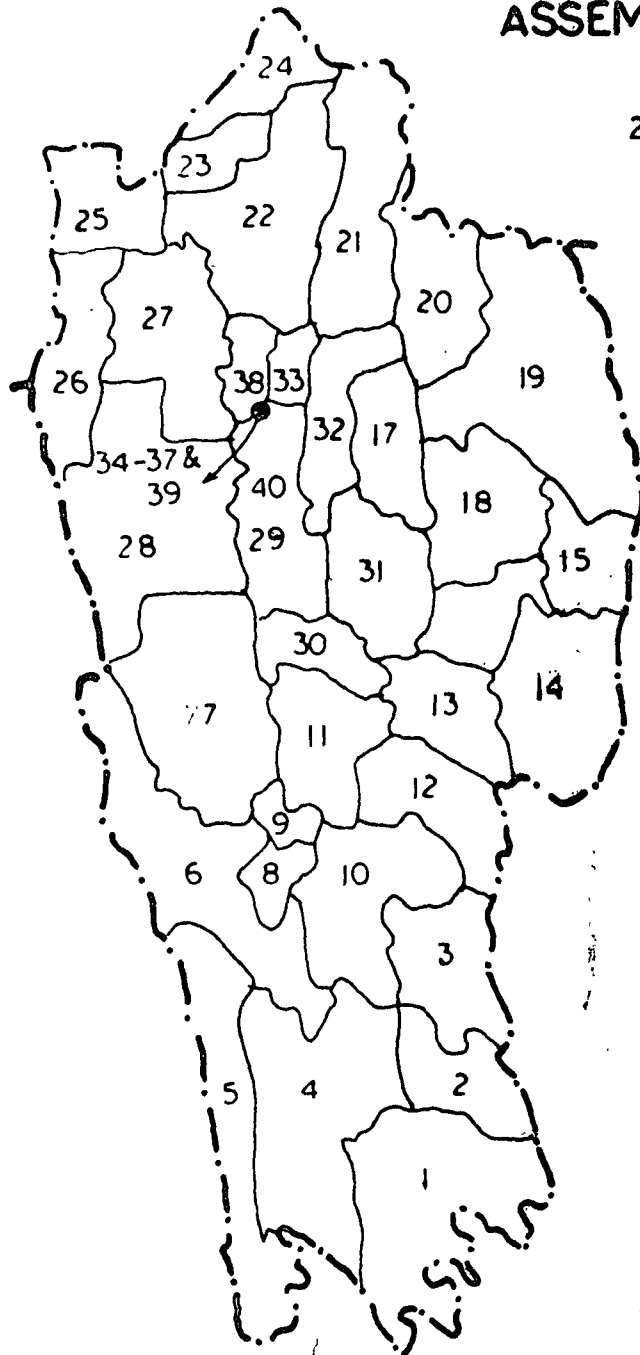
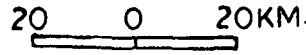
#### Council of Ministers.

There shall be a council of Ministers which Chief Minister at his head to give aid and advise to the Administrator (L.G.) in his functions. The council of Ministers is the highest political institution in the state. This institution is the pivot round which the whole political machinery revolves. It is steering wheel of the ship of the state in actual practice the Governor of Mizoram like other state is the nominal executive head of the state. The real power lies in the Council of Ministers of which the Chief Minister is the supreme Authority. The first Council of Ministers was constituted in Mizoram in 1972 which was formed by the Mizo Union party led by Ch.Chhunga, other minister were Khawli-nkhuma, Vaivenga, R. Thangliana and Lalsangzuana. The Ministry functioned till the expiry of its term (i.e. May 1977). After the completion of its term the cabinet was dissolved and the President's Rule was imposed on May 11, 1977. After the second General Election in May, 1978 the Peoples Conference,

a regional party led by Brig. T. Sailo (Retd.) was appointed Chief Minister. Other important Ministers were Lalhming Thanga, Zairemthanga, P.B. Rosanga, and F. Malawma. The internal friction later on forced Brig. Sailo to request the Governor to dissolve Assembly and fresh Election was again held in 1979. T. Sailo again got to power. After the fourth election of Mizoram Assembly in 1984 the Congress party led by Lalthanhawla formed the Government. But after the peace accord of 1986 a coalition Government (Congress(I) and M.N.F. party) was formed and Laldenga became the Chief Minister and Lalthanhawla, Dy. Chief Minister.

The Council of Ministers is the pivot of state administration. The Chief Minister allocates the portfolio to the respective Ministers. The Chief Minister has the prerogatives to distribute the Portfolio according to his discretion. The Chief Minister supervises the performances of all the Departments and divests power and portfolios of the Ministers in case of unsatisfactory performances. The Chief Minister presides over the meeting and prepares agenda for the meeting. It is the duty of the Chief Minister to furnish all information relating to the administration of Mizoram and all proposals for legislation. The Administrator (L.G) may call for any information from the Chief Minister.

# MIZORAM ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES



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|------------------|--------------------|
| 1 TUIPANG        | 21 RATU            |
| 2 SAIHA          | 22 KAWNPUI         |
| 3 SANGAU         | 23 KOLASIB         |
| 4 LAWNGTLAI      | 24 BILKHAWTHLIR    |
| 5 CHAWNGTE       | 25 LOKICHERA       |
| 6 TLABUNG        | 26 KWARTHAIH       |
| 7 BUARPUI        | 27 MAMIT           |
| 8 LUNGLEI SOUTH  | 28 PHULDUNGSEI     |
| 9 LUNGLEH NORTH  | 29 SATEEK          |
| 10 TAWIPUI       | 30 SERCHHIP        |
| 11 VNAVAI        | 31 LUNGPHO         |
| 12 HIJAHTHIAL    | 32 TLUNGVEI        |
| 13 VANLAPHAI     | 33 AIZAWL NORTH I  |
| 14 KHAWBUNG      | 34 AIZAWL NORTH II |
| 15 CHAWPHAI      | 35 AIZAWL EAST I   |
| 16 KHOWAI        | 36 AIZAWL EAST II  |
| 17 SAITUAL       | 37 AIZAWL WEST I   |
| 18 KHAWZAWL      | 38 AIZAWL WEST II  |
| 19 NGOPA         | 39 AIZAWL SOUTH I  |
| 20 SUANGPUI LAWN | 40 AIZAWL SOUTH II |

Mizoram Legislative Assembly:

This is the highest political institution in Mizoram which came into being in 1972 (when Mizo Hills District was upgraded into a Union Territory named Mizoram the Assembly consisted of 33 members ( 30 elected and 3 nominated) subsequently the strength was raised to 40 (21 seats in Aizawl, (Map 15) 5 in Lunglei and 4 in Chhimitpuik district). The delimitation of constituency is based on population and geographical contiguity. The ethnic consideration was also kept in mind while drawing the constituency boundary.

Election:

After the formation of the Union territory, the first election of the Assembly was held in 1972 in which 1,56,898 electors (76,315 males and 80583 females participated in the election of 30 members. The number of electors subsequently, increased to 3,33,733. The percentage of female vote is neck and neck to the male counterpart although their representation in the Assembly is very poor. The present strength of the Assembly is 40 only. The demarcation is on the basis of geographical condition of the area and not on the garrymandering policy. (map)<sup>41</sup>

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41. The Statesman, Calcutta 13 February, 1987.

See also Report on the Fifth General Elections to the Legislative Assembly of Mizoram, 1987. Issued by Chief Electoral Officer, Govt. of Mizoram, Aizawl.

The first Assembly Election took place in 1972 and the Mizo Union party was voted to power (M.U. 21 seats and Congress - 6, Independent - 3, and nominated - 3) The second Election took place in 1978 and the Peoples Conference party was voted to power. But due to internal split in the party the Assembly was dissolved within six months. The mid term election held in early 1979 again gave mandate in favour of the Peoples Conference. The fourth election of the Assembly held in 1984 gave mandate in favour of Congress(I) Party led by Lalthanhawla. However, political settlement with M.N.F. on June 30, 1986 led again <sup>to the</sup> dissolution of the House and fifth General Election held on February 26, 1987 voted M.N.F led by Laldenga to power.

#### Speaker:

The newly elected members of the legislative Assembly elect the speaker and Dy.Speaker of the house to conduct its business. The first speaker of the Assembly was H.Thangsanga. The Speaker controls the business of the house maintains order and decorum in the House.

#### Powers and Privileges of the Members.

The powers and privileges of the members of the Mizoram Legislative Assembly are the same as enjoyed by the

members of other State Assemblies. The salary and allowances are decided by the House itself.

Session:

According to the provision contained in Act 1974 of the Constitution, the House shall meet at least once in a year and six months shall not intervene between the last date of the first session and first date of the next session. One third of the strength forms the quorum of the house. The opening session is addressed by the Governor of the State. The medium of the transaction of the proceedings of the house is Mizo language.

Powers and Functions.

Like other state Assemblies, the Mizoram legislative Assembly has also power to make law on any item contained in the state list or the concurrent list of the seventh schedule of the Constitution subject to restriction under Article, 286, 287, 288 and 304 of the Constitution.

Committee System.

Like other states Assemblies, the Mizoram State Assembly also works through various committees like Business Advisory Committee, Public Accounts Committee, Estimates Committee,

Privilege Committee, House Committee, Subject Committee (also called the budget Committee) and several other committees. The appointment of the Chairman and other members of the Committee is made by the speaker of the house on the basis of knowledge, experience and party affiliation.

*Generalization: - p 266*

The geographical phenomena tended to separate North East India into different local zones, each with a regional spirit of its own. Each zone or unit has made the ground fertile for the growth of regionalism. The Lushai Hills District (now Mizoram) is one of such units which clearly reflect<sup>s</sup> the larger influence in its major activities. Consequently, separatism is often induced and which attempts to assert itself in the regional landscape. The ethnic and linguistic demands as a result asserted themselves.

The Mizos and associated sub-groups migrated to this land in different phases and occupied either the virgin land or forced the earlier settlers to move northward or westward and thus paved the way for their territorial <sup>occupation</sup> location. This migrated group readjusted themselves to the new environment they found themselves. They located their settlements in defensive position i.e. either on mountain tops or slopes. Their institutions also reflected sizeable geographical adaptations. The traditional institutions like chieftainship or Zawlbuk (dormitory) also reflected the changing environmental requirements. The frequent internecine warfare between various groups and sub-groups called for strong administrative leadership. This enabled each village settlement to have strong capable leadership; With the passage of

time these individual villages became village republics. Geographical isolation restricted their mobility and obstructed the flow of information. Hence, the traditional institutions expressed the changing perception of these tribe and sub-tribes. The terrain and physiographic condition provided the inhabitants factors that were conducive to perpetuate the traditional mode of life, on the contrary, these very elements later (after independence) became factors that retarded their growth and development.

The traditional institutions formed the foundation upon which the edifice of modern institutions like District Council and Regional Council or the State Assembly of present Mizoram stand. The development of the modern institutions including the political party system were contrary to the traditional institution and were products of modernization particularly a product that emerged after the missionary activities in the state.

The Chieftainship and the role of chiefs in the village administration created a feeling in the mind of people that chiefs were exploiting the commoners. Thus a rift between the chief and the commoners surfaced. The discontented elements gradually voiced their grievances

against the existing traditional system of administration. The abolition of the chieftainship made the chiefs disgruntled which led the formation of political parties, particularly <sup>United Mizo Famine Front</sup> (UMFO) and later <sup>Mizo National Front</sup> (MNF).

The traditional institutions and their modification during the British administration provided adequate scope for the inhabitants to express their political and economic aspirations such as autonomy and for discontented elements separation and independence. (In this connection it can be said that the loss of power and position compelled the traditional elites to opt, for separate ideology hoping for retrieval of lost position.

These institutions are also responsible for escalating insurgency in Mizoram. The disgruntled chiefs supported the MNF because they were deprived of from the traditional privileges. The political institutions which developed in course of time and the interpretations encouraged the need for autonomy and later separatism.

The District Council and Regional Council enabled the inhabitants of Mizoram to effectively participate in the regional developmental administration for the first time.

Subsequently many socio-economic requirements of the inhabitant were highlighted in their councils that developed a wide discrepancy between the requirements, policies and their implementations. At the state level the individuals articulated their disenchantment with the policies and implementation, as they failed to alleviate the immediate problems of the people. This aggravated the crisis in the state.

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CHAPTER - VII

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## POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND PERCEPTION AMONG THE MIZOS

The degree of the political participation by the people reflects the extent of maturity of political consciousness, <sup>and</sup> awareness ~~and intelligence~~ of the people of the State. This is expressed through the participation in political activities sponsored by the political parties, pressure groups, press and association highlighting the socio-economic and political aspirations of the people.

### Meaning of the Political Participation.

Political participation generally means direct or indirect involvement in political or decision-making process by exercising franchise rights or sharing power. The political scientists hold opinion that the participation includes "orientations" or attitudes such as knowledge <sup>or</sup> of an interest in politics, identification with a political unit, sense of political behaviour <sup>1</sup> as well. It is associated with political awareness i.e. actual knowledge of affairs - National, Regional or local. It also reflects the intention of the participant whose activity aims at influencing the

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1. H. H. Das, 1986, Political Sociology, Berhampur, p.156

selection of Government personnel. It embraces voluntary (autonomous) and manipulated (mobilised) action.<sup>2</sup>

### Nature of Political Participation in Mizoram.

The political participation in Mizoram is deeply engrained in socio-economic condition of the people and its level of development. Political development and political participation move alongwith economic development which is the part of modernisation and operation of Nation State.<sup>3</sup> In Mizoram political participation is rural-based where responsive involvement or hero worship is identified and the villagers vote en-block out of deference to their traditional leaders. Hence, it is called differential participation.\*<sup>4</sup>

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\* Political participation depends on four kinds of motives - differential, solidarity, instrumental and civil. Differential participation springs from the actors deep respect for the traditional leader. Solidarity participation is motivated by a strong desire to support loyalty to larger group such as village, clan, tribe, ethnic, and religious community. Instrumental participation is in hope of some material gain (cash payment, various favours, school, road, road, club etc. concession) Civil participation depends upon moral obligation or duty to participate. In other words it is an ideological participation. (H.H.Das, Ibid, p.158)

2.S. P. Huntington, 1958, Political Order in Changing Societies, Yale University Press p.32.

3.David Apter, 1973, Political Change, London, p.153.

4.H.H.Das, n.1, p.158.

The political participation here is influenced by the environment which interacts with the individuals.<sup>5</sup>

The geographical environment as discussed in chapter II has profound impact upon Mizos on their sense of involvement in political activity. There are smaller ethnic groups localised in small groups and have promoted separate ethnic entity.

The political participation in Mizoram like other areas, is influenced by the psychological factors in which the people feel themselves neglected by others. This has coloured their perception about power.<sup>6</sup> The <sup>perception</sup> participation is also influenced by the political environment of Mizoram, circumscribed by its size, remoteness and complexities of modern political system.<sup>7</sup>

Like other States the most single factor facilitating the political participation in Mizoram is the political parties, National or Regional which have the capacity to arouse affection, devotion,<sup>and</sup> sacrifice on the part of its

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5. L . Milbrith, 1965. Political Participation, Chicago,

6. Das, n.4, p.159

7. Ibid p.159.

members. Like other Hill States of North-East India Political participation in Mizoram was exceedingly poor due to its socio-economic backwardness. The British policy intended to keep these people isolated from the mainstream of National life by creating artificial barrier of 'Inner Line regulations' which prohibited free exchange of views between the Hill people and the Plain people. As a result, the growth of political organisation through which<sup>8</sup> an ordinary man can express his views, did not take place. The oldest organisation was Jaintia Durbar (1900 A.D.) followed by Khasi National Durbar (1923), the Naga Club (1918) and the Mizo Union (1946)<sup>9</sup>. It seems that the political organisation in this region is a post-war phenomenon. The Act of 1919 enabled the Governor General in Council to declare the Lushai Hills as 'Backward Area' (on 3rd January, 1921). The Government of India Act, 1935, put this district under 'Excluded Area' which was excluded from the jurisdiction of popular ministry of Assam.<sup>10</sup> This arrangement adversely affected the early growth of political activity in the Lushai Hills District. The British did it intentionally to isolate the Hill people from the Plain people

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8. M. L. Bose, 1988 The Evolution of the Inner Line in Administration in the North East Frontier - An article presented in Social Scientist Meet, Aizawl.

9. B. Pakem, 1986 Political Development and Change in North-East India (In) A.P. Sinha (ed) Changing North-East India, Ludhiana p.58.

10. Mahatma Gandhi, 1942, Harijan, Jan 18, 1942 p.42.

who were moving with the mainstream of National life. In fact, the spread of universal franchise for all elections<sup>11</sup> (Lok Sabha, Assembly and District Council) paved the way for popular participation in the remotest village of the country located either in the <sup>a</sup> <sup>h</sup> Hill region or the <sup>12</sup> desert.

The regional political parties thus sprang up after independence to articulate the aspirations of the Hill people and the democratic process started penetrating the society. Such democratic process created political differentiation between the social groups and political parties.

#### Background and Development of Political Parties:

In a modern democratic society the political parties have been acknowledged as a wider as well as the least expensive platform to ventilate grievances and <sup>the</sup> easiest method to articulate feelings and aspirations of the masses. In Mizoram too, the political parties (although mostly regional and clan-based) have achieved the goal for which it originated. Before going into details about various political parties in Mizoram ~~parties in Mizoram~~ it would be better to analyse the back-ground and development of ~~the political parties in Mizoram~~.

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11. B. P. Singh, 1987 The Problem of Change, OUP, Delhi, p. 3.

12. Ibid. p. 4.

The first political activities started in 1925 when a section of Mizos under Telala of Ralte community sought permission to take part in politics of Assam. This was contrary to the provision of Government of India Act 1935. There was no representation from the <sup>d</sup>istrict in the Assam Assembly which was resented by a section of educated and politically conscious group of Mizos. The British did not like that the Mizo should be involved in Indian politics and wanted to keep them away from the political waves surging inside the country and thereby kept these areas as primitive as possible.<sup>13</sup> But the educated Mizos were keeping watch on day to day happenings in India which was not liked by the British. Commoners also voiced their demands for representation in <sup>the</sup> Provincial Assembly of Assam in 1937 but the movement was <sup>p</sup>ressed.<sup>14</sup> The British authority did not allow any political organisation till 1935. But the surging aspirations of the Mizo people <sup>did</sup> forced them to organise a political party which marks the beginning of new political life in Mizoram.

1. Mizo Union (M.U).

This is the oldest regional party in Mizoram born on April 9, 1946 under the leadership of R. Vanlama (Ralte)

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13. Constituent Assembly Debate, Dept.6, 1949 Vol.x, No.27, p.1015.

14. S. K. Choubey, 1973, Hill Politics in North-East India, Calcutta, pp.65-66.

Lalbuai and Hrangai. The main cause of its emergence was the resentment against<sup>15</sup> the despotic rule of the Mizo Chiefs. Secondly, the British administrator's reluctance to allow the Mizos to take part in political activities. In the beginning the party was named as 'Mizo common peoples union'. These leaders later on realised that the chiefs should be assured to join the party but chiefs later on objected that they were not commoners. Accordingly, Vanalawma changed the name of the party. In order to honour the sentiments of the chiefs whose help was essential to consolidate the grass-root level base the new name was given as 'Mizo Union'. But even then, the chiefs did not join the party.<sup>16</sup>

The important aims and objectives of the party were:-

- (i) To protect the Mizo identity.
- (ii) To promote cordial relation between the chief and the commoners.
- (iii) Integration of all Mizo living outside the the present boundary in a harmonious unit.
- (iv) To improve the status of the women .
- (v) To improve the standard of living of the Common

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15. Mizo Union Memorandum, April 26, 1947(J.V. Hlunachurch and Political upward in Mizoram,1985 Appendix-v).

16. R. N. Prasad, 1973, Evolution of Party Politics in Mizoram Political Science Review, Rajasthan vol.12, No(3 +4) 19, 1973, p.210.

- (vi) To ventilate the grievances of the masses through constitutional methods.
- (vii) To modernise and codify Mizo customary laws.
- (viii) To enrich the Mizo language.

The aims and objectives of the political organisation highlighted the inherent potentialities of political values and their capability to participate in the political activities within Mizoram. Secondly, most of the party members were surcharged with sub-regional sentiment aiming to promote the sectional interest of the Mizos which transpired from the socio-political objectives of the party mentioned above.

The party made spade work in the rural areas and stimulated interest in the educated section of Mizos. When Bordoloi sub-committee visited Aizawl on April, 17 1947 the party submitted memorandum and reiterated its demand for independence. While a faction of the party desired to be associated with India for a period of ten years and thereafter they would decide their future. After independence the political scenario changed. ~~and the Lushai Hill District was integrated with Assam.~~ In 1950, with the introduction of the constitution, a new life began and <sup>the</sup> first election of Assam Assembly took place in 1952. The district was allotted three seats which were captured by Mizo Union securing 75% of vote. The main plank was the abolition of the chieftainship.

## 2. Tribal Union.

The United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO's) President Lalmauia took initiative to organise a party in the name of the tribal union in 1950 in order to project the demand of a regional council for Pawi-Lakher region within the framework of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Its genesis began in 1947 when Saprawnga, a powerful Mizo leader paid visit to the area and encouraged them to demand either separate regional council or adequate representation in the District Council which was under the process of formation. The superintendent of Mizoram (erstwhile Lushai Hills District) also helped in the organisation of Paw-Lakher Tribal Council (PLTC) Thus, the Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union was formed in 1948. The main aim of the party was to integrate the Pawi-Lakher tribes as one administrative Unit and to obtain a regional council for the tribes in order to preserve their customs, culture, dialect and ethnic identity. Their united efforts achieved the success and the regional council for Pawi-Lakher area was inserted in the Sixth Schedule.<sup>17</sup>

## 3. Mara Freedom Party (MFP).

The Lakhers (Mara) <sup>felt</sup> left that the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council is dominated by the advanced Pawi tribe. Hence, they

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17. Prasad Ibid. . . . .

wanted to organise a separate regional party for the upliftment of the Lakhers only. Thus, the party was virtually born as a reaction against dominance of Pawi in the Pawi-Lakher region. This is the common phenomenon in Mizoram. The Lushai always dominated the other tribes. Most of the chiefs were the Sailos of Lushai group who had powerful hold in the villages. Consequently, these differences laid the formation of the party.

The aims and objectives of the MFP was to secure a separate Lakher District Council for the development of the land and the people. It also aimed at uniting all the Lakhers into a single administrative unit for the sake of preserving distinct culture, tradition and customs and to promote 'Mara' dialect. This induced them to promote 'Lakherisation of politics' within Lakher land.<sup>18</sup>

#### 4. Mizo Integration Party (Mizo Inzawmkhawn Pawi).

The Mizo integration party was formed in December, 1971 with the objective of uniting all the Mizos under a single administrative unit. Among the followers of the party were mostly the MNF rebels who had surrendered arms after general amnesty. This party was centering round a

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18. R.N.Prasad, 1987, Government and Politics of Mizoram.  
Delhi, p.269.

personality who exploited the discontented people on parochial sentiments. The party was without any socio-economic programme for the uplift of the masses. Finally, the party merged into the Mizo labour Party in 1972.

5. Mizo Labour Party (MLP).

On the initiative of a splinter group of the Mizo Integration Council led by H. Kiautula, Lalzawta and others, the Mizo Labour party was formed in January, 1972 at Lunglei. The aim of the Party was to provide better life condition of the workers, peasants and weaker section of the society. The Party also opposed the status of Union Territory and supported the demand of Statehood within the framework of the constitution. It also aimed at ethnic unity and socio-economic programme. The party participated in 1972 election and secured 13.4% votes in Mizoram Assembly. The party finally merged into the Indian National Congress.

6. Kalai National Council(KNC).

Like the CNF, the Kalai National Council was <sup>a</sup>one <sup>man</sup> party. The man behind the party was Chhohmo, a Lakher supporter of L.Chinzah, the Chin leader. He was instigated by his master and formed the party in 1964. The members of the party were mostly the employees of the Lakher regional Council and were the Lakhers. The party was based on narrow consideration.

It was to weaken the unity of the lakhers so that it should not pose any trouble in future. The party did not establish its base in the area. So most of the members drifted towards Mara Freedom Party and finally the KNC become defunct.

7. United Pang Peoples Party (UPPP).

The Pangs living in midst of the pawl and Lakhers were also inspired by the educated section of the tribe to organise a clan-based party. Thus, the United Pang Peoples Party was formed on January 10, 1974 to promote the interest of the tribe. The Party was short-lived and could not survive long.

8. Chakma Jatiya Parishad (CJP).

The Chakmas are basically a distinct tribe and differed from the Mizos culturally and traditionally. They are treated as outsiders or refugee settlers. Being agrieved from such feeling, the Chakmas formed a party of their own in order to preserve their separate ethnic, cultural and religious identity.

9. Mizo National Union (MNU).

The Mizo National Union was born as a reaction to the development leading to grant of Union Territory for

Mizoram under the leadership of Bawichhuaka and C.Pahliva, powerful members of Mizo Union who left the party on disagreement with Saprawnga and Chalchhunga. The party aimed at achieving full-fledged State-hood for Mizoram and integration of all Mizo speaking population into the administrative unit. The party was without any socio-economic programme. So, it could not make any headway and finally it merged with Indian National Congress in 1970.

10. Paite National Council (PNC).

The Paite National Council is also a clan-based party with its headquarters at Churachandpur (Manipur) to promote the interest of Paite Tribe located in the vicinity of Sailkal range and its surrounding areas in the north eastern part of the Mizo Hills. The party aimed at uniting the Paite tribe scattered both inside Mizoram and the neighbouring Manipur State.

11. Chin National Front (CNF).

The formation of the Mara Freedom Party led sharp reaction on the inter-ethnic relationship and sharp cleavage between Pawi and Lakhers surfaced. Consequently, the Pawis formed a party of their own in 1965. The primary aim was to re-unite the Pawis beyond the boundary of India. In other

words the party wanted to integrate all Chins(Pawis) of India and Burma. It also aimed to check the advancing influence of MNF in the Pawi dominated area which posed a great threat to Pawi. The man behind the party was L. Chingah who was chief executive<sup>19</sup> member of the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council.

#### 12. Mizo Democratic Party (MDP).

This party was formed by the young educated Mizos living outside Mizoram (Shillong) on December 9, 1969. The main objective of the party was to integrate the Mizo Hills District, with Meghalaya for better and faster economic development of the territory. The Party leaders encouraged the Mizo people to join the party<sup>20</sup> but the response was very poor and embarrassing.

#### 13. Peoples Conference(PC)

The excessive harassment of the Mizos by the security force in Mizoram during the insurgency gave birth to a non-political organisation named 'Human Rights Committee' in Aizawl with a view to protecting the freedom of the Mizos which had been disturbed by the atrocities of the

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19. B. B. Goswami 'Mizo Unrest, Jaipur, p.62.

20. Z. D. Sangliana, Mizo Democratic Party, Published in Zoranthuquam (Mizo Daily, Feb.28,1970).

Security forces. The man behind the organisation was Brig. T. Sailo (Retd.) who subsequently, formed a party in the name of the Peoples Conference on April 17, 1975. The basic aim of the party was a peaceful settlement of the Mizo problems within the framework of the Indian Constitution and to integrate all Mizo inhabited area into one unit. It also aimed for preserving and protecting the Mizo culture and language and finally to eradicate mass poverty by undertaking economic development programme in rural areas. The party aroused regional sentiment and good response from the people came. The party came to power in 1978.

#### 14. Mizo Janata Party (MJP).

Some ~~opportunists~~ and disgruntled politicians taking the advantage of the Janata Government in the Centre formed the Janata Party in Mizoram in March, 1977. The party contested in 1978 and secured only two seats out of total thirty six and secured 15.35% votes only. <sup>huc</sup> The fall of the Janata Ministry in the Centre in April, 1982, the party met similar fate.

#### 15. Mizo Convention (MC)

On 3rd April, 1982 three political parties i.e. P.C.(M), Janata and Mizoram Democratic Front dissolved themselves

and formed a new party called Mizo Convention. But the party did not last long. When the MNF party came over ground the Mizo Convention party merged into it.

16. Mizo National Front(MNF).

The great Mautum (Famine) in 1959 was a turning point in the history of Mizoram. A voluntary organisation named Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) came into being <sup>for offering Social Service.</sup> After the famine was over, the front was converted into a political organisation named Mizo National Front.(MNF) Laldenga was the first president of the Party.

The Party adopted catchy slogans in order to attract the attention of the common Mizos. These were:-<sup>21</sup>

- (i) The Mizos are Mongoloid and ethnically different from the Indian. The British kept the Mizo Hills District separate.
- (ii) More foreign aids for economic development would flow to this country(Mizos) than <sup>from</sup> India.
- (iii) Independence would bring more prosperity to the Mizos.
- (iv) Exploitation of the natural resources would enrich Mizo people.

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21. Lalminthanga, Exodus Politics (a booklet in Mizo).

(v) The settlement of Chakmas uprooted from East Pakistan in Mizoram is intentionally done to upset the Unity of the Mizos.

(vi) The Christianity is ruthlessly being suppressed by the Hindu dominated India.

The emotional appeal in the name of 'independence', sovereign, hatred towards Indians attracted the young Mizos to join MNF party. Consequently, many unemployed youths and exservicemen joined the party. The party became popular and contested District Council election but lost the battle. However, in the Bye-election of Assam Legislative Assembly in 1963 the party candidates were successful. Subsequently, the party established strong footing in Mizoram and launched revolt in 1966.

#### 17. Indian National Congress (INC).

The regional consideration and parochial feeling did not allow the National political parties to <sup>set</sup> fix their footing in Mizoram. This is also due to the fact that National parties concentrated their activities in plain areas. It was as late as 1961 <sup>that</sup> when the Indian National Congress <sup>could</sup> established a branch in Mizoram. But the unit of the INC met <sup>with</sup> a rough weather. The common people in

Mizoram regarded this organisation as the organisation of outsiders (Vais) Mizos have common notion that the Indians are outsiders. The popularity of the Mizo Union and the MNF did not allow the INC to stabilize its footing in Mizoram. Further, the language policy of Assam Government (1960) had adverse impact on Mizos population. As a result the Congress party suffered a major set back in Assembly election in 1962 and 1963 (Bye-election). However, the party became popular after the formation of the Union Territory in 1972 and became stronger after the merger of Mizo Union in the party.

From the above discussions it is crystal clear that most of the political parties in Mizoram are short-lived with infant mortality<sup>22</sup>. Secondly, the regional issues and the parochial sentiments have been used as raw materials by the parties. The economic programme is also narrow and confined to the region only. The growth of the regional parties in Mizoram is also attributed to geographical factors (physiography and locational factor) which kept the people isolated from the main-stream of national life. This physiographic element retarded the socio-economic advancement. This resulted into mass frustration which

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22. V.V.Rao, 1987, A Century of Government and Politics. Vol.III Mizoram, Delhi, p.135.

<sup>result</sup>  
crept into insurgency. This insurgency paved the way for mushroom growth of regional parties in Mizoram (after 1960). These political parties stimulated interest among the people to participate in political activities.

### Electoral Behaviour.

It is true that political activities and mass participation in the decision-making process was completely dormant in Mizoram during Pre-Independent days. But with the dawn of independence and introduction of the new constitution in 1950, the road to people's participation at different levels was opened in Mizoram. The universal franchise right was also applied in Mizoram. The first election of Assam Legislative Assembly was held in 1952. Three members were elected from Mizoram. Subsequently, the election of the members of the District Council and Regional Council as per the provision of Sixth Schedule was held in Mizoram and the same electorate participated in the election. This enabled the people to participate in the election as well as express their views on all political issues.

With the creation of Mizoram as a Union Territory in 1972 the political participation of the people was extended both vertically and horizontally. The entire

territory in Mizoram was divided into 30 constituencies. The number was further extended to forty after attaining statehood. Out of 40 seats 38 was reserved for S.T and two were opened for general (Non-tribal). The number of electorates is of ascending order beginning from 1952 (Table 32).<sup>23</sup>

Table - 32

Number of Electorates (Male and Female): 1952-84

Year	Population	No. of Electors		
		Male	Female	Total
1952	196000	NA	NA	1,21,241
1957	196000	NA	NA	1,08,332
1962	266000	NA	NA	1,26,338
1967	266000	NA	NA	1,26,338
1972	332000	76,315	80,583	1,56,893
1978	400000	1,11,076	1,11,150	2,22,226
1979	400000	1,22,457	1,21,096	2,43,553
1984	490000	1,27,991	1,28,539	2,56,530
1989	490000	1,68,570	1,65,163	3,33,733

Source: Chief Electoral Officer, Aizawl, Mizoram

Also see. V.V.hao 1987, A Century of Govt and Politics of North-East India vol.III Mizoram,p.111.

23. Collected from Election Office, Aizawl, Mizoram.

This indicates that there is marginal increase the number of electorate from the preceding elections. Secondly, the female voters are more or less equal to their male counterparts. It has been observed that in some of the constituencies the female voters exceeds male voters.<sup>24</sup>

Table - 33

District	Constituency	No. of male voters	No. of female voters
Chhimitaipui	Tuipang	3370	3565
"	Sangau	3303	3321
Lunglei	Hnathinal	3451	3486
Aizawl	N.Vanlaiphai	3177	3325
"	Champai	5446	5756
"	Khawzawl	3422	3489
"	Suangphilawn	3123	3135

Source: Report on Fifth Election of Legislative Assembly of Mizoram, 1984.

24. Sixth General Election of Mizoram, 1989.

Thus, it seems that female education and their political participation are equal to their male counterparts. But their representation in the decision making body (Assembly or District Council) is inadequate.

As regards the public response to the election, participation marked a great enthusiasm which is evident from the percentage of poll in an average constituency. Despite natural hazards the voters had to walk on foot for several miles, the response was exceedingly good. The turnout of voters varied between 63.74% in Aizawl East-I Assembly constituency and 86.55% in Saitual Assembly constituency. The overall percentage of voters during the assembly election of 1987 was 72.63%. The average number of voters in Mizoram in each polling station is less than 500. This is due to low density of population and geographical constraints.

The political participation in Mizoram is very significant. It reflects the true character of ideal democracy which is found nowhere in India. It is reflected through the conduct of free and fair election without any case of impersonation, false voting, booth capturing, intimidation or class or Caste/Clan conflict

which are rampant in the rest of the country. Rarely the case of imposition upon minority group by majority has been noticed. Even a father or his sons or daughters are free to exercise their franchise according to their conscience. The whole political atmosphere during election time in Mizoram is free from tension or group rivalry. Election campaign, mass meeting political demonstration and propaganda, and street corners meetings are held on conventional lines without any disturbance. Both National and regional parties enter into the election fray. The performance of the parties during election indicates the people's faith in their ideologies and their programmes. They are not misled by or bribed by the political parties. However, the huge money has been pumped into the remote constituency by the parties (INC., P.C., M.N.F., ) to woo voters.<sup>26</sup>

The sixth general election in Mizoram (1989) depicts the growth of clan-based communal group participation in the election. The Hmar Peoples Conference and the Chamka Jatiya Parishad have appeared on political horizon of Mizoram and started projecting their demands in various forms. This has allowed a feeling of their separate identity. Although they were defeated badly, they have managed to get the support of 1804 and 975 voters respectively.<sup>27</sup>

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26. R. N. Prasad, 1989, A study of the Sixth General Election to the Mizoram Legislative Assembly 1989(in) Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, NEHU, vol.VII No.3, July-Sept., 1989.

27. Collected from Election Office , Aizawl, Mizoram.

The political participation is easy everywhere through the political parties either national or regional which stimulated interest among the electorates by drawing attention towards national, local, or regional issues (Table-34). During the election the political parties promised to strive for the reunification of Mizo inhabited areas of India, Burma and Bangladesh. Though it has emotional appeal to allure all the inhabitants for immediate gain in the election, the demand is practically <sup>unpractical</sup> ~~redundant~~, secondly each party in Mizoram including Congress party emphasized upon the Christian identity or the Mizo <sup>identity</sup> which was against the secular principle. Even the Indian National Congress party had to adjust with the local situation against their secular ideology.<sup>28</sup>

Table- 34  
MIZORAM  
1989 Election

Political Parties	Seat contested	Seat captured	P.C of Pol
Indian national Cong.	34	22	54.84
M.N.F.(Lal Denga)	40	14	35.29
P.C.	38	1	19.67
M.N.F.(D)	6	2	5.10
Mizo National Union	36	0	2.07
Chakma Jatiya Parishad ( 975 votes only)	1	0	0.36
Hmar P.C.(1804 votes only)	3	0	0.67

Source: Election Office, Aizawl, Mizoram.

28. Manifesto of Political Parties, Collected from party offices, Mizoram(Aizawl).

The political parties in general highlight the programme of socio-economic development of Mizoram. Thus the manifesto of the political parties are purely regional with national outlook. The M.N.F. took credit of peace accord<sup>and</sup> criticised publically during the election campaign that the Congress Party is the party of 'vairs' (Non-Mizos) although Congress members in Mizoram are mostly Mizos.

Political participation does not end with the participation in election either as voter or a candidate. It is also concerned with erecting the Government and operating the Government machinery in different capacities. Since 1972, political participation by the Mizo people has become smooth. The first Ministry led by Ch.Chhunga included representatives of Lushi, Pdi and Lakher Sub-tribe. The participation of local tribes has already been discussed in chapter VII(Political Institution). Subsequent ministries followed the same principle.

In this connection it would not be out of place to mention the role of opposition members either belonging to the Congress or the MNF or PC. They usually pointed out the drawbacks of the ruling party through debates, discussion, or raising questions during zero hour. In Mizoram the opposition members discharged their duties with high appreciation and

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29. Prasun Sonwalker, 1989, No Party May get Majority in Mizoram, article in Times of India, Delhi, January 21, 1989.

co-operated <sup>with</sup> the Government in dignified manner. No rowdy situation developed <sup>at</sup> any time in the house which compelled the speaker to adjourn the house or call the marshal to remove any member from the house for his misconduct. Political stability is inter-twined with the stability in economy. The quality of efficiency of the political Institutions and the quality of political life of people depend upon the economic viability of the state. <sup>Conversely</sup> Adversely too, the <sup>economic</sup> non-viable state cast gloomy picture upon the growth and expansion and function of the political life of the people. The society which is groaning under poverty can not think of higher political organisation and its multiple functioning.

So far as Mizoram is concerned, its economic foundation is weak and deplorable. The agro-economic backwardness due to poor soil and rugged topography can not sustain five million mouths. Nearly 4,000 metric tons <sup>of</sup> rice is annually imported from outside Mizoram besides other essential commodities like oil, pulse, sugar and luxury goods are brought from outside state. The infrastructure is in a bad shape. Most of the regions of <sup>the</sup> south-west Mizoram is inaccessible. The Chakma and Riang areas are not connected with road communication. Industrially also, Mizoram is a most backward state. Even a medium or small scale industries are economically non-viable. The cost of

production is high as such the industry has no bright prospect in the competitive market. The per capita income is <sup>low</sup>poor and the price index is steadily on increase.

Under such economic hardship the political participation of the Mizo is mostly localised without any interests to look into external matters. The regionalism or sub-nationalism get priority at every stage. The local institutions like District Council or Regional Council functioned in regional parametres. The mass poverty of the people spares little time for political participation except a handful political elites who energises the dormant spirit of the common people.

Contd on p 297

Mizo Perception

Chakma Vs. Mizos.

The Chakmas as referred<sup>to</sup> in Chapter III~~4~~ belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of people. They have their distinct culture. They are Buddhist, and speak a dialect (Chakma dialect) which is the corrupt form of Bengali. Over the years and their cultural interaction with the people of other races they have lost much of their originality. Even then they are very near to South Eastern Bengali, both culturally and traditionally which differ from the Mizo culture in all respects.<sup>30</sup> The Chakmas are at present inhabiting the most inaccessible hilly area of South West Mizoram. (map ) They also occupy area across the border in the Chhitagong Hill Tracts. All along the Western border of Mizoram and the Eastern border of Tripura State are inhabited by the Chakmas. Thus their habitation has geo-political significance, as Chakma inhabited area covers India, Bangladesh and Burma. The Chakma problem has become more acute no-a-says. Its root, in fact, lies in the partition of India in 1947 when the predominantly Chakma inhabited area of Chhitagong Hill Tracts (with 90% population) were<sup>was</sup> transferred to Pakistan. This was a great geo-political blunder for which the posterity would not excuse the National leaders for their lack of farsightedness. As a result, the Chakmas had to cross the Indian border of Mizoram

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30. S.P. Talukdar, 1988, The Chakmas, D. lhi p.32.

See also: Nalini Natarajan, The Chakmas (in) North-Eastern Affairs, Shillong, 1973.

and Tripura where their kith and kins<sup>used</sup> to inhabit earlier and they were branded since then as refugees, foreigners and traspassers(Takam)\*.

Since then, remarkable political vicissitudes have occurred across political horizon of Mizoram. Before insurgency, they were the worshiper of Union of Government and maintained a neutral policy during the insurgency. The Lushais were hostile to the Government of Assam and Government of India. Hence, these Chakmas were not trusted by the Mizos. These stranded their social relationship. In the eyes of Mizos, Chakmas are vias (Takum in Mizo), although they have been living in that state from generations. They argue that ethnically, culturally and linguistically they are quite different from <sup>themselves</sup> us and hence they maintain distance from them.

After the birth of the Union Territory of Mizoram, 1972 there was conspicuous change in the perception of the Chakmas. While the negotiation of Mizo leaders with the Central Government was in progress and the prospect of demand of Union Territory became a foregone conclusion, the Chakmas made representation to the Central Government in December, 1971 for a District Council for the socio-economic uplift of the Chakma tribe and had also

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\* Takam(an object to be strangulated or butchered) (in Mizo)  
Taikuk (for Riangs) - means one who lives nearby water).

pressed for a Union Territory comprising all contiguous  
Chakmas inhabited areas.<sup>31</sup>

The genesis of the present demand might be traced into the neglect of Pawi-Lakher(Chakma also included). Regional Council by the successive Government of Mizoram. The continued neglect and paucity of fund because of the traditional bitterness of the State Government towards the minority tribals, especially the Chakmas, is the root cause of change in the attitude of the Chakma people towards the State Government controlled by the majority tribe (Lusei).<sup>32</sup>

The present Chakma District Council (CDC) covers the Chakma population of 27,000 heads only and the rest 35,000 are left out. They are outside the jurisdiction of the Chakma District. Council. This has aroused a feeling of neglect of the Chakma tribe and thus are forced to uphold their separate entity. Their perception and political behaviour are clear. They are a neglected lot of the State of Mizoram which can be gauged from the fact that the Chakma area is not having better communication (no black topped road in the Chakma areas).<sup>33</sup> The shortest road linking Kamlanagar, C.D.C. headquarters is a three days journey on foot from the <sup>nearest</sup> point of Lunglei-Demagiri metalled road. The Chakma area with in the District Council is

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31. Memorandum submitted to the Government of India(P.M.) in Dec.1971 for an Autonomous District Council for Chakmas.
  32. The Telegraph, Calcutta, March 24, 1987(article of Sekhar Dutta- (District Council likely become major issue in Mizoram).
  33. Ibid.

without electricity or any health centre. One would be surprised to know that the first primary School, <sup>was</sup> started in 1959, is followed by <sup>the</sup> first M.E. School, (1972) and <sup>the first</sup> High School in 1979. Thus the area is having 1% literacy. At present there are 42 Primary Schools and 2 High Schools but no College in the whole District Council area. There are only 12 graduates followed by 18 P.U. passed and 138 Matriculates out of total 60,000 Chakmas in Mizoram. Although the literacy p.c. is very high in Mizo society but <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ p.c. is very low in Chakma areas due to religious stigma. The Christianity spread education in Mizo society and converted them into Christianity but the same Missionary did not penetrate in the Chakma area. Consequently, the Chakmas remained educationally backward tribe.

The Mizos, in general, are apathetic towards the Chakmas who are socially, traditionally, culturally or otherwise linked with the mainstream of National life. Consequently, they are the eye-sore in Mizoram.

The Chintuipui district head quarters, Saiha lies in the Lakher District Council area. The District level offices of all Departments are concentrated in Saiha which is geographically far away from the Chakma inhabited area. The fruit of all technical ~~of~~ departments is swallowed by the Lakher and Poi tribes. Nearly 60% of the grants of the

district is utilised for the Lakhers followed by another 30% to the Pois <sup>leaving</sup> living a small P.C. for the Chakmas, whose population is more than double of these tribes. Consequently, there is a deep seated ill-feeling in the Chakma people against the Mizoram Government.

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Politically, five seats have been allotted to the Mizoram Legislative Assembly from Chhimtuipui District. Out of 5 seats, 2 seats have been allotted to the Lakhers, two to the Pois and only 1 to the Chakmas whose population is higher than the other two. This has added to their resentment against the Government.

The Chakmas now demand the consolidation of all Chakma inhabited areas of Lunglei and Aizawl District within Mizoram under the jurisdiction of Chakma District Council, so that they can take all possible measures for socio-economic uplift. Secondly, for better advancement they are contemplating to demand <sup>a</sup> Union Territory, so that the Government of India may take special care for their socio-economic advancement. The Mizos, on the other hand, are afraid of their escalating population due to increasing infiltration in Mizoram along Bangladesh

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34. Researcher's interview with Nilmoni Chakma and Nil Baran Chakma, Leader of the Chakma Jatiya Parishad.

35. Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister on July 15, 1990 by Chakma Jatiya Parishad.

(also) interview with educated youth of Chakma Community at Kamalanagar.

- Mizoram border. Thus a strip of land along the border has been made into a Chakma District Council to accommodate the foreign National coming from Chhitagong Hill Tracts (CHT). The Mizo leaders headed by the Congress (I) Chief Lalthanhawla and his predecessors Brig.T. Sailo (Rtd.) repeatedly remarked that the area round Demagiri is increasingly inhabited by the Chakmas from C.H.T. of Bangladesh and after the election his first task would be to detect and deport the Chakmas. Refuting the general Mizo allegation of infiltration from neighbouring<sup>36</sup> Bangladesh, the Chakma leaders pointed out that "the Demagiri area included in Western Mizoram following the amalgamation of the North and South Lushai hills by the British as far back as 1893 for administrative convenience had originally been a Chakma inhabited area of the Chhitagong hill tracts. Later on, the boundaries were revised and a strip on the East including Demagiri with a population of 1,500 was transferred to Lusei Hills District".<sup>37</sup>

Thus, there is a mass feeling among the simple and docile Chakmas that they are neglected and shall remain so unless they rise to the occasion and press their demand for the recognition of identity and of regional autonomy in the form of a Union Territory.

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36. India To-day Magazine June 15, 1984.

37. The Telegraph, March 24, 1987.

Poi, (Lai and Chin) - Perception and Behaviour

As referred to earlier in Chapter III, it has been stated that the Pouis ~~form~~<sup>from</sup> a small tribe confined to Sangau and Lawngtlai C. D. Blocks of Chhintuipui District in Mizoram. The population is estimated to be over 30,000. As a reaction against the regional politics of the Lakhers and the Lusei,<sup>38</sup> the Poi elites led by L.Chinzah, formed a clan-based party, viz., the Chin National Front in 1965 in order to unite all the Pouis living in different pockets of Mizoram and also the neighbouring areas of Burma.

The Pouis have also a wide political vision. They were very critical of the M.N.F. role in the Poi. inhabited area.<sup>39</sup> Internally the Pouis were not happy with the Mizos and their dominance in internal activities particularly the Pawi-Lakhar

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38. Population survey conducted the Pawi District Council, 1983  
PDC/L file No.4/21/83 dated 9.5.1984.

39. Prasad, n.16 pp.204-205.

Regional Council. L. Chinzah, the chief executive member of the Council, wrote in 1967 that the M.N. F only earned hatred<sup>40</sup> in P.L.R. Apart from this, the Pois have feeling of being cornered by the Lusei. It is true that they are not advanced educationally and politically like the Lusei and its ruling clan the Sailos, who were famous chiefs. But the Pois are very conscious of their culture, language and traditions, and they have enthusiastically evinced interest to promote their language and culture. They are also proud of their distinct identity. <sup>They resent being called as Mizos</sup> Whenever they are called "Mizos" they ~~react sharply~~ and say "No we are Pois". The same is the case with the Lakhers who never <sup>identity</sup> brand themselves as 'Mizos'.<sup>41</sup> Of course, they call themselves as Mizo when they are at Aizawl and feel shy to call themselves as Poi. So they have psychological fear of being dominated<sup>by</sup> the Lusei. Hence, there is an under feeling of hatred against the Luseis for being looked down upon<sup>by</sup> them. This feeling is increasing with the crystallisation of ~~over ground~~ politics in Mizoram where the mechanism of political power is controlled<sup>led</sup> by the luseis, and the financial resources are also utilised for their benefits.

#### Pois Outside Mizoram.

Like other tribes of the Mizos, ~~Pois~~ are also scattered outside Mizoram. There is a sizable population of ~~Pois~~

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40. Choubey n.14, p.167.

41. Researcher's interview with Officers of Poi Tribe.

(Kukis) in Bangladesh who inhabit in Chhitagong Hill Tracts which is claimed to be the motherland of Lais (Pawis) since the time immemorial. The partition of India caused a barrier to the efforts of ethnic unity among the Pawis Community . Some of them were forced to be in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and some in Burma. But now there is an emerging movement to unite them together within a compact geographical domain. A memorandum on behalf of the Pois (led by L.Damngama) was given to the Prime Minister of India on 11.02.88 stating therein that the tribal King named Vanhnuaitlirh of Rengtlang had collected Land tax from the people living between Satikang river near Chittagong to Cox<sup>42</sup> Bazar (i.e. Bay of Bengal).

after the death of Vanhnuaitlirha his sone Liankung became the king at Bandarban village. He also collected the land taxes upto Bay of Bengal from Chittagong to Cox Bazar. After the death of Liankung, we (Hill tract tribal) paid taxes to Zahan, the King of Lawngtlai upto February, 1947. After independence in 1947 we (Pawis) were divided into India, Burma and East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

During the Bangladesh liberation, assurances were made by the leaders particularly Muzibur Rahman that the hill tract tribal can choose India or Bangladesh but the assurance were not fulfilled and the Pawis living there had to remain as slaves in Bangladesh. There are some other tribes along with the Pawis whose number is less. They are Bawm, Brun, Moak-Maria etc.

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42. Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister by Damngama on behalf of Sea Wind Party on 11.2.89 Sunday Weekly, June, 3, 1989.

These people have expressed their desire to live together in India and want to retain their lost sea-shore (i.e. between Satikang river near Chhitagong to Cox bazar port) liberating their motherland. These people have formed a party named Sea Wind with a view to liberating Poi land lying in Bangladesh. A National Volunteer Force (Hill Tract Tribal Freedom Liberation Organisation - HTPLO) has also been raised.

### Hmar's Perception

Since the days of early migration of the Mizo tribes, there had been inter-tribal feuds and head-hunting was the normal phenomenon which was considered as the sign of bravery. The earlier tribes which settled in the eastern part of the present Mizoram, were later on driven out by the successive waves of migrants (Lusei). The earlier tribes which were driven out and later on settled in the northern fringe of the present Mizoram or the neighbouring Cachar district of Assam or Manipur, were the Hmars and the Thados. As discussed in Chapter III the Hmars and the Thado belong to Kuki-Chin ethnic stock of Tibeto-Burma <sup>group</sup> race. They are at present living in the outer fringe of Mizoram and in neighbouring area of Assam (Cachar) and Manipur. These Hmar were in regular contact with the plain people of Cachar or Manipur.

The Hmars inhabit the northern region of Mizoram, particularly in <sup>the</sup> northern Blocks of Aizawl district whose

population is 13,102 (81 census).<sup>43</sup> It shows that Hmars were ~~branded~~<sup>grouped</sup> as Mizo in general by subsequent census operation and the Hmar did not object to it. These Hmars, apart from its geographical area of Mizoram also inhabit in the neighbouring villages of Manipur and Cachar ( see Map 16) in compact area, North Cachar District of Assam, Tripura and North Western part of Burma.<sup>44</sup> ( The 1.5 lakh strong community is scattered in contiguous areas of Manipur, Assam (Cachar district, North Cachar). Fulertal is principal centre of the Hmars in Cachar (map<sup>no</sup> 16).

The Hmars played vital role in the early political activities of erstwhile Lushai Hills District politics. They travelled widely and were in contact with the educated people of the plains area. In the Mizo Union Council meeting of 1946, Banichuaka became Secretary. He was a Hmar. Another Pachhunga played a significant role in organising public meetings and giving a shape to the Mizo Union. Both were the destiny makers of Mizoram before the independence.<sup>45</sup>

After independence the political situation was changed. The Hmars were cornered and the fruit of independence was

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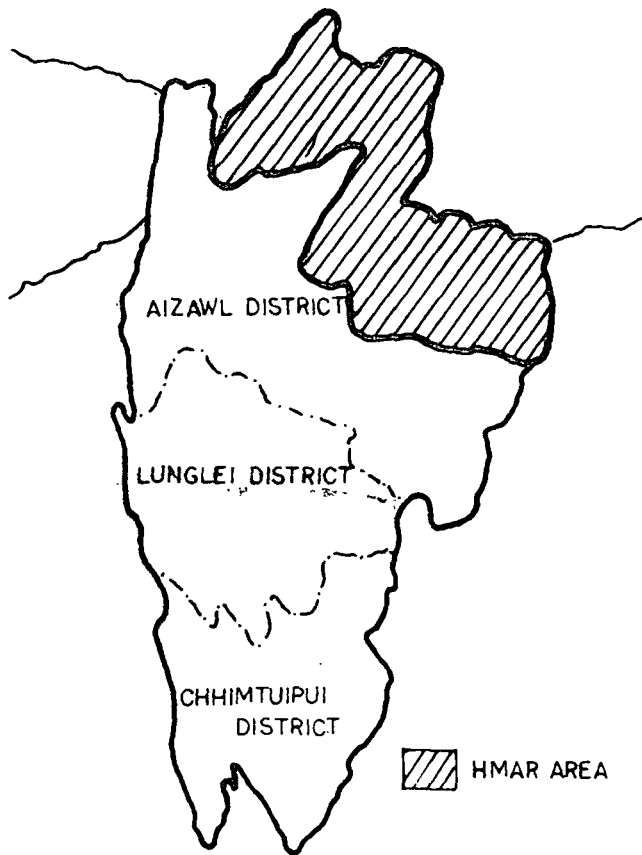
43. According to Census<sup>of</sup> 1901 Hmar population was 10411 but reduced to 3108 in 1961 and 4524 in 1971.

44. R. Pudaite 1963, The Education of the Hmar People, Imphal, 1963 p.19.

45. S. K. Choube<sup>n.40</sup>7/, Ibid p.170

MIZORAM  
PROPOSED AREA FOR HMAR  
AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT

40 0 40KM



Map No 16

mostly shared by other Mizo Tribes (particularly Lushai). This created schism in the well-knit Mizo society. After the formation of U.T. and subsequently, the attainment of statehood, the seat of power was captured mostly by the Lusei and other tribes. This is the main reason <sup>that</sup> which caused ill-feeling between the Hmars and other Mizo clans. After the attainment of statehood, the political <sup>situation</sup> scenario changed, and now the clan-based politics raised their ugly heads. Every tribe started politicking in their own way which was likely to threaten the Mizo solidarity and unity. The Hmar politics is the most important developed <sup>ment</sup> in Mizoram, which was a great geopolitical significance due to its strategic location. This has escalated the ethnic tension which may threaten the stability of the state.

A clearly perceptible unrest among the Hmar community has been surfaced these days. The Hmar youths, out of their growing frustration have developed a separatist tendency. They have recently formed the Hmar People Convention (HPC) and placed the community's demand for an autonomous region comprising the Hmar inhabited area in Manipur, Mizoram and Cachar (see map <sup>46</sup>). The HPC has attracted a large number of

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46. The Telegraph, Calcutta Sept., 1988.

youths and a group of 50 volunteers were undergoing physical and political training at New Vervek, a Mizo village adjoining Cachar.<sup>47</sup> The Hmar militants are demanding an autonomous homeland for minority ethnic community in north Mizoram. They have come down to war path. The Hmar people Convention (HPC) and the Hmar volunteer Cell (HVC) observed 120 hrs. <sup>banth</sup> ~~band~~ in support of their demand.<sup>48</sup> The Mizoram Government chased the militants but they easily hid out in S.W. Manipur in the vicinity of Chaurachandpur area. The militants have a plan of some subversive actions in Mizoram as transpires from the plan found in possession of young Hmar leader Leichhung Hmar.<sup>49</sup> The Hmar also expressed desire to establish an identity separate from that of Mizo. Their demands also include an autonomous district council in Hmar/<sup>dominated</sup> area of North Mizoram under 6th schedule. The HPC adopted agitational path for its demand of district council status and had threatened to wage a 'civil war against the Mizoram government, which took rigorous steps to lynch innocent Hmars'. Mr. S. Khuma, the publicity Secretary of H.P.C. reiterated<sup>50</sup> that the Mizoram police is responsible

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47. The Telegraph, Calcutta, Jan., 4, 1990

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. The Telegraph, Calcutta, April 8, 1990.

for the death of Vanlalliana in police custody on March 14, 1990 although the police claimed that Vanlalliana, an Hmar activist committed suicide.

The H.P.C. had sent a top-level team to New Delhi to meet National Front Government to press for their demand of autonomous District Council for the Hmars under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The delegation was sent on the initiative of Hrangchal, a Hmar from Manipur, who is member of Manipur Legislative Assembly from Tipaimukh constituency (Hmar dominated area of SW Manipur)<sup>51</sup>. Tipaimukh and nearby Thenlon area of Manipur are the Hmar majority area where H.P.C. leaders and nearly 200 activist have found the sanctuary facilities.

Nearly 6000 Hmar residents of Fulertal, a foothill village (30 miles from Silchar) are also aggrieved of the Assam Government's alleged dithering in implementing an order issued by its former Chief Secretary, Ramesh Chandra, on December 24, 1982, giving the Hmars in Cachar, the Schedule Tribe status. This feeling was expressed by L.T.Buhril, a member of Silchar Mohakuma Parishad from Fulertal. He also expressed, "Hmars are being deprived of much economic, educational and employment benefits accruing to a Scheduled Tribe"<sup>52</sup>.

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51. The Telegraph, Calcutta, April 8, 1990.

52. Ibid, Sept 1, 1988.

The H.P.C. did not deviate from the agitational path and gave a 10-days blockade of Silchar-Aizawl National Highway (54) to press their demand for an Autonomous Hill District Council comprising Hmar dominated area of North Mizoram in close proximity to Cachar boarder in Assam<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, fire brand Hmar youth, armed with weapons also planned the destruction of vital installations like bridges, culverts and ~~etc.~~ other ~~subversive~~ activities. These activists have taken to torturous hilly paths through Tipalmukh to evade confrontation with Assam or Mizoram police.

The Mizoram Government deployed three Armed Police companies along N.H. 54 near Vairengte to stop the entry of Hmar and thwart the blockade. The militant Hmars are trained in warfare which is being given to the Hmars youth in wooded area on the trijunction of Manipur, Mizoram and Assam. The Government of Mizoram is aware that H.P.C is in a position to establish a nexus with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). The deep and inaccessible jungles of Cachar as a safe passage<sup>54</sup> for assault in Mizoram and retreat to Manipur. In course of road blockade the Hmar

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53. The Sentinel, Gauhati, July 5, 1989.

54. Ibid,

militants clashed with Mizoram police in Maniarkhal border village of Cachar and in which two Hmar extremist and a Sub-Inspector of Police were killed.

The rebel outfit of Hmar has been encouraged by Thanglein Khuma a Hmar elder close to former Chief Minister of MNF leader Laldenga. H.P.C President J.H.Jhanzam, now in Manipur is listed as a moderate leader of Chaurachandpur district of Manipur has been organising the Hmars for armed struggle to strike to Mizoram Government for autonomous District Council.

The Hmar National Union (HNU) an association of 20,000 Hmars scattered in Barak Valley and North Cachar met at Fulrtal on June 28, 1989 under the president of T.L.Vuriel which was attended by the representatives of Cachar, Karimganj, North Cachar Hills and Manipur who expressed their support to H.P.C. in their struggle.

The Government of Mizoram has ruled out the possibilities of conceding to the demand for autonomy but expressed his willingness to sort out the genuine grievances of the Hmars. Lalthanhawla, the Chief Minister of Mizoram while

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55. Ibid.

56. The Sentinel, Gauhati, September 20, 1989.

rejecting the Hmar demand for a district-level autonomous pointed out that the Hmars except in one village have no majority in North Mizoram. Thanzam, the H.P.C. president, on the otherhand reacted that the State Government has tudgeted the census figures to manipulate ~~the~~ Lushai majority in North Mizoram in a bid to forestall the Hmar claim for five blocks (comprising 13 Hmar villages) in North Mizoram into an autonomous district.

Five H.P.C. volunteers who were later identified as Leichung Hmar, Thansal Hmar, Langlakta Hmar, Lalthungsen Hmar and Lalramlion Hmar were arrested at Lalpani on Cachar-Manipur border by a joint raid conducted by Assam Police and village Defence Party of the locality on September 13, 1989. From the interrogation of the arrested persons it appeared that the militants were receiving training under an Ex-Indian Army Major Zuala. The H.P.C. activists had to shift from Mankachar village under Darilawn P.S in Mizoram.

The Hmar rebels adopted a tactical move from Kuklan Hmar village in the North Cachar Hills near Cachar border to the hilly tracts and dense woods of Bhuban Hills Bashakhal to reach Lalpani. The rebels have been recruited to H.P.C. quite recently and have been trained in handling weapons.<sup>57</sup>

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57. Ibid.

The Mizoram Government is willing to have a dialogue with the H.P.C. on the autonomous question provided its member surrender the arms and ammunition and give up violence before any meaningful talk. The Hmar students Union (HSU) are also active now-a-days to stimulate interest among the students on the Hmar problem.

Whatever may be the pros and cons, on the Hmar agitation and its demand for autonomy, it is clear beyond doubt that the Mizo homogeneity is a myth now. The question of identity of more than one lakh strong Hmar may fuel similar urges among the Lakhers and Pawis who are other minority tribes among the Mizos( a genetic name for a conglomeration of different linguistic Tribes belonging to Kuki-Chin ethnic family.

Greater Mizoram.

The demarcation of the boundary of the erstwhile Lushai Hills district (<sup>now</sup> ~~New~~ Mizoram) was made by the British for their own convenience and strategy. Consequently, the demographic structure of the Mizo tribes underwent changes. The Mizos, who were on the outskirts of the demarcated boundary came under the administrative jurisdiction of different states (of either in Burma or in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)). The educated Mizo populace and leaders of different political <sup>groups</sup> outfits raised their voice from time to time to amalgamate the entire Mizo inhabited area into one administrative unit. This is but a natural corollary. It is also said to be the reflection of ethnic chauvinism.

Brig. T. Sailo (Retd.), former Chief Minister of Mizoram and founder President of the Peoples Conference, a regional political organisation in Mizoram has demanded the amalgamation of all the Mizo inhabited contiguous areas in India, Burma and Bangladesh within the Indian Union. The areas brought under the proposed land of Mizos are;<sup>58</sup>

1. Mizoram ( area 21087 Sq. Km.<sup>2</sup>) with population of nearly 5 lakhs.
2. Lakhipur area in east Cachar district of Assam ( area 50 Sq. Km. with population of 25 thousand).

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58. The Telegraph, Calcutta, Feb. 22, 1988.

3. Jampui Hills in Tripura state along north west border of Mizoram (area <sup>400 km<sup>2</sup></sup> ~~250 Sq. Miles~~ and population 25 thousand).
4. Chin Hills area in Burma in Western Burma adjoining eastern Mizoram (area <sup>56000 km<sup>2</sup></sup> ~~35,000 sq. miles~~ with a population of about 9 Lakhs).
5. Chittagong Hills track in Bangladesh adjoining Western Mizoram (area <sup>480 km<sup>2</sup></sup> ~~300 sq. miles~~ and population 5000 ).
6. Mizo inhabited areas of Manipur (Sadar hills, Tengou Pal and Churachandpur areas also to be brought under the proposed 'New State'.

The Mizo leaders hold opinion that the splitting up of the Mizo area and their eventual parcelling out into different Indian as well the neighbouring countries of Burma and the CHT (Bangladesh) is a British legacy. The Mongoloid Mizos who came in herds from <sup>the</sup> south west China refer to chapter -III came into the present habitat during <sup>the</sup> 15th century and later ~~on they~~ migrated to the contiguous territorial limits because of the colonial policy of the British. They are known as Zomis in Burma while the British variously labelled them as

Lushais and Mizos in India and Kukis in Chittagong Hills tracts.

T. Gougin, the president of the Zomi National Congress (ZNC) with headquarters at Churachandpur (now Lanka) has also advocated the unification of all the Mizos into one administrative Unit. He has also emphasised the urgency of an insurrection by the Burmese Mizos for the amalgamation of their land with India. The Burmese Mizos has an organisation named Burmese Zomi liberation Front (B.Z.L.F.) under the leadership of its Bangkok exiled President Mangkhanpan. It is also planning for struggle to achieve the target. Gougin had a preliminary talk with Mangkhanpan and the former agreed to prefer the generic name of Zomi to the present Mizo to identify their community. The word Zomi carries the idea of common ethnic oneness of the Mizo speaking people.

The demand of T.Sailo and Gougin is similar in nature to the greater Mizoram demand of M.N.F. led by Laldenga who reiterated his demand during the peace talk with the centre in June, 1986 to which the Centre did not make any commitment. Gougin is hopeful of getting support for his mission of forming the Zogan state to carve out of the Chin Hills of Burma

the northern part of the Chittagong Hill tracts <sup>of</sup> Bangladesh, Mizoram in India and other area inhabited by the Mizo Kuki in the North-East. <sup>285</sup> While in Bangkok in July, 1989 Gougin met many rebel outfits <sup>60</sup> and their leaders. He came in touch with Saw Reh Meh, the Karen National Front (KNF) and the President of the National Democratic Front of Burma (NDFB), a member organisation of the Democratic Alliance of Burma (DAB) which include 23 rebel outfits. <sup>61</sup> But the negative reply given by Saw Reh Meh <sup>gave a negative</sup> ~~on the question~~ that 'whether tribal guerilla groups in Burma want to join India'. However, Meh added that if the Chin Group decided to do so, the DAB would not object. Meh also requested Gougin to exercise his good offices to influence India to take interest in Burmese affair to pressurise Rangoon Government to open dialogue with DAB. Gougin addressed memorandum to the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi about the decision of the Chin Hills people to secede from Burma (now Myanmar) and join India. <sup>62</sup>

The Zomi reunification issue has come into limelight and political speculation is moving fast~~ly~~ under some leaders of Zomi Reunification Organisation (ZORO) or (ZOGAM) in Manipur and Mizoram which aims at reuniting all Zomi inhabited area

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60. The Hindu, Madras, August 25, 1989.

61. The Hindu, Madras, August 29, 1989.

62. Memorandum by ZNLP to the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

in India, Burma and Bangladesh under one administrative set up. Unlike other tribal people of north east India who are blamed<sup>63</sup> for secessionist sentiments the Zomi leaders only want to enlarge the territory of India.

Brig. T. Sailo whose party suffered badly in Mizoram Assembly election in 1987, showed a tactical move to gain popularity in Mizo society by advocating the Unification of Mizos into one unit and on his initiative the first world Zomi convention was held on May 20, 1988 near Champhai closed to Mizoram's with Burma which was attended by several thousand delegates from Mizoram and other Mizo inhabited areas both inside and outside India. The net result of the convention was the formation of Zomi reunification Organisation (Zoro) which accommodated different political parties and individuals for their common goal (reunification of Mizo inhabited areas within India as well as outside into a larger zoram as a constituent state of the Indian Union.

#### Mizo Youths in Tripura.

Mizo youths and students are aware of the development inside Mizoram and outside activities sponsored by various organisations aiming at reunification of the Mizo/Zomis on ethnic line. These youths have threatened militant agitation

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63. The Hindu, Madras, August 25, 1989.

to press their demand for Mizo autonomy in the Zampui Hills of north Tripura <sup>where</sup> ~~were~~ nearly 5000 Mizo population exists. The Tripura Government reacted sharply and has rejected the demand for Mizo Regional Council at Jampui, very closed to Mizoram. The Jampui based Mizo convention is agitating quite sometime for the Mizo Regional Council. The protagonists of the Greater Mizoram from Aizawl want to exploit the sentiment <sup>and asked the Zampui Mizo to seek for</sup> 'we shall prefer the merger of Jampui Hills with Mizoram unless <sup>their</sup> our demand for Regional Council is fulfilled'.

Impact of Political Participation in Crisis Development.

It is true that the political participation in Mizoram is a post-Independence development. This was not permitted by the British during the colonial period. It started practically from 1946 when the first political party named Mizo Union was formed with an object to emancipate the common people from the chief's exploitation. The traditional institution of chieftainship was abolished in 1952. The discontented chiefs joined united Mizo freedom organization with an object to secede from India and join Burma. This aggravated crisis in Mizoram.

The degree of participation which was confined to the elites of ~~upper strata~~ began to percolate downward and the common people started taking interest in political matters confronting the district. This transpires from the arguments placed before the Bordoloi Sub-Committee by the different <sup>or people</sup> ~~cross-sections~~ of Mizo society. The committee recommended the formation of District Council and Regional council for Hill Tribes of Assam in order to manage their socio-economic affairs. The constitution of India incorporated sixth schedule containing therein the composition, powers and functions of these councils. This provision paved the way

for mass participation in the democratically constituted district council and Regional Council. The election of these councils and also Assam Legislative Assembly( 3 members from Mizoram) enabled them to participate in the election and to handle the machinery of government in various capacities.

The impact of participation has also a negative effect. It promoted the dormant spirit of separatism and regionalism in naked form which increased the crisis. Their regional aspirations were multiplied and many regional parties subsequently, emerged.

The development during mid 1960's aggravated the crisis. This was in form of great famine (Mau tam) that caused great havoc in the Mizo Hills district. The district council failed to tackle the situation with corresponding failure of the Assam Government to send the relief measures. As a result, the Mizo national family front (MNFF) composed of member of the Lushai traditional elite and others in the society, emerged to resolve the crisis. However, as the relief measures could not affect resolutions ease the problem, M.N.F.F. gradually transformed into an active political organization, (Mizo National Front) (M.N.F.).

One thing was apparent that geographical phenomena continued to impede relief measures, lack of effective accessibility

condition and highly dispersed nature of settlement made the relief measures totally inadequate. Neither the District Council nor the state Government (As subsequent events indicated) were adequately given to tackle such problems. Moreover, the political differences between the District Council and the Assam State Government gradually worsened. The matter came to its height when the Assam Language Bill was passed and was implemented in stages. The M.N.F.F took the advantage of strained relation to reinforce and mobilise its position at its grass root level. This can also <sup>be</sup> said that given the condition under which the district and state administration functioned in the Mizo Hills (this condition can be identified as primarily isolation, inaccessibility and low level of economic development) the emergence of crisis particularly in the form of insurgency was perhaps and obvious <sup>result</sup> conclusion. The latter aspect was clearly clarified when Mizo insurgency broke out in 1966.

The subsequent events after 1966 highlight the deep political cleavages ~~that~~ strengthened by geographical and economic factors. Although counter insurgency operation gradually restricted the scale, scope and content of insurgency, it made absolutely clear that geographical implication of politico-economic crisis ~~fast~~ by the district tend to be

be treated on priority basis. It was with this view that the administrative status of the Mizo Hills district was upgraded to the Union Territory status.

The geographical factors particularly the location and physiography have influenced the formation of crisis (aggravating socio-economic crisis to insurgency situation). Mizoram is located at the periphery of the country and the peripheralization has been accentuated by the distance factor. Added to its <sup>its</sup> location in the strategic area in the close proximity <sup>to</sup> of Burma and Bangladesh (earlier East Pakistan) as they provided safe sanctuary for the discontented elements.

#### Generalisation.

During the Pre-Independence period political participation in Mizoram was conspicuously absent. This was due to the British Policy which excluded the Mizos from participation in the national body politics. Partly it is also due to geographical isolation, dispersed <sup>distribution</sup> population and lack of adequate transport and communication infra-structure.

But the elites of the Mizo society who were conscious of regional and national development (largely located in Cachar District of Assam) formed first political party <sup>in</sup> i.e. the Mizo

Union which aroused consciousness among the common people against the dictatorial rule of the chiefs. Chieftainship later on was abolished in 1952 and democratization of institution took place. The power of the chiefs were transferred the District Council (i.e. village Council). As a reaction (a rift between the chiefs and the commoners resulted into the formation of other political parties and the chiefs later on sided with MNF which was mainly responsible for insurgency.

Political participation changed their earlier perception which was narrow and confined to village level only. But participation through the modern institutions including political party promoted a sense of involvement in local as well as national activities. But the formation of political party in Mizoram was totally regional and clan-based which ultimately promoted sub-nationalism (even separatism).

Under these circumstances of political and economic stability, the MNF was able to mobilize the population in its favour. This enabled the activists of MNF to transform a relief organization into a fullfledged political organisation. This organization in order to achieve its political objectives relegated the socio-economic aspect to the background. In other words ~~it can also be said that~~ the socio-economic

background was used to project the political objectives. Military means became the chief source of achieving the MNF's political objectives. Besides ideology of this organization gave a little or no importance to the distribution of geographical phenomenon. As a result in MNF was able to mobilize the people towards insurgency but it was not able to sustain it for long.

Mizoram is the land of ~~innumerable~~<sup>several</sup> tribes and sub-tribes each occupying a definite portion of territory inside Mizoram (see Map 1 in chapter III). Their socio-political relations reflect geopolitical dimension. Apparently it seems ~~that~~ there is a harmonious relationship among the tribes and they aspire for common goal but in reality they are the victims of narrow parochial and clan based politics which dominated the Lushai landscape. There is growing resentments among the Tribes who are in the minority. It is the common beliefs of the non-Lushais (Pawis, Lakhers, Chakma and Hmar) that they are dominated by the Lushais in all socio-economic and political activity of Mizoram. Even the Chakmas are treated as 'Takam' (~~an object to be killed~~). This feeling has forced them to express their desire for autonomy and are aspiring for greater freedom of participation.

Correspondingly, other elements of <sup>the</sup> his Mizo society who were the moderates enough to resort to non-violence means began to propogate the need for creation and unification of greater Mizoram. ~~like the people's Conference (P.C.)~~. This was the first time when serious efforts were contemplated to unify all Mizos inhabited area into one unit. Inadvertantly, this increased a sense of hostility within the region particularly in the state of Manipur, Tripura and Assam as well as increased fears in Burma<sup>2</sup> Bangladesh (due to the location of contiguous Mizo inhabited area in these countries).

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CHAPTER - VIII

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## INSURGENCY

### Background.

The gradual consolidation of the political consciousness fuelled by the participation of the Mizos in the political process gave an agitational edge to the hill men's politics. The insurgency soon became the instrument for the expression of the agitational pressure at the mass level. The pent-up feelings of revolt surged through the adventure of insurgency, and slowly took hold of the land of the Mizos in a volcanic foray.

Insurgency in Mizoram is not accidental but the outcome of long planning and preparations clandestinely made by the dissident group in Mizoram. It was deeply rooted in the social, geographical, economic and political milieu of the society. The economic interest and psychological needs created a major political and social force that accelerated the movement with definite direction and goals. These were encouraged to an extent by the spatial distribution<sup>1</sup> of geographical phenomena. It has also given way to the formation of political organisation and other institutions supporting the cause of sub-nationalism. Consequently, the inter-group and ethnic tension were intensified

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1. Feliks Gros, 1966, World Politics and Tension Area, London, p.43.

and led at times to direct violence in form of <sup>the</sup> insurgency. The factors that gave rise to insurgency in Mizoram can be stated as follows:

Coupland Plan of Crown Colony.

A dangerous plan of 'Crown Colony' by R. Coupland was hatched before <sup>i</sup> independence to take out the entire North-East India and to form an independent political unit separate from India and Burma.<sup>2</sup> This carved out area was to be constituted into a special colony under direct British Crown. The plan was favoured by R. Ried (Governor of Assam) and L.L.Peters (Superintendent of Lushai Hills) but refused by the British Parliament. The plan indirectly encouraged the Mizos to demand a separate land on the basis of self-determination. This enabled the disinchantment to propogate the effective insurgency.

2. The tribal people of Mizoram always preferred autonomy and personal freedom which they enjoyed undisturbed before the advent of the British. The chiefs were their best friend, philosophers and guides. It was a community life with clanish outlook. The British gradually introduced changes in the

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2. R. Coupland, 1944, Constitutional Problems of India, London, p. 164.

traditional landscape of the Lushai Hills. The Christian Missionaries rendered immense services to them and reinforced the British influence in the regions. The Mizos smarted under a feeling of being deprived of after independence and became victim of fear-psychosis. The faceless bureaucracy which did not know how to deal with the tribals compounded the problem by their inexperience to tackle the problems specific to their environment. The fumbling bureaucracy and inaptitude and indifference of the Assam Government were some of main causes of frustration among the Mizos that ultimately resulted in the eruption of insurgency.<sup>3</sup> The Government policy and approaches, increasing dependence on military forces and lavish grant of funds to speed up economic development were measures adopted later to first restrict and then eliminate the continuing violence and armed insurgency in the region.<sup>4</sup>

3. Support of Disgruntled Chiefs to the Extremists.

The abolition of the chieftenship had mixed reactions. The commoners were satisfied with the abolition as they were freed from the shackles of ~~slavery~~ and exploitation of the chief and their 'Upas'. The autocratic rules of the chiefs passed

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3. Information collected by the author in the field.

4. Nari Fustomji, 1983, Imperial Frontiers and North-East Borderland; OUP, Delhi, p.43.

away. The chiefs who were deprived of their autocratic rights became frustrated and powerless. Their frustration and agony goaded the discontented elements to utilise the failures of administration for the realisation of their goals.<sup>5</sup> The political uprising in 1966 was strengthened by the disgruntled chiefs who lended their tacit support to the disgruntled elements. ~~This abolition of the chieftenship was untimely and prematured.~~<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. Administrative Responses.

The Assam Government took hasty decision and showed lack of foresight in wooing the M.N.F. party leaders. This was in order to overshadow the Mizo Union, (which expressed contrary opinions to Assam Governments, which squarally blamed the Chaliha Government orders for the neglect of the Mizo hills by not pursuing the developmental work.\*

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\* The M.N.F workers were also speaking in the same tone. Sualhranga, a close confidant of Laldenga spoke "We should have no development so long as we remained under the Assam Government. We are neglected by the officials, who are mostly Assamese whose treatment ~~was~~ very bad". This indirectly sowed the seed of separation.

5.V.I.K. Sarin, 'India's North-East in Flames', Delhi p.153.

6.S. Barkakati, 1969, 'Tribes of Assam', National Book Trust, Delhi, p.14.

The Mizo Union, affiliated to the Congress party, was in power in Mizo District Council, which was looking after the relief work during the famine of 1959. Inadequate supply of relief materials and half-hearted measures to overcome the problems by the Assam Government led <sup>to the</sup> differences between the Mizo union and the Assam Government. Moreover, the Assam state Official Language bill of 1960 augmented to the problem. The discontented elements exploited the opportunity and spread anti-government feeling in the famine stricken areas of Mizoram. In this connection, it would be quite appropriate to cite the example of another hasty action of the Assam Government which took a lenient view of the prevailing political situation in the Hills, even as the intelligence assessments harped on the possibilities of emergence of insurgency situations.\*

The intelligence coverage by the district administration was not adequate. The police apparatus for obtaining

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\* Laldenga along with Lahnunawia and Sainghaka were arrested by the security guards while coming from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) but they were let off even at the startling disclosures that they sneaked into the erstwhile Pakistan for roping in the Pak support to their insurgency bid. Chaliha later on admitted that he was personally responsible for the events in Mizoram, culminating in the outbreak of hostilities.

7.N. Nibedan 1980, Mizoram: The Dagger Brigade, Delhi, p.128.

tactical as well as field intelligence and analysis was in a rudimentary stage. This was one of the reasons as to why the district administration was caught unaware when insurgency broke out.

Further, the geographical and territorial attributes which were most helpful in the conventional form of war gave a totally different perspective to the response i.e., it was more suited for insurgent operations. The location, size, shape, terrain, climate, vegetation and features of territory reinforced the prospect of insurgency. The continuous jungle infested with low mountain and sympathetic population across the international boundaries of India (Mizoram sector) provided favourable conditions for active insurgency. These were encouraged by limited accessible all weather road network and poor economy of the hills (as noted earlier the economy of the hills was dominated by Jhum with complete absence of industries. The mountainous terrain did not allow any effective linkage to develop<sup>9</sup>.\*

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\*Such a situation, always favoured the actions of disconted elements. Correspondingly longer distance, inaccessibility and inadequate facilities made the communication unreliable and expensive for counter-insurgency. Mizoram as a whole is flanked by erstwhile East Pakistan(now Bangladesh) which had unhealthy relation with India. Pakistan always encouraged anti-national activity and provided safe sanctuary for the insurgents where entire plan for insurgency was worked out in detail. It is the geographical location which favoured the movement of insurgents to Pakistan. In the classical insurgency scenario the proximity of an unfriendly neighbour is always exploited by the insurgents who look forward to obtain sanctuary facility and arms.

8.V.K.Anand,1985,Insurgency and Counter-insurgency.

9.P.Roy Choudhury, The North-East (Roots of insurgency),K.L.Firma, Aizawl,p.89.

5. Impact and role of Participation.

The Mizos are proud, strong, stout, and courageous. ~~In spite of their dark background (of 'head hunter' and practice of inhuman cruelty to their neighbouring people in the past).~~ The Mizos provided a sizeable number in army and Para-Military forces. During the second World War, nearly 5000 recruits joined the British forces from Mizoram. The villagers were given guerrilla training. Most of the recruits served in different units of British Indian Army at different places of India. They also effectively participated in the Burma front. This, along with greater political and economic awareness radically transformed the action - space of the inhabitants. Besides, the disbandment of units that participated in the mutiny of a battalion of Assam Rifles, indicated the strong undercurrent of change taking place in the hill society. As far as insurgency was concerned, these developments provided adequate personnel to activate the military phase of insurgency in the Hills. In this they were partially helped by arms dump left since the end of second World War in the area.

6. Ethnic Tension.

During the British days the tribals were preserved as the 'museum piece' and their contact with outside world

was restricted. As a result, the Mizos were deprived of coming closer to the plain people and to swim with them in main-stream of National life. The 'Inner Lines Regulations' restricted the movement and free exchange between the hill and the plain people. Obviously, mutual distrust between the hill people and the plains developed. The non-Mizos (plain people) considered the Mizos as nomadic, dirty, and uncivilised both in manner and habits (shabbily dressed) and developed hatred against the Mizos.<sup>10</sup> The Mizos on the other hand, also looked upon them with distrust and called them the 'vias', a cheat a liar and selfish. This recalcitrant attitude on both sides poisoned the friendly relation between the hill<sup>people</sup> and the plains. This racial hatred culminated into open hostility.

#### 7. Change in Life Style.

The British consolidation and extension of administrations in the Lushai Hills brought drastic changes in the life pattern of the inhabitants. Their earlier community life was gradually transformed through the introduction and extension of education, growing influence of missionary activities and money economy, etc. These changes undermined the traditional

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10. J.V. Hluna 1989, Mizo Problems Leading to insurgency - an article in Seminar of North East Historical Conference, 1986.

society and brought forth vertical and horizontal cleavages into open, These alongwith administrative developments exposed the inhabitants to changes. This brought about the obvious response of discontentment, and resentment, which ultimately paved the way for insurgency.

8. Alarming Unemployment Problem in Mizoram.

Although the unemployment is a cancerous growth in modern India and all states big or small, industrialised or otherwise, suffer from this disease but it is more acute in Mizoram due to socio-economic backwardness of the state. Mizoram is economically not a viable state. Its economic potentialities are limited to agriculture only. Further, the rapid growth of general education without any employment generating programme, resulted in growing frustration among the educated youths. Moreover, lack of technical education at lower level has caused anxiety to the common man. The limited job opportunity within the state could not absorb the educated youths. Further, the westernised culture adopted by the young Mizos posed a further problems. The extremists leaders utilised this opportunity and recruited large number of unemployed youths as M.N.F volunteers on false assurance.<sup>11</sup>

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11. R.N.Prasad, 1987, Government and Politics in Mizoram, Delhi, p.236.

9. Economic Backwardness.

Economically Mizoram is not a viable state. The procurement of basic needs of the masses was difficult, the poor and the neglected means of communication, scarcity of drinking water, lack of power supply, inadequate schools and technical institutions, lack of medical and transport facility, exorbitant price of essential commodities, regional imbalance, rampant corruption and nepotism created chaotic condition in Mizoram. The extremists made it as their main plank for movement.<sup>12</sup>

10. Stress on rapid Economic Growth.

The Government of India took interest in quick economic development in Mizoram by increasing per capita expenditure in the Plans for Mizo hills. There was an impressive increase in the plan expenditure. The extremists were afraid of this developmental programme, which, if speedily expedited might dampen the militancy among the Mizos and the contemplated revolt would not materialise. This induced the extremists to take the initiative towards insurgency.

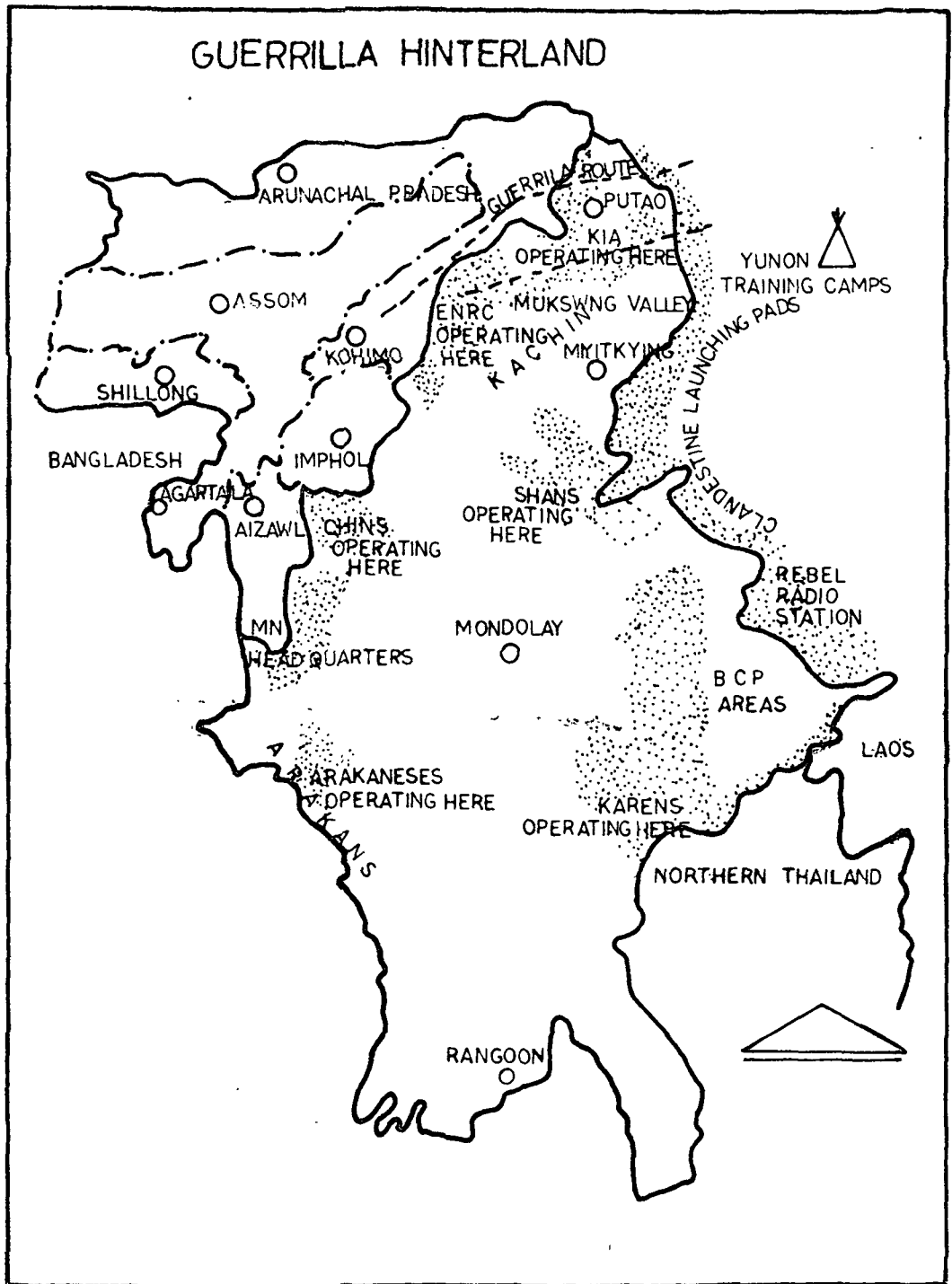
11. Impact of Naga Insurgency.

The evil design of separatism was sown by the Naga leaders. Sakhrie, the Secretary of Naga National Council paid

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12. Amit Kumar Nag, 1972, The Ups and Downs of Mizo Politics North-Eastern Affairs, Shillong, Oct-Dec. 1972, p.42.

# GUERRILLA HINTERLAND



Map No 17

a visit to the Mizo district in September 1946. He inspired the Mizo people by citing examples that Nagas would fight to the last for independence and secession from India. Later on, A.Z. Phizo and other Naga leaders visited Mizo Hills in April 1947 which was synchronised with the visit of Bordolois Sub-Committee. Phizo aroused a feeling of anti-Indian in the heart of the Mizos.

#### 12. Role of Pakistan in Aggravating the Insurgency.

The unfriendly relation between India and Pakistan enhanced tension in the eastern sector which was geopolitically more vulnerable. The then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) taking the advantage of geographical contiguity under difficult mountainous terrain openly encouraged the Naga and Mizo insurgents and allowed co-ordination between two groups of insurgents, supplied arms and ammunitions, provided safe sanctuary for their training or logistic planning, spared their Army staff for guerrilla training. <sup>(Map 17)</sup> Through their embassy the extremists easily contacted foreign embassy and convinced them of their sinister design. The Chinese embassy in Pakistan was more generous to the Mizo insurgents and their assistance was funnelled through Pakistan.

#### 13. The Quality of Leadership.

Laldenga (MNF President) was the man behind the Mizo insurgency. He realised that it would be dangerous and impossible

to adjust in the prevailing situation vituated by socio-economic and political subjugation of the Mizos by the so called Indians. The failure to adjustment created social and psychological <sup>13</sup> tension.\* Laldenga and his followers took opportunity to exploit the parochial and separatists tendency in order to materialise their ambitious plan. He mobilised the entire population in support independence for Mizo hills, twisted the term 'Excluded Area' to convince the people in different ways. Had there been no Laldenga there would not have insurgency. His shrewd nature and slippery customary design favoured the development of uprising and its trend in Mizoram.

14. Religious Sentiment.

The MNF leaders aroused religious sentiment and made it an issue against the Government of Assam and the Government of India. Mizoram as a whole is a Christian dominated state

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1st Plan - Rs.63,0000 2nd plan -Rs.211 lakh, 3rd plan Rs.562 lakhs. At the end of 3rd plan per capita expenditure was Rs.314 as against 166 for whole Assam.

\*R.N.Haldipur is of opinion <sup>that</sup> the tribal unrest also occurred <sup>y</sup> in a situation where adjustment became difficult in the process of acculturation. At such a critical juncture, a new leader emerges and vocalises the dormant ideas under threatening conditions like famine, exploitation and excessive interference.

13. R.N.Haldipur Policy Toward Administration of the Tribes of North-East India (in) K.Suresh Singh(ed) Tribal Situation in India, Simla p; 118.

where more than 95% of population follow Christianity. Laldenga emphatically convinced <sup>his</sup> the tribal brethren that the Hindu dominated India wanted to thrust upon us, their religion and intended to Hinduise us by all possible means. He convinced them that India was a land of Hindus and Mizoram a land of Christianity.<sup>14</sup>

15. High Morale of MNF Volunteers.

Unlike the security forces the Mizos hardly ever feared attacks or lose their lives here and there. It hardly matters anything to them. They had become desperate. From the geopolitical point of view the Mizos had nothing to lose and nothing really to defend.<sup>15</sup>

16. Neglect of Periphery.

The unrest in North Eastern India in general and Mizoram in particular has been attributed to the neglect of weak periphery by the dominant 'core area'.<sup>16</sup> Mizoram, an unmobilised peripheral area has been neglected by the Central core area (capital) to a great extent. This has given birth to counter political

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14. R. Vanlawma, My Country and I (in Mizo) Aizawl, p. 153.

15. Nibedan n.7, p.129.

16. B. Pakem 1986, political Development and Change in North-Eastern India (in ) A.P. Sinha (ed), 1986, Changing North-East India, Ludhiana, p.48.

movements like the MNF. This affected adversely the spatial system of the country.<sup>17</sup> The spatial difference between the centre and the peripheral unit (Mizoram) had been exploited by the MNF.

Insurgency: Development.

The members of insurgency smouldering underground erupted ominously in Mizoram in mid-night of 28th Feb. 1966. It was well planned and calculated. The insurgents first cut off telephone lines, disrupted food communications and disarmed the state police. Its quick success could be attributed to its strategic location.<sup>18</sup> ~~Its location~~ in the extreme corner of North East region, whose 70% of its total boundary faces international borders, mainly East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and Burma. Large tracts of the boundary are predominantly mountainous covered with dense bamboos and mixed forests. This natural cover facilitated the insurgents to move across the boundary without any resistance from the Security forces. Besides, complete lack of communications link between the interior villages and the district headquarters prohibited the flow of information. Added to it, the cultural similarity of many tribes of Chin Hills of Burma and Mizoram helped the insurgents to reinforce their activities

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17. Ibid, p. 48

18. B. B. Goswami, Mizo Unrest, p.156.

without any trouble. They were of the same stock whether they lived left side of the border or the right side.

The seed of insurgency is clearly evident from the proceedings of the conference of all Mizos and other similar political parties at Churachandpur, (Manipur). This was convened to settle the difference between the Mizo union leaders and the MNF in the month of January, 1965. This meeting was a turning point in the history of Mizoram. In the conference, the Mizo Union reiterated its stand to postpone the movement for independence of Mizoram and asked the MNF to eschew the sessionist demand. However, the political parties stressed upon the Mizo aspirations for a 'Greater Mizoram' comprising of all Mizo inhabited areas.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently, there had been a talk between the Mizo union and the MNF on the question of Independence of Mizoram. The Mizo Union requested MNF to withdraw its demand for sovereign independence because such demand would not be acceptable to the Government of India and the starvation, miseries and hardship of the Mizo people on the other hand would increase. But the MNF decided to go ahead with the demand for complete independence. The MNF leader, Laldenga,

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19. Amit Kumar Nag, n.12,p.44.

utilised the opportunity to mobilise volunteers during Indo-Pak war of 1965 when the Indian Army was deployed on the borders and more than 8,000 volunteers readily responded to his call. The party spread up its clandestine mobilisation and started organising its base in each village. This enabled them to widen and strengthen insurgent base at grass-roots level.

The shadow of insurgency soon loomed large with the MNF High Command set up a shadow Government named 'Mizoram Sawrkar'\* having legislature, executive and judicial wings. The Government was based on American pattern as the leaders did not like the British pattern which involved a lengthy tedious process in disposal of matters.<sup>20</sup>

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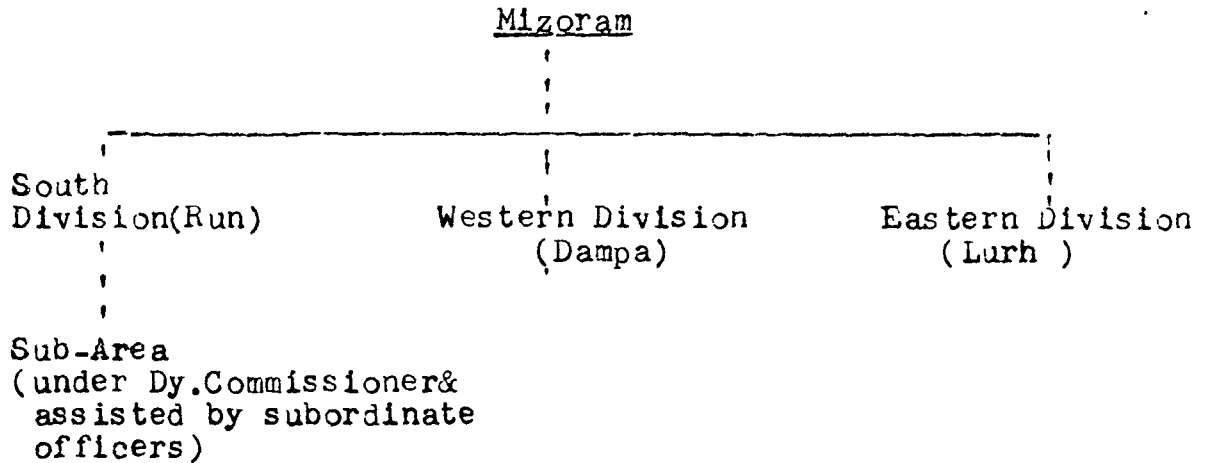
\*The Office bearers of the 'Sawrkar' were as follows:

President	- Laldenga
Vice President	- Lalmunmawia
Finance Secretary	- Lalkhawliana
Defence Secretary	- Zamawia
Home Secretary	- Sainghaka
Chief Justice	- Fohn F. Manliana
Foreign Secretary	- Lalhminthanga
Transport & Communication & Education.	- Lianzuala

20. . . . . MNF, Pamphlet and other literature .

Table - 35

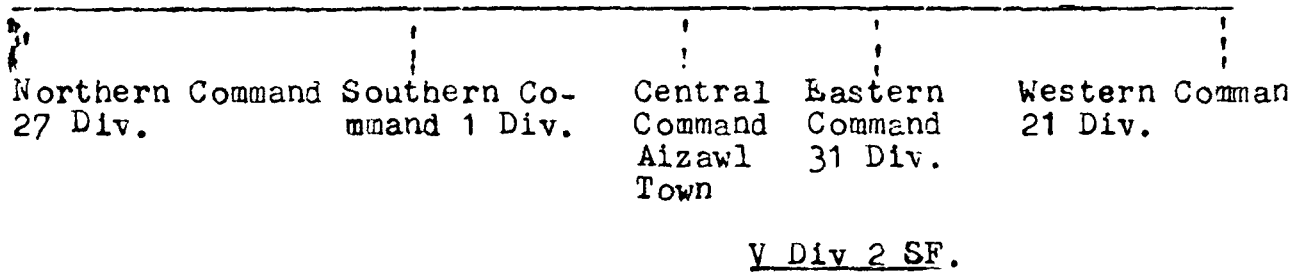
Administrative divisions



M.N.F. Defence Wing

M.N.V.

(at the time of operation fericho.)



Source: see also N. Bebadan, n.7.  
p.62.

The 'Mizoram Sawrkar' had three divisions (Table - 35) under the command of P.B.kosanga, K.Hrangchunga and Ngurchhina (Brother of Laldenga) who were in charge of West, south and East Divisions respectively. These divisions were further divided into sub-areas headed by a Deputy Commissioner who was assisted by subordinate officers. The armed wing of the defence branch was called M.N.V Laldenga being the president of Mizoram Sawrkar was also the supreme commander of the Army. Self-styled (S.S) Major General Vanalhururia was the chief of the army before uprising. The recruitment in the Army of the Mizoram Swarkar was made from the students, farmers and even ex-service men whose response encouraged the MNF. Leaders. The M.N.V was divided into four commands and officers were placed to command the area. Thus the administrative and defence wing were well organised which made the leaders bold enough to make preparation for revolt. Apparantly, before the public the MNF leaders pleaded for non-violent method of getting their demands fulfilled. Laldenga and his followers realised that in view of the geographical location, infrastructure and economic condition of region, it was a herculian task to give a smashing blow to the well equipped Indian army. Further, military force had never solved any political problem

of the world.<sup>21</sup> Under such camouflage he directed his followers at all levels to prepare for mass uprising. In fact, Laldenga strategy was to create confusion and hence he adopted double standard policy like that of Phizo in Nagaland. In this way planning and organisation went on simultaneously. Finally on 30th October '65 the MNF president Laldenga and General Secretary S.Lianzuala upped the anti and gave a call for the secession from India in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India (Appendix IV).

The memorandum, in fact, was an eye-wash simply to divert the attention of the Assam Government and the Central Government. A full-scale preparation for revolt was intensified. The M.N.A raised many Battalions of armed volunteers and equipped them with sophisticated weapons available and obtained from the neighbouring States of Pakistan and China. Training in guerrilla Warfare was given by both China and Pakistan. The MNF placed armed volunteers at certain vulnerable points in both rural and Urban areas to blow of vital installations. The spirited volunteers came out for fund collection by terrorising and exhorting the service holders, traders and Contractors.<sup>22</sup>

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21. Laldenga Mizo Marches Towards Freedom, a pamphlet, Aizawl pp.15-16.

22. Information collected by the author in the field.

The large scale preparations, of course, did not catch the civil administration unawares. The Government braced up to tackle in underground menace as purely a law and order problem (in the initial stages of insurgency). The administration also infiltrated into the insurgent hierarchy for the obvious purpose of ferreting out the field intelligence was proved when the M.N.F. liquidated Col. Laimana on charge of being an Indian agent.

Chaotic condition prevailed in Mizoram and the normal life was paralysed. The MNF activities spread to every corner of the district. The M.N.A volunteers were jubilant and the top brass of the party decided to take recourse to violent method to wrest independence on the line of what was being done by Naga insurgents. Thus the political ambition of a small section of Mizo fuelled by Laldenga ignited the spark of insurgency, which marked the saga of strife, suffering and turmoil. The insurgency started on Feb. 28th, 1966 at 10.30 pm. (it was named 'Operation Jerico') The telephone lines and other wireless transmitters were smashed, road communication between Silchar and Aizawl was disrupted and culverts were blown off. The Government Sub-treasury was ransacked. The guards were disarmed and booty of Rs. 64,000/-

<sup>was</sup> were taken away. Simultaneous disturbances were sparked off at vairengte, Kolasib, Lunglei, Champai, Demagiri, Khawza<sup>al</sup> and Chawngte. The armed revolt spread like wild fire, although the majority of population and parties did not fully support such movement.<sup>23</sup>

The MNF declared independence (Appendix V) which contained the following main objectives:-

1. The principle of self-determination denied to the Mizo people will be revised.
2. The Mizos are a separate nation having distinct Mongolian characteristics.
3. Universal declaration of human rights by the Government of India be honoured.
4. Mizos are dominated, exploited, despised, persecuted, tortured, manhandled and murdered by the Government of India.
5. The Government of India did not allow the Mizo to procure food materials during the famine from the neighbouring friendly countries and consequently, Mizo people faced starvation.

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23. V. V. Rao 1976, A Century of Hill Politics, Delhi p. 504.

Laldenga wanted to internationalised the issue. He appealed to nations for external help.<sup>24</sup>\*

The MNF strategy was well-planned. The main line of communications (Silchar-Aizawl) was disrupted intentionally to stop the reinforcement of army and para-military force at Aizawl or to interior places like Champhai and Demagiri.

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\* He wrote letters to Sukarno, the President of Indonesia "Historians claimed that we, the Mizo people are the Mongoloid originated from southern part of China and migrated towards the present habitat between India and Burma through the Shan States of Burma in about 15th century A.D. Our Chief ruled over separate hills and <sup>Valleys</sup> ~~gallies~~ with supreme authority and their administration was very much like that of the Greek city of the past. India's top leaders and spokesman like Pandit Nehru released a press statement on 9th August, 1946 and said "The tribal areas are defined as being those along the frontiers of India which are neither parts of India or of Burma nor of any Indian State nor of any foreign power".

However, ~~these~~ reference to this statement has not been quoted. In what context this has been made is not put by Laldenga. Again Laldenga said 'The British gave an assurance to the Mizos that they would become independent after the 2nd World War' In fact, there is no record to this assurance. But Laldenga said consequent upon the proclamation the Lushai Brigade and the Lushai Scouts actually fought on the Burma front against the Japanese aggression. In fact, we were semi-independent state during the British period. This letter was recovered by the security force and it was not despatched to the President.

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24. V. V. Rao 1987, A Century of Government and Politics, Vol.III , Mizoram pp.242-48.

Even the Air Field at Tural was not free and safe for the Indian forces. The MNF volunteers took away from P.W.D. S.D.O at Vairengte, a jeep and some explosive materials on 1st March 1966 (at 1-30 a.m.). On 2nd March Government of Assam declared the district as disturbed area. Troops were dispatched by air and road. The armed Police was put under the operational command of the army. However, the army could not reach before 5th night. By that time the MNF caused maximum damage in the district. On 3rd March, 1966 the Assam Rifles patrol party was ambushed nearly the Government High School, Aizawl, and on the same day first Assam Rifles at Aizawl was attacked, but they held out 5th March, 1966. The hostiles made attempt to capture the Chinluang post on the first night of insurgency. However, the initial attempt failed and they realised that the army reinforcement would be reaching from Silchar, they changed their plan.<sup>25</sup>

The hostiles attacked Lunglei and heavy firing from both sides continued. The post of First Bn of Assam Rifles and B.S.F. were captured by the rebels and arms and ammunitions were taken away by them. The S.D.O.(Civil) R.V.Pillai and other Civil Officers were kidnapped, and taken first to an

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25. Maj. Gen. D.K.Palit 1984, Sentinels of North-East, p.262, Delhi.

unknown place and then to Pakistan.<sup>26</sup> The M.N.F. flag was unfurled at S.D.O's residence. At Champhai the wing H.Q. of Assam Rifles with two platoons fell to rebels and the post was destroyed. There were encounters between the security forces and rebels: at Chawngte in which many M.N.F. rebels were killed. But finally, overpowered by them. Thus apart from Assam Rifles H.Q., Aizawl all other posts in Mizo Hills district fell in hands of M.N.F. which took more than a month for the troops to regain the centres of administration.<sup>27</sup>

The news of M.N.F. uprising was spread throughout the district with the village signaling organisation of MNF (torch signaling) The district H.Q. was under the rebels command for nearly 6 days. This uprising, in fact, brought Laldenga and his party into sudden limelight and it also proved effective in removing the people's aloofness, and baptised them in crucible of fire and destruction.<sup>28</sup>

The army moved from Silchar to Aizawl by road and even by helicopters from 3rd March onwards. The forces reached

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26. Goswami n.18 p.155

27. A.C. Roy 1982, Dynamics of Mizoram, Calcutta p.155.

28. D.K.Anand 1984, Terrorism and Security, Delhi p.79.

on 5th evening after clearing of all hurdles on the way. The security forces started re-capturing the post and centres already captured by the rebels. The district headquarters became free from the rebels who left the town and moved to the interior places. The army columns moved towards Lunglêi and reached there on 13th March. The army column had threatened to bomb the town because the town was under MNF control. On 9th March two Baptist leaders reached Aizawl and requested the Army not to harm the innocent people by bombing the town. There were minor encounters between the security forces and the MNA volunteers. But finally the volunteers recinded and took away large number of arms, explosive and Vehicles from B.R.T.F.<sup>29</sup> The Army column moved to Champhai and relieved it from the rebels on 17th March.<sup>30</sup> The Home Minister made a statement in Lok Sabha that all important posts and towns had been made free from the clutches of the armed Mizo gangs and the Mizo National Front volunteers have either gone to the jungles or are trying to escape into Pakistan or Burma. Mopping up operations were continued.<sup>31</sup>

But the MNF rebels were in form and adopting multi-pronged strategy - full Scale insurrection, equilibrium

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29. -  
See R.N.Prasad, n.11 p.185.

30. Information collected by the author in the field.

31. Lok Sabha debate , March 25, 1966, Vol.L.11 Column,7893-94.

operation in selective places, intimidation of officers on coercive terms, terrorism, extortion and politicization by overground Mizos (Extremists Group). Thus, certain strategically insignificant places like Tuipang on the southern border was left alone. Demagiri was the main target of attack due to its importance as the opening of supply line from Chittagong.<sup>32</sup> The mountainous terrain with zig-zag roads and narrow passes were the main <sup>areas</sup> points for ambush by the MNF volunteers. The hostiles ambushed the military supply convey at Zawlaw village (excellently located on mountain pass) on 6th May 1966 causing death to security personnel and looting of supply ration and burning the vehicles completely. The army being infuriated burnt some villagers on the plea that they might have given help to those hostiles.

The army was determined to knock down the insurgents but occasional resistance <sup>in form of</sup> due to ambush or sniping, <sup>retarded</sup> the mobility of army was retarded. Since the army was in aggressive form the MNF headquarters also went on shifting (from Aizawl to the Caves of Reiek, east of Aizawl). Laldenga escaped to East Pakistan.

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32. Palit, n.25, p.262.

The hard-core extremists continued their operation despite the appeal made to maintain peace by the Chief Minister at Aizawl on May 10, 1966. The underground rebels had a series of encounters with security forces at Bungleman on 16th May, 1966, and these resulted in the death of Laizama and Chhunkhuma. However, the M.N.A. volunteers ambushed the security forces on the outskirts of Bilkhawthlir on 23rd May and managed to extricate 12 rifles, 2 stenguns and one L.M.G. and killed 12 soldiers. This operation was named as 'operation Humnalhma' by the rebels. The rebels further attacked an army posts at Sialsuk on June 14, but the army repulsed the fire and burnt the villages nearby. Two days later, the M.N.A. launched attack at many places under 'Operation Monsoon' and kidnapped some local officers. There was slight changes in the M.N.F. tactics and they concentrated on 'hit and run' the particular object and not to ambush army column. The primary aim of the rebels was to promote disorder, increase tension in rank and file of the security forces, disrupt line of communication and foil counter-insurgency measures. The volunteers were asked to watch the army movement, intercept the communication line, put the postal delivery in haywire and keep them engaged.

Unfriendly countries like Pakistan and China were sympathetic to the rebels and were extending all possible

help in imparting guerilla training inside Pakistan and formenting trouble inside India. Their objectives were to disintegrate the unity of India, to support secessionist movement, to put strain on the country's economy and to keep the army engaged in these area so that Pak army could get free hand in other vulnerable part of India (Kashmir).<sup>33</sup> Laldenga, who was living in Dacca, returned to attend M.N.F meeting at Sailulak on Nov.6 1966. The meeting was held and the M.N.F. constitution was framed. In the meeting he reiterated the demand of independence of Mizoram and desired to meet the Government of India as government to government level which means indirect recognition of their government by the government of India. In the meeting a section of Mizos including pastor zirema requested M.N.F. leaders to abjure the cult of violence but the request fell flat. Laldenga left for Dacca to give more time to internationalise the issue. He gave instruction to other leaders to continue movements on two definite lines - One in favour of independence and other for negotiations.<sup>34</sup> Some civilians ( M.N.F. called Dumpawl group, Dum means black, Pawl means blue - a derogatory term) were negotiating with the Government. The extremists group

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33. Goswami, n.2:6

34. Nibedan, n.7, p.101.

was applying violence and agitation. The M.N.F. cabinet meeting scheduled to be held on 10th Dec. 66 at Sialsir (near Serchip) was cancelled due to army operation. But a serious encounter took place on 16th December near Kawlkulh, south east of Aizawl on Champhai road resulting into death of seven soldiers.

In June, 1967 the M.N.F. boys launched 'Operation Crusade' which aimed at consolidating forces in the Mizo inhabited area of Manipur under the command of 'Lions Brigade'<sup>35</sup>. The volunteers crossed the border and slipped into Manipur. The rebels battalions were planning for 'Operation Monsoon' (furthlipui in Mizo). In the meantime the MNF launched daring attacks on several points including Aizawl town to kidnap local officials. On 27th Dec. 1967 the rebels again ambushed the security forces near Chawngte (south west of Lunglei, near Pakistan border (now Bangladesh), killing six soldiers. This was a guerilla tactics to inflict major attack elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> The M.N.A. headquarters had moved from the Ralvawng Range near Baite. The vanguard platoon taking easterly direction for crossing over Chin hills of Burma.

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35. Ibid, p.110.

36. Information collected by the author from the field.

On 3rd March, 1968 the Ch.Bn. led by SS Lt.Lianhnuna launched 'Operation Refinement' against 6 Maratha Company in which the Coy Commander was killed. A fortnight later, gun fight took place on Mizo-Manipur border in which 20 security personnel were killed. Similarly, a gun battle took place at borapansuri Out-Post (south of Demagiri in Jan.69. The M.N.A. took position on the other side of the border and went on firing on Indian security forces. Two days later the rebel groups in northern part of Tripura attacked C.R.P post Tuipuibari on 23 Jan. 69. The rebel forces crossed into the southern Tripura (Jampur range). The Indian security force had also monitored the location of M.N.A. camp on Pakistan side, closed to Indian border.<sup>37</sup> Towards end of 1969 about 200 armed Mizo rebels entered Mizo Hills district from Chittagong hill tracts in small groups and infiltrated into interior villages. They created troubles in the villages and put the administration in tight corner. There was encounter with the security forces on Feb.16,1970 near Marapara area (border of Mizo hills with East Pakistan).

After being driven out from main territory of Mizoram, the M.N.F. volunteers took shelter in East Pakistan. The border was not sealed and their movement was not intercepted by the

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37 . Nibedan n.37, p.151.

army due to geographical contiguity and natural hazards. A large number of them were taking shelter in Chittagong hill tracts and set up their camps.<sup>38</sup> Chittagong port was the centre of international smuggling where from arms and ammunitions were smuggled. The M.N.F. men had to depend on the charity of the imperialist who used to help the insurgents for their global strategy.<sup>39</sup> Till the creation of Bangladesh the East Pakistan was virtually the operational head quarters of the M.N.F. and their volunteers were trained by the Pak army. After the liberation the head quarter shifted further east and set up a new operational base in the Jungles of Arakan where Arakanese insurgents extended hospitality to M.N.F. men. The Arakanese base of M.N.F. was the trijunction of Arakan - Bangladesh and India.<sup>40</sup>

The people and the volunteers were moving to different places for tactical gains. Intelligence chief of the M.N.F. volunteers was trekking northward from jungles of Burma towards north to establish contact with Kachin Independent Army(KIA) through hectic walk along the Chindwin river. He got hospitality from the Mizo villagers on the way but the strenuous journey gave him physical and mental strain for many days. Bualhvanga, a close confident of Laldenga was busy in southern areas motivating

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38. The Amrit Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, July 4, 1970.

39. H.K.Sarin Insurgency in North-East, Delhi, 1980, p.74.

40. Ibid, p.67

the people on the movement. He was fomenting trouble by making publicity to the fact no development would take place in Mizoram so long as we were under Assam Government.

Lalnunmawia moved south ward to meet the President of the Arakan National Liberation Front (ANLF). The Arakanese leader Krahlalung accompanied with his party General Secretary Tunhlsaung, their security for the unknown place (R.V.). There was some understanding between the two that M.N.F. could give arms and ammunitions to them for the exchange of their hospitality for sanctuary in their area.

The M.N.F. volunteers had their access to China also through the corridor across the Somra Tracts, east of Manipur. The Naga underground acted as the go between. The Pro Peking Burmese Communist Party also gave them sanctuary in Chin Hills and Arakan. But the MNF preferred training in Chittagong Hill Tracts than Yunnan province in ~~India~~<sup>China</sup> due to the basic ~~Political~~<sup>ideological</sup> differences and Christian background.

After the liberation of Bangladesh and the formation of Union Territory of Mizoram, the insurgents had to face awkward situation and accordingly MNF revised strategy and operational tactics. Besides, internal rift in the rank and file of the MNA was also surfaced.

In 1974, the hardcore M.N.F. regrouped their forces to make fresh attack on security forces from the side of Burma, Arakan and Chittagong hills. Inside Mizoram they started terrorising and intimidating the loyalist and at the same time gave proposal for solution of problems. Malsawma Colony was called to Aizawl for talk which continued for a month but failed and he went back to his hide outs in Arakan. The hard-core M.N.F made a desperate attack on Lt.Governor S.P. Mukherjee on March 10, 1974 while travelling on Silchar-Aizawl road and wounded him.

In 1975 (30 Jan.) another daring act was made in Aizawl when senior Police officers were holding a conference in Police H.Q. Three M.N.F rebels entered into the office and gunned down top officers. This dastardly action shocked the nation. Accordingly, security arrangements were tightened and administrative machinery was overhauled.

In this way, time went on rolling. Laldenga was losing his grip over his men and a crack developed in the rank and file of M.N.A. Laldenga felt the pulse of his men. The subsequent development led to the famous July Agreement of 1976 which was widely welcomed by all and life became normal in Mizoram. But it was a temporary euphoria. The design of the

M.N.F. leaders <sup>was</sup> did <sup>to</sup> not allow the volunteers to surrender arms as per terms of the agreement. Laldenga's tape recorded speech was circulated everywhere. Massive propoganda for fresh struggle for independence of sovereign Mizoram started. The mid-term election in May 1979 despite Laldenga's directives to boycott, was held and the P.C. party led by T.Sailo <sup>was</sup> voted to power. This development irritated Laldenga who gave direction to M.C. Lalrimthanga to revive insurgency. In June 1979, the M.N.F. issued 'Quit Notice' to non-Mizos (Vais) to leave Mizoram by July 1979. This created a great panic in Mizoram. A trouble errupted in which the house of the agriculture Minister, P. B. Rosanga was burnt and R.C.Choudhury (SDO,PWD) was murdered. This was well planned to invite trouble at Silchar (a <sup>Bengali</sup> ~~Assamese~~ dominated town) to disrupt supply line to Mizoram. <sup>41</sup> But the situation did not worsen as anticipated.

On July 2, 1979 the M.N.F attacked the transmission Centre of A.I.R., and Police complex at Shivaji Tilla, Aizawl. A Police out-post at Serchhip was attacked. Attempt on the life of Ved Mehra, I.G., and R.S. Chopra, D.I.G. was also made. Pro-Laldenga group was infiltrating into Mizoram from Parva to start fresh trouble. <sup>42</sup> The combing up operation was again intensified. On June 13, 1979 an S.D.O(PWD) was killed

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41. Ibid p.74

42. The Statesman, Calcutta, July 4, 1979.

by the rebels at Saitual and S.D.O. Kolashib was also attacked. A few days later, State Bank of India, Aizawl Branch was also fired upon. The Government took serious view of the development and declared M.N.F. as unlawful organisation.

In a broad day light on August 7, 1979 a civil truck carrying few civilians was attacked and seven persons were killed. The MNF target was to attack in a small gang on civil Government employees, Police and paramilitary forces and to avoid counter-insurgency measures. In January February, 1980 many Assam Rifles vehicles were attacked resulting into the death of many Jawans who were going on leave, A B.R.T.F camp near Thenzol was ransacked on 21st march, 1980 and administrative centre at Bungmun near Champhai on Burma border was burnt by the insurgents. Consequently, curfew was clamped in Aizawl and other towns. But sporadic insurgency and counter-insurgency went on in Mizoram.

The general election of Mizoram Legislative Assembly was held in 1984 and the Congress-I headed Lalthanwhawla was voted to power. He took initiative to restore peace and harmony. Subsequent development resulted into signing of Peace Accord on 30 Jun. 1986.

Geographical Impact on Insurgency.

Geographical elements have a great impact on the origin and development of insurgency in Mizoram. Among the elements the prominent are peripheral location, geographical isolation, and proximity to the unfriendly nations like Pakistan (East Pakistan, now Bangladesh) and China. Mountainous terrain and rugged topography covered with <sup>dense</sup> natural vegetation put the insurgents in advantageous position. The insurgency made these features as their cover and inflicted surprise attack on Security forces. There were several difficult passes, uphill ranges through which the army columns had to pass. The insurgents could easily attack from the upper ridges causing maximum harm to the security forces and they could easily scramble to the safer places after the ambush is over. The caves at many places particularly in the Reik areas, provided safe hideouts to the insurgents. The insurgents took advantages of the known terrain which was difficult for the security forces.

The inaccessibility of the State was another factor favouring the insurgents. The lack of proper road communication was equally favourable to them. The limited roads trending north-south direction due to natural constraints

favoured them. The only road, i.e. Silchar-Aizawl (NH-54) was the vital link with rest of the country was disrupted and culverts were broken at two places, thus retarding the mobility of the forces after the outbreak of the insurgency. Had there been any alternative route, the insurgency could have been properly tackled in the beginning. But the geographical factors thwarted the mobility of the security forces for 5 days (the forces reached Aizawl town on 5th evening). Even the air field at Aizawl was not safe from the enemy fire due to natural hazards. The road communication down south was in abysmal state. The Champhai and Demagiri outposts were unsafe which were under rebel's control for many days only because of unfavourable geographical surroundings.

The locational factor was most vital point in the development of insurgency. Mizoram is located in the close proximity of unfriendly countries like Pakistan and China which helped the insurgents with men and material. The safe sanctuary including rebel headquarters in Chittagong Hill tracts was well known. It is the inaccessibility factor that Parva area was the main hide-outs of the MNF inside Mizoram which has openings in Arakan and Bangladesh. The security forces failed completely to search the rebels in

That area. The Government of India remained helpless to intercept the insurgents while crossing the international border which was geographically contiguous to Bangladesh and Burma and covered with thick vegetation. On the eastern front also, the Burmese insurgents and people of the same Mongoloid stock helped the insurgents by providing sanctuary. The Arakan National Liberation Front (ANLF) and Kachin Independent Army (KIA) extended support to the Mizo rebels. The activities of these unfriendly Nations supporting the rebels were successful due to geographical location in the vicinity of unfriendly nations. Its location elsewhere would not have achieved success to that extent.

Finally, the elements of human geography have also cast great impact on the origin and development of insurgency. The Mizos belong to a well-knit society and their unity and clanish outlook also helped the movement. Though there were stringent police measures and army surveillance, the Mizos did not lose their exclusive character, and did not feel deterred from extending all possible help to the insurgents. The MNF extremists were not only considered as their brethren, but were hero-worshipped, as they espoused the latent sub-nationalism of the Mizos.

Counter Insurgency: Aims and Objectives

The whole nation was shocked to hear the news that insurgency has started in Mizoram in the dead of night on 28th February, 1966. The act of violence, looting of arms and cash from the Government treasury at Aizawl, explosion at electric veng, disruption of telephone lines and road communication between Silchar and Aizawl, retreat of para military posts at Champhai, Lunglei and other places were the highlights of the MNF insurrection in February, 1966.

The Government of India and the Assam Government took prompt action in consultation with G.O.C of Eastern Command. The Assam Government declared the Mizo Hills District as disturbed area under the Armed Forces Special Power Act, 1958<sup>43</sup> which gave powers even to Assam Rifles Personnel (above the rank of Havildar) to open fire and to destroy arms dump and to enter into and search any place without warrant. The army was given power to deal firmly and the security arrangements were tightened. The Assam Government declared the area disturbed within 10 <sup>km</sup> miles of both sides of Silchar-Aizawl Road and protected area under Sub-Rule(I) of Rule 80 of D.I.R. 1962.

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43. The Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act, 1958, Sec. 4(c).

The Deputy Commissioner of Mizo Hills district promulgated Rule 80 of the DIR, which prohibited the possession of carrying and use and sale of arms and ammunition in the district. He also prohibited order against production, import, storage of cells<sup>44</sup> and purchase of torch lights, cells and Military Uniforms, typewriters and duplicators. The Government of India declared the MNF as unlawful organisation indulging in anti-National activities which endangered the security of the district. Accordingly, the Government was empowered to deal firmly with the MNF volunteers and its supporters. The army and para-military forces were immediately deployed in the district and at various vulnerable places. Great chaotic condition prevailed in Mizoram, The normal life was disturbed for which a small section of Mizos (extrimists) was responsible. Troops were immediately despatched to Aizawl from Silchar. But it could reach Aizawl before 5th March, due to obstruction put by the rebels.

General Manekshaw, the Army Chief suggested the Government to hand over the district administration to the Army for effective control over M.N.F. but the Government did not agree on political grounds. However, the Army columns moved in all directions from Aizawl and Lunglei to stop the movement of rebels and their activities. Consequently, many Mizo villages, ~~to mention a few~~ <sup>such as</sup> Knowngbawk, Pangzawl, Pukpui and other were burnt <sup>down</sup>. The army consoli-

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44. Deputy Commissioner, Mizo District No:ASLD/1/67/1 dated, Aizawl June 9, 1967.

45. Goswami n.33, p.145,

dated its position in the district to break down the morale of the insurgents. Some of the hard-core rebels went underground and the MNF Headquarters shifted from Aizawl to Reiek cages. Afterwards it went on changing and took on mobile character. Taking their advantages of difficult terrain and bad communication the rebels adopted the tactics of hit and run, thereby inflicting harm to the army and other security forces. This type of guerrilla activity was thought to be best strategy of the underground rebels.

The underground rebels whose number was small at the beginning and succeeded in intensifying their activities to terrorise the loyal section of Mizos including Government Officials, in order to paralyse the civil administration in the district by blanketing them under a pall of fear. They adopted subversive activities and their atrocities brought immense harm to their own people.

The rebels were getting smashing rebuff from the Indian security forces. They took shelter subsequently in the jungles which were the safest hideouts for them. To meet their essential requirement like food articles, clothes, medicines they moved to the interior villages and forcibly extorted from them. So the security arrangement was recast with three main points:

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46. R. Natrajan, D.C. Mizo Hills's speech on 26th Jan, 1967.

(i) To isolate the insurgents both physically and politically from the bulk of population.

(ii) To make the zone difficult, even treacherous, for underground movement.

(iii) To enable the security force to operate on a wide scale for a very long period to wean out the rebels without the civil population coming in the way.<sup>47</sup>

The whole idea of security operation in Mizoram was based on the text of Robert Thomson on Counter-insurgency under the supervision of the Eastern Command of the Indian Army. General Manikshaw had suggested from military point of view that regrouping of villages should be given priority in order to control the rebels effectively. This is intended to bring the villages into protected parameters to snap the supply line to the guerrillas. In other words, it was an attempt to control the ration of the loyal tribes so that it may not be parcelled out to the rebels camping in the jungles.<sup>48</sup>

Thus the regrouping of the villages was the best measure to achieve the target. The main criteria while selecting site for regrouping centres were: (a) Good water supply (b) Good hygienic condition, (c) Sufficient land for agriculture.

In broad terms the counter-insurgency action consists of three main tasks:

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47. Nibedan, n.34, p.107

48. Ibid

(a) to defeat the guerrilla militarily and to destroy ~~their~~<sup>its</sup> basis.

(b) to sever ~~his~~<sup>their</sup> connection with the general population ~~and~~

(c) and to institute reforms which would establish Government prestige and authority.

(d) To fight a guerrilla like a guerrilla<sup>49</sup>. It is not like a conventional warfare. There is much greater involvement in the task of ferreting the guerrilla. The emphasis was on the understanding of the local conditions, ethos and socio-economic cultural systems. In counter-insurgency a soldier is expected to sell the image of his Government to the population, which has already been influenced by the insurgents, imbued with what they feel is an ideological cause.<sup>50</sup>

Intelligence gathering and analysing of available information is a key fact of the counter-guerrilla tactics. As the guerrillas are moving band of people committed to a cause, which arises out of ~~unsolved~~ social contradictions and always manipulated the population for their implicit or explicit support, the task of the counter-insurgency operations boils down to what is described <sup>may be</sup> as a <sup>as a</sup> psychological

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49. D.K. Palit, 1968, Essentials of Military Knowledge, Dehradun, p.175.

50. The Telegraph, Calcutta, Jan., 18, 1987 (Article by S.Ghose)

operation. It aims at winning the hearts and minds of the people for isolating the rebels.<sup>51</sup> Thus the army deputed to counter-insurgency measures were taught to be a social worker, civil engineer, school teacher, nurse and a boy scout. A soldier is not to take a reprisal against the tribals soon after an ambush as such actions tend to consolidate local support for the gurilla.

The counter-insurgency measures have, therefore, to be particularly oriented from the standpoint of civil administration because it is the civil population of the area which has to meet the challenge. Thus the problem has to be tackled in the light of social, economic and political spectrum. The development of the region by launching various schemes is also one of the essential aspects of counter-insurgency to win the heart of the populace and thereby deflecting them from the rebels. The development of the villages scattered in isolated pockets of the mountainous region was not possible unless small villages situated on the hill top and quite distant from one another are clustered together which might be nearer to the centres of development. It can be said that the small villages scattered in the farflung area should be grouped together into the bigger villages

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51. Ibid.

with road communication where welfare scheme's fruit would be shared by all.<sup>52</sup>

Groupings of Villages.

Thus the grouping of the villages was planned as a counter-insurgency measure to keep the rebels at bay, to stop the recruitment and cut off the food supply to the guerrillas. There were four categories of grouping of villages in Mizoram.

- (a) Progressive and protected villages (PPV)
- (b) New group centres (NGC)
- (c) Voluntary group centre (VOC)
- (d) Extended loop areas (ELA)

Groupings of the villages in Mizoram was done both on compulsory and voluntary basis. In case of voluntary grouping no ~~communication~~<sup>compensation</sup> charge was paid while in the latter, due compensation was paid. The first stage of grouping started on 4th January, 1967 under the order of Central Government Liaison Officer for Mizo Hills District in accordance with D.I.R.<sup>53</sup> 1962. Accordingly, 50,000 people

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52. Roy, n.27, p.170.

53. Order No.CLDI/1/67 dated Silchar, Jan. 2,1967 and CLDI/1/67/1-80 dated Silchar Feb.27,1967 under rule 57 of DIR,1962.

from 106 villages were resettled in 19 centres, along Silchar-Aizawl Lunglei road which started from Vairengte village covering a distance of 400 km. The shifting of the population was strictly done under the supervision of the security forces according to a well-laid plan of shifting and rehabilitating quickly. The people carried their personal effects with the help of security forces to the new sites where they were given free building materials and free ration till the next harvest in new cultivation.

Civil Administration and Developmental Changes.

Each P.P.V. unit was placed under the charge of Civil Officer called Administrative Officer (A.O.) of Junior Assam Civil Service either S.D.C or B.D.O were appointed A.O.<sub>3</sub> and small Office under him including extension officer and a Gram Sevak, a few clerks, and porters. The services of other Government Departments like forest rangers, Soil Conservation Officers and School teachers were at the disposal of A.O.<sub>3</sub>. Each P.P.V had a security post consisting of one Company of the Army under a commissioned Officer called Post Commander. They were concerned with the prevention of the hostility in to the villages and ~~also~~ maintenance <sup>of</sup> and law and orders.

63 villagers with a population of 40,000 were recognised into 17 PPV along the sensitive borders with Burma and Manipur. But the Pawi-Lakher region minus Chakma region with Headquarters at Lowngtlai and Saiha were left out because these were not being used for shelter by the hostiles. Again, there was no grouping along Aizawl-Thanzol road (60 Miles) because the habitation around these areas were mostly on road side. Thus with the launching of operation the MNF movement was adversely affected and the disappointed rebels sought refuge in erstwhile Pakistan.<sup>54</sup>

Table - 36

Abstract of the population involved in the grouping  
as in 1970

				Total
1. PPV	19 Centres	16534	30241	46775
2. NGC	40 Centres	34450	34465	88915
3. ELA	17 Centres	15919	18276	34195
4. VGC	26 Centres	23721	23435	47156

54. Information collected by the author in the field.

NGC:

The second category of grouping (NGC) started immediately after completion of PPV in 1969<sup>55</sup>. In Mizo Hills District ~~and~~ 132 villages into 40 group centres affecting 55,000 population were brought under re-grouping. These 40 centres were divided into six sectors on the three borders of the district. (1) Tripura border (2) East Pakistan(now Bangladesh) border. (3) Lunglei-Demagiri Road (4) Lunglei-Lawngtlai Road (5) Selling-Champhai Road (6) Darlawn-Khawbung North Vanlaipai-Serchip Road.

The third category of grouping namely Voluntary Group Centres (VGC) ~~which~~ started in 1970. And 110 villages were grouped into 26 centres voluntary under the supervision of the Security forces with all facilities extended to them as in case of other two<sup>56</sup>.

Extended Loop Area(ELA).

Under this category of regrouping, 63 villages were grouped in 17 grouped centres covering a total population of 40,000 along ~~with~~<sup>the</sup> border ~~with~~<sup>of</sup> Manipur in the North and Burma in the ~~East~~. The grouping was completed by the end of 1969

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55. Order No.APGC/28/69/196 dated Sept.22,1979(D.C. order under section 13 D of AMPO Act,1953.

56. No.ANG/2/70/11 dated Aizawl, Aug. 29,1970.

and the Army authority handed over to the civil authority by the middle of 1970<sup>57</sup>. This grouping along the eastern border facilitated operation in Manipur Sector.

Regrouping was urgently needed to prevent hostile activity of the MNF volunteers who made their hideouts in the interior villages and were depending on the supply of innocent villagers.

While keeping watch on the strategic <sup>importance</sup> and vulnerability of the area, the security forces performed commendable works in shifting the villagers to the new group centres. The main target before them was to unnerve the rebels cut-off their main supply line and make the civil (loyal) population free of rebels harrassment. Their constant patrolling on important urban areas led to the sharp fall in the harrassment by the extremists. The only vulnerable area where extremists continued to be activate were the North Eastern (Manipur-Burma) side and Western area along East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and Tripura border.

Grouping of the villages (Table - 6) marked the beginning of a new pattern in the socio-cultural scenario of the Mizo Hills district. Many people were uprooted from their ancestral hearth and were forced to be herded in

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57. D.C order under section 13-D of Assam Maintenance of Public Order, Act, 1953.

the clustered places by the Security forces. Thus, they had to compromise with their freedom. From morning to evening they had to <sup>endure</sup> ~~endorse~~ the pangs of a regimented life. All of them had to carry individual photo-identity card and movement permit. Night curfew made their life miserable. They were not to carry extra food articles out-side the group centres. Their 'Thalawmbawka' huts, near the jhum sites ( where jhummas ) used to stay at night was dismantled. All these affected their socio-economic life.

The grouping of the villages was mainly done with a view to segregating the rebels from the rest of population. The scheme was devised on the <sup>line</sup> ~~line~~ of Britain and America against the Chinese squatters in Malaysia and the vietcongs in South Vietnam respectively.<sup>58</sup> The grouping was intended to divide the well-knit Mizos. It was a political strategy to divide and rule. However, this policy could not make any headway. The traditional custom of 'Tlawnrangaihna' kept them ever <sup>ready</sup> ~~green~~ to help their fellow being in <sup>the</sup> hour of distress. (though they were insurgents) The regrouping did not solve the problem rather it aggravated the situation. The scheme <sup>tries</sup> ~~felt~~ to cut off the sources of food supply to MNF rebels. It increased the frustration and alienation

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58. Nibedan, n.37, p.111.

among the Mizos. The rural economy suffered a major setback. The psychological depression among the Mizos surfaced. The security forces instead of winning the hearts, antagonised them during 'Operation Security'.<sup>59</sup>

The tight security measures caused immense trouble to the loyal and ordinary peace loving Mizos. Even a section of rebels were also frustrated and they wanted to come back to their normal life. The Government realising the good gesture, offered a amnesty on 28th January, 1967 and consequently, the rebels started surrendering to the Government encouraging response from the rebels enabled the Government to offer second amnesty on 21 November, 1967. The response was good. But the hard-core insurgents were desparately charging on the security forces, taking their sdvantages of familiar natural covers and support\$ from the local people. These were the negative points for counter-insurgency operations by the security forces. Even then the encounters continued from both sides.

The Government of Assam decided to pardon the rebels and not to prosecute them provided ~~that~~ they ~~could~~ surrendered their serviceable arms to the nearest Police Out-Post or Army or Assam Rifles Posts.<sup>61</sup>

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59. Brig. T. Sailo (Retd.) Village Grouping - A misguided concept( a pamphlet) p.2.

60. Nebedan n.58.p.129.

61. Assam Government Memo No.PLB.444/60 August 24, 1968.

The Government ~~is~~ also decided to offer cash ~~reward~~ to the rebels surrendering arms at the following rates:

1. L.M.G. - Rs.4,000/-
2. 2" Mortar/Rocket Lancher - Rs.600/-
3. S.L.R. - Rs.500/-
4. .303 Rifles/Sten gun - Rs.300/-
5. Revolver/Pistol - Rs.250/-

Consequent upon the announcement the M.N.F. volunteers respond satisfactorily and they started <sup>surrendering</sup> ~~surrounding~~ arms. The loyal Mizos who wanted peace and stability in the district also appreciated their good gesture.

The 'grouping concept' was primarily intended to act as 'strategic hamlet', but it turmed out to counter productive. The support of the local people to the count-<sup>er</sup>insurgency forces to deal with MNF insurgents was not upto the desired extent due to close-knit Mizo society. The intelignce which is the principal source of information on guerrilla, was to come from the Mizo population, did not reach correctly ~~as~~ the as the people did not feel safe because of the fear of the rebels.<sup>62</sup>

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62. David Galula, 1964, Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency - Theory and Practice, Delhi p.72.

The grouping fostered some ideas no doubt but the sense of belonging among the Mizo people was lost. Uprooted from their ancestral hearth made them dissatisfied as the link between the land and the people was lost. The man-land affinity was burnt which disturbed the geopolitical order of the area. Though the counter-insurgency <sup>achieved</sup> got partial success, it gave birth to regional political parties. The excessive atrocities by the Security Forces led the formation of Human right Committee which subsequently converted into a political party named The People's Conference.

The geographical hazards came on <sup>insurmountable</sup> ~~the~~ way of success. The inaccessible area remained the intelligence post office of the guerrillas. The success was achieved partially on the road-side. The Security Forces could not win the heart of the local populace despite honest and friendly dealings with the people .

Heavy and lavish grant in course of grouping of the villages made the Mizo people parasitic, depending on Central Government grant, which in the long run cost the exchequer heavily.

### Settlement

The outbreak of insurgency in Mizoram created a great havoc in the minds of peace-loving countrymen. Even a sober section of Mizos did not like loss of their life and property. Hence, from the very beginning various groups of people made their efforts to solve the vexed problem of insurgency. Rev. Zirema met Laldenga at Sabual (39 miles south of Aizawl) on November 1, 1966, and asked him to abjure the cult of violence which was contrary to their christian teachings. The paster again wanted to know from <sup>the main demands</sup> the MNF leader Laldenga <sup>who</sup> persisted with his demand of the main demands 'Independence' and recognition of their government. The talk between the two ended in failure. <sup>63</sup>

The second important attempt was taken by B. P. Singhal, (a senior RAW Officer) who contacted Laldenga in Pakistan and clandestinely brought him over to Geneva where official talk began. Laldenga wrote a letter to Prime Minister on 20th August, 1975 from Geneva, in which he pointed out that the sovereignty for Mizoram would not be pressed upon. Laldenga returned to India and negotiations started leading to the <sup>64</sup>

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63. Nebedan n.60, p.99

64. Ibid., p.213.

signing of famous July Agreement (1st July, 1976) which included the following: <sup>points</sup> (~~main context in the Appendix~~).

1. The M.N.F. accepted that Mizoram was an integral part of India and expressed desire to accept settlement of all problems within the framework of the Indian constitution, and also agreed to abjure all violence. The Government also decided to suspend operations by the security forces. The agreement was widely cheered by every section of the society and the Government of Mizoram celebrated 7th July, 1976 as thanksgiving day.

However, the spirit of agreement fizzled out immediately when Laldenga asked his men not to surrender arms. In this way arguments and counter-arguments went on increasing. The security measures were also tightened. But the desire to settle the matter persisted in both camps. In July, 1980 meetings were arranged between M.N.F. leader, Laldenga and the Prime Minister of India and agreement was made. Laldenga agreed to stop all underground activities. The government reciprocated by suspending all operations by the security forces. Laldenga acknowledged that Mizoram was an integral part of India and agreed to settle the matters within the framework of the constitution. <sup>65</sup> But this agreement also failed and both parties continued their ~~clandestine~~ operations.

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65. The Statesman, Calcutta, July 31, 1981.

Initiative was also taken by Jaspal Kapoor, Congress(I) M.P, to sort out problem. He proposed to the MNF the christian gift of statehood to Mizoram as part of Package deal to settle the insurgency. The statehood was conditional on the surrender of all arms and cession of the hostilities. The MNF harped on the demand for free zone in Chintuipai district. Apart from the rehabilitation of <sup>Laldenga's</sup> ~~his~~ underground colleagues, Laldenga also wanted that the Saino Ministry be dismissed and asked for the President's Rule under Article 356. But the Government did not concede the demand and suggested that normal procedure of election would follow. The government allowed Laldenga to visit MNF Headquarters in Arakan to have talks with his men. Accordingly, Laldenga made a trip to Parva on 9th March, 1981. After <sup>the</sup> talk he returned to Delhi and informed the Government that his party men had agreed to lay down arms. Laldenga also put before the Govern-  
ment 26 items of demands. <sup>66</sup>

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Some important demands include:

- (1) Constitution of a State with safeguard on Kashmir pattern.
- (2) Constitution of Greater Mizoram including Mizo inhabited chunks from Cachar, Manipur, Tripura, within the proposed State of Mizoram.
- (3) Abolition of provision of Sixth Schedule in case of Mizoram.
- (4) Formation of interim Government ousting Chief Minister T.Saino and installing Laldenga as the head of the interim Government.
- (5) Dissolution of Mizoram Legislative Assembly.
- (6) Inclusion of existing inner line regulations in 9th Schedule of the Constitution.
- (7) Separate flag of Mizoram (8) Membership of Mizoram in U.N.O.
- (9) Separate University for Mizoram.

66. The Statesman, Calcutta, March 10, 1981.

The high-striving demands of Laldenga put the Government in a quandary. However, the Government agreed to grant certain feasible demands, like the grant of Statehood for Mizoram and a separate University. The proposal of MNF to amend the Sixth Schedule making it inapplicable to Mizoram would create a problem for the minority tribes like the Lakher, Pawis and Chakmas, who would be deprived of regional autonomy. The Government also did not like to concede the demand of dissolution of Assembly and the legally constituted Government to facilitate Laldenga to head an interim Government.

The Government realised the futility of prolonged dialogues with Laldenga who adopted a stiff attitude. The talk thus ended in failure on 12 January, 1982. The MNF and its armed wing M.N.A. were banned, but they continued their activities of intimidation and forceable collection of funds and harrassment of Non-Mizos. The MNF was rigid in its stand and wanted certain safeguards like legislative power to enact on employment, grant of scholarships, trade and commerce and land settlement including acquisition of immovable properties. The Government of India was reluctant to concede their demand and was also unwilling to make amendment in the

Sixth Schedule even to a limited extent. According to Laldenga, MNF movement is a political movement and its goal is not a war to defeat the Indian Army. The whole crux of the problem is the struggle of the Mizo people to maintain their distinct identity and special safeguard within the framework of the constitution.<sup>67</sup>

Laldenga was keen on early political settlement with the Indian Government while the neighbouring hostile Bangladesh Military rulers were pressing the MNF leaders not to come on a negotiating table with the Government of India, The MNF leaders were given assurance to get all possible help by the Bangladesh authority in continuation of their activities. The tactical headquarters of the MNF was situated at New Longoor of the Chittagong Hill Tracts (only 5 km from Mizoram-Chittagong border). Some top brass of MNF were also hostile to the idea of settlement.

However, Laldenga was willing to make early settlement.. He held a series of talks with the Government official and finally with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The talk continued

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67. Sunday, Calcutta, February 28, 1982.

and on 23rd December 1985 an agreement was signed in New Delhi Between Arjun Singh, the then Vice-President of AICC(I) and Laldenga. Consequently, it was made clear that the present Government would be dissolved and a coalition Government headed by Laldenga as Chief Minister and Lalhangawala as Deputy Chief Minister would be installed. The Ministry will be shared by MNF and the Congress (I) in the ratio.4:5.

The Memorandum of Settlement included the following issues:

- 1) The MNF party agreed to end all under ground activities. The under ground MNF would surrender all arms and ammunition within the stipulated time. It also ensured the return to the civic life by the underground personnel. The MNF withdrew its demand of Independence and secession of Mizoram from the Union of India. It agreed to work within the framework of Indian Constitution. The MNF agreed to recind the support to Tribal National Volunteers(TNV) and People's Liberation Army (PLA) of Tripura and Manipur respectively. It would not provide training or protection or supply of arms to them. The Central Government agreed to resettle and rehabilitate the underground MNF <sup>members</sup> coming over ground. The Central Government also agreed to confer Statehood on the Union Territory of Mizoram in order to satisfy the

aspiration of the Mizo people. For that necessary amendment in the constitution would be made. Again, the protection of the Mizo people in respect of religion, social customs and Mizo customary laws or administration of criminal and civil justice and ownership and transfer of land will be safeguarded. The Central Government also agreed to allow border trade in locally produced or grown agricultural commodities under a scheme to be formulated by the central government subject to international arrangements with neighbouring countries. The Government also agreed not to amend, repeal the existing 'Inner Line Regulation' without the consent of the State Government.

The rights and privileges of the minorities in Mizoram as envisaged under the constitution shall be preserved and protected and their social and economic advancement shall be ensured. It was also emphasised that on behalf of the Government that as soon as Mizoram becomes a State.

a) The provision of part XVII of the Constitution be applied and the state~~hood~~ would be at liberty to adopt any one or more of the languages ~~in use in the state as the language to be used for all or any of the~~<sup>for</sup> official purpose of the state.

b) It is opened to the state to move for the establishment of a separate university in accordance with the prescribed procedure.

c) Mizoram will be entitled to have a High Court of its own if it so wishes.

Finally, it was agreed that arrangement will be made to expeditiously disburse payment of ex-gratia amount to heirs or dependents of the killed MNF personnel, <sup>Further,</sup> compensation for damage of crops or buildings and claims or rental charges for land buildings occupied by the security forces during disturbances in 1966 and there<sup>after</sup> ~~shall be paid~~

The MNF settlement with the Government of India is a landmark in the history of Mizoram and marks the beginning of new political era. It <sup>has</sup> paved the way for new life and prosperity within the framework of the Constitution with a clean slate of spirit of cooperation and compromise. The settlement reflected neither the victory nor defeat of Union Government or the MNF. It is not a sign of emotional subordination to the will of the stronger party. In this connection it would not be out of place to refer the example of solution of a situation of conflict in which force is used, open or full scale conflict is surfaced. History teaches us that a situation of conflict when arises there <sup>can be solved</sup> ~~are two~~

alternatives of resolutions: one is agreement based on compromise; the other subordination to the will of the stronger party.<sup>68</sup> However, the modern case of today provide example in which the tensions offer atleast five alternative for the resolution of the conflict.<sup>69</sup>

1. Compromise and agreement\*
2. Contentment or limitation of conflict
3. De Facto penetration or sphere of influence
4. Sub-ordination of the conquered nation
5. Elimination or biological extermination ( a solution practised by Hitler and his followers).

The Agreement also made scope for proper respect and honour of the people, their language customs, values and traditions with love and respect. This is also focused in agreement between the <sup>arrived at</sup> Government and the MNF. There is no question of cultural domination or exploitation of <sup>the</sup> Mizos by <sup>the</sup> non-Mizos. The psychological feeling between the two is temporary which is mainly due to communication gap and bottleneck of information flow. With the improvement in the

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68. Feliks Gross n.1, p.35

69. Ibid., p.36

\*Compromise or agreement, according to Felik Gross indicates an adjustment of goals, a coordinated effort by both parties to reduce an open conflict and ~~and~~ adjustment of the mutual relation, without total subordination of one or the other. The settlement between Great British and 13 American Colonies after the revolutionary wars seemed to have had the qualities of a Compromised agreement.

mode of communication the temporary feeling would vanish and Mizo-people will be a legitimate partner of national feeling of pleasure and sorrow and <sup>a</sup>sense of belonging would be equally shared by them.

Though the peace accord has been signed the two potential reasons of friction with the centre still persist. The first is the MNF demand for a Greater Mizoram incorporating Mizo inhabited area of Manipur, Tripura and Southern Cachar within Indian territory and the neighbouring foreign countries of Burma and Bangladesh. This demand, though kept in low ebb, has not died out completely from their heart. Every political party in Mizoram project the image of 'greater Mizoram' emotionally to attract the masses in their favour.

Secondly, the question of Chakmas, who comprise about 8% of the state population inhabiting the south-west part of the State adjacent to Bangladesh, is kept smouldering. They enjoy certain measure of autonomy under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. While the centre wants their autonomy to continue, both Laldenga and Brig. Sailo have been against it on the ground that it aids influx of Chakmas from Chittagong. <sup>70</sup>The researcher ~~has~~ managed to interview

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70. The Indian Express, New Delhi, August 23, 1986.

different ~~cross-sections~~<sup>people</sup> of Mizoram and has formed <sup>the</sup> opinion that Chakmas are viewed the Mizos. As outsiders - both culturally and linguistically as such they <sup>are</sup> branded in the category of 'Vai' (outsiders) though legally they are bona-fide inhabitants of Mizoram. This ill feeling against Chakmas by the Mizos will be a problem in future if allowed to continue. Keeping this observation in mind the long standing stalemates in Mizoram under the insurgency staged by MNF ended in a compromise between MNF and the central Government. According to terms of ~~a~~ accord both parties made adjustment of their demands and agreement in spirit of cooperation and within the framework of the constitution. The MNF abjured the demand of the independence and secession from India and agreed to remain as an integral part of the country like other federal units. The special status and privileges given to Sikkim and Kashmir was dropped. The Government of India upgraded the status of Mizoram to a fullfledged State. The MNF leader Laldenga was allowed to head an interim Government.

The demand of greater Mizoram which is deeply rooted in the heart of all Mizos did not materialise. The Government of India did not ~~make~~ any commitment in this regard. It suggested to abide by the ~~Constitutional~~ provision <sup>as</sup> ~~was~~ laid down

under Article III of the Indian Constitution. Further, there is no question of insubordination or surrender or defeat of the MNF party. Though to some it is treated as the surrender of the MNF party before the mighty force of Indian security forces or the political leadership, to many others it is a family dispute and there is no question of defeat or loss of prestige. The Mizos are the part and parcel of the Indian life.

The ethnic antagonism, difference in language, religion, customs and value and behaviour pattern resulting into hostilities is a temporary phase. It is due to the force of circumstances and historical or political blunder committed by the Britishers that could not be brought to the mainstream of the National life. It does not mean that they are not the sons and daughters of the same mother land.

The Government of India did not behave like enemy in dealing with the insurgency in Mizoram. Every step under counter-insurgency measure was considerably taken with love and affection to the innocent Mizo people.

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CHAPTER - IX

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## CONCLUSIONS

### Problems and Prospects.

Mizoram is located in a most sensitive region of North Eastern India. This is an area of diversity and ethnic, cultural and geographic distribution. This has led to emergence of series of conflicts and tensions that continuously undermined the society and territory. Geopolitically the region is vulnerable. This had the potential to transform itself with wider ramification. Extramural forces have encouraged the discontented elements; thereby aggravating the tension - parameters. This was evident at the peak of insurgency and its aftermath when the discont<sup>-ented</sup> elements were compelled to withdraw themselves on the face of effective modernization and stabilization processes.

The term 'crisis' has been used to imply something more than a problem, in which the whole is greater than the parts. It has been given an qualitative interpretation to emphasise decisions regarding current situations and perspectives as evident from past developments and as one that will affect the future propensities of the state.

The distance factor had great impact on the geopolitical

viability of Mizoram. There was constant interplay of centrifugal and centripetal forces operating within the geographical space of Mizoram which influenced, modified and sometime altered the aspirations of the inhabitants of the state. These aspirations have been articulated and reflected in the form tensions, armed revolts, insurrections and demand for autonomy. It was the 'distance' and spatial ensembles which encouraged separatism and particularly insurgency. The distance factor minimised the impact of the degree of loyalty and sense of commitments. These were evident from the consequence of peripheralization. These transpired from the fact that the degree of loyalty decreased with the increase in distance in Mizoram.

Mizoram is a mountainous region with north-south trending parallel and sub-parallel ranges. Its topography is rugged and covered with wild vegetation of tropical climate. The communication network is restricted <sup>by</sup> the physiographic constraints. The surface communication followed the north-south trending ranges along the high escarpments. This had severely affected the economy which has its chain-reaction in politico-economic set-up culminating into ~~geo~~political antagonism.

The physiography has been to a substantial extent responsible for the formation of territorial units of different tribes and sub-tribes in Mizoram. It also restricted their assimilation. The inhabitants came to the present habitat in successive waves and occupied a specific areas which ~~was~~<sup>were</sup> isolated from each other. (In this context it is fair to state that the perception of space among the various inhabitants of the state were both distinct and a matter of necessity. It was defined and limited. ~~and whose~~<sup>the</sup> interaction i.e. between individual and individual, individual and group and between groups and groups, induced stress and strains leading to changes and transformation. This led to growth and development. The villages became small republics under the chiefs who were responsible for protection and security of their respective territories. Geography and history also contributed towards ethnic diversity and separate ethnic entity. The growth of regionalism and separatism in such a geographical situation was a natural corollary. <sup>Sub</sup>Regionalism (or <sup>sub-</sup>regional consciousness) in its varied manifestations became the expression of group sentiments of the people inhabiting the diverse sub-regions of the state. These geographical areas may be called sub-region on the basis

of demography, tradition, ethnicity, historical and cultural distinctiveness. Regionalism involved expression of diverse problems of various communities.

In addition to the complex scenario projected by strategic location and diverse population sub-groups the state clearly expressed the function and impact of processes (processes in the entire analysis has been applied and defined as succession of events and action that was implied to establish, maintain or to change the existing systems. Change was the result of political, social and economic transactions that established law - landscape relationship. Changing landscape condition, therefore, illustrated the changing requirements and perceptions of the administrator and the administrator<sup>and</sup> as well as between the actors and the participants in the sub-systems that was the state). The state also exhibited contiguity and pockets of concentration of the settled population. This indicated homogeneity in the lower scale and <sup>heterogeneity</sup> at the state level. This then suggested that though the different areas of the state developed separately, <sup>there emerged a</sup> ~~it indicated a historical commitments~~ of the political area i.e. Mizoram. In other words, one can argue that this helped to develop forces of inertia that maintained the territorial organization of the state.

The interaction of these aspects with specific local condition in the state (i.e. each of the territory occupied by the Mizos, and the non-Mizos tribes <sup>with</sup> created their own specific conditions) created specific responses that characterised regionalistic perception and demands. The resultant articulation defined the tension and conflict parameters which underlined the role of centrifugal tendencies that were apparent in the state.

It is an obvious corollary from the discussion so far in the present dissertation that tension and conflict parameters demonstrated that problems were rooted in the territory. The aspects and elements consistently strove to achieve political recognition and sought resolution at the regional and national level as the development went beyond the scopes of local accomodation thereby exhibiting the presence of an amalgam of discourses directed against each other and state apparatus. This brought about new pattern of relationship and in doing so, established norms were often bypassed. This induced crisis, hesitancy and disruptions in the state system, and suggested that:

(a) Retracing the arguments put forward so far, it is clear that the analysis focuses upon the strategic location

of Mizoram as being flanked by Bangladesh (erstwhile E. Pakistan) and Burma which may be utilised as the spring-board of geopolitical <sup>activities</sup> on a scale. This situation was reinforced by location of the state which more or less lay outside the main route of movement. Moreover, this location encouraged significant activities among the weaker section <sup>in respect of</sup> national interests (from the strategic and tactical point of view).

(b) The analysis highlighted the accessibility pattern following the parallel ranges trending north-south directions. Its east-west accessibility was most difficult. Further, the mountainous topography with sharp and steep slope and poor soil posed a great problem for human settlement and other activities. Again the state's recent geological history suggested the absence of minerals. Further, geographical constraints paved <sup>the</sup> way for isolation of tribes who were localised in a small pockets. This had to even specific impact. Thus the distribution of geographical phenomena in the state reflected profound consequences, the implication of which have been amply illustrated by socio-economic and political transactions. In a way the geographical parameters enabled many of the events to follow certain specific approaches towards conflict resolutions. As long as there

Was no imposition through annexation, the geographical milieu was superimposed on the former (transaction) but once difference within the society emerged depicting diversity of interest, the geographical factors asserted themselves.

(c) The analysis highlighted the search for food and security induced these groups to move from southern China to Burma ~~via Tibet~~ and then to westward present day Mizoram in successive waves. The communication barrier and lack of accessibility arrested social mobility of the tribes and sub-tribes. These resulted in the maintenance of distinct position of the tribes and sub-tribes. Subsequently, this posed a great ethnic problem that aggravated political relations. Low density of population depicted the nature and distribution <sup>over the</sup> of terrain with its resultant impact. Thus, the historical background and distribution of population clearly suggested the interaction between the majority and the minority inhabitants in the state. It also indicated the role of the associated groups like Hmar in the political relation and transaction in the state.

(d) The analysis also describes socio-economic profiles of the state. Mizoram is economically not a viable state.

The economic backwardness was reflected through the poor agro-economy, industrial backwardness, low productivity, poor per capita income and mass unemployment and poor communication network.

It is also evident, that the transport and communication played a very important role in not only accentuating the isolation of the state from the region and the rest of the country but also <sup>affected only a limited</sup> ~~encouraged~~ integration by very ~~limited~~ <sup>terious</sup> ~~availabilities~~ of linkage facilities. These are explained by the location of the National Highway and by the state Highways. More importantly the communication link with the contiguous area with Burma, particularly at trijunction point and with Bangladesh played a significant role.

(e) The analysis traces the evolution of boundary and administrative sub-division. The boundary of the state gave a definite territorial fixation for the inhabitant. Although many of the associated tribes are found on all sides of the state boundaries, this gave the state a definite action - are in which the political <sup>and</sup> economic transaction could be carried out.

<sup>emphasises</sup>  
(f) The analysis/on the political institutions (traditional and modern ). This clearly reflected the role of politico-geographical factors. It highlighted the impact of isolation

and inaccessibility. It also suggested that with the improvement of transport and communication network within and outside the state significant changes took place that affected the political participation and representation.

(g) The analysis describes political participation and political perception of the Mizo people. With the democratization of political institution since independence, Regional political parties (M.U., MNF, MFP, PC, HPC, etc) induced the inhabitants of Mizoram to actively associated themselves with the political institutions. A new political culture on regional scale emerged that gradually transformed the traditional equations and relationships.

(h) The analysis deals with insurgency and counter-insurgency situations in the state. Insurgency was inherent in the state milieu. It was an obvious corollary of the British withdrawal and consequent assertion and the recognition of the role of traditional elites. The developments at the various scales were only encouraging/intensifying factors. The politico-geographical factors though helpful to the discontented element initially, were decisive at the end. In other words, the protracted struggle favoured the establishment which had the resources, than the insurgent's protagonists who depended on the resources of the state which <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ limited and unexploited.

Thus, politico-geographical factors continued to remain the most influential factor in the pattern of development. The river route was the only means of communication between the hills and plains. The British did not care to develop internal communication network and left upon the village chiefs to do so. This fostered animosity which was ultimately articulated in form of violent insurrection leading to demand of sovereign independent Mizoram. The insurgency of 1966 was the result of economic hardship and inadequate treatment of the administration to develop economy and other associated infrastructures. This was also largely due to the persistent failure of the state as well as the failure of the district administration to chalk out effective plans for development and implementation. In this context partisan attitude of the elements of the Mizo traditional <sup>pressure</sup> groups were also responsible <sup>substantially</sup> ~~at~~ ~~ively~~.

The withdrawal of the British from the sub-continent created additional problems in the state. They developed a fear psychosis that largely reflected the fear of dominance by the plain people. These were evident in several political discourses at the lower level. Moreover, specific policy initiative by the Assam government like the language bill of 1960 gave adequate encouragement and reinforcement for such fears that were exploited by the pressure groups of the state.

The inhabitants of the state unlike their counterpart elsewhere in the country came under the specific constitutional provisions that ensured their identity on the one hand while ensuring their development on the other hand. This arrangement reflected the inherent geopolitical dimension i.e. the interaction and close linkages of political discourses and geographical space between the periphery and the centre. The discourses of constitution in this regard clearly expressed the spatial arrangement wherein the peculiarities of a territory were attempted to be resolved separately from a larger territorial framework. The successive changes, action and operation in political geographical pattern in Mizoram has remained as the proof of the interplay of politico-geographical forces. However, geopolitical considerations have usually been under played in preference to psychological affinities and perceptual environment in the state.

There has been a conscious effort to induce co-operation and collaboration to bring about political integration in Mizoram. The subsequent developments in political, social and economic relations acted as centripetal forces at larger regional context. But at the local level these became divisive factors that divided the society. These were partially reflected in post-independent political development particularly insurgency. General economic backwardness, isolation,

inaccessibility, latent non-cooperation and power struggle within the society formed important elements in the destabilization of <sup>the</sup> area.

It was also observed that <sup>a</sup> series of administrative measures by the district and state administration failed to check the growing unrest in the 1950s. This reflected the power vacuum that was the result of the British withdrawal from the sub-continent. However, the policy measures initiated by the central Government, state of Assam and the district administration alongwith the Church, played a significant role in restoring the statusquo. These efforts were responsible for creating necessary infra-structure and institutional facilities that formed the basis of development. Later with the elevation of administrative status to a Union Territory in 1972 and state in 1987 alongwith political settlement of insurgency, stage was set where by constituent population groups and sub-groups participated in the state activities.

These activities replicated the activities i.e. the minority fear lower down the territorial scale was revived just like the fear of the Lushai hills district was aroused due to non-committed attitude of the state government prior to 1947.

Of late there has been frequent reference for the need of creating greater Mizoram. This concept in a nutshell included area occupied by groups coming under the nomenclature of Mizo and old Kuki (like the Hmars) It included areas of Chaurachandpur area of Manipur, Cachar in Assam, Eastern parts of Jaintiya hills of Meghalaya and Eastern parts of North Eastern Tripura Hills. This formed as one of the important elements in the manifestation of various political organization representing area and the associated tribes, but the frequent and aparent inter and intra-tribal animosity have prevented the emergence of any common forum representing common interest of elements that are said to constitute the inhabitant of the Greater Mizoram. The present analysis has indirectly referred to this aspect. This is largely because the scope of inquiry in dealing with such concept as Greater Mizoram is wider than the one applicable to the themes <sup>of</sup> such the present study (see p.315-319 for details).

In summing up it can be clearly stated that centrifugal and centrepetal forces have consistently influenced the nature and pattern of relationship in the state. This has also made impact of the following aspects very clearly. Forces of regionalism and isolationism would gradually

lose their impact with greater involvement of the people and the state in local, regional and national level activities. The efforts towards modernization and development <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ thus a catalyst that with initial disruptions in a traditional society, will involve the state and its people effectively. This should lead to effective integration.

With increasing percentage of literacy and impact of missionary activities the inhabitants are better equipped psycho-socially to gear themselves for greater politico-economic involvement. This has become an asset that will provide needed encouragement and impetus for accelerated development.

Return to tradition for security and self - identity has aggravated parochialism. This will act as a break to the development effort. Instead, efforts such as what is present to-day, should lead towards class formation. This aspect in the long run will strengthen the required base.

North-Eastern Indian, particularly Mizoram is highly sensitive and geo-strategically most vulnerable. Any neglect of the area would be geopolitically dangerous.

These have also geopolitical dimension that continuously undermine the state propensities to respond the crisis situation. The resolution in scale <sup>reflects</sup> singularly independent, collectively dependent within the state and between the state and region and the country. This is largely because although the state possesses a politically dynamic society, it does not have corresponding resources to meet the aspirations and requirements of the population. This can be achieved only through a framework involving regional and national co-operation. In this regard spatial policy measures and provisions will go a long way in strengthening the stabilization tendency in the state.

Appendix - I

MIZO ACCORD 30TH JUNE, 1986

MEMORANDUM OF SETTLEMENT

Preamble:

1. Government of India have all along been making earnest efforts to bring about an end to the disturbed conditions in Mizoram and to restore peace and harmony.

2. Towards this end, initiative was taken by the late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi. On the acceptance by Sri. Laldenga on behalf of the Mizo National Front of the two conditions, namely, cessation of violence by MNF and holding of talks within the framework of the constitution of India, a series of discussions were held with Laldenga. Settlement on various issues reached during the course of the talks is incorporated in the following paragraphs.

Restoration of Normalcy

3.1 With a view to restoring peace and normalcy in Mizoram, the MNF party, on their part, undertake within the agreed timeframe, to take all necessary steps to and all underground activities, to bring out all underground personnel of the MNF with their arms, ammunition and equipment

to ensure their return to civil life, to abjure violence and generally to help in the process of restoration of normalcy. The modalities of bringing out all underground personnel and the deposits of arms, ammunition and equipment will be as worked out. The implementation of the foregoing will be under the supervision of the central Government.

3.2 The MNF party will take immediate steps to amend its Articles of Associations so as to make them conform to the provision of law.

3.3 The central Government will take steps for the resettlement and rehabilitation of underground MNF personnel coming overground after considering the schemes proposed in this regard by the Government of Mizoram.

3.4 The MNF undertakes not to extend any support to Tripura Tribal National volunteers (TNV), People's Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA) and any other such groups, by way of training, supply of arms or providing protection or in any other manner.

#### Legal Administrative and Other Steps.

4.1 With a view to satisfying the desires and aspirations of all sections of the people of Mizoram, the Government will initiate measures to confer statehood on the union

territory of Mizoram, subject to the other stipulations contained in this Memorandum of settlement.

4.2 To give effect to the above, the necessary legislative and administrative measures will be undertaken including those for the enactment of Bills for the amendment of the constitution and other laws for the conferment of Statehood as aforesaid, to come into effect on a date to be notified by the Central Government.

4.3 The amendment aforesaid shall provide among other things, for the following:-

(1) The territory of Mizoram shall consist of the territory specified in section 6 of the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971.

(2) Notwithstanding any thing contained in the constitution, no Act of Parliament in respect of

(a) Religious or social practices of the Mizos,

(b) Mizo customary law or procedure.

(c) Administration of civil and criminal justice involving decisions according to Mizo customary law.

(d) Ownership and transfer of land, shall apply to the State of Mizoram unless the legislative Assembly of Mizoram by a resolution so decides

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to any central Act in force in Mizoram immediately before the appointed day.

(iii) Article 170, clause (1) shall, in relation to the legislative Assembly of Mizoram, shall effect as for the word 'Sixty' the word 'forty' has been substituted.

5. Soon after the Bill for conferment of Statehood becomes law, and when the President is satisfied that normalcy has returned and that conditions conducive to the holdings of free and fair elections exist, the process of holding elections to the legislative Assembly will be initiated.

6.(a) The centre will transfer resources to the new Government keeping in view the change in status from a union territory to a state and this will include resources to cover the revenue gap for the year.

(b) Central assistance for plan will be fixed taking note of any residuary gap in resources so as to sustain the approved plan outlay and the pattern of assistance will be as in the case of special category of states.

7. Border trade in locally produced or grown agricultural commodities could be allowed under a scheme to be formulated by the Central Government subject to international arrangements with neighbouring countries.

8. The Inner line Regulations, as now in force in Mizoram, will not be amended or repealed without consulting the state Government.

Other Matters

9. The rights and privileges of the Minorities in Mizoram as envisaged in the constitution, shall continue to be preserved and protected and their social and economic advancement shall be ensured.

10. Steps will be taken by the Government of Mizoram at the earliest to review and codify the existing customs, practices, laws or other usages relating to the matters specified in clauses (a) to (d) of para 4.3 (11) of the memorandum, keeping in view that an individual Mizo prefer to be Governed by Acts of parliament dealing with such matters and which are of general application.

11. The question of unification of Mizo inhabited area of other states to form one administrative unit was raised by the MNF delegation. It was pointed out to them, on behalf of the Government of India, that Articles 3 of the Constitution of India prescribes the procedure in this regard but that the Government can not make any commitment in this respect.

12. It was also pointed out on behalf of the Government that as soon as Mizoram becomes a state.

(1) The provision of part XVII of the constitution will apply and the state will be at liberty to adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the state as the language to be used for all or any of the official purposes of the state,

(ii) It is open to the state to move for the establishment of a separate university in the state in accordance with the prescribed procedure;

(iii) In the light of the P.M's Statement at the joint conference of the Chief Justices, chief Ministers and Law Ministers held at New Delhi on 31st August 1985, Mizoram will be entitled to have a High Court of its own, if it so wishes.

13.(a) It was noted that there is already a scheme in force for payment of ex-gratia amount to heirs/dependents of persons who were killed during disturbances in 1966 and thereafter in the union territory of Mizoram. Arrangements will be made to expeditiously disburse payment to those eligible persons who already applied but who had not been made such payment so far.

(b) it was noted that consequent on verification done by a joint team of Officers, the Government of India had already made arrangement for payment of compensation in respect of damage to crops; buildings destroyed/damaged during the action in Mizoram; and rental charges of buildings and lands occupied by the security forces. There may however, be some claims which are preferred and verified by the above team but have not at been settled. These pending claims will be settled expeditiously. Arrangements will also be made for payment of pending claims of rental charges for land/buildings occupied by the security forces.

Sd/-Laldenga

30-6-86

on behalf of M.N.F.

Sd/- R.D; Pradhan

30-6-86

Home Secretary  
Govt.of Indian

Sd/- Lalkhama

30-6-86

Chief Secretary,  
Govt.of Mizoram.

Dated 30th June,1986

Place:NEW DELHI.

Sequences of Events

1. The Memorandum of Settlement contemplates the following sequence of events:

1. Coming over ground of M.N.F. personnel and depositing of arms, ammunitions and equipments by them in accordance with the time bound programme as already agreed upon between the Ministry of Home Affairs and the MNF delegation.

2. The MNF party should take immediate steps to amend its articles of associations to meet them conforming to the provisions of law.

3. Government will initiate steps for rehabilitation of MNF personnel coming over ground.

4. After completion of action under paragraph (1) and (2) above, a constitutional amendment bill will be introduced in the Parliament for the grant of Statehood and other consequential Legislative measures to be taken up.

5. After the bill becomes law, preparations for delimitation for constituencies and holding election to

the State Legislature will be taken on hand when the President is satisfied that normalcy has been restored.

Sd/- Laldenga  
30-6-'86  
on behalf of M.N.F.

Sd/- R.D.Pradhan  
30-6-'86  
Home Secretary, Govt. of Indi

Dated 30th June, 1986  
Place, New Delhi.

Sd/- Lalkhama  
30.6.'86  
Chief Secretary, Govt. of Md

Part IV

Release and Orders under Local Regulations

Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation (V of 1873)  
Notification under Section 2 constituting the 'Inner Line'

Foreign Department Notification No.2299P, dated the 20th August Cachar 1875 under the provisions of Section 2 of Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulations, V of 1873 ( a Regulation for the peace and government of certain districts on the Eastern Frontier of Bengal), the Governor General in-Council is pleased to notify that the line described below shall be the "Inner Line" on the southern frontier of the district of Cachar:

A line commencing from the site of the outpost established during the Lushai expedition of 1871-72, a few miles north of the Chattarchura peak, and running thence to the outpost of Jhalnecherro; along the track out by the police to connect the outposts of Chattarchura and Jhalnegherra: thence along the Dhalesvar river in a southern direction to the south-west corner of the Jhalnecherro grant, as reviewed after survey in 1872; thence along the southern boundary of the Jhalnacherro grant, across the Jhalnacherro Khal, to the top of the range of the hills immediately to the east of that khal; thence along the said range in a northern direction to the Baruncherra grant; thence along the southern and eastern boundaries of the Baruncherra grant to the north-eastern corner of

of the grant. From the north-eastern corner of the Barun-  
cherra grant, along the ridge which leads from that grant  
for a distance of two miles to a pucca pillar; thence in  
an easterly direction to the Rengti Pahar range (this line  
being marked by three pucca pillars); thence along the  
ridge of the Rengti Pahar range in a northern direction as  
far as the point where that range bifurcates into two  
smaller ones, the one leading to the Claverhouse, the other  
to the Bara Jalinga, grant. From the point of bifurcation,  
the line following the ridge of the western branch of the  
Rengti Pahar, as far as the source of the Jalinga then  
along the Jalinga river to the south-east corner of the  
Sonecherra grant; and along the eastern boundaries of  
Sonecherra and Noarbund grants to a point where the police  
road meets the latter. Thence it follows the police road  
to the Rukni river and then runs in a south-easterly direct-  
ion to the western boundary of the Manierkhel grant, and  
follows the west and south boundaries of that grant to the  
river Sonai, along which it runs to the north to the  
opening of the police road to Mainodhar, which it follows  
to the western boundary of that grant. It then runs along  
the west and south boundaries of Mainodhar grant to the  
river Barak.

Under the provisions quoted above, the Governor General in Council is further pleased to prohibit all British subjects from going beyond the 'Inner Line' hereby notified without a pass under the hand and seal of the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar. (See Assam Gazette of 11th September, 1875, part 10, page 497).

As amended by Secretary to Chief Commissioner's Notification No.100, dated the 3rd July 1878. The outer line or actual boundary of the Cachar district was defined in Bengal Government Notification dated the 19th September 1870 - See Calcutta Gazette, dated the 21st September 1870, Page 1683)

These orders have been allowed to fall into desuetude so far as they affect free passage of all natives of India from the districts of Sylhet and Cachar into the Lushai Hills. Lushai wishing to visit the plains of Manipur area, however, required to take out passes. (letter No.399F or 3593 P, dated the 22nd July, 1895).

Notification No.2107 AP dated 9th March,1933.

The 9th March, 1933

No.2106 A.P., dated the 28th August 1930, and in exercise of the powers conferred by section 2 of the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 (V of 1873), as extended to the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, is pleased to prescribe the line described below as the "Inner Line" of the Lushai Hills district:-

From the junction of the Kuanding with the Borak river, the Inner Line shall run up the midstream of the former to where it receives the Lungkuh Lui; thence up the midstream of that stream to its source, and crossing the range in a westerly direction down the right bank of small feeder flowing in to the NORTH Teirangnek stream; thence down the midstream of the latter to its junction with the Sonai river, From this point the Inner Line shall run south-westwards up the midstream of the Sonai river as far as its junction with the suanglawn Lui; thence up the midstream of this Lui to its junction with the Bagh Khal; thence up the midstream of the Bagh Khal or Tuishen Lui to its junction with a large feeder that takes its rise near the deserted village of Saipum; thence

up the midstream of this feeder to the summit of Bongkr range, and crossing that range down the midstream of the Teidu Lui to its junction with the Rukni river. Then a straight line running in a north-westerly direction from this junction to the Dhalai bridge one furlong north of the 80th mile stone on the Aizawl-Dwarband road, this point is also the trijunction of the Hailakandi subdivision (district Cachar) with the Silchar Lushai Hills district; thence up the midstream of the Dhalai river to its source, where, crossing the watershed it strikes the headwaters of the Chhimluang Lui and down the midstream of this Lui to its junction with the Barun Chara; thence down the midstream of the Barun Chara to its junction with the Hunarluang Lui (Te); thence up the midstream of this Lui to its source in the Bhairabi range; thence crossing the Bhairabi range westwards to the source of the Bhairabi chara, thence down the midstream of the Bhairabi chara to its junction with the Dhaleswari or Tlang river; thence up the midstream of the Dhaleswari river to its junction with the Pakwa, river thence up the midstream of the Pakwa river. Thence upto the midstream of this tributary to its source; thence in a northerly direction along a range to Chatarchurra peak (2071); thence due west in a straight line to the tri-junction point of district Sylhet, Lushai hills (Assam) and Tripura State (Bengal) situated on the Langai river about 3/4th of a mile south west of the confluence of the Medili Cherra with that river (vide notification

No.3313R dated the 4th Oct.'28); thence in a southerly direction up the midstream of the Langai river to its confluence with a small name-less tributary going west about 2 1/4 miles North of Betling Sib Peak height 3,083; thence in a South westerly direction to West Betling Sib Peak; thence in a southerly direction to Betling Peak height 2,234 which is the tri-junction of Districts Lushai hills (Assam), Tripura State and Chittagong Hill Tracts Districts (Bengal); thence in a South Easterly direction for about a mile to a tributary of the Tuillianpui river; thence down the mid-stream of this tributary to its confluence with the Tuillianpui river; thence down the midstream of Tuillianpui river to a point about 2 1/4 miles South East of its confluence with the Mar river which is the junction of the Aizawl Lungle Sub-division boundary; thence West wards in a straight line to the source of the Harina river; thence down the mid-stream of the Harina river to its confluence with the Karnaphuli river; thence up the mid-stream of the Karnaphuli river to its confluence with the Thega Khal; thence up the mid-stream of the Thega Khal to its junction with two other tributaries about 4 3/4 miles South East of height 2,096 and 5 1/2 miles South West of Waibung Taung, height 3,083; thence in a South Easterly direction up the slope for about

two miles to the Waibung Taung range; thence in a westerly, Southerly and Easterly direction respectively along the range of Waibung Taung Peak height 3,083; thence in a Southerly direction to Keokradong, which is the trijunction of Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bengal), Lushai Hills (Assam) and Northern Arakan District (Burma);

South

thence East wardly to Mephrutong or Rengtlang; thence to the source of a small stream called Varanglui or Mraikchaung to its junction with the Sekul(Kola) or Kalet Stream (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Sekul (Kola) or Kalet stream to the mouth of the Khawtlang or Zyucha stream(where a boundary stone has been placed); thence up the midstream of the Khawtlang or Zyucha to its source on the Samang or Kwiman range; thence South wards along the Samang or Kwiman range to the source of the Samak or Kwiman stream; where a boundary stone has been placed; thence down the midstream of the Samak or Kwiman stream to its junction with the Koladyne (Kaladan) river; thence straight across the Koladyne (Kaladan) river to the mouth of the Khangza of Kwiman stream (where a boundary stone has been placed), (the mouth of these two streams are opposite to another); thence up the midstream of the Khangza or Kwiman stream to its source in the Kaisi Tlang (where a boundary stone has been placed); thence South wards to the source or the Rale

or Shwelaik stream; thence down the midstream of the  
Rale or Shwelaik stream to its junction with the Sulla river;  
thence up the mid-stream of the Sulla river to its junction  
with the Kaikheu or Khinkon stream (where a boundary stone has  
been placed); thence up the mid-stream of Kaikheu or Khinkon  
stream to its source on the Pathian or Pahtay Klang; thence  
North ward along the Pathian or Pahtay Klang to the source  
of the Para stream; thence down the mid-stream of the Para  
stream to its junction with the Mi (tishi, tuisi, or wablang  
river); thence up this river to its junction with the Kheimu  
stream; the Kheimu stream to its source on the Kahria or  
Kwahria (Khasia ) Klang; thence south, along the crest of the  
East Kahria or (Kwahria) Klang to the source of  
the Raphuva; which is recorded to Boinu  
(Kaladan) river; thence down the mid-stream of the Boinu  
(Kaladan) river to its junction with the Tyao; thence up  
the mid-stream of the Tyao to its source on the Viko Tlang;  
thence down the mid-stream of the Tuimang to its junction  
with the Tuisa; down the mid-stream of the Tuisa to its  
junction with the Tuivai river down the mid-stream of the  
Tuivai river to its junction with the Vangvum lui; thence  
up to the mid-stream of the Vangvum lui to its source at a  
daddle known as Bonghot where a boundary pillar marked ML(I)

has been erected; thence crossing the west side of the saddle to the source of the Tuitoi stream; down the Tuitoi stream to its junction with the Tuivai river; down the Tuivai river to its junction with the Barak river; thence down the mid-stream of the Barak river to its junction with the Ruanding Lui which is the tri-junction of the Lushai Hills and Cachar Districts and Manipur States.

W.A.COSGRAVE,  
Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Assam

N.b.: Governor of Assam Notification No. PLA 393/70/Pt/1 dated  
7th Sept., 1970.

Appendix - IV

MNF MEMORANDUM

Memorandum Submitted to the Prime Minister of India by the  
MIZO National Front, General Headquarters, Aizawl, Mizoram on  
The 30th October 1965.

This memorandum seeks to represent the case of the Mizo people for freedom and independence, for the right of territorial unity and solidarity; and for the realization of which a fervent appeal is submitted to the Government of India.

The Mizos, from time immemorial lived in complete independence without foreign interference. Chiefs of different clans ruled over separate hills and valleys with supreme authority and their administration was very much like that of the Greek City State of the past. Their territory or any part thereof had never been conquered or subjugated by their neighbouring States. However, there had been border disputes and frontier clashes with their neighbouring people which ultimately brought the British Government to the scene in 1844. The Mizo country was subsequently brought under the British political control in December, 1895 when a little more than half the country was arbitrarily carved out and named Lushai Hills (now Mizo District) and the rest



of their land was parcelled out of their hands to the adjoining people for the sole purpose of administrative convenience without obtaining their will or consent. Scattered as they are devided, the Mizo people are inseparably knitted together by their strong bond of tradition, custom, culture, language, social life and religion wherever they are. The Mizos stood a separate nation even before the advent of the British Government having a nationality distinct and separate from that of India. In a nutshell, they are a distinct nation, created, moulded and nurtured by God and Nature.

When British India was given a status by promulgation of the constitution Act of 1935, the British Government having fully realised the distinct and separate nationality of Mizo people decided that they should be excluded from the purview of the new constitution and they were accordingly classed as an EXCLUDED AREA in terms of the Government order 1936. Their land was then kept under the special responsibility of the Governor-General-in-council in his capacity of the Crown representative; and the legislature of the British India had no influence whatsoever.

In other words, the Mizos had never been under the Indian Government and never had any connection with the

politics and the policies of the various groups of Indian opinion. When India was in the threshold of independence the relation of the Mizos with the British Government and also with the British India were fully realised by Indian National Congress leaders. Their top leader and spokesman Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru released a press statement on the 19th August 1946 and stated: "The tribal areas are defined as being those along the frontier of India which are neither part of India, nor of Burma, nor of any Indian State, nor of any foreign power". He further stated: "The areas are subsidised and the Governor-General's relation with the inhabitants are regulated by sanads, custom or usage. In the matter of internal administration the areas are largely left to themselves". Expressing the view of the Indian National Congress he continued, "Although the tribal areas are technically under the sovereignty of His Majesty's Government, their status, when a new constitution comes into force in India, will be different from that of Aden, over which the Governor-General no longer has executive authority. Owing to their inaccessibility and their importance to India in its defence strategy, their retention as British possession is most unlikely. One view is that with the end of sovereignty in India the Government of India (i.e.,

Independent Government of India) will enter in to the same relations with the tribal areas as the Governor-General maintains now, unless the people of these areas choose to seek integration with India".

From the foregoing statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Constitution Act of 1935, it is quite clear that the British Government left the Mizo Nation free and independent with the right to decide their future political destiny.

Due solely to their political immaturity, ignorance and lack of consciousness of their fate, representatives of the Mizo Union, the laggest political organisation at that time, and the fifty accredited Mizo leaders representing all political organisations including representatives of religious denominations and social organisations that were in existence, submitted their demand and chose integration with free India imposing condition, inter alia, "That the Lushai will be allowed to opt out of Indian union when they wish to do so subject to a minimum period of the years".

The political immaturity and ignorance which lead the Mizo people to the misguided choice of integration with India was a direct result of the banning by the British Government of any kind of political organisation till April

1946 within Mizoland which was declared 'a political area'.

During the fifteen years of close contact and association with India, the Mizo people had not been able to feel at home with Indian or in India, nor have they been able to feel that their joys and sorrows have really ever been shared by India. They do not, therefore, feel Indian. Being created a separate nation they cannot go against the nature to cross the barriers of nationality. They refused to occupy a place within India as they consider it to be unworthy of their national dignity and harmful to the interest of their prosperity. Nationalism and patriotism inspired by the political consciousness has now reached its maturity and the cry for political self-determination is the only wish and aspiration of the people, neplus ultra, the only final and perfect embodiment of social living for them. The only aspiration and political cry is the creation of Mizoram, a free and sovereign state to govern herself, to work out her own destiny and to formulate her own foreign policy.

To them independence is not even a problem or subject of controversy; there cannot be dispute over the subject nor could there be any difference of opinion in the matter. It is only a recognition of human rights and

to let others live in the dignity of human person.

While the present world is strongly committed to freedom and self-determination of all nations, large or small and to promotion of Fundamental Human Rights; and while the Indian Leaders are strongly wedded to that principle-taking initiative for and championing the cause of Afro-Asian countries, even before the world body; particularly deploring domination and colonisation of the weaker nations by the stronger, old or new, and advocating peaceful-co-existence, settlement of international dispute of any kind through the medium of non-violence and in condemning weapons that can destroy the world, and in general wishing of good will towards mankind, the Mizo people firmly believed that the Government of India and their leaders will remain true to their policy and that they shall take into practice what they advocate, blessing the Mizo people with their aspiration for freedom and independence per principle that no one is good enough to govern another man without that man's consent.

Though known as head-hunters and a martial race, the Mizos commit themselves to a policy of non-violence in their struggle and have no intention of

employing and other means to achieve their political demand. If on the other hand the Government of India brings exploitive and suppressive measures into operation, employing military might against the Mizo people as is done in the case of the Nagas, which God forbid, it would be equally erroneous and futile for both the parties for a soul cannot be destroyed by weapons.

For this end it is in good-will and understanding that the Mizo Nation voices her rightful and legitimate claim of full self-determination through this memorandum. The Government of India, in their turn and in conformity with the unchallengeable truth expressed and resolved among the text of Human Rights by the United Nations in its August Assembly that in order to maintain peace and tranquility among mankind, every nation-large or small-may of right be free and independent, shall set the Mizo Nation free to work out her own destiny, to formulate her own internal and external policies and shall accept and recognise her political independence. Would it not be a selfish motive and design of India and would it not amount to an act of offence against humanity if the Government of India claim the Mizoram as a part of their territory and try to retain her as their possession against the national will of the Mizo people, simply because their land is important for India's defence strategy.?

Whether the Mizo Nation should shed her tears in joy to establish firm and lasting friendship with India in war and in peace or in sorrow and in anger, is up to the Government of India to decide.

Sd/-Lianzuala  
General Secretary,

Sd/- Laldenga  
President.

Mizo National Front, Mizoram.

Dated Aizawl, the  
30th October, 1965.

Appendix - V

MNF Decleration of Independence

In the course of human history it becomes invariably necessary for mankind to assume their social, economic and political status to which the Law of the Nature and Nature's God entitles them. We hold this truth to be self-evident that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed with inalienable fundamental human rights and dignity of human person; and to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men deriving their just power from the consent of the government and whenever any form of Government become destructive of this end, it is the right of the people to alter, change, modify and abolish it and to institute an new government and laying its foundation on such principles and organising its power in such forms as to them shall see most likely to effect their rights and dignity. The Mizo, created and moulded in to a nation and nurtured as such, by Nature's God have been intolerably dominated by the people of India in contravention of the Law of Nature.

The leaders of the Mizo Nation had, many a time, verbally and in writing, put forward to the Government of India, their desire of self-determination for creation of free and independent Mizoram for bringing about protection of Human Rights and Dignity, which the Mizo, by nature, ought

to have, but the Government of India, violating the Charter of the United Nations and its Universal Declaration of Human Rights re-affirmed in the Principles of Bandung Conference, have ignored the voice of the Mizo people and are determined to continue domination and colonisation ruling over us with tyranny and despotism by instituting self-designed administrative machinery with which they endeavour to mislead the world to win their confidence.

Our people are despised, tortured, manhandled and murdered without displaying justice while they preach and profess before us and throughout the world that they have instituted for us a separate administrative set up in conformity with the principles of Democracy. To conceal their evil and selfish design religious assimilation and Hindu indoctrination they preach to have established which we cannot accept as it leads to suppression of Christianity.

To prove this, let facts be submitted to the candid world:

1. They have instituted government to rule over us in our own country without any respects for Human Rights and Dignity even in the fact of the present candid world which is committed to these rights and dignity.

2. They have been pursuing a policy of exploitive measures in their attempt to wipe out Christianity, sole religion, and no consideration has ever been paid to our national way of life.

3. They have been preaching throughout the world as if they have instituted a separate administrative machinery in conformity with the principles of democracy to conceal their policy of generation of our national morality and of assimilation while what had been instituted for us is a pattern of colonial administration.

4. They refuse not only to procure supply of food and arrange other forms of assistance in times of famine, but also prohibited us from seeking and receiving assistance from friendly countries, which resulted in the death of many people.

5. They have established a multitude of offices and sent hitherto swarms of Indian Officers, who had an immoral life cruelly appealing our womenfolk to commit immorality with them by taking advantage of their official capacity and of the position they occupy in the administrative machinery.

6. Taking the advantage of economic frustration of the people they subject us to economic frustration of the people they subject us to economic shavery and force us to enter into the door of poverty.

7. Curbing freedom of expression, our patriots are arrested and kept in jails without displaying any form of justice.

8. The export facilities which we used to enjoy during the pre-Indian domination, has been totally closed.

9. Without exploring our country's economic resources in agriculture, industries and mining and giving no consideration for their development, they maintain suppressive measures against our economic right.

10. Realising the importance of our country to India in the defence strategy, the Government of India is establishing military basis throughout our country and thereby creating an atmosphere of cold war while nothing is done for its economic and social development.

11. In spite of our repeated appeal for peaceful settlement of our rightful and legitimate demand for full self-determination, the Government of India is bringing exploitive and suppressive measures employing their military might and waging war against us as done in the case of the Nagas and the Kashmiris.

12. Owing to absence of Medical facilities in our countries, our people died without having medical treatment and attention.

For these and all other innumerable causes, we declared to the candid world that India is unworthy and unfit to rule over the civilised mizo people who are created and moulded into a nation and nurtured as such and endowed with territorial integrity by Nature and Nature's God.

We, therefore, the Representatives of Mizo people, meeting on this day, the first of March, in the year of our Lord, nineteen sixty six appealing to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intention so, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this country solemnly publish and declare, that the Mizoram is, and of rights ought to be free and independent, that they are absolved from all allegiance to India and its parliament and all political connections between them and to Government of India is and ought to be desolved and that as free and independent state, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce and to do all other <sup>have</sup> acts and things which Independent state may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, we mutually pledge to each other with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine

providence, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred Honour. We appeal to all freedom loving nations and individuals to uphold Human Rights and Dignity and to extend help to the Mizo people for realisation of our rightful and legitimate demand for self-determination. We appeal also to all independent countries to give recognition to the independence of Mizoram.

LALDENGA

Lalnungawia	Lainzuala	Sainghaka
Thangkima	Lalhmingthanga	Zamawia
Bualhranga	Sakhawliana	Lalchhawna
Saikunga	Ngunhulha	Lallianzuala
Thangmawia	Vanmawia	Ngurchhina
Tlangchhuaka	Chuailokunga	V.L. Nghaka
Thangzika	Kawlremthanga	Hlunsanga
Vala	Thanghuta	Dokhuma
Thangkhuma	Hnuna	Thangbuaia
Thanghuaia	Lalluta	Lalchuanga
Thatthiauva	Vanhnuaitthanga	Lalchhawna
Kapthanga	Challiana	Pachhuga
Rochhingal	Rochhinga 11	Vankunga
Canlalliana	Thanglawra	Rangkhuma
Duma	Zanenga	Lalnundawta

Lalkhawliana

Ngurkunga

Lalhmaaka

Malsawma

Hrangchhinga

Zoramthanga

Chhonzawna

Rosanga

Lamputa

Vansiama

Vanlalzika

Zamanthanga

Rohmingthanga

Lalhruaia

Lalkhawhena

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