

**LALDENGA, ZORAMTHANGA
AND
THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM**

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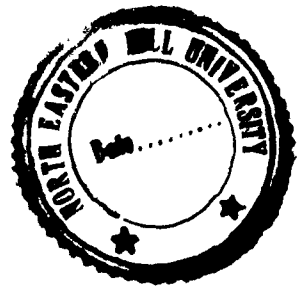
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THESIS

Submitted for the requirement of the degree of
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To



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*Certified that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by Mr. **K. Vanlalmawia**, that the contents of this thesis did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to him, or, to the best of my knowledge, to any body else, and that the thesis had not been submitted by him for any research degree in any other University.*

*In habit and character Mr. **K. Vanlalmawia** is a fit and proper person for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** (in Philosophy).*

Sujata Miri
Sujata Miri
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INTRODUCTION

Nothing is more striking than the confusion regarding the concepts of freedom and morality in the present Mizo situation. This mostly happens in a community when the traditional foundations of morality are completely shaken. People who ought to examine their traditional moral and other concepts, either replace or restore them, cease to live with them suddenly. Let me elaborate. Every Mizo is aware today of the declining moral standards in his society, the rising cases of criminal violence, growth of corruption, etc. People are less prepared to refrain from such activities for not only do they attach any moral value to so refraining, but they also regard acquiescence to social control and customs as opposing their freedom of choice. That one should not hurt or cheat others was a generally acceptable moral dictum. But today the Mizo will question this. It depends, they will say, on credentials of the system which our morality is trying to safeguard. Since the system, let us say, which is 'Indian' in this case, is unjust, they are not obliged to embrace them in their scheme of morality. Hence violence against them is seen as justifiable by some, as a revolt, by the relatively deprived against

those who have intentionally or unintentionally connived at their deprivation.

This appears to me a strange conclusion because for the ancient Mizos, man is a rational and social creature and as such capable of recognizing and living in a moral order. He is not selfish or aggressive. He feels sympathy, love and tenderness towards his fellow beings and is capable of being actuated by altruistic motives and the sense of justice. He wants to live in peace and harmony with others and feels bound to them by ties of social cohesion. So long as a man follows his natural instincts (i.e. goodness), he is good; but when his primal instincts are distorted or suppressed, he becomes bad. One reason for distortion, of course, is the environment. The environment can change a man, hence bad environment makes a man selfish and causes self-love to degenerate into pride. The sentiment of pride overpowers a man's reason and perverts his true nature.

When we analyse the different stages of the progress of the human civilization, we find that man's struggle for the realization of potentialities have obviously involved his freedom. From times immemorial wars have been waged, revolutions have been made and ideas have been created to secure and safeguard freedom and liberty. Thus

both Laldenga and Zoramthanga, the two great contemporary Mizo thinkers, see their fight for the freedom of Mizoram against Indian domination in this light.*

They do not interpret the concept of freedom in the traditional Indian philosophical sense as the freedom of soul, not from any political bondage but from the carnal bondage of the body. Nor do they appear to completely adhere to the truth of christianity. For christianity too freedom is a central concept. Though man is made in the image of God, man's fate according to christianity

* Laldenga, the founder president of Mizo National Front(MNF), was born in June 11, 1927 in Pukpui village. After his Primary education in his native village, he went to join High School at Shillong, he joined the British-Indian army in 1944. He left the army as a Havildar-clerk in 1953 and joined the erstwhile Mizo District Council as an accountant-cum-clerk. He launched a social organisation called the Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) in the early sixties when the then Mizo District was hit by a severe famine. His organisation was converted into a political party called the Mizo National Front(MNF). On October 21, 1961, the MNF declared the attainment of complete independence for Mizoram as its sole objective. On March 1, 1966, started fighting with arms for a sovereign State of Mizoram. He started Peace negotiations with the Central India in the late seventies and finally signed Mizo Peace Accord on June 30, 1986. He became the first Chief Minister in the State of Mizoram. He died in London on July 7, 1990.

Zoramthanga, the present president of Mizo National Front(MNF), was born in July 13, 1944 in Samthang village. In 1950-1953, he studied in his native village, and in S.Khawbul village he finished Middle school education in 1954-1956. He finished High school education during 1957-1961 in Gandhi Memorial High school in Champhai village. He was educated in D.M.College, Imphal, during 1962-1966. He joined the MNF in 1965, and while he was waiting for his Degree (English Hons.) result, he joined the Underground MNF Ministry in 1966. He held many important posts like Area Secretary(Run Area) in 1966, Secretary to the President in 1969, MNF Gen. Secretary in 1976, and became the Vice-President in 1979. He became Cabinet minister after the Mizo Peace Accord in August 21, 1986, and again the first Education Minister in the State of Mizoram. He has been the President, after Laldenga, since December 13, 1990. He had published a book 'Zoram Zalenna Lungphum'(1980) which became the foundation of the Mizo nationalism.

depends on his relationship to God. Each man is free to accept or reject God's purposes, and will be judged according to how he exercises this freedom. This judgement goes beyond anything in this life, for somehow each individual person survives the physical death that we know.

Unfortunately, Laldenga and Zoramthanga's understanding of the concept of freedom involved their people in a long drawn out violent struggle with fellow human beings, and there has been no serious academic debate on this theme in the Mizo circles. Till today there appears confusion in the minds of all about what essentially is freedom. Hence I chose this topic for my dissertation.

Different views about human nature lead naturally to different conclusions about what man ought to do. If God made us, then it is His purpose that defines what we ought to be, and we must look to Him for help. If we are made by our society, and if we find that our life is somehow unsatisfactory, then there can be no real cure until society is transformed. If we are fundamentally free and can never escape the necessity for individual choice, then the only way is to accept the burden of freedom and live authentically.

My conclusion about this concept is influenced by Gandhi. Gandhi says human nature will find itself only when it fully realises that to become human it has to cease to be bestial or brutal. In his autobiography, he declared that "the brute by nature knows no self-restraint, and man is man because he is capable of, and only in so far as he exercises, self-restraint."¹ Gandhi again said that man is bestial in origin but he is human precisely because he is potentially and essentially divine. Man is neither brute nor God and is human in so far as he uniquely possesses the power of choice that determines either the increasing brutalization of his nature and a reliance on instinctual violence, or his increasing awareness and manifestation, and consequent realization of his innate divinity. I accept also his views about the true state of freedom and about the equality of man. Accordingly, my analysis of the concept of freedom in the writings of Mizo intellectuals has been greatly benefited by his works.

I start my thesis with a general discussion about the concept of freedom. In the first chapter my thesis is based on D.D. Raphael's understanding of the concept.

1. M.K. Gandhi, The story of my experients with truth, translated by Mahadev Desai, Navajivan, 1956, p.317.

He states:

"Freedom means the absence of restraint. A man is free in so far as he is not restrained from doing what he wants to do or what he would choose to do if he knew that what he could. The idea of choice itself implies a kind of freedom".²

It is also said that man is a free agent and can do precisely what he chooses to do. It is for him to decide whether he wants to sin or follow the path of virtue. Man is not tied down by individual or society or any relationships. Freedom is, therefore, interpreted in the form of indeterminism advocated by Bertrand Russell, Harry G. Frankfurt, Immanuel Kant, Jean-Paul Sartre, etc.

In sharp contrast to this, determinism denies the freedom of will and holds that man is governed by the law of cause and effect. Hence, Spinoza remarks that all our efforts and desires arise from the inevitability of our nature in such a way that they can be understood by the cause contiguous to them or by the fact that we are part of a whole, a whole which cannot be thought of in the absence of other people. All of man's desires and efforts are controlled by his nature.

2. Raphael, D.D., 'The Idea of Freedom', Problems of Political Philosophy, London, 1970, p.115.

Therefore, the problem of free will has perplexed many philosophers because of its controversial relation to determinism. Mackenzie has stated that both freedom and determination are essential for ethics and ethical considerations. Kant is of the view that a particular action is ethical when a free choice is made from among conflicting desires, and the greater the conflict the greater is the moral value of that activity. I have discussed this controversy in the chapter (from page 18 to 34) very briefly.

While it may not be very difficult to accept as well as make claims about man's freedom to make himself, it becomes a problem the moment I seek to pursue my freedom when in doing so I obstruct other's freedom. This brings me to a discussion of some political philosophers like John Locke, T.H. Green, Rousseau, Hobbes and Karl Marx. Some significant similarities and dissimilarities of their conceptions of freedom I have highlighted. I conclude this chapter with the Gandhian conception of freedom. For him true freedom is acquisition of capability by all, the necessities of life should be enjoyed equally by all. He also advocated self-realization, which is the most important aspect of freedom, as it is the goal

of human life, which can be acquired on achieving the 'greatest good of all'.

The second chapter is titled 'The Mizos and the Concept of Freedom'. It starts with a discussion about the traditional belief system where there is one ultimate goal that is to be a man of perfection which is true freedom and is possible by attaining the honourary title of **Thangchuah**.* This **Thangchuah** title is very difficult to get, only a person who fulfils the prescribed conditions could acquire it. **Thangchuah** person could, therefore, enjoy the highest privilege in the society, and his spirit is also believed to enjoy bliss in **Pialral**** (Paradise) after life.

The Christianised Mizo today however believe that man is created by God and it is for him to accept His guidance by his own free will. It is to believe in God, by accepting the salvation of Jesus Christ on His behalf. So, the spirit of God will enter into him and shall make him free from this world or Satan's bondage, his spirit also would go to Heaven even after life. One of the diffe-

* The title given to a man who has distinguished himself by killing a certain number of different animals in chase, or by giving a certain number of public feasts in a prescribed manner.

** The Mizo traditional Paradise or Heaven.

rences between the Traditional and Christian concept of freedom is that in the traditional belief, freedom is possible only by man's self-acquired exceptional achievements, whereas it is possible only by believing in God in the Christian religion.

I have also referred to the Mizo politicians' ideas of freedom. Here, I have included the two Mizo freedom fighter leaders namely Laldenga and Zoramthanga, Lalthanhawla, the present Chief Minister in the Congress ministry, and Brig. T. Sailo, the former Chief Minister belonging to Mizoram Regional Party. What I have noted about all these thinkers is the following fact that though all of them are schooled in the Christian doctrine their views on freedoms are not only different from one another but also not very much in line with the Christian concept of true freedom as surrender to the will of God.

The third chapter attempts a detailed study of the concept of freedom in the (a) Mizo traditional and (b) the Christianised Mizo's belief systems. My analysis of the traditional belief system is specifically based on the works of some eminent Mizo writers like Challiana, Zairema, Saiaithanga, C.L. Hminga, etc., and also some non-Mizo writers who have contributed a good deal in this field. The focus of my analysis is the concept of man,

man's relation to the world and to Pathian* (God). The ancient Mizos believe in the existence of Pathian (God) who is a beneficent Being and the creator of everything, but He is not the director of human destiny as the supreme goal for man is determined by the achievements of man during one's life time. However, man's success in this life depends to a great extent on God's help.

The traditional concept of life after death is also highlighted in the dissertation. According to this conception there are two spirit worlds namely **Pialral** (Paradise) where the spirits of **Thangchhuah** only would enter, and **Mitthi Khua** (Hell) where all the spirits of the dead, except those who are entitled to **Pialral**, would go. Thus, those who have the **Thangchhuah** title are believed to enjoy the right of free citizenship both in this and in the next world, that is in **Pialral**. Two methods for achieving the title of **Thangchhuah** in the traditional ways of life have also been studied in more detail.

Here an attempt has been made to point out some similarities between the Mizo view and the Indian doctrine of Karma which regards man's ability as very important

* When Christian missionaries started translating the Bible the term '**Pathian**' was adopted for the Christian God.

to shape his future. Both believe that a man must endure the fruits of his deeds. I also note a similarity with Sankhya philosophy in their conception for the formation of man and the world. In the ancient Mizo scene, for example there is no creator as the starting point for the world process and for man.

I take cognizance of the complete change that took place in the Mizo concept of man and his destiny, when Christianity came into Mizoram. Now, this concept establishes belief in Jesus Christ as a safe passage to Heaven, which is much easier to get than the previous one. Attention has also been given to the Christian account of the relationship between man and God, that the fate of man depends on his relation to God. Man being so created by God for fellowship with Himself through his belief in Jesus Christ's salvation, so the purpose of man's life is to fulfill only when he loves and serves God. But, man is given freedom to exercise this choice by accepting or rejecting God's purpose. I refer to the Christian doctrine that all men are compelled to be punished perpetually or are under the bondage of Satan due to the Sin of Adam. But, God by His love for human beings prepares a reconciliation through Christ, so that man

will be made free from Satan's bondage and can escape perpetual punishment. So, a free man in Christian belief is a man who accepts all things happening to him as the will of God. Hence, complete dependence on God means complete freedom.

The fourth chapter of my thesis discusses in detail, Laldenga's theory of freedom. Here, I point out that Laldenga's concept of freedom is based on the conception of Natural Rights. He holds the view that the Natural Law of human existence is free, and also maintains that God has created the Mizos into a separate nation having different culture, custom and language. They also worship a different God from that of the Indians who have been dominating the people of Mizoram. For him, freedom implies on the one hand the extinction of the Indian domination over the Mizo people, and on the other hand the self-determination on the part of the Mizos to decide their own destiny without the interference of foreign powers. As freedom is their birth-right, they have to fight for achieving it. This view point resulted in two decades of unrest in Mizoram.

I also mention Laldenga's idea that the Indian

Zoramthanga, a supporter of Laldenga, holds the view that man is a free creature of God, and hence he must not be restrained by others, rather he ought to be administered by himself. Accordingly, the Mizo must be free from other's administration and must have sovereignty of their own.

Zoramthanga, like many other political philosophers, upholds freedom as characterising the Natural state of man. He claimed that the difference between living like a man and living like an animal is that the former is free. Living under any domination by foreign head, according to him is a deprivation of the rights of the people and no peace or freedom can prevail in such a situation.

Freedom is the most important essence and quality of human beings which has been granted by God to all human beings. Any kind of domination is against the law of God, so the Indian Government who ruled over the Mizo people is against the will of God. Hence, he advocated fighting for freedom of Mizoram and committed himself to the slogan - Mizoram is a free-gift of God to a separate Mizo nation.

The will of God is to love one's own people who have the same culture, same language and same religion, and to work for the welfare of that people. So standing on the will of God, he maintained that fighting for the isolation of the Mizo from other Indians was a must as it was a means to attain God's gifted nature of man. He also is of the view that Nationalism is the most essential potent force for the existence and survival of a free nation, without which a nation cannot survive.

I have included Lalthanhawla in my discussion as his idea of freedom is in sharp contrast to both Laldenga and Zoramthanga. According to him from the out-set the Mizo people did not enjoy freedom since the Mizo chiefs were very cruel to the people. The chiefs ruled like dictators, so the people had a feeling of oppression. After the independence of India, the Mizos began to enjoy their freedom. Unhesitatingly identifying the Mizo people as Indians, and the Mizo language, religion, culture as one of many such sets in India, he strongly rejected Laldenga and Zoramthanga's demand for a separate nation for the Mizos. Instead, he emphasized that it was the duty and responsibility of the Mizos to work for the integrity of the different people of India by realising



that the Mizos are one of the owners of the Indian Union. As the Mizos have been enjoying their freedom, fighting for freedom is useless and only brings suffering to the Mizo people.

Brig. T. Sailo's ideal of freedom is safeguarding the identity of the Mizo through the means of (a) preservation of the right of human beings, (b) freedom of the Mizo people from the bondage of economic deprivation, and (c) Re-unification of separate Mizo administrative units into one. Safeguarding the identity of the Mizo has been the centre point around which his entire political ideas and conceptions were woven. But, unlike Laldenga and Zoramthanga, his idea of freedom is totally confined within the confines of the Indian constitution.

The entire debate regarding Laldenga and Zoramthanga's demand for the sovereignty of the Mizos and their reference to the theory of Natural rights for the same needs to be examined in greater detail. That the inclusion of Mizoram into the Indian Union is an obstruction and hindrance of the freedom of the Mizo people needs to be discussed in the light of what they envision as the goal and aim of Mizo society. If their aim is like that

of Lalthanhawla and Brig. T. Sailo, that is, the welfare of the Mizo people, then they must recognize that there are no absolute rights and whatever rights the Mizos demand have to take cognizance of the particular times through which the society is passing. Moreover, the claim that only people with one language and one religion can constitute a nation is no longer tenable in the world today. This is what I have tried to show in the last chapter of my thesis. Also I find the philosophy of the MNF as an aberration and contrary to the new Christian theology which advises complete surrender to God's will. In any case, they interpret freedom too narrowly as only political self-determination. I have tried to argue that mere political autonomy does not necessarily mean that a people is free in the real sense of the term.

CHAPTER - I

THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM

Man as a rational animal or spiritual being usually wants to have freedom, to be liberated from anything imposed or irksome - whether it be laws that are restrictive and prohibitive, or social pressures from taboos and customs that prevent one from pursuing one's legitimate desires. It may be said simply that man is responsible for a certain pattern of thought, feeling and action; or man is free when he can take his own decisions and make his own choices. Though he is not absolutely free or though his freedom has limits, yet he can transform even his limits into the means and materials of his self-development and self-realization. But this is not accepted by some philosophers. Hence, the question - Whether we are free to choose between alternative possibilities of action; or whether we are compelled to choose one of them by something other than ourselves.

Difficulties may arise when we are trying to define the concept of freedom as there are diverse views with regard to the concept of freedom. Some philosophers opine that freedom is not at all possible since all human actions

are determined; whereas other philosophers are of the view that human beings are free to perform their actions.

Determinism is the view that the whole realm of nature, including man, is governed by the law of cause and effect. The effect necessarily follows the cause and therefore, every event has a cause. The causes produce the event, form it and determine it. Human will, like any other physical event, must be determined by antecedents, such as character and external circumstances.

One of the most widespread doctrines denying human freedom, Fatalism, is that there is a cosmic power or fate which ordains the course of every man's destiny. It is the idea that everything in the universe moves towards a determined end; whatever befalls us was pre-ordained for us from eternity, even the life-span of man is also determined. Whatever is fated will surely come without fail, no man has ever escaped his destiny.

Another way of interpretation of fatalism is that our volitions are determined by motives and desires.

"The strength of a motive is determined - i) partly by the environment or external circumstances influencing the individual from without, ii) and partly by mental character and constitution of the individual himself, which is again, determined by inherited tendencies of his ancestors and the structure of his brain and organism."¹

So, the volition of man is rigidly determined by a series of causes and antecedents. Hence, it can be foreseen the future of man if one study accurately all the antecedents of one volitions and actions like the infalsible rotation of the planets and of the tide of the seas.

Spinoza, who advocates a monistic view of the world, holds the view that in nature all things preceed from necessity and with the most perfection. The storms and the tempests which arise and cease, the waves which move restlessly over its surface, are simply fleeting modes of its existence. In like manner human lives and all the varieties, change and profusion of nature are mode of the divine substance. Everything comes from God and again returns to God.

"All things are predetermined by God, and not through his foreknowledge or understanding and not through his good will, but through his absolute nature or infinite power."²

1. Ghose, M.N., 'Freedom of Will', The Essence of General Philosophy, p.221.

2. Strocks, J.L., 'The Freewill Problem', An Introduction to Philosophy, p.25.

He urges that God must design and foresee all things and actions including the future phenomena of nature and future actions of human beings. This implies that man has no power of determining his own action. According to him that man think his volitions free simply because he is conscious of the causes which determine him. Even stones, like a human being, might think themselves free in ignorance of their causes when they are thrown at other objects. Darwin also advocates in favour of the determinist which he claims that man is not above nature, but a mere product of it. He is only a highly developed form of the simplest animal life. In nature, there is no break and no room where its laws cease to operate. Similarly, the child eats, sleeps, grows, thinks and chooses all in conformity with the laws of nature. Therefore, every event, physical as well as mental, not determined by antecedent circumstances would be an event without a cause which is impossible; there cannot be any uncaused phenomenon either in nature or in mind.

According to Indeterminism, a person is free to the extent that he is able to do or get what he wants. It expresses the belief that some events do not have causes but spring into being by pure chance without any relation to anything preceeding. Free will is a felt

experience in all our consciously performed or voluntary actions, whenever we feel that we are exercising a choice. Human beings are always conscious of their willing freely, and the course of their actions are determined not by anything antecedent or external to them but from within themselves. Kant is of the view that freedom of will is a postulate of moral judgement, there is a sense of moral obligation in moral judgement, and this moral obligation implies freedom of will. If there is morality there should be necessarily, freedom of will for he says that freedom is the foundation of morality. "Freedom and morality are two sides of the same coin - morality can be ascribed to the human will only insofar as it is assumed to be free."³ Kant, again holds that

"if in the phenomenal world natural necessity reigns supreme, it is in the noumenal world that man is his proper self, and therefore free to determine himself to action. Thus both freedom and natural necessity have their respective spheres of operation : the one is indispensable to morality and the other to science."⁴

According to absolute idealism, the human soul shares in the freedom or self-determining power of God as man is a finite reduplication of God. So, "the human

3. Singh, B., 'The Idea of Freedom', Kant's Ethics of Practical Reason, p.74.

4. Ibid., p.89.

soul produces or determines the series of outward events in time without itself being determined by them, but the freedom of man is not absolute as it is limited by the physical forces of nature, by his relations to other men, and by the freedom of God."⁵

In favour of Indeterminism, Bertrand Russell argues that when certain sequences are uniformly observed in nature, there is a reasonable expectation that the given antecedents, when they occur again, will be followed by the given consequents, but here is no necessity in the case. He says,

"Freedom, in short, in any valuable sense, demands only that our volitions shall be, as they are, the result of our own desires, not of an outside force compelling us to will what we would rather not will."⁶

Philosophers who argue in favour of freedom construe the question of whether a person's will is free, and the question of whether a person enjoys freedom of action. Harry G. Frankfurt says in his paper - 'Freedom of the will and the concept of a person', that freedom of will means a person is free to want what he wants to want, i.e.

5. Singh, B., Op.cit., p.228.

6. Russell, B., Scientific Method in Philosophy, p.236.

a person or agent is free to will what he wants to will. And, the freedom of action is the freedom to do what one wants to do.⁷ Freedom, when it is conceived as free will, is antecedent to choice. An agent is free when choices are made by an integrated self, acting without compulsion and without being divided against itself. The choices, in some sense, must be rational involving both intelligence and knowledge. In fact, to act thoughtlessly and in ignorance is not to choose anything. To be free one should know the conditions, consequences and what alternatives are open to him.

Therefore, it seems impossible to deny that all human actions are wholly dependent for their realization on efficient causes, on the one hand; without finality it seems impossible to give any meaning to organic activity or any interpretation of the principle of individual, on the other hand. Kant is of the opinion that man represents the unique combination in his nature of both freedom and natural necessity. It is meaningless to say that man is either naturally determined or spiritually free, we cannot conceive man to be both free and naturally

7. Frankfurt, H.G., 'Freedom of the will and the concept of a person', Free Will, p.94.

determined. In respect of his sensibility man is said to be a phenomenon and hence causally determined; and on the other hand man is free in respect of his proper self when he becomes noumenon. Kant says:

"As a phenomenon he is determined, while as a noumenon he is free. In respect of the former, he represents a temporal series of impressions, feeling, desires, emotions, etc., and any other action that issues forth from it must be ultimately accountable in terms of natural necessity; In respect of the latter, he must regard himself as possessed of a rational self whose essence is the moral law - a law that manifests in timeless activity, and insofar as its source is in rational nature, is the law of freedom."⁸

For many philosophers free will is problematic because of its controversial relation to determinism. Some philosophers argue that freedom is compatible with determinism, whereas indeterminists hold a diametrically opposed view. So the task is to find a satisfactory answer to the question: Is determinism incompatible with freedom? Philosophers who have defended some form of determinism have usually given this analysis of freedom that there are often restrictions on our freedom, but it is not determinism that caused these restrictions. Our free actions are restricted by some irresistible causes such as the environmental, actions of other people, and some-

Frankfurt, H.G., *Op.cit.*, p.90.

times even conditions within ourselves. However, freedom is not restricted by the doctrine of universal causality. Our decisions are caused by the desires of our minds. But, a man can control his desires through exertion of self-discipline and will power, and often does succeed in changing them.

Indeterminists have rejected determinism precisely because of its association with freedom. It says that if our decisions are caused there cannot be any room for freedom. If our decisions are caused by earlier environment, or by our habit pattern developed through the year, or by our pre-disposition and so on; then, there could not be free actions as they are caused by desires which are beyond one's will power. The determinist's doctrine - every event and state of affairs is causally necessitated by preceding events and states of affairs - gives rise to the philosophical problem of the freedom of will. So, indeterminists argue as follows:

- (a) If determinism is true, then every human action is causally necessitated by events and states of affairs that occurred or obtained prior to its agent's existence;
- (b) If any action is causally necessitated in this way, no one could ever have acted otherwise;

- (c) One has free will only if one could at least sometimes have acted otherwise;
- (d) Therefore, if determinism is true, no one has free will."⁹

Determinist may well be suspicious of the indeterminist arguments on quite different grounds, that it involves a misunderstanding of the statement - what it is to be able to do otherwise. What a man can do is what is up to him, and what is up to him is what happens on his choice or preference. So, to say that If I choose or prefer to do so, I will do so. The mind is always free in the sense that it is determined not by anything external to it, but by itself for its own good. Again, the agent's will is always determined in the moment of willing by the tendencies, the impulses and purposes that belong to the agent's character. "Freedom is not to be sought in an uncaused spontaneous act of choice among alternatives, but in the capacity inherent in each moral agent to determine the bent of his own character."¹⁰ The act of choice is, therefore, caused, it is always an element within a causal situation. Therefore, Determinist would say that if my doing 'a' depends on my doing 'b',

9. Watson, G., 'Free Will and Determinism', Free Will (Introduction), p.2.

10. Stephen, Problems of Philosophy, p.391.

I am not able to do 'a' unless I am able to do 'b'. Hence, the Determinist argues that the ability to choose or prefer otherwise is compatible with determinism.

Peter Van Inwagen presents, in his paper, 'The Incompatibility of free will and determinism', an argument that "if determinism is true, the laws of nature, together with a statement of the conditions of the universe before my birth, entail every true statement about my physical movements. Therefore, I could have refrained from making those movements only if I could have falsified the laws of the nature or altered those conditions."¹¹

The problem of free will seems to remain the most conceivable or inconceivable paradox. "The problem arises from an apparent clash between an internal subjective view of ourselves, as agents unified centres and sources of activities, and an external objective view from which one's behaviour appears as part of the course of events."¹² Therefore, it may be presumed that the problem of free will is a part of the problem of finding a room in the world for ourselves.

11. Inwagen, P.V., 'The Compatibility of free will and determinism', Free Will, p.3.

12. Ibid., p.14.

Sartre, who propagates absolute freedom, advocates that man is not determined and so he is completely free to act. According to him, "Man is condemned to be free"; because man makes himself, instead of being made. Only through the action of man, the existence of man can be understood. Action is the first condition of freedom, without action freedom is meaningless. Man acts, whereas event happens. Thus, action is the expression of human freedom. For Sartre, as man is not a part of nature, he is free from nature too; but all others belong to nature as either a cause or as an effect.

For Sartre, man is absolutely free and responsible for all his actions. Anything happens to man is through himself, and there would be no accident in human life. What happens suddenly has not come from outside, rather it has come from within himself. He sternly says that all human actions are intentional, and there cannot be an action without intention. What had happened without intention is only an event. He therefore, maintains that if man is free, he is always free in all situations and all circumstances in every sphere of human's existence.

Freedom may be expressed by Individualist and Liberalist as follows:

"Freedom refers primarily to a condition characterized by the absence of coercion or constraint imposed by another person; a man is said to be free to the extent that he can choose between alternatives available to him, and is not compelled to act as he would not himself choose to act, or prevented from acting as he would otherwise choose to act, by will of other man or of the state, or of any other authority. Freedom in the sense of not being coerced or constrained by another is sometimes called Negative freedom, it refers to an area of conduct within which each chooses his own course and is protected from compulsion or restraint."¹³

Freedom can be used in two senses - Negative and Positive. In Negative sense, it means the absence of restraint upon spontaneity of action. Anything is free when it act spontaneously. Under any compulsion all actions are forced, in this situation there cannot be free actions. We are only free if no one is forcing us to do something against our will or if our actions are uncompelled by others. In Positive sense, we may use freedom as almost the same with a sense of 'ability' or 'can'. We are free to do something that we can do if we choose to do them. We are free to raise our hands up if our hands are not hurt. It has a positive sense when it implies the power of choice of alternatives.

13. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol.3 & 4, p.222.

To act in accordance with one's own nature, according to William James, is freedom, "'The human life is full with influx of experiences, and rich in alternatives and we have to choose between them, we have to guard ourselves against indecisions, and to give one idea or plan on a certain weight or emphasis. And this process is called Will. Our will is our own power to decide. It is an activity of deliberation and choices".¹⁴ Human freedom consists in a spontaneous function of fully organized self. Kant says:

"'Free - elective will' is a will undermined by feeling at the time of willing, even though it is destined to be sanctioned and confirmed by a subsequent approval of feeling. The law of freedom cannot be 'other-imposed', it must be 'self-imposed', that is to say, freedom should be identical with self-determination and since autonomy is the principle of morality, a free-will will be a will under laws."¹⁵

In every sphere of life, freedom consists in taking decisions and making our own choices. Here, I would like to make a distinction between freedom 'From' and freedom 'For'. When we discuss the meaning of freedom, the freedom 'from' is seems less significant than that of freedom 'For'. We may be free from internal and external pressures. Freedom 'For' consists in giving an orientation to life, and in putting our basic option into effect. This means

14. James, W., Principles of Psychology, Vol.I, p.535.

15. Paton, H.J., 'The moral law', Kant's groundworks of metaphysic of moral, p.41.

that the real freedom consists in striving towards the attainment of the meaning of life. The free action is always responded to a call that motivates us. Not only the will or the power of others but also natural conditions impose obstructions as well as restrictions on our capacity to choose between alternatives. Therefore, the growth of knowledge or anything else that increases our capacity to employ natural conditions for the achievement of our purposes ipso facto enlarges our freedom. The Liberalism and Individualism observe,

"We cannot truly be said to be free to choose some preferred alternative unless we have the means or the power to do 'X' is equivalent to absence of freedom to do it. For those who take this view the necessary conditions for the existence of freedom would be (a) the absence of human coercion or restraint preventing one from choosing alternatives he would wish to choose; (b) The absence of natural conditions preventing one from achieving a chosen objectives; (c) the possession of the means or the power to achieve the objective one chooses of one's own volition."¹⁶

ackenzie observes that there cannot be any difficulty in finding the true sense of freedom, if one observes precisely the nature of both freedom and necessity as the meaning of both is quite different. According to him, "The necessity means simply the uniform activity

16. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol.3 & 4, p.222.

of a given character. The freedom, on the other hand, means simply the absence of determination by anything outside the character itself."¹⁷ John Stuart Mill also speaks of the freedom relating to the individual that one must be free to do as he chooses only in those matters one ought to be guided partly by the right of others.

Human as a rational being has two sides to his nature, according to Kant; One side of the nature of human being is the empirical self which centres around his sensual experience, his desires and impulses. And the second one is the transcendental self which is the moral and rational self. The latter one makes him do what he ought to do, whereas the former one makes him subject to things extraneous to his self, i.e., heteronomous. It is his transcendental self which renders him subject to his true self, i.e., autonomous, and makes him part of the noumenal world. It is as a part of the noumenal world, Kant says, that man enjoys moral freedom. Man becomes sensitive to the 'Categorical Imperative of Duty'. An Imperative may be conditional or unconditional. It is conditional if it aims at certain ends, and unconditional if it is irrespective of the achievement of certain

17. Mackenzie, J.S., 'The true sense of freedom', A manual of Ethics, p.75.

ends. The Categorical Imperative of Duty is pursued by a man as a moral being. He does things in obedience to the law of his true self, and not under the impulsion of his desires and impulses. He wills the good will which alone is free and which gives him moral freedom. Kant is in believing that moral freedom lies in following the moral law or acting according to the Categorical Imperative of Duty. Moral law tells a man what he ought to do irrespective of extraneous considerations. As it is not based on impulses and desires but on moral reason the will which moral law gives a man is good will. That man who enjoys the autonomy of moral will as well as moral freedom is truly free. Moral freedom is qualified with respect for others and controlled by Categorical Imperative of Duty. Therefore, Kant argues that a man is free only when he wills a will which wills rational and universal objects.

Individual freedom, for Kant, is not absolute but conditioned by similar freedom of others. According to Kant, "True freedom is based on respect for universal laws and respect for rights and liberty of others. A will is free only when it wills rationally and in accordance with the interests of the society. A man is free

not in doing what he wants to do but in doing what universal reason tells him he ought to do."¹⁸

T.H. Green* believes that man partakes to the divine spirit and that is why his will is fundamentally good as well as moral, as moral restraints on the will are self-imposed so the will is free. He makes a distinction between Positive and Negative freedom, it is positive when a free moral will seek its good in the context of social good and enjoys freedom to do the right thing; Negative freedom is the freedom to do as one pleases. Positive freedom is said to have an approximation between will and reason and morality and law. For him, freedom does not mean the license to do what one likes, but the positive power of doing and enjoying something worth doing and enjoying. To quote:

"We do not merely mean freedom from restraint or compulsion. We do not mean merely freedom to do as we like irrespective of what it is that we like. We do not mean a freedom that can be enjoyed by one man or one set of men at the cost of the loss of freedom to others. When we speak of freedom as something to do so highly prized, we mean a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying, and that too, something that we do or enjoy in common with others. Freedom means liberation of powers to contribute to common good. Freedom should mean equality of opportunity to all."¹⁹.

18. Bhandari, D.R., 'The Idealist Political Thought', History of European Political Philosophy, p.440.

* English Idealist and White Professor of Moral Philosophy.

19. Ibid., p.469.

For those who do not understand Green's concept of 'Worth doing or enjoying', Green describes by suggesting that man is a moral being. As such he has a clear understanding of certain interests and rights common to himself with his neighbours. Instinctively, as a moral being, he feels that his right and freedom of action are conditioned by the rights and freedom of action of others and acts accordingly. Besides, an individual decides as to what is worth doing or enjoying when the standards of morality is incorporated by the civic institutions of society.

There is some essential relation between the social aspect of freedom and the freedom of others. The social aspect of freedom refers to relationship of interaction between persons or groups, namely that one actor leaves another actor free to act in a certain ways. This concept is defended by reference to another interaction relation, like interpersonal or social unfreedom. For example, an actor is free to act in a certain ways, his performing action is not obstructed by any other actors. Thus with reference to B, A is free to do either X or Z if and only if B makes it, neither impossible for A to do either X or Z. Here, 'freedom to vote' means freedom either

to vote or to abstain; but 'freedom to propagate the truth' really means unfreedom to spread erroneous ideas. In view of this statement, John Locke says:

"We are socially free to act in a certain way only if (i) there is no effectively enforced law prohibiting or ordering us to do so, and if (ii) We have an effectively protected legal right to that effect, that is, if all other are unfree to hinder us from doing so."²⁰

Locke argues that in the law of nature human being is free, independent as well as equal. He is free to dispose of his possessions, no one can deprive of his estate, and subjected to the political power of another, without his own consent, which is done by agreeing with other men to unite into a community for their comfortable, safe and peaceful living one among another. State of equality wherein all the powers and jurisdictions are reciprocal, no one having more than another; Creatures of the same species and ranks, promiscuously born to all the same advantage of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal. Though the nature provides man freedom in many respects, he has neither freedom to destroy himself nor freedom to harm the life of others. No one can have right to force or violate

20. International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol.5, p.556.

the right of other persons, as nobody can act against the right of human freedom.

For Locke, freedom of man under government is to have a standing rule to live by, common to everyone of that society, and made by the legislative power erected in it. Freedom of nature is to be under no other restraint but the law of nature.

"The liberty of man in society is to be under no other legislative authority but that established by consent in the common wealth, nor under the dominion of any will, restraint of any law, but what the legislative shall enact according to the trust put in it."²¹

All the citizens whether in the government or the governed, majority or minority should enjoy the same equal rights and restrictions to their freedom in a Democracy. Freedom is used to express the norm that the government ought to be based on willingness of the majority or people, and this usually means representative government and minority rule. Under such system, men enjoy almost all kinds of freedom, for them freedom is limited only by measures in the enactment of which they were free to participate. Freedom stands no longer for the government's duty to be responsive to the will of the citizens

21. Locke, J., et al., 'An essay concerning the true original, and content an end of civil government', Social Contract, p.15.

but for the citizen's duty to be obey governmental enactments reflecting the will of the majority. While Rousseau maintains that the citizen is free whether he fulfills this obligation freely or whether he has been compelled to be free. And freedom comes to refer no longer to having the choice acting in one way or another, but to acting in no other way than that prescribed by authority.

Hobbes observes the individual as having an unlimited right to protect his life and to use all the means and to do all the actions, without which he cannot preserve himself. But also has right to possess, use and enjoy all that he would or could get. Hobbes says,

"The right of nature ... is the liberty each man hath, to use his own power, as he will himself, for the preservation of his own life."²²

He distinguishes between the right of nature and the law of nature as right consists in liberty to do, whereas law determines and binds to one of them; so that right and law differ as much, as obligation and liberty. Natural right implies a treacherous liberty whereas the natural law designates rule, Natural right entitles a man to grab everything and leads to war, and natural law forces

22. The Social and political ideas of the 16th and 17th centuries, edited by F.J.C. Hearnshaw, p.158.

him to renounce some part of his claim for the more certain realization of the rest and, therefore leads to peace or avoidance of war. The laws of nature, according to him are the following: The first law of nature holds that every man should seek peace and preserve it and if he cannot obtain it, he must defend himself by all means including war; The second law of nature prescribes that a man must be willing, along with others and in the interests of peace and self-defence, to lay down his right to all things and be content with as much liberty as he would allow others over himself and transfer some of his rights by a contract; The third law of nature enjoins that 'men perform their covenants made'. By the fourth law of nature, the man to whom the rights are transferred causes no injury to the one who makes that transfer. These laws of nature are the very basis of society.

Hobbes maintains that in the natural right, 'Might is right'. Man is free to take what he can, and to rob whomsoever he can. There is no law to prevent oppression, and it is therefore characterized as constant warfare, and called a state of perfect anarchy. Hence, man stands in natural fear of each other. It is, therefore, a state of total insecurity. Thus, all these circumstances prompted

men to abandon the state of nature and to establish law and government. In the civil state or government, Hobbes adopts the legal theory of rights. Man has right to self-preservation. Besides this he has all those rights which the government allows him. But a sovereign government can disallow the rights of the individual except that of self-preservation. Rights of the individual cannot go against the government.

While Locke makes a constitution government under the control of society. Hobbes creates absolute sovereignty. Locke postulates conditional and partial surrender of natural rights because some of it are fundamental and they are the cornerstone of human freedom, whereas Hobbes postulates an unconditional surrender of all natural rights to the government, because the natural rights, for him, are the source of constant conflict. Locke urges that people give up their natural right to 'judge of and punish the offenders of natural law' in their own case or in the case of other persons. This right is now vested in the community, the government which assumes the role of umpire. Society retains the authority to watch whether the government is exercising its power strictly in accordance with the terms of the contract or not.

The concept of the General will is the centre of Rousseau's doctrine. The two aspects of the will of the individual - Actual and Real will - is the source of conflict within the mind of man. The Actual will is motivated by his immediate desire and selfish interest, whereas the real will is motivated by his ultimate and collective interest. Man's freedom, therefore, consists in overcoming his actual will and following the direction of the real will. The real will expresses his true freedom. It subordinates self-interest to the interests of the community which is shared by each and all. The General will is the attribute of civil society which embodies real will, in clear and unmistakable terms. It harmonizes the interests each with those of all, it is an expression of the highest in every man. When a man acts against his own will under the direction of the general will, he is not losing his freedom. The constraint of the General will is instrumental for securing his larger and ultimate freedom, which reconciles freedom of each with freedom of all.

Rousseau's famous principle, 'Man is born free but is everywhere in chains', means that a man is born to freedom or that a man ought to be free but the conventions, customs and regulations of society, political,

social and economic, restrict his freedom. All these enslave a man and deprive him of his pristine freedom. Rousseau obtains that freedom is the birth-right of the individual. But he can enjoy this freedom only if the society is organised on sound principles and can secure for the individual healthy conditions for the fullest development of his true self. Only that society is legitimate which secures the individual his freedom.

Rousseau's notion of freedom, is unlike the Hobbosian and Lockean, which is based on restraint arising out of self-imposed rational laws. For him, freedom is born of restraint and authority based on law arising from General will. 'It is to law alone that men owe justice and liberty'. It is law which forces a man free. A man is free under the restraints of law because such a restraint is self-imposed. Law, according to Rousseau, 'dictates to each citizen the precepts of public reason and teaches him to act in accordance with the maxims of his own judgement, and not in contradiction to himself'. It substitutes justice for desire or appetite. Thus, whoever refuses to obey the General will shall be compelled to do so and forced to be free. Under the direction of the General will, a man "uniting himself with all others,

nevertheless, obeys only himself and remains as free as before." The whole mass of society, therefore, protects the individual freedom against the encroachment by others.

Hence, there is a paradoxical notion of freedom because coercion is force and force is negation of freedom. The question: Can individual be free under the laws of such a state? Rousseau gives answer to the question that man is compelled to be free by conforming to the General will which he sometimes identifies with the majority will. Another Rousseau's weakness is that a man is not born free, he must achieve freedom. Man cannot be forced to be free, and cannot be indoctrinated to the love of freedom of liberty; these things must come from within.

The Concept of freedom advocated by Marxists is quite peculiar from the Liberal - individualist view of freedom, for it treats freedom as relative to socio-economic conditions. Freedom, according to this view, is not something that an individual enjoys in isolation or by being left alone. Marx argues that the very conditions of man's existence is the natural needs of man which bring

23. Maclver, R.M., The modern state, p.443.

one into a natural relation with other individuals, and resulted in the existence of civil society and which holds the individual together.

Marxist holds that the common interest can be served only by creating socio-economic condition conducive to the enjoyment of freedom within society. These conditions involve access to the material means of satisfaction of wants and the opportunity for self-development. According to Marx, the key to freedom lies in a rational system of production which can provide the means for such satisfaction and development. The deliverance from the bondage of the capitalist system can be found in the realization that society is a creation by which man attains a fuller measure of freedom. The socialist revolution only will enable society to restore human values and open a new era of freedom.

Gandhi used the term Swaraj as the concept of freedom. According to him, "the root meaning of Swaraj is self-rule. Swaraj, therefore, be rendered as disciplined rule from within. ... Swaraj is positive. The word Swaraj is a sacred word, a vedic word, meaning

self-rule and self restraint."²⁴ A free man, in Gandhi's concept of freedom or swaraj cannot be selfish and need not be an isolationist but he has the right to choose to be selfish or not, to be isolationist or not. He declares that freedom is never dear at any price and it is breath of life, a man has to pay for his own living. It may be summed up that "an integral part of the concept of swaraj or self-rule is the notion of self-purification which gives the strength and capacity to make our abstract claim to freedom on moral grounds effective in the practical context of politics and society."²⁵ or Gandhi the term freedom is sometimes used as synonymous with political independence, which literally means self-rule; and its original connotation means autonomy of moral self where strict control is exercised over the senses. To quote Gandhi,

"Swaraj for me means freedom for the meanest of my countrymen. I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatsoever. I have no desire to exchange 'king log' for 'king stork'."²⁶

Gandhi was very fastidious on his concept of freedom or political self-rule. For him, neither the mere

24. Iyer, R.N., 'Swaraj and Swadeshi', The moral and Political Concept of Mahatma Gandhi, 1973, pp.348-349.

25. Ibid., p.352.

26. Young India, (Weekly paper), Navajivan, June 1924.

form of political self-government nor mere transference of political power satisfy the desideratum of any essential democratic concept of freedom. But he holds that such transference of political power is necessary in the Indian national life. He regards that real freedom will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but the acquisition of the capacity by all. The freedom what Gandhi tries to get is nothing but freedom from political subjection, economic exploitation and social tyranny. "My conception of freedom is no narrow conception. It is co-extensive with the freedom of man in all his majesty."²⁷

Gandhi's visioning is that this kind of freedom could be achieved through non-violence, non-cooperation and ancillary programme. He observes that non-violence is a potent weapon to bring about freedom for the masses. It would elevate the people to a new sense of dignity and fortify the humblest citizens to raise up to any authority, if power be abused. Accordingly, freedom is to be attained by educating the masses to the sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.

Gandhi's dream of freedom is that necessities of life should be equally enjoyed by all the citizens, whether

27. Harijan (Weekly paper), Navajivan, June 1942.

they are poor or rich they have right to enjoy. He believes in equality of man, there is no inherited or acquired superiority over another. He says;

"I believe implicitly all men are born equal. All - whether in India or England or America or any other circumstances whatever - have the same soul as any others. ... I consider that it is unmanly for any person to claim superiority over a fellow-beings. ... He who claims superiority at once forfeits his claim to be called a man."²⁸

He grounds the concept of freedom in the very nature of man as an autonomous moral agent and at the same time argues that the survival of society, the continuance of a community, is contingent upon the effective freedom of the individual.

According to Gandhi, self-realization is the most important aspect of freedom. He believes that self-realization is possible in and through society, because he believes in the absolute oneness of humanity. Human beings are working consciously or un-consciously towards the realization of spiritual identity, to see God or to attain Moksa. He also believes in pursuit of this goal. Self-realization is the goal of human's life, and which can be attained on achieving the 'greatest good of all'. Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his

28. Jeffreys, Education, Christian or Pagan, p.48.

activities, social, political, religious have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour. This can be done only by service of all. The divinity of man manifests itself according to the extent to which he realizes his humanity, that is, his oneness with his fellow beings.

THE MIZO CONCEPT OF FREEDOM

In the traditional belief system a man who got the **Thangchhuah** title was regarded as a free man, as the Thangchhuah can attain the ultimate goal in the after life as well as enjoy the highest status in the Mizo society. The **Thangchhuah** enjoys not only free and luxurious life in this world but also in the next world or **Pialral**. **Pialral** is the Mizo traditional Heaven which is a place of bliss, where the spirit perpetually enjoys a life free from all suffering of sickness, thirst, worry and grief. In sharp contrast to this world is another world known as **Mitthi Khua** where life is full of hardship, misery and distress. All the spirits except that of the **Thangchhuah** would go to **Mitthi Khua**, and the spirit after suffering all kinds of wretchedness would escape the **Mitthi Khua** as a morning dew which soon evaporates and vanish once for all.

According to K.L. Rochama, "**Thangchhuah** was the aim of every Lushai which gained him a coveted place in the society and entitled to open a window and to wear a stripped turban. In parenthesis, it may be pointed out

here the Lushai believed that the souls of human beings and animals killed by a person during his life time would serve him in the next world."¹

According to C.L. Hminga, "to earn the **Thangchhuah** title was the highest possible achievement and honour in the old Mizo society. The few who gained the coveted title had the special privilege, extremely reserved for them of wearing a **Thangchhuah** dress (decorated), opening a window* in their house, building a raised summer house in front of their house, and of entering **Pialral** when they die."²

The term '**Thangchhuah**' as J. Liankhuma expresses, is a compound words of '**Thang**' and '**Chhuah**'. The word '**Thang**' means 'fame' and '**Chhuah**' means 'accomplished'. Hence, '**Thangchhuah**' means 'accomplishment of all that is required for fame'. Every **Thangchhuah** must win also the title of **Tlawngaihna**. L.B. Thanga states that the goal in the life of a Mizo is to be a man of perfection and to perform '**Khuangchawi**', which is the last ceremony to attain the **Thangchhuah** title.

1. Rochama, K.L., Mizoram News Magazine, Issue No.4, 1985, p.6.

* Only a person who had great achievement was permitted to open a window in Mizo traditional house.

2. Hminga, Rev. Dr. C.L., The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram, 1987, p.36.

Every Mizo tried to attain the highly honoured **Thangchhuah** title, but only a few people could succeed in achieving their goal as it was hard to do so. One can possess the title in two ways: (i) by giving a series of a special feasts at least five times for the public. (ii) by killing a prescribed wild animal. After killing each of the prescribed animals a special ceremony had to be performed which required unusual feast. If a person fulfils either of the two, he becomes **Thangchhuah**; and therefore has all the rights and privileges not only in one's life time but also after life.

In the light of the above statement, it can be presumed that achievement played a very important role for attaining the highest freedom. Freedom in the traditional belief structure was one's achievement which depended on one's ability. Hence, a man worked hard for his own freedom.

There are two kinds of **Thangchhuah** (i) the **Thangchhuah** at home and (ii) the **Thangchhuah** in the jungle. I shall, therefore, discuss some relevant procedures for attaining the **Thangchhuah** title in the following chapter.

Incidentally, the **Puithiam** or the Priest and other types of clergy like the persons who sacrificed animals to **Pathian** or God were not given preference for entering into **Pialral**. This has led some to the conclusion that "it was not goodness and truth that matter but achievement with great ability."³

But, this does not appear to be fair assessment. In a sense, generosity and services to others played an important role for the attainment of **Thangchhuah**. A person who gave away all his riches and goods for public feasts, or a person who killed wild animals for the public enjoyments was a man of **Thangchhuah**. The title could only be acquired after a person had distributed almost all his wealth for the benefit of others with feasts and ceremonies. One Mizo eminent writer, B. Lalthangliana also stated the importance of serving others for the possession of their ultimate goal that "the ultimate goal of the traditional Mizo, that is **Thangchhuah**, was not only possible to attain through striving with one's life risk and giving away of all his possessions but also had to feed the public with feasts."⁴

3. Saiaithanga, Rev, Mizo Sakhua (Religion of the Mizo), 1984, p.1.

4. Lalthangliana, 'Mizo society leh Sakhua', Mizo hnam zia leh khawtlang nun siam thatna, 1988, p.9.

The Mizo outlook changed regarding the concept of man and his destiny with the introduction of christianity in Mizoram. The earlier conception of freedom was simply brushed aside as superstition.

The earlier conception of the two next worlds, i.e. **Pialral** and **Mitthi Khuawere** replaced by the christian **Van ram** (Heaven) and **Mei dil** (Hell) respectively. Now to the christianised Mizos, all men are under the bondage of Satan due to the sin done by the first two human beings - Adam and Eve. But the son of God, Jesus Christ came to this world and died to set all men free from Satan's bondage. Jesus Christ died on the Cross for all the sinful men, so they could get free. Those who believe in Jesus Christ were free in this world as well as in the next world. They therefore, entered **Van ram** (Heaven), where the spirits of believers enjoy bliss with Christ for ever. On the other hand, those who do not believe in Christ are destined to go to **Mei dil** (Hell), where the spirits of unbelievers along with Satan will suffer severe punishment from God perpetually.

According to some writers as well as theologians like Zairema and Raltawnga, man is created by God and the life of human being is also under the guidance of

His own will. As he is God's creation, the destination of man is also directed, "He is the creator of universe. There is no doubt that He is the director of human destiny." Raltawnga expresses the relationship between God and man that man is made to know, to serve and to worship God. As he is made by God so his life is also His, man must not live according to his own will but his Creator's will. The Bible says, "You do not belong to yourselves but to God; He bought you for a price" (I Cor.6:19-20).

The christianised Mizo concept of freedom lies in breaking the bound of Satan's slavery and giving ourselves to God. Paul, the Apostle, in his letter to Romans says, "For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus had made me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom.8:2). "If the Son therefore, shall make you free; ye shall be free indeed" (John'8:36). It is believed that the Divine law is the law of freedom, so the one who submitted himself under the control of Divine law is a man of freedom. The conversion of the soul from the bondage of evil spirits to the divine law of God is freedom.

Without doubt freedom is the salvation of soul from Satan's bondage. Man has no power to free himself from

5. Zairema, Rev. Dr., 'The Mizos and their religion;' Towards a tribal theology: The Mizo Perspective, 1989, p.39.

this bondage, but when he had sincere desire to set himself free, he has to realise that the only way to freedom is to believe in salvation. Jesus says, "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me" (John 14:6). He tells us, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you" (John 14:27). This salvation is freely available to all. God calls people for salvation, His calling is mild and calm. Man is free to say either 'Yes' or 'No'. He can do this because God has given him freedom of choice to choose and not to choose His salvation. Man's choosing of God salvation means that he was delivered from the possession of Satan, and he has become free.

Thus, man's freedom is within the larger freedom of God. Salvation cannot be attained by one's own work, it is not man's achievement but only by the grace of God. Paul tells us, "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast" (Ephesians 2:8-9). Because man believes in His word that Jesus bore all his sins in His body on the cross, God who has pronounced him guilty of the sin declares him innocent. "Being justified freely by His grace through the redemption

that is in Christ Jesus" (Romans 3:24). Christ takes him out of the prisoner's chair and set him in the family of God. This is not because of anything which he have done, but because of what His son Jesus did with his transgressions, his sins and his iniquities. He becomes a son of God only because of what Jesus did and because he believes that what Jesus did was for him. Hence, freedom achieved its fullest meaning only in relation to God.

Therefore, all the sins of the person who believes in Jesus Christ will be taken away by the spirit of heavenly Father. This freedom is the freedom from God's condemnation. Only those who believe in Him have this kind of freedom. Only through this freedom, a man's spirit is free from Hell. And the spirit is believed to enjoy perpetual bliss in the eternal.

Mizo intellectuals who are christians like Laldenga and Zoramthanga believe in political self-determination as the only real freedom where alone man is free to determine his own future. Both based their doctrines on the recognition of Natural Rights and the dignity of human beings. To them freedom means the supreme authority of the Mizo people in their own Land, which is independent from outside powers. It is power of the state which is

free and sovereign to govern themselves, to work out their own destiny and to formulate their own foreign policy. Laldenga believed that God makes a man to have rights and dignity, having equality from one to another and right to form government according to their own wills. In other words, man is free to determine his own future, that is what has been willed by God, so Laldenga believed:

"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 persons; and to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just power from the consent of the governed and whenever any form of government becomes destructive to this end, it is the right of the people to alter, change, modify and abolish it and to institute a new government laying its foundation on such principles and organising its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their rights and dignity."⁶

Laldenga maintained that the natural law of human existence is freedom, as nature has vested freedom in human beings. All human beings having a nationality distinct and separate from that of others, ought to have separated administration free from all interference of others. So it was true in the case of Mizos before the advent of the British government in Mizoram. In that period

6. 'Mizoram Declaration of Independence', submitted by the Mizo National Front (MNF) on 1st March 1966.

the Mizos had been enjoyed sovereign status and lived in complete independence from foreign interference. Since the time the Mizos fell victim to British domination they have not enjoyed the freedom even after the independence of India because the people of Mizoram are still under the political domination of India. He strongly argued that Indians are foreigners to Mizos. He declared:

"The (Mizos) are of different racial origin of Mongoloid stock having nothing in common with Indian either in politics, social life, customs, language or in religion; and the people never identify themselves as Indians."⁷

He, further stressed that the Mizos are living under bondage without having freedom in their daily life because their rights of freedom had been denied by the power of the alien Indian government. The Mizos living within India are the worst victim of all kinds of discriminations. Laldenga expressed: "The fang of Indian domination bites him deeper and deeper into the flesh of his body and soul, and the wounds inflicted on him are too painful for worth to describe. He therefore realises that he has to fight for his freedom from the bondage of Indian domination."⁸ He accused the Indian government to commit the greatest sin due the reason that the government of

7. Laldenga, Mizoram marches towards freedom, 1973, p.29.

8. Ibid., p.14.

India had been denying and brutally suppressing the rights of the Mizo people, it was a sin against nature as well as humanity. He, therefore claimed:

"Mizo people do not seek power within Indian nor an inch of its territory, but seek their inalienable right of freedom, of which they are denied."⁹

Laldenga observed that freedom is a part of life, without which life is empty and meaningless. Without freedom man is only living body, denied of human right and dignity. Freedom is the only source to shape man's way of life and to determine his future. In absence of freedom man cannot pursue his happiness. Therefore, with a view to securing freedom for Mizoram he fought for more than two decades to break all the Indians' strings which bound the freedom of Mizo people.

He pointed out that the present Indian constitution was imposed upon the people of Mizoram and their land was colonised. It was for him illegal and ignorance of human justice; No country has right to impose its constitution upon the other without their consent, so is the case with the Mizos. Unless and until the Mizos are

9. Laldenga, *Op.cit.*, p.15.

totally free the Mizos could not live with a life of dignity. Freedom for Laldenga means thus solely the recognition of political self-determination which seemed to him like an inalienable fundamental right.

Zoramthanga's concept of freedom is based on his concept of Human nature. His concept of human nature is like Rousseau's Principle of 'Man is born free'. Man is a free creature of God as such he is made to be free and not to be ruled by others or to govern over others, but man should be ruled by himself, that is, self ruled. He specifically mentioned to the Mizos that "God makes human beings also creates the Mizo people to have fundamental right of human existence."¹⁰ According to him, God gives the fundamental right of existence to all human beings, if a person is deprived of such fundamental existence then his most essential nature has been lost, and thereby reduced to lower animal world. Such person was not worth to call a person as he had been deprived of the very essential nature of human beings which God had given to all human beings.

He urged that contrary to the fundamental rights

10. Zoramthanga, Zoram zalenna lungphum, 1980, p.43.

and dignity of human beings endowed by God the Indian government violated the Fundamental rights and dignity of the Mizo people and ruled over them by means of illegal and forces.

For Zoramthanga, the fundamental right of man's existence is the most important essence of human beings. It is regarded to be the fate of man endowed by God. Though the fundamental rights of human existence is regarded as man's fate it can be deprived by illegal means, by all kinds of forces. But it can be regained by fighting through the means of fundamental rights and dignity of human beings. He said that political freedom is the source of all other types of freedom which enable a person to live as a human beings. Political freedom is the opening door of freedom from social pressure, economic assimilation, freedom of religion, culture and expression. Hence he had a dream of regaining the natural rights of fundamental existence, that is freedom, through the political means.

Zoramthanga again argued that God makes the Mizo people having one and the same culture, speaking the same language, professing the same religion (Christianity)

knitted together by custom and tradition. His concept of freedom demands the isolation of the Mizo from that of Indians. He said that the will of God is to love one's own people who have the same culture, same language and same religion, etc., and to work for the benefit of them. He pointed out:

"As the gardener feels happy with the different kinds of flowers blooming with various colours, so the different social groups having different religion and language to keep aloof from the others is the pleasure of God."¹¹

Basing on the will of God, he said that fighting for the isolation of the distinct Mizo from other Indians was a must as it was a means to attain the best of God's gift to the nature of man. I will discuss both Laldenga and Zoramthanga and their concept of freedom in greater detail in chapter IV of the thesis.

Laldenga and Zoramthanga's point of view has to a certain extent a basis in the christian theory of Liberation. According to G. Gutierrez, "Liberation theory expresses the aspiration of the oppressed people and social classes, emphasizing the conflicting aspect of the economic, social and the political process which

11. Zoramthanga, Op.cit., p.67.

puts them at odds with wealthy nations and the oppressive Classes."¹² He also urges that Liberation theory sees the movement of history from the stand point of the oppressed and the exploited who cry for justice and liberation. They are created in the image of God like all other human beings and conscious of their own destiny. Liberation theory is concerned with the transformation of the society. It is also concerned with the liberation of the whole humanity from all forms of oppressions. whether on the ground of religion, colour, economic and sex, it seeks liberation of the oppressed people.

But, the Liberation theology includes not only the transformation of the socio-economic and political life of the people but also expresses the liberation of the human's spirit from the bondage of this worldly sin. The christianised Mizos believe that the liberation from this worldly bondage is only possible when a person surrenders himself to God. God therefore, by His mercy gives the person His freedom. It is a freedom of God's gift to submissive man and who obeys His law. The Bible says, "submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil, and he will free from you" (James 4:7). It is

12. Gutierrez, G., A theory of Liberation, p.36.

for this very reason that the Holy Spirit beseeches every man to hand over to God which was bought with the precious blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ freed us, and it is the duty of man to praise and thank God for this precious freedom. For the Bible tells us, "if the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" (John 8:36).

Liberation is nothing but the integral part of God's salvation, it is the liberation of man from the power of sin. K. Thanzauva states that many people particularly the Mizos basically understand salvation only in terms of eschatological salvation for life after life. But this is only one aspect of salvation. The Old Testament understanding of salvation is primarily the salvation of the whole beings and it is in the New Testament that salvation explicitly means salvation of soul for life after death which is perhaps a Greek influence.¹³ Therefore, Salvation means the freedom of man from all that would ruin his life both physical and spiritual in this life and in the life to come. Similarly, Liberation is the salvation of man from that which enslaved him, and it is the mission of Jesus Christ.

13. Thanzauva, Rev. K., 'Meaning and task of theology', Towards a Tribal theology : the Mizo perspective, 1989, p.23.

The concept of Laldenga and Zoramthanga on freedom, that is the very nature of man which, according to them, is free from the domination of others and can freely exercise his rights and dignity, which can be destroyed and deprived by the other superior powers. But, the christian concept of freedom can not be destroyed or deprived by anything else, even death also has not power to delete it as it is God's gift which lasts perpetually. It is the freedom from Satan's bondage, and a man can enjoy this freedom during life time as well as in the spiritual life. According to Laldenga and Zoramthanga, freedom is not for a single person who fought for it but it is the freedom for the whole people, only an individual can not enjoy the freedom as it is the freedom of the nation at large. The christian freedom is for one who submitted himself to God, one for one and not for others.

Lalthanhawla, the chief minister of Mizoram in the Congress(I) ministry, holds the view in sharp contrast to Laldenga and Zoramthanga. According to him, the Mizos are enjoying their freedom within a free Mizoram. That is why, the Mizos are not bound to fight for the freedom of the Mizo people. He declared that Mizoram is a part of Indian Union and the Mizos are also Indian. Since

India's independence in 1947, all the sections of Indians whether they are high or low have been enjoying freedom. He rejected Laldenga and Zoramthanga who claimed that the Mizos stood in a separate nation having a nationality distinct from that of Indians. To him, though Mizos are decedants of Mongoloid stock, with distinct and separate language, having different code of social living and culture and worshipping a different God; God had already destined the Mizos to be the citizens of Indian Union along with different races like Aryans and Dravidians. As God makes human beings having different colours and different looks as one group, so the different types of people formed the Indian Nation having the same constitution and having the same ownership and responsibility in the country. Lalthanhawla pointed out that "I do accept Mizoram as a part of Indian Union and Mizos are absolutely the citizens of India. It is our duty and responsibility to work for the welfare of all citizens and the integrity of the different people of Our Land by realising that we are the owners of Indian Union."¹⁴

Lalthanhawla emphasises that the Indian Union was created not by an individual nor one part of the

14. Speech of Lalthanhawla of 17th Congress(I) Gen. Assembly, Aizawl, 1988, p.2.

land but by many different types of races having distinct modes of life. He says,

"It is a vast country where people of different types having different religions, races and languages are living as one Nation."¹⁵

He is against the idea of Laldenga on the Independence of Mizoram from the Indian Union, instead he looks for the integrity and unity of the Indian union. He said, "the people of Mizoram can and will play more important role in cementing the unity of this country. It is important that we all realise the part that can play. We are strategically located in an area bordering Burma and Bangladesh and as such we should not allow any inroads into the integrity of our country."¹⁶

While Laldenga urges that "Like animal of the zoo, he (Mizo) is preserved in the show case of New Delhi for entertainment of visiting foreign dignitaries and for merry-making on Indian National days. He is asked to swallow and follow Indian ways of life with Hindu culture and code of social living and alien (Indian) language imposed upon him".¹⁷ Lalthanhawla maintained

15. Speech of Lalthanhawla on National Integration Week, Aizawl, on 26th, 11, 1984, Mizoram News Magazine, issue No.2, 1985, p.28.

16. Ibid., p.29.

17. Laldenga, 'A Mizo in India', Mizoram marches towards freedom, 1973, p.5.

that Mizos like the people of other states of the Indian Union enjoy their rights and dignity as human beings. He further urges, on the basis of preamble of the Indian constitution that the Mizo people are free in many respects. The preamble of Indian constitution rightly said that India is a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic. And the preamble promised to all its citizens, justice in the social, economics and politics; liberty of thought, expression, faith belief and worship; equality of status and opportunity. And also assures the dignity of the individual, the unity and integrity of the nation. He rightly felt that due to the tremendous sacrifices made by those who fought and died for the cause of freedom of India, all the citizens of India now enjoy this freedom. "Today, we are free people, free from the shackles and curse of foreign domination, free to make our own government and to work constructively for our own country. We are gathered here today to celebrate the Anniversary of this great historical event - the birth of a new Nation - India, our own country."¹⁸

His principle is based on the Gandhian principle of non-violence which alone he thought, would bring about

18. Speech of Lalthanhawla, 37th Anniversary of Indian Independence, Aizawl, 1984, p.1.

peace and harmony among the people. He, therefore, discarded the means of violence which he accused Laldenga and Zoramthanga used for the achievement of freedom in Mizoram. He points out:

I believe that peace can not come at the point of bayonet. It is through open sharing and frank discussion of our problems and grievances that we can achieve peace."¹⁹

On the other hand, on the basis of historical events Laldenga was of the opinion that freedom is not the fortuitous event that befell us, but the result of a long and arduous struggle and sacrifices of thousand people, and it is a hard earned prize.

Lalthanhawla also realised that freedom is neither a windfall happening nor the lot of nature, but the outcome of a hard-earned prize. It is indeed a patrimony that we inherited from the martyrs and patriots. He observes:

"I feel indebted to remind ourselves today of tremendous sacrifices made by those who fought for our country's freedom. Many spent long years in the dark prisons without receiving public applause, many gave their properties and even their lives for the cause of the country's freedom."²⁰

19. Speech of Lalthanhawla, 37th Anniversary of Indian Independence, Aizawl, 1984, p.5.

20. Ibid., p.1.

Criticising Laldenga, Lalthanhawla said that a rebellious fellow like Laldenga did not recognise the freedom that we inherited from our forefathers, instead he felt alienated from a country where the people really have enjoyed their freedom. He said that Laldenga believed in freedom that would be the result of his own rebellious fighting. He said that in fact, laldenga's idea of freedom was only an expression of the desire for the disintegrity of the Indian Union which led Mizoram into disturbance in the last two decades, and that resulted in suffering to the Mizos.

Like Laldenga, Brig. T. Sailo was also striving for the freedom of Mizoram. His concept of freedom is to maintain and to safeguard the Mizo identity. But the means he adopts are quite different from the means what Laldenga and Zoramthanga advocated. His concept of freedom is safeguarding the identity of the Mizos through the means of - (a) Preservation of the rights of human beings, (b) to free the Mizo people from the bondage of economic deprivation and (c) to re-unite the separated Mizo administrative units into one. Safeguarding the identity of the Mizos has been the central point around which Brig. T. Sailo's entire political ideas and conceptions were woven.

Under the Mizoram disturbance, Brig. T. Sailo realised that the people are severely suffering from the atrocities and misbehaviour committed by the Indian Army. The Mizo people are restricted to do what they likes, to move to any place and to speak what they wish. They are tortured seriously and some are put to death, even women are also not free from torture and rape. To keep the rights of the Mizo people and to release them from the bondage of Military atrocities, Brig. T. Sailo openly criticised the unruly activities committed by the Armies. He said that it is illegal and arbitrary, as well as against the human rights of all human beings. And he therefore sent a detailed reports on some incidents to the Prime Minister of India. He pointed out:

"The Security Forces have also grossly abused the special power given to them, namely, arresting a person on suspicion. In many cases they would wrongfully detail such persons for long period of time and torture them. Sometimes they use this method as a weapon of intimidation. If a villager reports to higher civil authorities against the wrong-doing of the Security Forces in his village, the latter will arrest him as being suspected of being an MNF sympathizers and threaten him with dire consequences."²¹

He further states that the repugnant performances of the Armies has not helped to ease the problem. It

21. Sailo, Brig. T., 'Civil-Military relationship in Mizoram; and the image of Indian Army in Mizoram', Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India, Aizawl, 1974, p.2.

has rather worsened the relationship between the Mizos and the forces. The repercussion is the disunity of the Indian Union. He observed:

"The Security Forces have tried to intimidate the public with all manners of atrocities and ill-treatment. However, this strong-arm method has not brought about any solution. On the contrary, it has driven the solution even further away. It has only endangered bitterness and hatred against the Security Forces, and consequently, India."²²

Brig. T. Sailo determined to eradicate this evil, particularly the unlawful activities of the Security Forces which puts down the Mizo people who are unable to enjoy their rights as human beings. With this end in view, he therefore established Human Rights Committee. He declared:

"Human Right Committee has started on a programme of public education as to where the Soldier's duty lies and how the people should co-operate within the bounds of law. Human Right Committee will also encourage the villagers to report truthfully without exaggeration any incident of misbehaviour of the Security Forces to the highest authorities in India."²³

According to him, the Mizo people must have Rights to enjoy their freedom like any other human beings. The

22. Sailo, Brig. T., Op.cit.,

23. Ibid.,

Human Rights of the Mizo people must not be suppressed by any force whether it be lawful or not. His Human Rights policy which claimed the Rights of the Mizo people had achieved grand success and made him popular among the Mizos. He was then elected in the M.L.A. general election held in 1978 to form the government in Mizoram.

When he came to power he found that the people of Mizoram were under the restraint of poverty. He said that the people who become insufficient in food, were bound to depend on others. The Mizos are economically unfree, they can not live without the help of the Central government in food as well as finance. This is due to the reason that Mizoram has no Railways or Waterways or Air services to connect it with the outside world. The land is having a single narrow road link with the rest of the country through Cachar district of Assam. Mizoram remains extremely backward economically and industrially even after Sixth Five Year Plan of India. "Some two decades ago the territory used to be self-sufficient in food. However, we have now to import about two-thirds of our requirements of foodgrains from outside."²⁴

24. Sailo, Brig. T., Speeches and Writings of Brig. T. Sailo, Published by DIPR&F, Govt. of Mizoram, Aizawl, 1981, p.77.

Hence, economic freedom for Brig. T. Sailo is one of the important means for the preservation and existence of the Mizo ethnic identity. To him, economic freedom is the basic mean of all other freedoms. Thus, his concept of economic freedom includes self-sufficiency in food, electric power and Road and Transport, etc.

Brig. T. Sailo realised that the present practise of jhuming system was not only very unproductive but was also destructive to the forest wealth which resulted in heavy erosion of soil. To implement his concept of economic freedom he has been introduced some changes. The present type of jhuming is to be changed with wet-rice cultivation, terrace cultivation, horticulture and plantation. All the flat lands for WRC and gentle slopes for terrace cultivation, and a net-work of agriculture link-roads will have to be constructed.

His economic programme aimed at the establishment of Hydel power in Mizoram, Mizoram has a considerable potential for generation of Hydel power. He said that if this potential is tapped Mizoram could not only become self-sufficient in power but could be in a position to supply excess power to their neighbouring states.

He was greatly fascinated by his concept of planning for a right approach for economic freedom. Brig. T. Sailo seemed inspired by the emphasis of Mahatma Gandhi on self-sufficiency. But the means which both adopted for the implementation of their economic freedom was different. While Gandhi rejected all the foreign goods and interference of foreigners in the economic life, for he did not like to depend on the economy of others. Brig. T. Sailo, at the initial stage, needed help both financial as well as skilled man power from outside Mizoram to set up the basis for economic freedom of Mizoram. In contrast to Brig. T. Sailo, Laldenga observed that economic freedom did not matter without political freedom. Economic freedom without political freedom is dangerous, it is like a flower-garden without fencing.

Brig. T. Sailo acknowledged that Mizoram had been politically unfree due to the activities of the out-lawed Mizo National Front (MNF) headed by Laldenga. He said that the life of the Mizo people was very critical and hampered by the acts of cruelty and violence done by the MNF from time to time. Hence he worked for the diminution of the MNF which would bring about freedom in Mizoram.²⁵

25. Ibid., 'Insurgency in Mizoram: How to Tackle', p.62.

He adopted three ways of tackling the MNF personnel. That (a) to mobilise public opinion against the MNF insurgency; (b) various measures against the MNF by the Security Forces and the Police; (c) negotiation with the MNF leadership at the level of the government of India. He declared that these three points would be fulfilled through peaceful means with minimum use of force.

Brig. T. Sailo therefore, had taken a series of measures to mobilise public opinion against the MNF insurgency. Whenever there had been an incident of violence, he made strong condemnation through newspapers, radio broadcasts, circulation of pamphlets and protest processions. He condemned the MNF openly:

"Your should know that the Mizo people in general are completely fed up with your nonsense killing. We know that certain overground people with vested interest are instigating you to do all these. Do you realise that your various activities only result in miseries and sufferings to the people of Mizoram and retard the progress and development in our land?"²⁶

But, Brig. T. Sailo however failed to achieve his end to political freedom through the dismantling of the MNF insurgency. He blamed the MNF and also the

26. Ibid., 'The text of radio broadcast on AIR', Aizawl on 19.6.'80, pp.71-72.

Security Forces and the Police. In this very critical situation, the Mizo people were living as between hammer and anvil.

Today, Brig. T. Sailo is more inspired by Re-Unification of separated Mizos (that is the inhabitants of India, Burma and Bangladesh), which he thinks is one of the means for safeguarding the Mizo identity. For attaining his goal of Re-Unification, a forum called Zomi Re-Unification Organization (ZORO) was formed. When he addressed the first convention on Re-unification of Zo-ethnic origin, he declared:

"Before the advent of the British into the Indian sub-continent, the mountainous region between the Chindwin valley in the east, the plains of Manipur in the North, the plains of the present Cachar district, the Tripura domain of the Maharajas and the Chittagong Hill tracts in the west, and the Arakan Yomas in the South was inhabited by people of the same ethnic stock - the Hill people known as ZOMIS, having a common language but with different dialects brought about by the compulsions geographical factors such as ranges and rivers."²⁶

He stated that the aspirations of Re-unification of the people of all of these areas into a single administrative unit should gain momentum and became an undying

27. Text of speech delivered by Brig. T. Sailo, Champhai Convention of Re-unification of Zo-ethnic origin on 20th May, 1988.

forces, for quite naturally Re-unification on the basis of common ethnic stock is a worldwide phenomena. It is the birth right and human right of every human being. He again added that Re-unification of Mizos is the fate and destiny of the Mizos who are living in scattered places due to the reason being that these people are of a common ancestry and speaking a common language but also common in social, cultural and religious background.

Laldenga also had been striving for the Re-unification of the Mizo for the last two decades with a view to establishing an independent state. But Brig. T. Sailo was aiming to unify the separated Mizo not as a mean for independent state of Mizoram, but within the Indian Union. And this Re-unification of the Mizo has to be fought through peaceful means.

CHAPTER - III

**THE TRADITIONAL AND THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPT :
A COMPARISON**

The different cultural traditions in the country and the world at large, have distinct views regarding the state of affairs which may be termed as ideal for preserving and enhancing the freedom of man. This demands a vision of the future of man, his relation to this world and the hereafter. In this chapter, I will attempt an analysis of the concept of man, and his relation to the world and God in the Mizo traditional belief system.

On the basis of oral literature as well as a few books written by British officers and missionaries, most of the Mizo authors who are christians have attempted to analyse the ancient Mizo conception of man and his relation to God.

It is a common parlance among the Mizo authors that the traditional Mizos believed in the existence of **Pathian** or God. They believed that **Pathian** is a supreme Being dwelling exclusively in the sky as well as on the earth; and is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent.

It is believed that **Pathian** is a beneficent Being, though He has little concern with human beings. It is not easy to say implicitly what role **Pathian** plays in the life of human beings. However, He is regarded as man's protector who saves them from any danger, looks after them and provides them what ever they need.

"**Pathian** was more or less an on-looker from heaven. It was to Him men prayed when they were placed in extremely difficult situations. They used to say, '**Pathian** above is looking down on us', or '**Pathian** is good', meaning that He would ultimately come to help them. When all else failed, it was to Him they turned for help."¹

Some recent Mizo writers have said that in the Mizo traditional life there is no doubt that human destiny is determined by **Pathian** as He is the director of human destiny. As the supreme goal for man is determined by achievement during one's life time, this assertion has been doubted. **Pathian** is regarded as a God who even ordains the one we marry. Such couples are known as '**Pathian samsuih**' which means God-appointed partner in wedlock. Such couples love each other more than the ordinary partners, and are always successful in life. The reversed condition is expected in the life of couples whose marriage

1. Zairema, Rev. Dr., 'The Mizos and their religion', Towards a tribal theology: The Mizo Perspective, 1989, p.38.

was not arranged or ordained by **Pathian**. Again, it is that man's success in life also depends largely upon Him. So, to gain His blessings they offered their animals as sacrifices. **Sadawt** or Priest as mediator offers the preferred animals to **Pathian** with a chant which runs as follows:

q "God, the god who is above,
And the god who is in the sky,
God who is in between the dark and the grey sky,
Accept and answer my young pig offering and solitude."²

That, it was **Pathian** to whom the Mizos turned to pray and seek blessings for fertility is revealed by J. Shakespeare's translation of Mizo old chants or invocations like the following:

"Ah-h.Arise from the village, Aw-w,
And accept our sacrifice.
Ah-h.Arise from the open spaces in the village, Aw-w,
And accept our sacrifice.
Ah-h.Arise from your dwelling places, Aw-w.
(.....)
Bless with sons, bless with daughters,
Bless while in bed, bless us round the hearth,
(.....)
Guard us from our enemies, guard us from death.
Favour us with flesh (May we have success in the chase).
Favour us with the product of the jungle.
For ten, for a hundred years bless us.
Bless us in killing man, bless us in₃killing animals.
Bless us in cultivating our jhums."³

2. Challiana, Rev., Pi Pu Nun, 1969, p.31.

3. Shakespeare, J., The Lushai Kuki Clans (Part I), 1912, pp.70-71.

Therefore, when they have success in their life, they would say: "My **Pathian** is gracious, 'and when things are going wrong with them they would say: '**My Pathian** is bad,'. From the light of this statement we can realise that whatever happened in their life was mostly attributed to the will of **Pathian**.

Traditional Mizo believed in the existence of spirits other than **Pathian**. **Pathian** lived in the sky with a family of relations like: (i) **Pu Vana** which literally means 'Grandfather heaven'. The Mizos treated **Pu Vana** as a doctor who could heal the sick or those in pain. Hence when children hurt themselves or have some pain, it is a common practice of parents to go the child after saying, 'be healed, be healed, let it (the hurt portion) go to sky where **Pu Vana** would heal it'. (ii) **Khuanu** though popularly conceived as a female is in reality another term for **Pathian** who is mainly responsible for welfare, marriage, crops and domestic animals. (iii) **Van chung nula**, literally means 'maiden in heaven above'. She is responsible for rain. The Mizos often speak of rainfall as being supplied by her. the traditional Mizo had almost a doctrine of trinity as exemplified in the **Pathian** family-Grandfather, wife and daughter.⁴

4. Hminga, C.L., Rev., 'The traditional Mizo concept of God', in Towards a tribal theology: The Mizo Perspective, 1989, pp.47-48.

In the pre-christian era, there is also talk of the existence of **Ramhuai** or evil Spirits whose malignant influences are ascribed as the diseases and sufferings which affect mankind. They thought that the hills, the rocks, the streams and the trees were inhabited by them. When they were angry with man they could cause suffering, sometimes they caught the spirit of a man, tormented it and caused a person's death. Because of this the Mizos are in constant fear of them, and in return, try to appease them by offering various kinds of domestic animals for sacrifices. Here let me refer to a Mizo legend, - 'The calling of the Spirit': That, sometimes a Lushai returning from a shooting expedition experiences a sudden feeling of fear near the water supply, and on reaching his house feels ill and out of sorts. He then realises that he has lost one of his "thlarau" or souls, in the jungle. So he calls in the **puithiam*** and requests him to call back the wanderer. The **puithiam** then hangs the head of a hoe on to the shaft of a spear and goes down to the water spring chanting a charm and calling on the spirit to return. As he goes the iron hoe head jingles against the iron butt of the spear and the spirit hears the noise and listens. The **puithiam** returns from the spring to the

* A priest.

house still chanting and calling, and the spirit follows him, but should the **puithiam** laughs or look back the spirit is afraid and flies back to the jungle (J. Shakespeare's The Lushai Kuki Clan).

As far as I know no author had made any idea that the traditional Mizos ask for help from **Pathian** even while suffering from the malicious of evil spirit. The expected **Pathian** as just to keep them safe from enemies and to give them blessings, but never ask to heal their sickness or any suffering caused by evil spirits.

The belief in the existence of the soul not only in man but also in other living beings is common in the olden Mizo society. J.M. Lloyed, a Welsh missionary who wrote on ancient Mizo concept of human soul, said that "The Lushais also had certain beliefs about the soul. They held that a man had three. One was wise, the other was foolish and the third belonged to the hearth. They also believed in the future life."⁵ J. Shakespeare gives a different view of the Mizos, he says, "each person is said to have two souls, one is wise while the other is foolish, and it is a struggle between these two that

5. Lloyed, J.M. Rev., On the very high hill, 1984 (2nd ed.), p.14.

makes men so unreliable. If a man hits his foot against a stone, he attributes it to a temporary victory of the foolish spirit".⁶

Further, the Mizos believed in life after death. When a man dies his spirit leaves the body through a crack on the skull and lingers for about three months around the house of the dead person, and then leaves the world for the spirit world. There are two spirit worlds. One is called '**Pialral**' where only those who earned the '**Thangchhuah**' title could live. Man enjoys bliss in **Pialral** as life is luxurious, there is plenty to eat without hard work. The other world is called '**Mitthi khua**'. All the spirits of dead except those who are entitled to **Pialral**, would go to **Mitthi khua** where life is dull and colourless. In **Mitthi khua** the condemned lead a depressing existence, being forced to hunt fish and different kinds of hard labour to survive. These two, **Pialral** and **Mitthi khua**, have been identified with the Christian Heaven and Sheol respectively.

On the way to **Mitthi khua**, the spirit of man proceeds towards **Rih Lake**, a lake in Burma on the border of Mizoram.

6. Shakespeare, J., The Lushai Kuki Clans, (Part I), 1912, p.61.

There is **Hringlang hill** from which the spirit can get a view of the land of human beings. When he looks back he feels a great longing for the departed land. For that reason, he wears on his ears the **Hawilo Par** (not turning back flower) and drinks **Lungloh Tui** (water of feelinglessness) which makes him lose all his desires to look back towards the departed world. At a juncture,* one way leads to **Pialral** and other to **Mitthi Khua**, where immortal **Pawla** who knows everyman's performance during his life time is living. He checks all the spirits destined to go to the next world, that of **Mitthi Khua** and **Pialral**. **Pawla** holding his powerful bow with pellets shoots at all the spirits destined to go to **Mitthi Khua**. A popular song of lament expresses this idea:

"Standing on the top of **Lurh** hill,
With eyes wide part,
Could I see the **Mitthi khua**?
Where my loved one went".⁷

No one can escape **Pawla**. But there are some certain spirits against whom **Pawla** dare not raise his hands, these are the spirits of **Thangchhuah** of those entitled to enter **Pialral** straightway.

* There are seven roads, Pawla has built his where the seven roads meet (J. Shakespeare's, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, p.62).

7. Baveja, J.D., The Land where the bamboo flowers, 1970, p.38.

Apart from highly regarded **Thangchhuah**, some authors claimed that there are some spirits who can proceed to **Pialral** escaping the fearful strike of **Pawla**. These persons also earned the Social privilege from **Pialral**. The following types of persons belonged to this category: (a) One who got the award of honorary **Tlawmngaihna** which stands for selfless service rendered to the needy people without any hope of reward. (b) A man who killed ten elephants in encounter. (c) **Hlamzuih**, on the death of a new-born baby or **Hlamzuih** in order to lead his spirit safe to **Pialral**, an egg is put in his hand so that the spirit follows that egg rolling down to **Pialral**. (d) A man who slept with ten virgin girls during his bachelor days is also entitled to **Pialral***. On the other hand, women also have a chance to get a passport to **Pialral** only when a virgin girl maintains her virginity safe against her ten boy friends. A common belief is that those persons who enter **Pialral** other than the **Thangchhuah** are regarded to be lower in position and condition during their life time as well as in after life.

One method for achieving the title of **Thangchhuah** is by giving certain number of public ceremonies or feast

* J. Shakespeare in his book 'The Lushei Kuki Clans' says that **Pawla** may not short at a youngman who has enjoyed three virgins, nor at one who has enjoyed seven different women, even if they were not virgins.

in a prescribed order. For getting this title one would take a great deal of time. "It may take almost one's life time to complete the whole series and not many people could afford to do it."⁸ The ceremonies that a person must perform are of five types, namely, (i) **Chawfang**, (ii) **Sedawi chhun**, (iii) **Zankhuang**, (iv) **Mitthirawp lam**, and (v) **Khuangchawi**. Although it is a sacrifice performed by one individual, the whole village is involved. Just one ceremony also lasted for three or four days involving the entire villagers drinking and feasting at the expense of the seeker. Hence, all these ceremonies involved large quantities of rice beer, food, meat and so on. Only after performing the last ceremony, i.e., **Khuangchawi**, the performer becomes **Zawh-zaw-zo** (one who had accomplished), and is recognized to possess the **Thangchhuah** status.

The second method for earning the **Thangchhuah** title is possible by killing prescribed wild animals, and after killing each animal 'Ai'* ceremony has to be performed which requires the killing of a domestic animal. A man has to achieve this status by getting into all kinds of adventures, and is expected to win his way by acts

8. Hminga, C.L. Rev., Op.cit., p.36.

* 'Ai' - to sacrifice animal and perform a ceremony over wild creature killed in hunting. The performer thereby enables the spirits of the dead animals or enemies to pass to **Mitthi khua** and in turn acquires power over them. If no 'Ai' ceremony is performed the spirits of the deceased enemies or animals will haunt the spirit of the slayer.

of bravery, and to endure many hardships. For a person to earn this title, he is required to kill the animals like (i) Barking deer, (ii) Bear, (iii) Wild gayal, (iv) stag and wild boar, also an eagle, a viper and a flying lemur. The latter, however, are not necessary for earning the title but more preferable. Strangely enough some fierce animal like tiger and elephant are not included in the list, although the hunting of these was highly cherished. This is due to the reason that the tiger is consecrated from religious taboos.

When a man killed all these prescribed animals and performed ceremonies with feasts, he could possess the highly regarded **Thangchhuah** title. Interestingly, the souls of the animals and men killed during his life time would accompany the spirit of **Thangchhuah** towards **Pialral** and served him comfortably in **Pialral**. After death, the dead man's spirit holds the horns of sambhur while sitting on its head, the viper will wind itself around him and the horns, the eagle will try to seize the viper but the **Thangchhuah** can drive them off. That is why they always fly screaming so high in the sky. The lemur shades him by flying above him. **Pawla** also dare not shoot at him, and thus the **Thangchhuah** is carried to **Pialral**.

The status of **Thangchhuah** is very high in the Mizo traditional society. They are generally regarded as men of respectability and treated with more consideration than all other people. Those who have the **Thangchhuah** title are expected to enjoy the right of free citizenship both in this and the next world. They would be above all cares as such persons would be served with well-cooked fine rice by the souls of men and animals killed by them during life time. Therefore, their souls enjoy bliss perpetually in **Pialral**. In this world also such men are free in shaping their house according to their own wills and desires, and also entitled to wear a specially designed cloth and turban.

Taking the Mizo world view on the whole, their concept of **Pathian** as the director of human destiny has a very little relationship or interference with the spirit of man in **Pialral** and **Mitthi Khua** respectively. Some Mizo authors like Saiaithanga think that **Pathian** has not a very important role in man's attempt to go to **Pialral**. According to him, "Truth and goodness in worldly life have no consequence in order to get comfortable place and position in the next world, but greatness during one's life time was reflected."⁹

9. Saiaithanga, Rev., Mizo Sakhua, p.42.

At the same time, some other authors claimed that **Pathian** as a director of human destiny is the God on whom the prosperities of human beings depend. **Pathian** is responsible for the riches of a person, riches without which no one can perform **Thangchhuah** ceremony, in any way; and He is the source who can bless a man with luck to kill animals which is necessary for the possession of one or other type of **Thangchhuah**.

The Mizo usually performed two kinds of ceremonies for requesting blessings from **Pathian**. One sacrifice is connected with hunting and killing animals, called '**Kawngpui siam**' (making a big road). This ceremony is supposed to lead to successful hunting. The offering is generally a small pig or hen. As a result of this sacrifice, the way from which the animals come to meet the hunter becomes easy so that the latter would have a chance to kill the animal. The priest or **Sadawt** sings this magic chant:

"Animal come, animals of the **Rih** lake come,
Animals of **Champhai** come, animals from the village come,
Animals **Aizawl** come. You with the white tusks,
You with the standing manes (bears),¹⁰
You with the branching horns come."

10. Shakespeare, J., Op.cit., p.77.

This ceremony is performed by the **Sadawt** or Priest for the whole villagers, and there is restriction on the villagers to move out of the village.

Another type of ceremony is called '**Fanodawi**'. This is performed to have flourishing and satisfactory harvesting. The **Sadawt** (Priest) sacrifices a cock to **Pathian**. The Priest, while performing, requests **Pathian** to bless them with plenty of food grains from their paddy fields. If they get blessing with prosperity or with plenty of food grains, they would become rich and may find a chance to get the title of **Thangchhuah** at home.

Another powerful agency present in the traditional Mizo belief system is that of '**Lasi**' who is said to exercise complete control over wild animals. When a man falls in love with **Lasi**, he is called '**Lasi zawl**'. **Lasi** being pleased with him blesses him to successfully shoot any kind of animal he likes. Hence, **Lasi zawl** can more easily gain the title of the **Thangchhuah**.

Interesting most Mizo intellectuals claim strange belief in the traditional which is that no woman can go to **Pialral**. For instance, J.D. Baveja says, "I have come across no reference to any woman going to Paradise.

These ceremonies were meant for men and men alone."¹¹ Hence, the Mizo traditional **Pialral** appears not to open for all human beings, but for man alone. However, some others believed that the wife of **Thangchhuah** could also enjoy the citizenship of **Pialral** as she was a part of her husband. The traditional attitude of Mizo men towards women is reflected in the following Mizo saying:

"That crabs meat is not a meat, so also women's word is not a word. Bad wife and bad fence can be changed. Untreated wife and unpruned grass in the field are both unbreakable. The wisdom of women does not cross a brook."¹²

The various sacrifices and ceremonies which involves the giving of feasts leading to the title **Thangchhuah** were performed with the idea of pleasing God who resides in the sky. Zairema is of the opinion that the giving of feasts was an important means to distribute the possessions of the **Thangchhuah** to the poor. When wild animals were killed those who were willing to go to the killing spot could have equal share of the meat, only the head and legs were reserved for the hunter and his company. The poor could also share in the feast that the hunter prepared in the '**Ai**' ceremony. Rather than depending

11. Baveja, J.D., Op.cit., p.33.

12. Khuanga, Rev., 'The Role of Christianity in the Socio-Economic praxis of Mizoram', Towards a tribal theology: The Mizo Perspective, 1989, pp.92-93.

on Pathian for achieving ends, the ancient Mizos depended more on their own ability to perform deeds.

Here, I find their thought closer to the doctrine of Karma which regards man's ability as so important to shape his future. However, man's ability is limited by what he has as the modes of knowing available to him. This world is real and permanent, and the present is the only chief factor in human's life. The life of man is a continuous chain and as a totality it must be a link in a large chain related to the other chains and thus the entire world is a unity.

Again, one can sense the doctrine of the ancient Mizo belief when they assert that after a man does a deed there is some subtle and intangible result which endures even after the intangible is realised, when there is a tangible result for it. It can also produce some results at a much later time, may be in a future birth. A person is born in a particular body and in a particular environment as a result of his past deeds. A man must endure the fruits of his deeds whether they are good or bad, whether he likes it or not. He cannot avoid them, he cannot assign them away and he cannot inherit them

from another. He earns and experiences. There is no transfer and no termination. Man becomes the central concept in this scheme. It is man who brings about evolution, there could have been no movement, change and no evolution in this world unless there had been man, at least man in a subtle form (called the Lingasa rira). Man has initiated this evolution and determines the nature, the pace and direction of this evolution.

The formation of man postulated by the Sankhya system also bears some resemblance to the ancient Mizo scene. According to Sankhya system man is a combination of matter and life. "It is the combination of these two factors that accounts for the creation of man".¹⁴ It is a combination of these two distinct factors into an indistinguishable unity, called the world. Matter and spirit are equal or co-ordinate partners in a joint function. There is a vision, abstraction and association with this combination of matter and spirit. There is no originator of man or of the world. The world is there by its nature and functions by its nature. Therefore, according to Sankhya system, there is no creator as the starting point for the world process and for man. There is no law

14. Kunhan, R.C., 'Man and His Destiny', Some fundamental problems in Indian Philosophy, 1960, p.303.

maker. Both the world process and the law within this process are within the world itself.

A Mizo legend deals with the creation of the world, the first appearance of mankind thereon and other natural phenomena. According to this legend, at the very beginning the world is full of water. The earthworm creates a very small land with its dungs, after a long time this land becomes an island and then the earth. At the initial stage, the earth is still malformation, molten and rough; so a big beetle rolls it into round shape. Before the earth has become hard and solid, the falling of a big tree damaged it entirely which causes low and high places - called rives and mountains. But, immortal man called **Chhura** shapes the earth into flat land with his big mallet. Thus the present earth has come into existence.

Other Mizo tales tell us about their idea of the eclipse of the sun. Formerly the **Hauhul** chief swallowed the moon, having been changed during his dream into an **Awk** (eclipse), and many people were watching and said, 'The **Awk** is swallowing the moon'. Then he awoke and his mouth was blessing. A year later he died and his ghost was turned into an **Awk** and went up into the sky, and

the moon was full and big, and the ghost, which had been changed into an **Awk**, could not swallow the moon, but the next day the moon was smaller and he swallowed it. Thus men knew for the first time that there was an **Awk**.

When an eclipse occurs there is much excitement and beating of drums, etc. This is to frighten the **Awk**, for the Lushai believe that once the **Awk** swallowed the sun so effectually that general darkness prevailed. This awful time is called 'Thimzing' i.e., the gathering of the darkness - and many awful things happened. Everything except the skulls of animals killed in the chase became alive, dry wood revived, even stones became alive and produced leaves, and so men had nothing to burn. After happening of all these, there was a chance for the offspring of human beings. "The first place whence all people sprang is called 'Chhinlung'.* All the clans were came out of that place."¹⁵ Accordingly, L.B. Thanga also observes "the Mizos believe that man originated from within the earth. There was a big cave called **Chhinlung** which literally translated, means 'Closed-Stone'. The Mizos say that their forefathers came out of this cave."¹⁶

* The name of mythical rock from beneath which the progenitors of most of the present human race are said to have issued after the **Thimzing** darkness (Dictionary of Lushai language, 1940, p.80).

15. Shakespear, J., Op.cit., p.93.

16. Thanga, L.B., The Mizos: A Study in Racial Personality, 1978, p.1.

The Mizo mythology asserts that when a man dies his soul is destined to go **Mitthi Khua** or **Pialral** which is believed to be situated in the eastern border of Mizoram. The spirit first goes to **Rih** lake in Chin hill, about three kilometres from Mizoram. From the **Rih** lake the soul has to cross the **Hringlang** hill and the **Lungloh** river where flourishes the **Hawilo** flower. The spirit plucks the **Hawilo** flower and put it on its hair and also drinks the water from the **Lungloh** river. A little ahead lies the immortal **Pawla's** house. Pawla shoots with the pellet all those destined to go to **Mitthi Khua**, except the spirits of **Thangchhuah** and others who have the right of admission to **Pialral**. Those whom **Pawla** hits with his pellet cannot cross the **Pial** river and are doomed to stay in **Mitthi Khua**. The spirit of all whom **Pawla** dare not hit will go to the place beyond **Pial** river, known as **Pialral**.

In **Pialral**, they still have food and drink similar to living human beings. They are served by the spirits of human beings and animals killed during their life time. In **Mitthi Khua** the spirits have to work hard for their existence, they also organise hunting and fishing parties. Therefore, for the traditional Mizos, the eastern

border of Mizoram (now in Burma) is believed to be the place of **Mitthi Khua** and **Pialral** as well. The traditional Mizos did not accept the doctrine of re-birth which allows repeated opportunities for the man who has not been able to fully recognize himself in one birth and to work again and again for self-development. But in some respects, they believed in line with the law of Karma which ensures that even a little achievement in this life is not wasted. The future of a person depends on the efforts of a person during his life time. That is why, there is hardly need for **Pathian** to interfere. Accordingly man is the maker of his own destiny, he can mend or mar the present on which will depend the future.

With the inception of christianity in Mizoram, the Mizos perspective regarding the concept of man and his destiny was totally changed. All their earlier conceptions about life were brushed aside as superstition and the Mizos have been trying to catch up with the new religious beliefs and practices. The following verse expresses this:

"The ancient Mizos lived with demons and fairies,
Living throughout the days with fear of enemies,
Superstitious worship of hills and spirits,
But all that darkness was now gone."

17. Rokunga, 'Kan Zotlang ram nuam', Thalai Hlabu, 1952, p.19.

Within a short span of time after the missionaries induced christianity in Mizoram, almost all the entire population embraced the christian faith. Total conversion to christianity brought to an end the old religious belief system. The change brought about by christianity in the life of the Mizo community was the passing away of its traditional polity leading to the emergence of a new dynamic society. The christian missionaries guided and moulded the life of the Mizo primitive society, and shaped the Mizo outlook.

The christianised elite referred to the mass conversion to christianity as 'a new spirit of freedom'. This change of value orientation brought about the introduction of western education and money economy, but in return it uprooted their social and cultural moorings.

"The way of life is changing,
A new belief replaced the old one;
Now, the abode of God is not monument,
But the heavenly sweet home where God lives."¹⁸

The conception of the **Pialral** and the **Mitthi Khua** were replaced by the two new conceptions of christian **Vanram** (Heaven) and **Meidil** (Hell) respectively. According

18. Hawla, V., 'Lungdawh Hla', Thalai Hlabu, 1952, p.22.



to F. Hrangkhuma, the christian belief needs only some modification on the traditional Mizo belief. As he says, "there was no difficulty to convince the average Mizo of the facts of Hell and Heaven, and that to go to Heaven one needs to believe in Jesus in one's life time. The last that is believe in Jesus Christ as the pass-port to Heaven is a welcome substitute for the Mizo because it is much easier to simply believe than to give several series of free feasts to the whole village, or to kill several species of wild animals and give feasts in their honour every time one was killed in a chase, to be a **Thangchhuah** to go to **Pialral**, the better place for the dead".¹⁹ And, all the persons who do not believe in Jesus Christ as his saviour, will go to Hell where the spirit will suffer severe hardship and troubles.

Slowly also the concept of **Pathian** came to represent the christian God. In the same manner, the traditional term '**Khuanu**' is often used in place of the christian God. The christian hymns speak of **Khuanu** as synonymous with the christian God. "Marriage occurs according to the fore-planned of heavenly **Khuanu**" (Christian Hymn, No.517).

19. Hrangkhuma, Rev. Dr. F., 'Cultural Factors in Mizoram Church Growth', Zamzo magazine, (1989-1990), p.52.

Various reasons have been offered to explain the conversion from the traditional religion to the christian belief. One reason given is that it was the fear of Hell which was the major factor of conversion. The christian teaching of Jesus as the vanquisher of the evil spirits was the central point that altered their earlier conception of life. The mind full of fear of evil spirits searched for freedom, and when it found that Jesus could deliver them from the clutches of the evil spirits. They converted reports for instance F. Hrangkhuma that his mother who was converted to christianity in 1909, converted because she accepted that Jesus is stronger than all other evil spirits. The fear of the evil spirits is accompanied by costly sacrifices to appease their anger and displeasure. The preaching that Jesus Christ is the vanquisher of the evil spirits and that it is no longer necessary to offer sacrifices to them if they trust in Jesus added significant spiritual and economic impetus to become christians.

The christian doctrine of man sees him primarily in relation to God, who has created him to occupy a special position in the universe. Man is made in the image of God, to have dominion over the rest of creation. In the

an immaterial soul of mind. "There is a spirit in man: and the aspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding" (Job.32:7). There is another theory that a man is a tripartite being. He is made up of body, soul and spirit. The verse of the Bible says of a tripartite being. "And I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (I Thess.5:23). With his spirit man is God-conscious, able to have fellowship with God who is a spirit. With his soul man is world-conscious, able to have intercourse with other intelligent beings. With his body his is creature-conscious, able to care for his own bodily needs. The body is the instrument through which the spirit and the soul can communicate with others.

Man can neither hide himself from the presence of God nor move away from God at all. "Thou has beset me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me. ... Whether shall I go from thy spirit? or whether shall I flee from thy presence? ... I ascent up into heaven, thou art there: I make my bed in Hell, behold, thou art there ... and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea: Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me" (Psalms 139:5-10).

The doctrine of the fall is a symbol of the fact that all men are subjected to sin, that there is a fatal flaw in man's very nature. "All have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God" (Romans 3:23). The true nature of sin is the assertion of man's will against God's and his consequent alienation from God.

Christianity puts the emphasis, not just on morality or virtuous living, but on its foundation in character and personality from which such life proceeds. The attainment of the true purpose of human life, i.e., love of God and life according to His will, is open to all regardless of intellectual ability. "Where is the wise, where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Had not God made foolish and wisdom of this world?" (I Cor.1:20). Apostle Paul said that in the christian doctrine, love is the essence of man. When he says, "If I understand all mysteries and all knowledge ... but have not love, I am nothing" (I Cor.13:2). This love is ultimately divine in nature, and can be given only by God.

Mizo theologian, Raltawnga* is of the view that man is the crown of God's creation and in his alone the

* Author of Kristian thurin Hlangpuite, 1976.

divine nature is reflected. Man has a capacity to improve his thought and mind, he is much superior to other creatures in many respects because he is made on the image of God and his life is also joined with the life of God., Man is dependent on God and his fellowmen. He is not on his own, but he owes all to God. Man is responsible for all acts of his will as well as for the will itself. But his freedom has certain limitation; heredity and environment along with a disposition due to the previous willing all tend to limit his freedom. Accordingly, we can now say that a large per cent of man's activity is not free at all but determined. God sees every act of men, and He knows every choice that will be made and what will be the result; Yet man is absolutely free to choose, for he is not coerced in doing any action. Man is believed to be a free moral agent, as he has derived his freedom from God it cannot be taken away from Him.

Man is free to rebel against God and to regard his fellow humans as his enemies. God does not compell man to obey Him, but it is man who yields to God and shares his life with others. Man can also refuse to love God, but God loves him ever. "For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be 'condemned"

(Matt.12:37). Having a free will man can choose ends and means of any action, and so can control himself and sometimes his environment for his own purpose. Man is like God in having a relative and limited independence, But he is not wholly like God for He alone depends on nothing outside Himself, and can make and control everything according to His own will. However, man's freedom also involves the unGod like capacity to choose the wrong and to sin. Christianity demands of man to find his true self by willingly surrendering to God. Man has come into being to realise God, his creator and so to be righteous and merciful. Accordingly, Raltawnga and Zairema also believe that man is made to know, to serve and to worship God. As he is made by God so his life is also His. Man must not live according to his own will but his creator's.

They also agree regarding the equality of man, 'no one is higher than the others and none is better than the others'. God loves all men whether they high or low. He gives equal treatment without distinction. Paul, in his letter to Romans says, "For God will reward every person according to what he has done" (Romans 2:6). "For God judges everyone by the same standard" (Romans 2:11).

The result of Adam's sin was not limited to himself, for it was his sin that brought death of spirit, soul and body to the entire race. "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Romans 5:12). Therefore, none of the descendants of the first man can escape the punishment or the curse of God. Men are spiritually alienated from the life of God, and are under the bondage of Satan. Hence they are now compelled to go to Hell. But God by His grace and love for human beings makes a bridge of reconciliation through Jesus Christ, so that man will escape God's punishment. This is what the christian's call as freedom.

Jesus Christ, who had never sinned, who had never committed a crime and who knew no sin was crucified on the cross for the sins of human beings. Therefore, God will not punish all those who believe in Jesus Christ since He has already died for them. This complete payment of our penalty which Jesus made in His body, soul and spirit is represented by His blood, 'for without shedding of blood there is no remission'. His blood frees us from the bondage of Satan, sin and guilt. "We have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins according

to the riches of His graces" (Eph.1:7). Jesus Himself tells us that this was the purpose of His coming. "Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt.20:28). We are held in sin, and the consciousness of our guilt made us more submissive to our bondage. We are held captive in our sins. But Jesus Christ sets us free by giving His life as a price. "In the greatest struggle for the freedom of men from the dominion of sin and the bondage of Satan, the Son of God ranks higher and is more value than the all men of the world, for He is 'blessed and only potentate, the king of kings and the Lord of Lords'. He and He only could give His life a ransom, a purchase price paid down, for you and for me, because He is God."²⁰

Thus the christian Mizo concept of freedom demands the removal of the powers of Satan in man, for man in no way can liberate himself from Satan's bondage. Christ therefore came to the world in order to break up all the works of the Devil. "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the Devil" (I John 3:8). A man who believes in Jesus

20. Legters, L.L., Freedom through the Cross, 1937, p.24.

Christ has made himself free of the law of sin and death. "If the Son sets you free, then you will be really free" (John 8:36). Christ breaks up Satan's work, so that men become free, free from the bondage, free to live as the sons of God. In short, it is the one who surrenders himself to the control of divine law who is free.

The expulsion of sin is the act of the soul itself. Though man has no power to free himself from Satan's bondage, but by believing in Christ's power the strings of the bondage will be destroyed. Faith in Christ is a power to break the shackles of the slavery of Satan, and therefore become free.

Accordingly salvation consists in deliverance from sin and its consequences, it is God's salvation of man from the bondage of the Devil. Salvation is opened up for all men because of God's calling and election. Election is, here, understood as God's purpose and initiative in man's salvation. This does not mean that God chooses only some for salvation, but salvation is a free gift and freely available to all. God calls everyman for salvation. His calling is full of love and is not coercive. Man is free to accept or refuse His calling,

because has given him freedom to choose whatever he likes. However, salvation cannot be obtained by one's own good works, it can only be attained by the grace of God. "It is not the result of your own efforts, but God's gift, so that no one can boast about it" (Eph.2:10).

Human beings are unable to love with all their heart, with a genuine and selfless love, and this is precisely what God has called us to do. Jesus Christ not only gives Himself for us so as to show the love of God, but He promises us His own spirit which will take hold of us and transform us from within so that we can overcome our selfish tendencies and love with a genuine love. "The love of God has been poured forth into our hearts by the Holy spirit which is given to us" (Rom.5:5); so that "where the spirit of Lord is, there is freedom (II Cor.3:17). The genuine freedom that liberated us from our own pettiness, is the freedom of the children of God. God's spirit breathes where he will, and inspires all men of good will with such genuine love. Paul emphasises very much this freedom, "Our hope is that God will put us right with Him; and this is what we wait for by the Power of God's spirit working through our faith. For when we are in union with Christ Jesus,

neither circumcision nor the lack of it makes any difference at all: What matters is faith that works through love" (Gal.5:5-6). Jesus Himself tells us that those who love Him and obey His teaching will be truly free as His spirit will live with them.

The life of a true christian is a purified life. He has been purified not only from man's original sin, but other sins like - Pride, Anger, Envy, Impurity, Gluttony, Slothfulness and Avarice - which Billy Graham calls 'The Seven deadly sins'. "You have been purified from sin, you have been dedicated to God; you have been put right with God by the Lord Jesus Christ and by the spirit of our God" (I Cor.6:11).

Thus only a purified man can live with God, so much so that to live right as a christian is to live according to the will of God. This is to say that to live as a christian is to live as a free person. The closer the relationships the more the freedom - and the more the dependence on God. So, the christian doctrine of complete dependence on God means complete freedom.

The christian concept of freedom reminds one of the thesis of Fatalism, according to which man is not

free at all because all man's desires and efforts are determined by God. Spinoza says, "All things are predetermined by God". But a free man in the christian belief is a man who accepts all things happening to him as the will of God. The christian free life is actually a life dependent on God. As they say at the time of death, "the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away" (Job 1:21). God's purpose for us is so indilibly written into our nature that the fulfilment of His purpose is the basic condition of our own personal self fulfilment and happiness. Thus, in the christian doctrine a free man is totally dependent upon God, and the christian freedom is a limited freedom. It is limited by the Divine will. Man cannot do anything contrary to the Divine plan of the universe. He cannot work freely and independently from God.

God is absolute and a Divine Being, who is the creator of everything and His power cannot be compared with the power of His creatures.

While the earlier Mizo conception of freedom made it an ideal to be acquired through achievement only the christian concept regarded freedom as a gift of God which is opened to all through belief in Christ. As freedom is God's gift to all needy men, man's ability and achieve-

ment do not really matter. A free man since he gets his freedom from God must serve God and must obey His commandments. In the traditional world view after reaching the state of freedom or the **Thangchhuah**, one is not bound by anything as he has already fulfilled his commitments to all.

Then again while the christians believe that man is not free due to the sin inherent in him, and he can go to Heaven only after the blood of Jesus Christ has cleaned his sin, the traditionals believe that man would go to **Mitthi Khua** not because of any inherent sin but only because of his deeds.

Both believed in life after death and the existence of two places for the spirit, One which is good and another which is dreary and unpleasant. One's life time determines where one will go after death. The christian's **Vanram** and the traditional's **Pialral** are believed to be places of paradise where frustration and sorrow are not known, where the spirit enjoys bliss perpetually.

CHAPTER - IV

LALDENGA

In this chapter I wish to explore the philosophy of two eminent Mizo thinkers namely Laldenga (1927-1990) and Zoramthanga (1944-). Laldenga is of the opinion that man is always in search of his own happiness in this world and beyond this world. "From the time of his creation either consciously or unconsciously man is in pursuit of his happiness."¹ His search begins right from birth and he constantly seeks it wherever he lives. "He goes on seeking even beyond this world to find his creator for spiritual communion, comfort and blessing."²

Man for his survival needs food and shelter. To construct a shelter and to produce foods and other essentials he needs a piece of land. Man therefore, realises that to persistently assail his happiness he ought to be free from poverty and wants. Also being a social creature, he has to learn to walk in steps with other fellow human beings for peaceful and harmonious living. Man has, therefore, to educate himself with more knowledge

1. Laldenga, 'Man and freedom', Mizoram marches towards freedom, 1973, pp.4-5.

2. Ibid.,

about man and human relations. Laldenga asserted that "in as much as proper knowledge of the soil, its conservation is essential for improvement of agriculture products, scientific and technical knowledge about the sea, the air as well as the space is also unavoidable for his well-being. Education is, therefore, one of the prime factors for his (man's) happiness. He therefore ought to be free from ignorance."³

Laldenga repeatedly emphasised that besides freedom from poverty, wants and ignorance, man needs peace and security. Man himself and his properties, need protection from aliens. He also needs protection from the feeling of insecurity for the sake of peace and tranquility.

It was freedom which Laldenga found indispensable for human beings. According to him, man cannot live without freedom. His desire for freedom is supreme and paramount. Any kind of domination is a burden to his soul, even the guardianship of his parents becomes a weight upon his shoulders. The comfort of his parental cares cannot therefore, tie him to his family. The supreme love of the world, i.e., his mother's love is not strong enough to bind him to his family. He wants to be himself, free

3. Laldenga, Op.cit., p.6.

from any kind of domination and exploitation. "He wants freedom to shape his own life, to determine his future, to act and do things as directed by his heart. Without freedom neither could he maintain economy nor could protect his person and property. A feeling of insecurity haunts him all the times. Without freedom happiness departs from him. He becomes a dead living body denied of all other human rights. He is no longer a human person, but reduced to live in this world of animals."⁴

Then again, "freedom is a part of life itself; without which life is meaningless and empty. Man's body may remain free from prison chains and bars, yet his soul remains in bondage. All his beings, therefore, resolve to fight for his freedom, come what may. Such is the in-born nature of every mankind."⁵

What I would like to point out here is that freedom for Laldenga is 'Political self-determination' - which implies a free and sovereign state to govern herself, to work her own destiny and to formulate her own foreign policy, where the people live in complete independence of foreign interference. Thus, in the name of freedom

4. Laldenga, Op.cit., p.7.

5. Ibid.,

he demanded a sovereign status for the Mizos with complete independence from foreign interference. Laldenga maintained that as the natural law of human existence is its being free, we can take for granted that nature has vested freedom to human beings. All human beings having a nationality distinct and separate from that of others, ought to have a separate administration free from all interference of others. As a matter of fact, Laldenga pointed out that the Mizos had enjoyed sovereign status before the advent of the British government in Mizoram.

"The Mizos stood as a separate nation even before the advent of the British government, having a nationality distinct and separate from that of India and Burma. They were a distinct nation created, moulded and nurtured by God and Nature. Mizoram, therefore, had enjoyed sovereign status and the people lived in complete independence of foreign interference. The territory or any part thereof had never been conquered or subjugated by Moghul emperors nor any other kings of Maharajas of Hindustan (now known as India and Pakistan), nor by any other foreign government."⁶

The land called Mizoram was held by a chief and the people lived in scattered villages, each village being ruled by its own chief. The chief was like a father to his people, he helped them when they were in distress.

6. Laldenga, Op.cit., pp.16-17.

"Each village was an independent administrative unit under a chief. There was no really political, social or religious organisation for all the whole region and in the absence of such integrative force into village feuds and quarrels were not few and far between. Religious grouping followed family and clan lines, each clan having a priest of its own."⁷

P.K. Bandhopadhyay also recorded, in his book entitled 'Leadership among the Mizos', that there was no gradation of the chiefs, all the chiefs were independent in their own areas of operation. The political authority naturally was widely distributed and diffused among a large number of village chiefs.

A chief is repository of all powers and the fountain-head of justice. His role was multi-functional and he was assisted by 'Elders' chosen by him from among the eminent persons. They constituted a kind of council which discussed all matters concerning the village and settled disputes among the people in the village. The chief presided over the meeting of the council which was generally held in the chief's house. In theory, the chief enjoyed absolute power. A strong chief controlled practically everything, while a weak chief acted under

7. Lewin, Capt. T.H., Wild races of south east India, London, 1970, p.131.

the advice of his Elders. The entire land of the village was held by the chief. He could requisite the services of the villagers to build up his house free of cost. He was also entitled to revenue like '**Fathang**' (a tribute in the form of unhusked rice), '**Sachhiah**' (a share of chief from every animal killed by the villagers), and '**Chi chhiah**' (a due on salt) from the villager under his jurisdiction. The chief was also master of '**Sal**' or slave, i.e., a person captured during raids. However, if a chief was cruel and unduly harsh the people would migrate to other villages. This meant a loss of manpower and resources, and this acted as a check on the arbitrary and autocratic actions on any chief.*

Despite certain checks inherent in the system, the chief was the emblem of authority and the source of leadership to the people within his jurisdiction. In general supervision and administration, he was responsible for the maintenance of village paths, water points, and fostering the spirits of '**Tlawmgaihna**', i.e., the obligation to be unselfish and helpful, kind and hospitable to others. In peace or in war, or in dealing with the

* Under these conditions society was composed by the '**Hnamchawm**' or Commoners, governed by a chief aided by officials of his choice, who included the '**Puithiam**' or Priest, '**Thirdeng**' or Black-smith, '**Tlangau**' or Village crier, '**Sadawt**' or the chief's personal priest aided by a friend of the chief's known as '**Thlahpawi**', '**Ram hual**' or the agriculture experts who advised the chief on questions of cultivation, and the '**Upa**' or Elders, who were the main administrative assistants to the chief.

individuals or group, the spirit of **Tlawmngaihna** guided the Mizos' thought and action. Therefore, the chief and his council was seen as one unit, that initiated and controlled action in major spheres of action in the Mizo society.

Referring to this historical evidence Laldenga points out, today "the Indian rulers deny the Mizo people of their inalienable right of freedom. The government of India, by denying and brutally suppressing the right of the Mizo people, commits the gravest sin, sin against nature and humanity."⁸

The government of India had no political or constitutional legal claim over Mizoram. The free Indian government immediately stepped into the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the British colonialists who ruled over Mizoram and set up in its turn its own colonial administration. The present Indian constitution was later imposed upon the people of Mizoram and their land was colonised.⁹

The Mizo National Front (MNF) Memorandum of 1965 seeks to represent the case of the Mizo people for freedom

8. Laldenga, Op.cit., p.16.

9. Ibid., p.66.

and for the right of territorial unity and solidarity. From time immemorial the Mizos stood as a separate nation and Mizoram had never been an integral part of India, it claims. The British government had never identified nor treated the Mizo people as Indians. Therefore, Mizoram had never been annexed to British India during the British colonial rule. When India was granted independence in 1947, Mizoram was already excluded from the Constitutional Act of India, 1935, it naturally was not within the purview of the Act.

Moreover, he argued that the Mizos are of different racial origin or Mongoloid stock having nothing in common with the Indians either in politics, social life, customs, language or in religion; and the people never identified themselves as Indians. During the long freedom movement of India, none of the Mizos ever participated or enrolled themselves in any of the Indian political or social organisations. When India was granted independence and when free India formed a constituent assembly to work out its constitution, Mizoram did not send its representative to participate in the making of the Indian constitution. Neither did the representatives of the people choose integration with India nor ever sign any instrument of

accession. It is therefore, from this point of view, obvious that by all the canons of international law, Mizoram had never been an integral part of India.¹⁰

Laldenga insisted that the departing British government also had made it clear that any constitution framed by the constituent assembly of India could not be binding upon the unwilling parts of the country. To this he alleged Nehru reciprocated in the following words, "It will be better to give option of adherence or secession to every unit after deliberations of the constitution making body are over. Undoubtedly there can be no coercion."¹¹ In conformity with the statement of Nehru, the working committee of the National Congress had made a declaration on 8th March 1947 which runs thus: "It had been made cleared that the constitution framed by the constituent assembly will apply only those areas which accept it."¹² Collaborated the same sentiment:

"Neither the Assam government nor any other authorities who dealt with the matter had any difficulty in agreeing that the Lushai Hill should be excluded from the purview of the new constitution, and they were accordingly classed as an 'Excluded Area' in terms of the government of India Order, 1936."¹³

10. Mizo National Front (MNF) Memorandum of 1965, submitted to the Prime Minister of India.

11. Ibid.,

12. Ibid.,

13. Reid, Robert, History of the Frontier Areas bordering on Assam (1883-1941), p.66.

Besides Indian top leaders like Nehru acknowledged that the tribal areas like that of Mizoram should exist without the domination of other powers. Laldenga wrote: "Their (Indian National Congress) 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 frontiers 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, customs or usage. In the matter of internal administration, the areas are largely left to themselves.'¹⁴

Laldenga again quoted the words of Nehru which expressed the view of the Indian National Congress: "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

14. Mizo National Front (MNF), Memorandum, Op.cit.,

is most unlikely. One view is that with the end of their sovereignty in India the new government of India (i.e., Independent Government of India) will enter into 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."¹⁵ He, therefore, said that from the foregoing statement made by 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 policy and destiny. He accordingly accused the Indian government due for the imposition of the present constitution of India upon the unwilling people of Mizoram who did not choose integration with the Indian Union as not only illegal but lawlessness.

The Mizos in India are treated as a poor clan and then left in a state of starvation at all times. Being kicked, whipped, tortured and imprisoned are their daily ordeal of life. They cannot live in dignity for they are disdainfully looked down upon with contemptuous eyes because of their blood, the blood of their ancestors, by which they were born in this world. They are despised

15. Mizo National Front (MNF), Memorandum, Op.cit.,

because of their Mongolian facial structure and appearance for which they cannot help themselves. Wherever they go, they are perpetually mocked, ridiculed and made fun of because of their race and religion. They are not only denied comfort of the present civilization, but also remain denied of bare human necessities. He, therefore, expressed that he finds the condition of the Mizos in the Indian Union.

"Like animals of the Zoo, he is preserved in the show case of New Delhi for entertainments of visiting foreign dignitaries and for merry makings on the Indian national days. He is asked to swallow and follow Indian ways of life with Hindu culture and code of social living and alien (Indian) language imposed upon him. To add to this unbearable pains of his body and soul, he is a lonely christian in the vast sea of fanatic Hindus, where abominable practices of caste system are strictly adhered to. Because of his religious belief, he leads the life of an outcast. He is unacceptable in the Indian society so much so that he can share neither food nor water with them, much less to share happiness and sorrow. To the Indians, he is like a leper, unclean and loathsome."¹⁶

While the Indian rulers, in their attempt to mislead the world opinion, are harping on their magical tune of democracy and secularism, full scale tortures man-slaughters of minorities is rampant in every nook and corner of India. Although some enlightened persons

16. Laldenga, Op.cit., p.12.

had composed almost a flawless constitution, generally granting every fundamental right to the citizens; in particular to the national minorities, the vast throng of fanatic Hindus practice racial, religious and linguistic discrimination in its crudest form. They have slaughtered thousands of christian Mizos and Nagas and Muslim minorities in Kashmir and other parts of India.

Lalhmingshanga, Laldenga's foreign minister, also felt that Mizos look at India as a foreign country not as their own. In the minds of the Mizos, India or Burma or Bangladesh are all the same except that India imposes more authority over them. This feeling is prevalent not only among the Mizos within India but also within Burma and Bangladesh. It is quite clear that no Mizo can be moulded by the foreigners:

"The Mizos are, upto this day, completely differ from Indians, Burmese and Pakistanis, in matters of religious practices, culture, social life and ideology; For the Mizos, to assimilate with Indians, Burmese, and Pakistanis is like an attempt to weld iron and clay together."¹⁷

Supporting Laldenga's concept of freedom, Lalhmingshanga again argued that the general feeling of the Mizo

17. Lalhmingshanga; Problem of Peace-making in Mizoram, 1968, p.51.

people in India is the feeling of being unwanted despised and alien. No Mizo worker feels secure under an Indian boss; no student feels favoured by Indian masters, and no soldier in the Indian Armed Forces feels that he is fighting for his country.¹⁸

Some Mizo intellectuals asserted that when Mizoram was divided, the international boundary falls at the very heart of Mizoram. These man-made boundaries served as 'a barrier for political, social and economic progresses affecting the whole Mizo nation, who could not move across the international boundaries. In spite of such hopeless vivisections, the minds, the thought and the social life of the Mizos remain unchanged wherever they are. They claimed that though Mizoram has been vivisected, the Mizos as a nation have the right to self-determination to form their government, rule themselves and mould their life in their own chosen way like any nations of the world.

"This is the undominable rights endowed by our Creator and affirmed by the United Nation Charter. No Indian, Burmese or any other nations can infringe this right. To unify all these vivisected areas into a single compact unit again and attain national status

18. Lalhmingthanga, Op.cit., p.52.

for themselves among the family of nations, is, therefore, the sacred duty for every Mizo wherever he or she is. It is of this and that Mizoram is working and will struggle till all the rights are fully restored."¹⁹

In respect of the curved-out state of Mizoram falling within the Indian domination, the leading citizens of Mizos reserved the right of secession from India after ten years of the Indian independence. Memorandum affecting to this right had been submitted twice to the then Government of British India and to the Prime Minister of the Government of India. After experiencing fifteen years of Indian rule, the Mizo people have decided to claim their rights and run their future in their own way. Some Mizo nationalists or patriots observed that the sacred call of the Mizo nation to safeguard her national integrity and the will of the people was made all over the country. In order to defend the rights and dignity of the Mizo nation, the representatives of the Mizo people declared independence. Accordingly, the freedom movement came into being.

Freedom as Laldenga viewed it is solely the recognition of political self-determination as an alienable

19. Lalhmingthanga, Op.cit., p.54.

Fundamental Right of the people. Freedom is a way of life which determines our future, it is a part of life without which life is empty and meaningless. It is the source of happiness, dignity and security. It is the basic essence of man, and is God's gift to all human beings.²⁰ He advocated that freedom is synonymous with the principle of the Fundamental Human Right. Wherever there is suppression of this right, there is no freedom. Freedom is a living law of humanity. Any attempt by others to suppress this sentiment results in violence. The success of civilisation is to be counted on how far individual freedom and honour is respected in the society. Greatness of a nation and success of its government is to be determined by what measure each individual enjoys his freedom of conscience and by what measure the principles of human rights prevail.

Laldenga discussed two kinds of ways for the attainment of freedom from domination. One way is by means of violence and another is by means of Non-violence. The violent way was by the people to forcibly boycott any foreign goods and commodities, protest and demonstrate in an organised way against the foreign rule, and also

20. Laldenga, Op.cit., p.14.

reject all the administrative machineries and boycott the political election of the country. By means of any kind of weapons the oppressed people fight for their freedom. However, Laldenga did not believe in violence, he rather unequivocally condemned any kind of violent means. Because violence brings about death and desolation leaving its ugly imprint in history, it also cause mutual distrust and hatred among mankind. In any case he felt that the Indian military forces are too strong in comparison with the Mizo forces. He, therefore, concluded that the Mizos problem cannot be solved on the basis of violence, he rather advocated Non-violent means to solve the problem. Non-violence, he said, is suited to the religious minded and peace-loving people like the Mizos.

He, therefore, contested the election in order to carry out message of freedom to the masses. Agreeing with the Gandhian principle of Non-violence, he observed: "The Indian National Congress, while struggling for independence through peaceful means, after winning all the seats in the election, then they could only start the agitation of Non-Cooperation Movement."²¹ Accordingly, he maintained that the movement for independence will only be started after his partymen get all the seats

21. Laldenga, Zalenna thuchah (Freedom message), Vol.II, p.14.

within Mizoram in the election. Once the authority is in their hands, to boycott the foreigner's (Indian) authority would be more easy and appropriate. The administrative machineries of all the village councils and the District Council would be automatically dismissed after which they would cut-off all the relationship with India. Not only the government of India but also the world will then realise and acknowledge that India is ruling over the unwilling people of Mizoram. And therefore, the movement for independence of Mizoram will be recommended.

Laldenga claimed that it is absurd to expect the Mizo nation to submit itself to exploitation by Indians. He argued that the Mizo people did not seek an inch of Indian territory; but only their inalienable right of freedom which they have been denied. Peace or freedom cannot prevail in any part of the world where the right of people for self-determination is denied and trampled under the tyrannical heel of dominant rulers.

Moreover while the present world is strongly committed to freedom and self-determination of all the nations, large or small, and to the promotion of Fundamental Rights; the Indian leaders are strongly wedded to the principle

of domination. So as to get freedom from the Indian government, the Mizo National Front (MNF) declared independence which asked for help from all freedom loving nations and individuals: "And in 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."²²

Laldenga's earlier position regarding freedom may be expressed in his own words:

"In the course of human history it becomes invariably necessary for mankind to assume their social, economic and political status for 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. ... The Mizo, created and moulded into a nation and nurtured as such, by Nature's God have been intolerably and dominated by the people of India in contravention of the Law of Nature."²³

22. Mizoram Declaration of Independence, 1st March, 1966.

23. Ibid.,

However Laldenga realised that he could not attain his ideal, he prepared his mind to accept a compromise for the sake of the Mizo people within the Indian constitution. Just before signing the Mizo Accord, he addressed the Steering Committee at Aizawl with the following words:

"It may not be an ideal achievement, but we are now searching for even a possible highest level of freedom within the Indian constitution."²⁴

After his acceptance of the Indian constitution, I find a change in Laldenga's understanding of the true state of freedom. Now, freedom is seen neither as a mere constitutional problem nor as the status of a State but as a state of mind.

"The remedies and safe-guard of our nation is neither on the Agreement nor in Independence, but in our minds, in the minds of the Mizos."²⁵

On the signing of the Mizo Accord between the government of India and Mizoram the Mizos were able to enjoy the right and dignity of man which are enshrined in the Fundamental Rights of the Indian constitution. Now, "it is not the case of isolation of Mizoram from the Indian Union but it rather indicated in order to

24. Laldenga, Speeches on the occasion of Meeting held by Steering Committee, Aizawl, 1986.

25. Laldenga, Speeches in the Mizo National Front (MNF) First Assembly, Aizawl, 28th Aug. 1986.

preserve the Mizo culture and identity, to move forwards and to participate peacefully among many millions Indian people."²⁶

He observed that while the Mizo National Front(MNF) had been in the underground, the mental attitudes of the Mizo people in Mizoram was greatly damaged by self-interested politicians. Because of immoral leaderships the Mizo people suffered from lack of self-reliance. The Mizo as a people had lost their honesty and truthfulness and were more in bondage than ever before. Their deterioration was so great that it compelled him to come out of his hide-out and sign the Agreement of 1986 with the Indian government. Henceforth, his ideal became the deliverance of the Mizos from their suffering maladies. He stated:

"It is clear to our minds that if we were still continue our hide-out, the deteriorating Mizo moral which has been now practising, the corruption as well as bribe, lack of sincerity, honesty and whole-heartedness may lead to a total destruction of the Mizos. And, we are afraid that lest the christian Mizos should worship the Hindu Gods. As a result of this, we have come overground so as to reform and rectify all these malpractices and ill-attitudes of the Mizos."²⁷

26. Laldenga, Speeches in the Helipad, Aizawl, 26 Aug. 1981.

27. Laldenga, Speeches on the celebration of 'The Mizo Accord', Aizawl, 5 July 1986.

Laldenga ceased to envisage freedom only on the political plane, but also as social, economic, cultural, spiritual as well as national. He maintained that true freedom is not merely political but must also be economic, cultural and spiritual, only then can a man grow and fulfil his destiny. The freedom has also to be envisaged not merely in terms of group freedom but as individual freedom. Besides all these determinants of the state of freedom there must be freedom of ideas. The society of a nation becomes stagnant because there is now new flow of ideas and techniques for fresh thinking.

Freedom is not a physical abstention from war but a state of mind which gives self-reliance, self-responsibility and truth. The signing of the Mizo Accord signified that Mizoram had set its first step towards freedom. The Mizo people, he said, could only attain their freedom only when they willingly served the nation with truth and sincerity, bearing the responsibility of the nation upon their shoulders. Mahatma Gandhi had observed:

"Where Truth is there, also is true knowledge;
And where true knowledge is, there is bliss."²⁸

28. Richard, G., The Philosophy of Gandhi, 1982, p.1.

For Laldenga the obstacles for the Mizo people to attain freedom were the tendencies towards eroticism, destructiveness, a cynical and negative attitude towards life and work. The overground Mizo leaders were making the Mizo people dependent on others, regarding others more capable and reliable than the Mizos themselves; so Mizoram is marching towards total destruction, he felt:

"It is a great misfortune and destruction for the Mizos following the doctrine of incompetency and disloyalty, and rather thinking others are competent and trustworthy. The real destruction and danger is not corruption of money but the crippling of human mind. There would never be any nation stands glory where people had trust more other nations than his nation."²⁹

Laldenga observed that one of the ways which may lead the Mizo people to true freedom is the trust of the Mizo people of one another. The Mizos are neither small nor lower in moral standard, they should not think others higher nor greater than themselves, as God creates us all equal. The Mizo people should first work for self-reliance and for the moral reformation of their people.

For the reformation and reconstruction of Mizoram is dependent not on other people but on the Mizo people

29. Laldenga, Speeches on the 7th MNF Special Assembly, Aizawl.

themselves. He gave a slogan - 'we can do', to make the Mizo people realise that the reformation of Mizoram is the responsibility of its own people. He also preached that the people should avoid the past Mizo politics which lead the Mizo people into the bondage of falsehood. The Mizos should stand firm with truth, and should bravely throw out the wrong ideas which existed in their minds; the people should not allow the previous wrong conceptions to enter into their minds. The mind should be filled with truth and righteousness. This, he claimed, is in line with the doctrine of christianity:

"Today, we should prepare our minds to renounce these kinds of unholy, immoral, illegal and unethical practices and thinkings. This land, Mizoram, is ours; it is the only invaluable property which had been inherited by our forefathers. To realise our responsibility for building up Mizoram into a paradise is everyone imperative duty."³⁰

Laldenga emphasized the need for a programme which would lead to economic freedom and justice. He was very critical with the prevailing economic inequalities in the society, the maldistribution of wealth and the control of the government by the privileged classes. He disliked the present Mizo society in which some people lived in

30. Laldenga, Op.cit., p.20.

luxury while others worked from dawn to dusk and yet had not the barest necessities of life. Such society was completely a negation of freedom.

As eighty per cent of the population of Mizoram was on the verge of starvation and this resulted in unholy ideas in the minds of people. People should not depend on the helping hands of central India only, everyone should pledge that he should serve his country so as to make the Mizo people free from the wretched burden of poverty.³¹

I wish to state that mere political autonomy does not make a person or a people truly free. Political autonomy does not necessarily mean that we have achieved the real freedom. This kind of political freedom is very far from that of the real or pure freedom according to which freedom primarily refers to a condition characterized by the absence of coercion or constraint imposed by another person. Whereas political autonomy is to rule or govern by oneself, within this political freedom the individual may face many problems and crisis in his way of life and thus feel innumerable constraints.

31. Laldenga, Op.cit, p.21.

Political autonomy implies a free administration within a limited area by laws formulated by a specific country. Though the people have a right to formulate laws, no one is free to move against them. So, what the people enjoyed as political freedom is only an apparent freedom, there are limitations from all sides. Thus, the freedom a man's able to enjoy is limited, as the real freedom is the absence of all restraints or coercives from outside and inside, which direct the life of human beings constantly. The real or pure freedom, we may say, is only an ideal dream of man and, therefore seems to be an illusion without reality. The ideal dream of man is impossible for imperfect human beings in this imperfect world. This brings one to the christian concept of freedom according to which the real freedom is to be enjoyed only after death, when alone it is a bliss. The absence of frustration, turmoil of soul, sorrow, etc. is only then possible for man. As he is an imperfect creature he is not free from sorrow, turmoil of soul, suffering from all kinds of diseases, etc., and his hunger for desires is limited and endless. All these prevent a man from enjoying the real or pure freedom.

The christian ideally is the freest person on earth. His freedom as a child of God in the universe

is like the freedom of a child in his father's house. Augustine said, "love God, and do as you please". In a relation of utter devotion to God our choices are to be trusted to the full. For the christian concept of freedom is not the absence of all responsibility and all accountability. It is positive rather than negative. It is the opportunity to live our fullest possible lives, the chance to fulfill the basic desires of our inner selves at the highest level, the ability to achieve permanent satisfaction. Christian freedom is neither licence nor blind obedience to the law of God. It is a creative relationship with God in which we are enabled more and more to achieve our fullest possible personal selves, to overcome every hindrance, and to live noble, love filling lives. Nothing makes us more free than the presence in us of God's spirit.

CHAPTER - V

ZORAMTHANGA AND OTHERS

Zoramthanga, a noted Mizo politician advocates a conception of freedom from a theological standpoint. According to him, man is a free creature of God, who must not be restrained by others or subjected to others, but he should be administered by himself. God, he says further, has made man in different colours, distinct shapes and with various ways of life. And the different people form the various kinds of nations. The will of the Creator is that each separate nation should live in a separate land so as to preserve and maintain its distinct and separate culture and custom, so that the people of all the separate nations could live happily.

Zoramthanga maintained that God who made the world designed the Earth to have different shapes in the form of different mountains and valleys or plains, to be inhabited by various kinds of people, having different customs and cultures.

"God, who makes the world, does not create human beings into a single race or nation only, but He makes different colours of White, Black and Brown people to have different ways of life. To the different people, He gives different cultures, separate languages and distinct characters. Hence, the will of God is a

distinct nation or race of human beings inhabiting a specific area in order to safeguard their own particular way of life."¹

The Bible says: "From one man He created all races of mankind and made them live throughout the whole earth. He Himself fixed beforehand the exact times and the limits of the places where they would live" (Psalm 74:17). As God makes all things because of some reasons, Zoramthanga specifically mentioned Mizoram which is made for the inhabitation of the Mizos to rule themselves and to pursue their own destiny, and not to be under any foreign domination. Thus for him, a man to live according to his own will and to pursue his own destiny in his own land is the will and planning of the Creator. This is the scheme of God for the existence of every man, and the man who enjoys what God entitled man to have is regarded as worthy of being a human being. Therefore, according to Zoramthanga the state of freedom is "to live as a worthy of human beings".² It is the quality of being human.

For Zoramthanga, all of mankind cannot be called as living a life worthy of human beings, as he termed 'worthy of human beings' for those who only have had their own government and framed their own constitution

1. Zoramthanga, Zoram Zalenna Lungphum, 1980, pp.66-67.

2. ibid., p.5.

according to their own will and choice so as to enable them to pursue their own destiny. He is of the view that at present the Mizos are below the level of the ideal human beings, because though the Mizos are a separate race or nation from the Indian or other foreign races, they are a dominated people. The Mizos are not having their own constitution nor government to run according to their own will. Hence, Zoramthanga looked upon the Mizos as 'Unworthy of being called human beings' and more like animals. He said: "The Mizos are below the level worthy of human beings. So as to live as human beings and to pass from the low level of animal life, they have to form their own government and the constitution as they wish only then will be labelled as worthy human beings."³

He obtained that contrary to God's will and violating God's command man lives like animals, the weaker or the smaller human races are captured and ruled over by the stronger and bigger races. 'The tiger would if he could, deprive the poor wolf of its food if he finds him eating his prey.' The Mizos, Zoramthanga compared to such a wolf. The status of the Mizo people he claimed

3. Zoramthanga, Op.cit., p.7.

was comparable with the mode of life of the wolf. For him the criterion determining the quality of the life of a human being depend solely on the right to self-determination.

I find Zoramthanga almost reproducing the views of Laldenga when he insisted that the Mizos who have no right to self-determination as they are under the domination of the powerful Indian government. The Mizos have no authority in their own land. As a result of this, they are bound to behave and to live as per the direction of the Indian constitution. Again, at the time of making the Indian Constitution no Mizo was consulted nor received any information regarding Constitution making. With all these kinds of injustice the Constitution of India was framed which included Mizoram. Hence the Constitution was being imposed on the Mizos and their Land was being colonised. Consequently as any kind of domination is against the Law of God which entitled to all persons the Fundamental Rights of existence is a human being,⁴ the Indian government is behaving in an unethical way.

Inspired by this idea, Zoramthanga worked to secure

4. Zoramthanga, Op.cit., pp.42-43.

the Fundamental Right of existence of the Mizo people. Some of his statements are like the following. Mizoram is a Land which God gifted to the Mizos and as such God converted them from Animism to Christianity. So God's will is to lead His people or believers free from the oppression of the Aliens or Unbelievers. God never forget His people wherever they are, and always helps them for obtaining their freedom. Recall the children of Israel whom God had freed from their bondage in Aigupta and lead them to Kanaan. Zoramthanga expressed his feelings in the form of a Song:

"God who has power over the Red Sea,
Who brought them freedom after slavery of Babylon;
O Lord Jeho with thy Divine help,
We'll also be fighting for Zoram".⁵

The Mizos stood as a separate nation even before the advent of the British government, having a nationality distinct and separate from that of the Indians. They are a distinct creation moulded and nurtured by God or Nature. Mizoram, therefore, had enjoyed sovereignty status and the people lived in complete independent from foreign interference. This picture of a free society, free from foreign domination changed considerably with

5. Zoramthanga, 'Kan Zoramah Lal Isua Krista Kraws', Mizo Hnam Hlabu, (Mizo patriotic Song book), 1981, p.5.

At this juncture it will be fruitful to the minutes of Bordoloi sub-committee which says:

"On one side advocacy for separate State or merger with Burma at the time of transfer of power consequent on India's Independence in 1947, and on the other integration with India. The latter point of the view was forcefully put forwarded by Mr. H.K. Bowichhuaka, one time secretary of Mizo Union during evidence at Bordoloi Sub-Committee. He told the Sub-Committee: 'If the Lushai Hills choose to be independent, it means eternal severance with the other Mizo countries outside Lushai Hills. If it goes to Burma, the same is the case, so the best interest of those living in the Lushai Hills is to be connected with India.'"⁸

An eminent Mizo, Ch. Saprawnga, however obtained that the Mizo had no option to decide their own future at the time of India's independence, in the Indian independence Act, Mizoram was also included and as such it was put into the Indian Union. The Mizo had no alternative regarding the future status of Mizoram, neither had they independence nor were they a Crown colony. The British government already arranged so and as such placed Mizoram in the Indian Union.⁹ He referred to the Notification made by the Governor of Assam, "There can be no question of the Lushais not living in the Indian Union in law, the Lushai country being an Excluded Area was already

8. Bandyopadhyay, P.K., Leadership among the Mizos, 1985, p.59.

9. Saprawnga, Ch., Ka zin kawng, (The way of my journey), 1990, pp.163-64.

part of Assam. In view of constitutional position stated above, the question of opting out after 10 (ten) years does not arise."¹⁰ Because of this the Mizos felt that they were passing from being the British slaves to becoming Indian slaves.

Slavery, as M.N. Roy viewed it might have been a social necessity in the earlier phase of human history. "But, this argument of social necessity to build a civilization cannot be valid today."¹¹

"The dawn of knowledge would lead a reasonable man to know his rights and his liberties. This will lead to a revolt against those forces which deprive him of his legitimate liberty. Thus freedom can be the result of revolution. Without revolution there cannot be dynamism. A static society would create stagnation which would be suicidal for the freedom - loving people. To be free - one must revolt and prepare to pay any price, that they may be required to pay. In this respect, Rousseau had influenced Zoramthanga's thinking. Like Rousseau the individual occupied the highest position in his mind. He obtained that the freedom of the individual must consist

10. *Ibid*, Governor Notice No. 7629-30 G ov 29.1947.

11. Krishnathandra, J., Contributions of M.N.Roy to Pol. Philo., 1968, p.32.

in the fullest development of all his potentialities on this Earth. The main purpose of all rational human endeavour, individual as well as collective, is attainment of freedom. Freedom is progressive disappearance of all kind of restrictions on individual's capacity to express his potentialities. The individual must, therefore, fight and revolt for his freedom whatever the loss and whatever the consequences. 'Without freedom life is empty, meaningless and devoid of happiness.'

To recapitulate, for Zoramthanga freedom means the greatest amount of self-determination which is feasible and reasonable. Freedom should be understood in the context of human happiness, and it should be the basis of man's happiness and to promote the growth of human personality. Freedom is a driving force of culture and the highest standard of life. Though it is a quality which cannot be predicted with reference to any specific aspect yet it has great emotional potency. This is due to the fact that man and his pursuit of happiness seems to depend upon the culture and the efficiency of those means which culture gives man in his struggle with the environment to attain freedom. Freedom becomes a symbol which stands for a sublime, powerful and purposeful ideal. He believed

that freedom is supreme value because the urge for freedom is the essence of Human existence.

As it is a hard earned prize no sacrifice is too great to uphold the principles of freedom. It is the prize for which millions of people paid by their blood, toils and tears. Echoing this idea, Zoramthanga also maintained that War is a must as an instrument for man to earn his freedom or right. In this sense, freedom can be brought about only through militant victory. The true state of freedom which here means an independent Mizoram would be a gift of the forefather inherited from the martyrs, warriors and patriots.

"The blood of dear (ones),
My friends are calling me,
It is for you, oh good Mother;
It is for you, oh do Zoram,
That I should live and die nobly."¹²

Zoramthanga argued that as Mizoram had been enslaved by the voluntary acceptance of slavery by her own people, it should be set free by her own efforts again. In the modern world, freedom could never be a free gift, so it had to be earned by determination, suffering, patience

12. Zoramthanga, 'Mother at Home', Mizo Hnam hlabu, 1981.

perseverance and courage. He maintained that God who made them Christians and their country a Christian country would help their efforts in achieving their freedom.

"May heavenly God help us,
To show the candid world;
How we do stand in truth,
And get a full freedom;
Never to bend, never to bend,
Get up to fight, get up to fight,
And you will get a full freedom."¹³

An examination of Zoramthanga's views demands the isolation of the Mizos as distinct from other Indians. It is true that there are separate and distinct races, different social and cultural groups in the world. A special theory of creation can account for the doctrine of exclusive races and racial purity. But the theory of special creation not only stands on shaky grounds but it seems to be a myth. Even if, it is provisionally accepted that exclusive races were specially created by some supernatural agencies or God, it does not go to prove the exclusive identity of cultures. If racial characteristics are contingent upon physical characteristics racial characteristics determine cultural identity the culture will be determined by physical characteristics.

13. Zoramthanga, 'Mizoram is endangered'.

As a matter of fact, so much intermingling among different people has taken place through the centuries that it is not only different but impossible to come across pure races. Therefore, those who establish cultural identity on the basis of pure races try to find out something which is non-existent. The so-called races and communities come and go but humanity at large continues to exist.

Moreover as for Zoramthanga freedom is mainly achieving political independence of Mizoram from foreign domination, to form a government according to their own will and to pursue their own destiny, politics is the potent force, it is the source of key to open the door of self-determination. It is political freedom which alone re-establishes a man into the status of a human being. And it is political domination which curtails the freedom of man and leads man to an existence of slavery, and therefore the loss of human dignity. Hence politics, for him is the most imperative mean of freedom. It is through the means of politics that national independence is achieved.¹⁴

14. Zoramthanga, 'What is Freedom', Zoram zalenna lungphum, 1980, pp.45-46.

"The notion of self-government as applied to the collectively of members of a polity is closely related to the conception of self-rule as applied to the moral growth of every human being. The maturity and development of a polity are regarded as a reflection as well as an index of the degree of moral maturity and self-cultivation of an elite or a generality of individuals."¹⁵

Just as the concepts of Swaraj and Swadeshi are essential to Gandhi's political ethics, so is independence and Nationalism important to Zoramthanga's concept of freedom. For him Nationalism is 'a latent love in human soul'. "It is a sentiment of the long cooperative effort made by national society in the exploration and cultivation of a national way of life and their own type of civilization : the sentiment of the debt of each to the past and present of his society, and the obligation of all, to its future."¹⁶ Zoramthanga observed that the sentiment of nationalism is the life and the strength of the nation. It is the most essential potent force for the existence and survival of a nation, without which a nation cannot survive or exist. Only for the sake of

15. Iyer, R.N., The moral and political thought of Mahatma Gandhi, 1973, p.346.

16. Barker, E., Principles of social and political theory, 1953, p.165.

nationalism does a man suffer and sacrifice his life. "Nationalism is the source of all for the survival and existence of a nation."¹⁷

The feeling of Nationalism is God's gift to man. Just as God had made man to love and obey his parents and his family, God has also made man to love others of the same race or nation, and to preserve its identity and to follow its way of life. A true sense of Nationalism must come from God. A Nation could rise only when nationalism is worshipped with religious fervour. This calls to mind the thesis of Aurobindo "Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is impossible to crush it, whatever weapons are brought against it. Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die because God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail."¹⁸ To be inducted into the religious order of nationalism demands great personal sacrifice wherein each individual would have risen above mere political aspiration and worship the nation in a spirit of self-affacement, not through the means of the intellect but through one's spirit and souls. "Nationalism is not only vital important for a nation

17. Zoramthanga, Op.cit., 'What is nationalism', p.65.

18. Ghosh, N.K., 'The spiritual nationalism of Sri Aurobindo', New Quest Pune, 1989, p.

to get its independence, but also to preserve and to safe-guard the freedom of the people even also after independence."¹⁹

Zoramthanga, -however, held that Independence from foreign domination is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the effective and full realization of freedom. Independence for him is only a half-way to freedom. Real freedom is not merely political but must also be economic and spiritual. Only than can man grow and fulfill his destiny. Freedom, he observed, is not a granted gift by any authority to anybody. He specifically mentioned to the Mizos that "the freedom is not depend on the strength of foreign governments but on the hands of the Mizo people themselves, if and only if the people maintain the idea of nationalism. Nationalism is still a significant potency to safeguard and preserve the freedom of the people."²⁰

Independence is like a sharp dao which is used for making many things, but if it is used by a young boy, the boy would not only hurt himself but also his friends. Likeways, some countries who have independence

19. Zormthanga, Op.cit.,, p.66.

20. Ibid., p.57.

have not yet freedom as the people are oppressed by their own rulers or administrators. Besides, there are some independent governments whose policies are entirely under the domination of the bigger or stronger governments.

All this occurs only when the feeling of nationalism is not kept alive by the people, or when the administrator develops a vested interest. Hence Zoramthanga admits that even in independent country the people cannot enjoy freedom without nationalism. In the absence of nationalism the freedom there is of limited nature. "Freedom is a thing that we can have to conquer afresh for ourselves, everyday, like love, and we are always losing freedom, just as we are always losing love, because after each victory, we think we can now settle down and enjoy it without further struggle."²¹

After Mizo National Front (MNF) came overground and the Mizo Peace Accord was signed, Zoramthanga advocated the economic freedom of the people in particular. God has not made the Mizo people to depend on others, nor has He made them to be despicable persons. That is why, the Mizo people should not depend on the economic policies

21. Novinson, W.H., Essay in Freedom, p.xvi.

of others, they should rather depend on themselves. Again, the people should not depend on their government alone, but they should stand and feed themselves, each individual must take his responsibility seriously. Since, God made us as healthy person, so we should stand on our feet and work with our hands. Of course any assistance coming from outside should be received. But our mind should be free from the slavery of avarice, as avarice always leads a man to the position of a beggar. I quote:

"To establish freedom for Mizoram, our minds should first be free from the fears of economic bondage, political bondage and various other kinds which could annoy our minds. It is the Truth from which alone Mizoram will attain its freedom, Truth which is much higher than independence of Mizoram."²²

Now both Laldenga and Zoramthanga advocate a similar concept of freedom as they held that the Indian constitution which was imposed upon them was a heavy burden on the Mizos. The renunciation or refusal of the constitution was the reason for their struggle for freedom, and the acceptance of the constitution determined the Peace Accord or which they then thought of as freedom.

Freedom, I think is neither a constitutional nor a political matter, but it is a predicament of the mind

22. Zoramthanga, speeches on the MNF Gen. Assembly, Aizawl, 26th Aug. 1986.

or the inner side of human beings. So, even after holding the political peace settlement, the struggle for freedom is never over and the effort is never dead.

I wish to state that mere political autonomy does not make a person or a people truly free. Political autonomy does not necessarily mean that we have achieved the real freedom. This kind of political freedom is very far from that of the real or pure freedom, for here freedom refers merely to a condition characterised by the absence of coercion or constraint imposed by external forces. Political autonomy is to rule or to govern by oneself. But even within this political freedom I think the individual may face many problems and crisis in his way of life and thus feel innumerable constraints.

My discussion here will not be complete unless I include another Mizo leader namely Lalthanhawla and Brig. T. Sailo.

In sharp contrast, to Laldenga, Lalthanhawla is of the view that the Mizo people had never been really free historically. It is a fact of history that each village had its own chief, and the chief had political

and judicial powers; he controlled in various degrees the daily lives of the people. Land division, disposal, and redistribution within the village boundary were his responsibilities. The chief received a certain tax from all products of the soil, as 'the chief was Lord of the soil'. He also received a 'Flesh tax', usually a hind leg of a four-legged wild animal killed by the villagers. Salt tax was also paid in areas where there was salt production. The people also built the chief's house. He ruled as he liked, like a dictator, the people had no freedom to change the administration because the chieftainship and hereditary. The fortunes of the people were mainly dependent upon the chief on his goodness or badness. As Lalthanhawla said "we were ruled completely by the chiefs of each village according to his own desire."²³

When Mizoram fell under the British, the people were more insecure as the chiefs were the only instruments of British administration. This control of the chief by the British resulted in the misuse of power and oppression of the people. "The Mizo people were, therefore, enslaved by the British, and they could only move according to their own direction."²⁴

23. Lalthanhawla: Speeches on the 39th Anniversary of Independence of India, Aizawl, 15.8.1986.

24. Ibid.,

Fortunately since the independence of India all citizens can enjoy their rights and dignity in democratic form of government as the people elect their own representatives. It is in the democratic government that the people feel really free, "it is only after the independence of India, the people of Mizoram could have been able to enjoy their freedom in the form of democracy."²⁵

However both Laldenga and Zoramthanga regarded that before the British government in Mizoram the Mizos were a free and sovereign nation, the chiefs administered in their own respective units. But since the independence of India the Mizos have been kept by the Indian rulers like prisoners. Laldenga argued that "he (the Mizo) is not only denied of comfort of the present civilization, but also remains denied of bare human necessities."²⁶

Zoramthanga's claim that the inclusion of Mizoram into the Indian Union has been against the will of God was unacceptable to Lalthanhawla. Referring to world history he said that many countries in the ancient times had been modified and changed in the modern times. Big

25. Lalthanhawla, Op.cit.,

26. Laldenga, 'Mizoram marches towards freedom', 1973, p.5.

empires of the ancient times have collapsed and small powers have become big powers. Hence, it would not be right to depend on historical evidence only, we must accept the inclusion of Mizoram into the Indian Union as the plan and scheme of God, and as the fate of Mizoram. It was God's programme that the christianised Mizos could freely preach and propagate the 'Good News' to many different parts of India. It was due to the inclusion of Mizoram in the Indian Union that the Mizo churches have been able to send missionaries into various parts of the country.

Again Laldenga and Zoramthanga's assertion that the Mizo living in India were poor and left in a state of starvation, being kicked, whipped and imprisoned. They were constantly accused of spoiling the joy of the Indian family for no other reason than their desire to live in the state of dignity. Therefore, the Mizo had to fight for their own freedom from the intolerable Indian domination. Lalthanhawla on the other hand, held that the Mizo were the youngest son on the Indian family who is going to inherit his father's properties, in the Indian Union. Hence there was no need for war, the Mizo should rather devote themselves to the task of development and work towards the integrity of India.

Neither do the Mizo have a nationality distinct from that of the Indians. Though the Mizo are descendants of Mongoloid stock, with a distinct and different language, having different code of social living and culture and also a different religion: they have been destined by God to be the citizens of the Indian Union along with different races like the Aryans and the Dravidians.²⁷ God makes human beings to have different colours and live in different groups, in the same manner the different types of people create the Indian nation having the same constitution, possessing the same ownership and responsibility in a big country like India.

"I do accept Mizoram as a part of the Indian Union and the Mizo are absolutely the citizens of India. It is our duty and responsibility to work for the welfare of all citizens, and for the integrity of the different people of our land by realising that we are the owners of Indian Union."²⁸

A nation means "a historically formed community of people which succeeds nationality. The nation is distinguished first of all by common material conditions of life, common territory and economic life; common language and certain traits of national character, manifested in the nationality peculiarity of its culture."²⁹ However,

27. Lalthanhawla, Speeches on 17th Mizoram Congress(I) Gen. Assembly, Aizawl, 1988.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Dictionary of Philosophy, p.283.

in the modern political world there could be no nation with a single language, single religion and a single culture. A great nation like U.S.A. has been formed by different types of people coming from Great Britain, France, etc. who are all now in one nation called America. So is the case with India. The different types of people having different cultures is the treasure of the Indian nation. This Indian nationality has been acknowledged by the nations of the world since its inception on its independence. The Mizo are though a different racial group are one of the most important makers of the Indian Union.

The idea of Laldenga of waging war between the Mizo nationalist and the **Vai** (Indian) is strongly opposed by Lalthanhawla for he holds that as long as Mizoram is within the Indian Union, the Mizo are the citizens of India, nothing can separate the Mizo from other Indians, the Mizo people are the owners and makers of India. The Mizo people elected their representatives to form the government of India, and also elected their representative for the State government under the Indian constitution.

The founders of the Indian constitution framed the Preamble of the constitution in such a way so as

to protect and give to all Indian citizens their right and dignity. The Preamble of the constitution reads as follows: 'India is a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice, social economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation'. Lalthanhawla is quite satisfied with the provisions of the constitution, and he says "the socio-political life of India has withstood the test of time and remained the biggest Democratic country in the world wherein all the citizens enjoy real freedom in all spheres of life."³⁰

During the struggle for freedom the whole country rallied around the banner of the Indian National Congress and made history by fighting the British empire in a non-violent manner. The National Army of freedom fighters, which took part in the struggle for India's political liberation, was inspired by the desire to serve India and make her free. Welcoming the people of Mizoram on the 37th Anniversary of India's Independence, he said:

30. Lalthanhawla, Speeches on 37th Anniversary of India's Independence, Aizawl, 15.8.84.

"Many of us who are gathered here today did not have the chance to participate in the National struggle for freedom and we do not have memory of the long travial before the birth of our nation. For a community which was destined to live in pathetic contentment within the narrow confine of traditional community, it is not easy to feel at home when exposed to a broader and more inclusive national community. For us, the last 37 years were years of adjustment and orientation."³¹

In sharp contrast, the MNF leaders held that "during the freedom movement of India, none of the Mizo ever participated nor a single soul enrolled himself in any of the Indian political or social organisations."³² They also strongly maintained that the "Indian rulers had 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 opinion to win their confidence."³³

A look at the thinkers like Laldenga on the one hand, Laldenga and Zoramthanga on the other will show that the conflict between can be seen in the context

31. Lalthanhawla, Op.cit.,

32. Laldenga, Op.cit., p.29.

33. MNF Declaration of Independence, 1966.

of two sets of loyalties - Loyalty to one region (Mizoram), and loyalty to the Indian nation. P.B. Gajendragadhar stated that in dealing with the problem posed regional and linguistic loyalties, it is necessary to recognise the relevance of these loyalties. It is inevitable that citizens belonging to one region and speaking a particular language should owe loyalty to that language and to that region. Indeed, it would be their duty to contribute to the enrichment and progress of the region where they reside and to the enrichment and development of the language which they speak. Loyalty to one's region and loyalty to one's language are facts of human life and legitimacy cannot be ignored. But the philosophy of national integration requires that these loyalties, which are narrow in the context of loyalty to India, must be harmonised with the paramount loyalty to India. A rational organisation of economic, social and political life of the country would ordinarily avoid any conflict between a citizen's loyalty to his region or to his language, and his loyalty to the nation as a whole. But, in a case a conflict does unfortunately arise, then the philosophy of National integration emphatically requires that the citizen must subordinate his loyalty to his region or to his language to the loyalty to the nation of India. In the history

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of a nation, conflicts between the two sets of loyalties has always been there, and it is in moments of such conflicts that the basic principle of National integration must prevail in the hearts of all the citizens.³⁴

Lalthanhawla has based his stand on the Gandhian principle of Non-violence which alone, he thought, would bring about peace and harmony to the Mizo people. We have seen that Gandhian sense of Non-violence does not mean only absence of violence, but it also means a justified force. According to Gandhi, if a force helps us to achieve the realisation of self we can say that there is justification in it. There can be said to be violence when our thought, word or deed does not able us to attain the final objective. If a force is too weak to enable us to realise our self, we can say that there is violence in that force. In other words, if somebody is molesting an innocent person the non-violence does not consist in abstaining from doing anything to the quality man. Inactivity in this case does not constitute non-violence, it is a case of violence to be inactive in such situation. Gandhi says: "Non-violence does not, therefore, necessarily imply the use of an ostensibly excessive force. If what

34. Gajendragadkar, P.B., The Philosophy of National Integration, Delhi, 1974, pp.28-29.

one does is conducive to the attainment of the final end it must be regarded as an act of non-violence."³⁵

However, Lalthanhawla does not go deeper into the meaning of non-violence in the Gandhian philosophy, he looks at only the literal meaning of non-violence as non-injury, non-killing, and more widely harmfulness, the renunciation of the will to kill and of the intention to hurt any living being, the abstention from hostile thought, word and act. He condemns Laldenga's and Zoramthanga's attitudes of violence for the achievement of freedom. Their acts of violence will not bring peace but it would rather result in killing and loss of many lives; And therefore, the result will be chaos and distress in the life of the Mizo people. He believed that "peace would never be the outcome of violence, and it cannot come at the point of bayonet or bullets, but through the means of peace talks with government of India within the framework of the constitution of India."³⁶

Interestingly Laldenga and Zoramthanga too justify themselves on Gandhian principle of Non-violence for they held that fighting for freedom is fighting for truth,

35. Mehta, J.K., Gandhian Thought : An Analytical Study, 1984, p.65.

36. Lalthanhawla, Op.cit., p.5.

and it is a striving for the realisation of themselves, it is a striving for the achievement of the 'worth of a human person'.

Lalthanhawla strongly opposed the idea of separatism advocated by Laldenga and Zoramthanga. He maintained that Laldenga who believed only in a freedom that would be the result of their own rebellious fighting, their idea of freedom was only an expression of the desire for the disintegration of the Indian Union which led Mizoram into disturbance for the last two decades and brought suffering to the people of Mizoram.

They regarded economic betterment as secondary to political freedom, for without political freedom there cannot be economic freedom. It is political freedom which is the source of other freedoms like be their economic cultural, social, etc. Without political freedom the people cannot plan for their development, cannot pursue their own interests for the upliftment of their socio-economic needs, they cannot excavate their natural resources nor can they pursue trade and commerce with their neighbouring countries.

For Lalthanhawla, it is true that the Mizo are not free from the bondage of economic deficiencies, but it is not because of political bondage. In fact, the Mizo are really free to pursue their own destiny. The main reason is that Mizoram is still far behind in building up the requisite infrastructure. No proper and systematic development work could be carried out due to the disturbed conditions imposed by the political freedom movement of the Mizo National Front (MNF) headed by Laldenga. And also due to the reason that the first four Five Year Plans had practically alluded Mizoram.

I am more in agreement with both Nehru and Gandhi who have a different stand from that of Lalthanhawla and the leaders of Mizo freedom fighters. They maintained that political and economic freedom are intertwined with each other. "Political goal was complete independence and economic goal was socialism. ... While nationalism was a potent force, economic factors were intertwined with the political goals." Then, "independence means the complete break with the British connection while economic goal was the abolition of class privileges and divesting vested interests."³⁷ What Gandhi fought for was

37. Prasad, Saroj, Nehru's Concept of Freedom, 1989, p.30.

not merely absence of alien bondage, nor political independence in the sense of transfer of power from one set of rulers to another set, and not political self-government unaccompanied by economic freedom but freedom from political subjection, economic exploitation and social tyranny.

Today, however both the leaders of the MNF and Lalthanhawla are holding the same concept of Mizo freedom for both maintain that Mizoram is a part of India, and it is under the constitution of India. Again, both dedicate themselves to the service of the nation and strive for the unity and prosperity of the Indian Union. Thus, for both the state of freedom lies in a man's enjoying the rights and dignity of human being as enshrined in the constitution of India in which all citizens have participated and formed a government on the democratic principle.

Another Mizo leader who cannot be ignored in the present discussion is Brig. T. Sailo who saw the threat to Mizo identity in the shape of the atrocities and misbehaviour committed by the Indian Army. The Mizo people are restricted from all sides by the domineering brutal force.

"In Kolasib, ... the army rounded up all the menfolk of the village, about 500 of them. They are collected, made to lie down on the ground on their stomachs and then were kicked, beaten, trampled upon and confined for the night. At night, group of soldiers moved about the village. They broke into houses, helped themselves with everything of value, ... and raped the women. ... there was the case of the women in an advanced stage of pregnancy - Lalthuami, wife of cultivator Lalthangliana. Five soldiers appeared in the house one night, took the husband out of the house at gun point, and while two soldiers held the woman down, the third committed rape".³⁸

He realised that Fundamental Rights is the only weapon and means to stop the unlawful activities of the Indian army. He therefore, openly criticised the army as unlawful and arbitrary as well as against the Human Rights of all human beings. He sent a detailed on the spot report on the incidents to the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, for her necessary action.*

The Mizo people think that it is the Indian army who represents India and because of its behaviour the Mizo people have been so much antagonised and alienated from India. He stated that the security forces have tried to intimidate the public in the manner of atrocities

38. Vunson, 'The Mizo National Front and Its Movement', Zo History, Aizawl, 1986, p.284.

* Sailo, Brig. T., Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India, Aizawl, 1974, p.3.

and ill-treatment. However, this strong-arm method has not brought about the integration of Mizoram. On the contrary, it has driven the solution even further away. It has only endangered bitterness and hatred against the Security Forces, and consequently against India. "It must be accepted that the present trouble in Mizoram is not military problem and consequently a human problem - a battle of hearts."³⁹

Brig. T. Sailo, therefore, established the Human Right Committee with a view to eradicate the unlawful activities of the Indian army and to provide a free atmosphere to the people of Mizoram, so that they can enjoy their rights as human beings. Human Right Committee started (a) programme of public education, (b) encouraged the people of Mizoram to report truthfully without exaggeration any incident of misbehaviour of the Indian army to the highest authorities of India. He also advocated that the rights of the Mizo people must not be suppressed by any force whether it be the Indian army or some other.

Brig. T. Sailo's thesis of freedom is confined within Indian constitution and to achieve his goal he does not denounce the Indian government but he rather

39. Sailo, Brig. T., Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India, Aizawl, 1974, p.3.

requested (unlike Laldenga and Zoramthanga) the Central government's support on the issue and also formed a organising body called 'The Human Rights Committee'.

The Fundamental Rights of human beings has been interpreted by Brig. T. Sailo on the basis of the theory of Legal Rights. The theory of Legal Rights expresses that all rights of man depend on the State for their existence, there can be no right in the proper sense of the term unless it is so recognised by the State. This theory holds that no rights are absolute, nor are any rights inherent in the nature of man as such. Rights are relative to the law of the land, hence they vary with time and space. Rights have no substance unless they are guaranteed by the State. Accordingly Brig. T. Sailo's idea is to educate the Mizo people about their rights and also to know the function of the Indian army.

Economic betterment he regarded as the most important means for the preservation and existence of the Mizo ethnic identity. For him economic freedom is the basis of all other freedoms. As the people of Mizoram are very poor they cannot live without the help of the central government of India. Hence, he emphasised self-

sufficiency in food, electric power and road and transport, etc. for the Mizos.

Laldenga and Zoramthanga contrued the Fundamental Rights of Human beings as a Natural Right of man. The theory of Natural Rights treats the rights of man as a 'Self-evident truth'. These rights are not granted by the State, but they come from the very nature of man, from his own intrinsic being. "The Natural Rights of man", Hobbes says, "is the liberty each man had, to use hiw own power, as he will himself, for the preservation of his own nature."⁴⁰ Natural Rights of man, according to John Locke, are to life, liberty and property. It means the liberty of men to dispose of their properties or goods as they like within the allowance of the laws of nature under which they are, therein not to be subjected to the arbitrary will of another but freely follow their own. All mankind are equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health and liberty. In the same manner, Laldenga and Zoramthanga aruged that 'in order to maintain peace and tranquility amongst mankind, every nation - large or small, must by right be free and independent. Similarly the Mizo nation must be free to

40. Hearshaw, F.J.C.(ed), The Social and Political Ideas of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, p.158.

work out her own destiny, to formulate her own internal and external policies. Laldenga declared that their claims for the independence of Mizoram is only a demand for the recognition of human rights. Their theory is based on the Natural Human Right when they said that 'the most important essence of human beings is the Fundamental Right of man's existence. It is the most essential nature of human beings which was given by God to all human beings, and therefore it is the fate of man endowed by God.'⁴¹

Believing that the voice of the people is the best and strongest weapon in politics, T. Sailo tried to win the hearts of the Mizo people against the MNF for the MNF's activities were giving suffering to the people. "If you want progress and development, if you want food and drinking water and electricity, these acts of cruelty and violence by the MNF must be stopped by you. You can stop it only if you condemn publicly these acts of cruelty and violence by the MNF. Remember that these acts of cruelty and violence do not bring anything good for you and for Mizoram, nothing whatsoever. It brings only distress and shame for the Mizo community and miseries and sufferings to you."⁴²

41. Zoramthanga, Op.cit., p.43.

42. Sailo, Brig. T., Speeches and Writings of Brig. T. Sailo, 1981, p.16.

For the welfare of the Mizo community he aimed at the Reunification of the separated Mizo who were living in different parts of India, Burma and Bangladesh.* The British administrators had divided the Mizo in different areas even though they had the same culture and a common language.

"Before the advent of the British into the Indian sub-continent, the mountainous region between the Chindwin valley in the East, the plains of Manipur in the North, the plains of the present Cachar district, the Tripura domain of the Maharajas and the Chittagong Hill tracts in the west and the Arakan Yomas in the South was inhabited by the people of the same ethnic stock - the Hill people - known as Zomis, having a same language but with different dialects brought about by the compulsions of geographical factors such as hill ranges and rivers."⁴³

* For attaining his objective of Re-unification of the Mizo, a forum called Zomi Re-Unification Organisation was founded.

43. Sailo, Brig. T., Text of speech on Champhai Convention, 20th May, 1988, p.1.

CONCLUSION

My discussion of the view points of the various Mizo scholars regarding the concept of freedom exposes the following areas of confusion:

- (a) What is meant by the talk of natural rights? Does any claim made by a people turn that demand into a right?
- (b) Related closely to the above is the insistence of many that it is only as a free nation that the Mizo can exercise their true freedom and retain their identity. This brings the whole controversy of a nation versus its States into my gambit.

The repeated emphasis of Mizo intellectuals on freedom as constituting the natural right of man (whether God-given or otherwise) takes me to a discussion of the concept of rights. The idea that a man could have a right which, as natural, inalienable, and infeasible had some kind of sanctity and validity transcending that of ordinary positive law led philosophers to speculate about what kind of thing a right might be. For Spinoza

a man's natural right amounted to the power he could exercise over another; a sovereign's right was the power he exercised by virtue of the combined power of all the individuals who were prepared to support him; and the individual's legal rights were the powers he had by virtue of the sovereign's support in upholding the law. Again, T.H. Green described an individual right as 'a power of acting for ... what he conceives to be his own good, secured to an individual by the community!'

A right, however, is not and does not necessarily imply a power (except, perhaps, in the sense of a legal competence like, for instance, the power to make a will). For a man may have rights he is powerless to enforce if the courts are corrupt or his opponents are too powerful to risk offending. One might say perhaps that his rights are hypothetical power - what he would be able to achieve if he were able and chose to appeal to the courts and if the courts acted according to the law. But this would be the same as saying that his rights are the powers he would enjoy if he had his rights. Rights, in other words, may explain why persons have the powers they do, but they are not identical with these powers.¹

1. Campo, Mariano, 'Rights' The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 8 & 7, p.195.

There is a long tradition in political philosophy to support the view that there are some rights which are natural rights such as the right to life, liberty, and property. However, most scholars for instance Locke, as well as Hobbes, always qualify the demands for these rights with upholding them when there was no rule or moral reason against so doing. Thus the entire discussion becomes one of morality involving the notion of a moral person. If someone is obstructing the freedom of another he must justify with reason and argument his act of interference.

The one who is being denied his freedom must be convinced of the reasons for the obstruction. For if one denied a man this right, it would be open to others to use him, like their beasts and their tools, for their own purposes and as they chose, without being called upon to show by what right they did so. This would be to acknowledge with Aristotle that some men are slaves by nature. To recognize a man as a moral person is thus to recognize that he has interests and not merely functions and thus to concede at least this minimal right.

The right to freedom couched in this very general form gives no clue, of course, to what might be a good reason for interference. To have a moral right, Hart* says, "entails having a moral justification for limiting the freedom of another person and for determining how he should act". To have a natural right to freedom entails, first, a liberty to do anything which does not coerce, restrain, or injure another person. But it also entails a right that everyone else forbears toward oneself in these respects except to prevent one's coercing, restraining, or injuring another. Rights Hart explains, are claimed mainly in two types of situations: when the claimant has some special justification for interfering himself or when he is resisting someone else's interference. Rights of the first type arise from special transactions or relations - from promises or by special authorization, for instance, or from the relations of persons participating in a common enterprise, each having the right in fairness against the others that as they benefit from his submission to the rules, they shall also submit to them.²

General rights, in Hart's view, such as the right

* Hart, Herbert Lionel Adolphus, who retired as Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1978, was Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford University until 1968.

2. Campo, Mariano, Op.cit., p.198.

to say what one thinks or to worship as one pleases, are really only special exemplifications of the equal rights to be free. So to assert a general right is to claim in respect of some particular kind of activity each man's equal right to be free, provided there are no conditions constituting someone else's special right to limit his freedom in that respect. Moreover, Hart maintains that the equal right to freedom is invoked indirectly by every claim to a special right. For one's promises and authorizations give others a right to interfere with the former not because the purpose of the interference is necessarily good but simply because he has chosen that they may interfere. The limitation of one's freedom presupposes his freedom. Mutual restrictions in a common enterprise also presuppose the equal right to freedom, because only thus can there be fair and equal distribution of restrictions, and therefore, of freedom, among participants.

So a right becomes a special kind of moral consideration cited to justify restraining or interfering with others or to protest against their interference with oneself; it is different in kind from utilitarian considerations or rules against lying or cruelty, which concern the moral value of the act itself or of its

consequences. Now-a-days, however, rights are commonly asserted not only to freedom from interference of various kinds but also to positive benefits (education, a decent standard of living, a medical treatment). Rights of this kind are different in that though they appear to make a very definite claim, the correlative duty seems to rest neither on individuals at large (as with freedoms) nor on anyone in particular. To say, as does the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that "everyone as a member of society, has the right to social security" (article 22) and "to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing" (article 25), is not to say that his government has a duty to provide these things; many who subscribe to this declaration would deny that such services were a government's proper business. Rather, statements of this kind provide, in the words of the Preamble, "a common standard of achievement for all peoples"; that is, they are canons by which social, economic, and political arrangements can be criticized. Human rights, in short, are statements of basic needs or interest. They are politically significant as grounds of protest and justification for reforming policies. They differ from appeals to benevolence and charity in

that they invoke ideals like justice and equality. A man with a right has no reason to be grateful to benefactors; he has grounds for grievance when it is denied. The concept presupposes a standard below which it is intolerable that a human being should fall - not just in the way that cruelty to an animal is not to be tolerated but, rather, that human deprivations affront some ideal conception of what a human life ought to be like, a conception of human excellence. It is on the face of it unjust that some men enjoy luxuries while others are short of necessities, and to call some interests luxuries and others necessities is implicitly to place them in an order of priorities as claims. Upsetting that order then demands to be justified. Human rights are the corollary, then of the equally modern notion of social justice.³

The teleological view of rights rightly seeks to relate the rights of man with the purpose of human life. T.H. Green argues for instance that the rights of man do not emanate from any transcendental law, but from the moral character of man himself. Each individual, impelled by his moral consciousness, tends to seek ideal objects. Since all individuals share the same moral consciousness, their ideal objects are common objects. Thus

3. Campo, Mariano, Op.cit., pp.198 & 199.

they form a state, all individuals agree to recognize each other's claim to pursue their ideal objects. Green holds that rights depend on recognition, but their recognition is granted by the moral consciousness of the community - which is shared by all individuals - not by the state. Green is, in fact, concerned with ideal rights and ideal rights derive their sanction from the inherent moral propensity of man, not from the force of the state.

The theory of natural rights served as a source of inspiration for the American and French Revolutions. The American Declaration of Independence expressed this idea as follows:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."⁴

4. Hersch, Jeanne (ed.), *Birthright of Man*, p.199.

Similarly, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man asserted the idea as under:

"Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be based only upon public utility. (...) The aim of every political association is the preservation of natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression."⁵

The doctrine of natural rights was put forward at a historical juncture with a view to securing favourable conditions for a free market society. Hence, natural rights were interpreted in such a manner that they could be instrumental to its establishment. This shows that natural rights can be interpreted in order to uphold the values of the particular class which invokes these rights. Natural rights are claimed to be eternal and immutable. But, in actual practice, they are capable of immense variations. Aristotle saw 'Slavery' as natural, as he said: "From their hour of birth some men are marked out of subjection, and others for rule." This view is no longer upheld.

The concept of natural rights is a subjective concept; their character depends on the views and values of the class which grasps, interprete and articulates

5. Hersch, Jeanne (ed.), Op.cit., p.201-

them. In any case, natural rights constitute an essential element of logic. Any class which rises against some prevailing injustice, may invoke natural rights to prove as to what stands to reason. The Natural rights comprise a dynamic concept; there can be no fixed natural rights. Their interpretation depends on the nature and degree of prevailing social consciousness.

The theory of natural rights was rejected by those who believed in the theory of Legal rights. According to this theory all rights of man depend on the state for their existence; there can be no right in the proper sense of the term unless it is so recognized by the state. This theory holds that no rights are absolute, nor are any rights inherent in the nature of man as such. Rights are relative to the law of the land; hence they vary with time and space. Rights have no substance until they are guaranteed by the state. This implies (i) that there are no rights prior to the state, because they come into existence with state itself; (ii) it is the state which declares the law and thereby guarantees and enforces rights - no right can exist beyond the legal framework provided by the state; and (iii) as the law may change from time to time, the substance of rights

also changes therewith - there can be no fixed rights in the society, not to speak of eternal or universal rights.

Hobbes argued that even the fundamental right of the individual, viz., the right of 'self-preservation', is better maintained by the state than by the individual himself. Hence, man must depend on the state for the maintenance of his rights. He is free to do anything which is not restricted by the state. In other words, man can have no rights against the state.

Jeremy Bentham rejects the doctrine of natural rights as unreal and ill-founded. He observed:

"Rights, properly so called, are the creatures of law properly so called; real laws give birth to real rights. Natural rights are the creatures of natural law; they are a metaphor which derives its origin from another metaphor. ... What there is natural in man means - faculties. But to call these means, these faculties, natural right is again to put language in opposition to itself. For rights are established to insure the exercise of means and faculties. The right is the guarantee; the faculties is the thing guaranteed."⁶

Bentham condemns natural rights as an invention of fanatics, which are dogmatic and unintelligible, devoid

6. Hersch, Jeanne, (ed), Op.cit., p.125.

of reasoning. About their upholders, he remarks: instead of examining laws by their effects, instead of judging them as good or as bad, they consider them in relation to these pretended natural rights; that is to say, they substitute for reasoning of experience the chimeras of their own imaginations."⁷

Laski, who erects his theory of rights on moral foundations holds that rights are not concessions granted by the state. On the contrary, rights are superior to the state; because they provide for a standard to judge the state itself. He, therefore, postulates: "Every state is known by the rights that it maintains. Our method of judging its character lies, above all, in the contribution that it makes to the substance of man's happiness".⁸

To Laski, rights are essentially accompanied by duties. He held that the possession of rights does not mean the possession of claims that are empty of all duties. Rights are not independent of society, but inherent in it. Man is entitled to rights to enable him to make his contribution to the social good. Rights are, therefore,

7. Hersch, Jeanne (ed), Op.cit., p.126.

8. Laski, Harold. J., A Grammar of Politics, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1973, p.89.

correlative with duties or functions. The concept of rights postulates that the state as well as the individual shall pursue the ideal objects of society. Accordingly, the duty of the individual is co-extensive with the duty of the state. If the state fails in its duty, it is the duty of the individual to resist the state. Moreover, as the rights of man are subservient to a common good in exercise of his rights.

Rights are therefore, not historical in the sense that they have at some time won their recognition. But rights are historical in the sense that they are demanded by a society at a certain level of its development. Rights are not natural in the sense that they can be compiled into a permanent and unchanging catalogue. But, they are natural in the sense that they must demand their recognition according to the level of development of society. The contents of rights change with time and place.

The entire debate regarding Laldenga and Zoramthanga's demand for the sovereignty for the Mizos and their reference to the Theory of Natural rights for the same needs to be seen in the light of the above discussion. That

the inclusion of Mizoram into the Indian Union is an obstruction and hindrance of the freedom of the Mizo people needs to be discussed in the light of what they envision as the goal and aim of Mizo society. If their aim is like that of Lalthanhawla and Brig. T. Sailo, that is, the welfare of the Mizo people, then they must recognize that there are no absolute rights and whatever rights the Mizos demand have to take cognizance of the particular times through which the society is passing. Moreover, the claim that only people with one language and one religion can constitute a nation is no longer tenable in the world today.

In other words, groups of people of different races, with different religions, languages and cultures, etc. may live together and feel united as a citizens of the same State, and owing their undivided allegiance to that State. Nation refers to people living in a defined territory, inspired by a sense of unity, common political aspirations, common interests, common history and common destiny though they belong to different nationalities. According to E.H. Carr, "the term nation has been used to denote a human group with the following characteristics: (a) The idea of a common government whether as a reality

in the present or past, or an aspiration of the future. (b) A certain size and closeness of contact between its individual members. (c) A more or less defined territory. (d) Certain characteristic (of which the most frequent is language) clearly distinguishing the nation from other nations and non-national groups. (e) Certain interests common to the individual members. (f) A certain degree of common feeling or will, associated with a picture of the nation in the minds of the individual members."⁹

In India, the increasing assertion of States' rights as opposed to the Union Government's powers has resulted sometimes into sub-national groups developing confrontation between the Union and the States on political and economic issues. Evolution of regional parties with regional programmes often leads to inter-regional rivalries. It also leads to the propagation of 'son of the soil' theory - a discriminatory type of regional ethno-centrism.

Laldenga and Zoramthanga, the leaders of Mizo freedom fighters, remarked that the Mizos are on the point of losing their cultural identity as they lack

9. Carr, E.H., 'Nationalism', What is History, Penguin Book Ltd., New York, 1961.

political freedom. But this argument runs contrary to facts. Culture is something which is not given but that which is acquired. It is something which is not only acquired but which grows, develops, becomes obsolete or dies out. Culture is something on which value judgment can be passed. "The pattern, norms, rules, and standards implicit in the behaviour, social relations and artifacts are considered as the constituents of culture."¹⁰

For Gandhi, culture stands for a set of values and these values are not linked to any racial groups. Any man and any group can strive to attain these values. If culture is seen as a manifestation of values, then there cannot be plurality of culture at the fundamental level, what to speak of culture being tied down to particular races. Those who talk of plurality of culture try to link culture with ethnic groups and define it in terms of habits, beliefs, attitudes and way of life. But Gandhi would point out that all these have regional variation but there can be no variation in values at the core.

As a matter of fact, so much intermingling among different people has taken place through centuries that

10. International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol.3, 1968, p.540.

it is not only difficult but impossible to come across pure races. Therefore, those who establish cultural identity on the basis of pure races try to find out something which is non-existent. It is not a possession of similar characteristics but the value that holds men together in a similar group. Inter-personal relations and thereby our culture is determined by our attitude towards others. Gandhi would say that the so-called others are really our brothers. He would discover unity among all living beings - even among all living and non-living ones. For him, there is a cosmic unity - one who sees this unity does not find basic diversity. Diversity is only peripheral for Gandhi. The basic unity runs in and through all beings. Even if there are exclusive and pure races, yet people belonging to these diverse races are all brothers.¹¹

Moreover for Gandhi, one's body and his so-called culture do not constitute what is called one's ownself. "If at any time my body and so-called culture stand in the way of my soul, I must shun both of these. If I come to know that I belong to an exploitative system of political culture, I must give up. The sooner I give it up,

11. Malla, N., 'Identity Crisis : A Study in Philosophy of Culture in Gandhian Framework', Gandhi Marg : Journal of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, ed. by R.R. Diwakar, et al., New Delhi, Vol.6, No.8, Nov. 1984, pp.621-623.

it is better for me." If at any time a particular community is indulging in a nefarious practice as a hangover from the past, it should not be retained in the name of protecting cultural identity. Protection of cultural identity does not mean protection of all the evil practices.

Then again, the advocates of a free Mizo nation fear the extinction of their culture at the heavy influx of outsiders. It is sometimes argued that the very presence of outsiders in Mizoram poses a threat to Mizo culture. In this connection, it will not be out of place to point out the following. Not only the Mizos but almost all the Nagas and a high chunk of Meghalaya tribes have already lost their identity in respect of their religion voluntarily, by embracing christianity.

And surely religion is one of the vital elements in a culture. To the extent one gives up one's own religion and accepts another, one loses one's identity. Also there is no need to give up one's own religion and accept another. In a very broad sense, no religion is superior to another. When dirt and filth enter into a particular religion, it can be reformed from within. Historically speaking, this has been happening almost in all the major religions

of the world. The large-scale conversion of the Mizos from their indigenous faith to christianity may be treated as a major factor in the process of losing their earlier identity. As a consequence of this I feel that the unconscious psyche of the Mizos might be feeling restless and very much disturbed by not finding any stable and permanent native cultural anchorage and hence he sublimates this with expressing resentment against outsiders.

Then again, language is one factor of Mizo identity that has been talked about by the freedom fighters. Undoubtedly if any attempt is made either openly or secretly to crush their language, literature, etc., they i.e., the Mizos have every right to resent and lodge a protest against it. Language is the external and visible badge of those differences which distinguish one community (Mizo) from another, it is the most important criterion by which a group is recognised to exist, and to have a right to form an independent State of its own. "Men have not continued one flock, but have dispersed over all the earth, and have divided into distinct families, tribes, and nations, their languages bear the imprint of their varying circumstances and distinct identities."¹²

12. Kedourie, Elie, Nationalism, Hutchinson & Co Ltd., London (Reprinted), 1971.

Given that man is unique and distinct in being a user of one type of language, there can be various kinds of intellectual puzzlements about this. In what is a language different and distinct from that of other languages? "There may be variations in certain kinds of sophistications and discriminations, but the fundamental structure must be the same. Thus, take the concept of time. This may vary widely from language to language but whatever the variations, the centre of the concept must be the same. This centre would consist of distinctions such as before, after, at the same time as, early, late, etc. There could be no language, in which one could talk about one's experiences, and which, yet did not have room from distinctions."¹³ An important corollary to this fundamental unity of all languages is that it ensures the mutual sharability of human experiences. Also since all human languages must share the same basic equipment, it is impossible that any language can be, in any fundamental sense, different or unique from another language.

In any case the thesis that it is the influx of outsiders that will lead to an obstruction to the Mizo

13. Mrinal and Sujata Miri, 'Unity in Diversity', North East Region : Problems and Prospects of Development, ed. by B.L. Abbi, Chandigarh, 1984, p.156.

freedom and consequently to the loss of the Mizo language appears too far-fetched. The Mizo language will stay as long as the Mizos themselves use it as a means of communication of not only their day-to-day thoughts but also their creative expressions. I feel that the identity crisis felt by the Mizos has not been properly spelt out by the leaders. Because of this the politicians and politically inclined academicians are cashing in on it.

Have the Mizos lost their identity? This is not purely an empirical question. The answer to this question depends upon what we mean by identity. I have said that racial identity is a myth. In that sense, no man, no community or no tribe can have identity. If identity is understood in ecological terms, not only the Mizos have lost their identity but all the communities throughout the globe have lost their identity because of rapid industrialisation. Again, if identity is understood in terms of ways of life, including food and clothing habits, beliefs, ideas and attitudes, not only the Mizos but all the human beings to a very great extent have lost their identity. Every man is in the iron-grip of identity crisis. This is what Gandhi would call a cultural crisis. In Gandhian terms, a man retains his identity as a man only

when he practices certain values. To the extent he fails, he faces identity crisis. Identity crisis is really a value crisis. This value transcends all petty interests of communities, groups and tribes. Identity can be protected and preserved only when these values are protected. So attempts should rather be made to safeguard and institutionalise these values.

In the conclusion, let me reassert that the attempt to conceive of freedom merely as a freedom from external forces is not really what is meant by freedom in the religion of christianity. True freedom does not come from outside but from within oneself as I have pointed out earlier. Violence and oppression by any party must be unacceptable to the christian way of life. As God is against oppression, those who oppress the people insult the Maker (God). In 1974, the International Congress on World Evangelization, Laussane, had made a Covenant which runs thus:

"We affirm that God is both the Creator and the judge of all men. We, therefore, should share his concern for justice and reconciliation throughout human society and for the liberation of men from every kind of oppression. Because mankind is made in the image of God, every person regardless of race, religion, color, culture, class, sex or age, has an intrinsic dignity because of which he should be respected and served, not exploited."¹⁴

14. International Congress on World Evangelization, Laussane, 1974: Extracted from Rev. V.K. Nuh's Nagaland Church and Politics, Vision Press, Kohima, 1986, p.22.

The christian has responsibility to work and safeguard justice, to help the poor and to work for the extension of equality to all citizens and not to involve in idolatry. He has to live and work for the benefit of other, for the betterment of society according to the will of God. If the State tends to become absolute and to deny the basic freedom which God has given to every man, it is the duty of the christian to participate in political decisions in terms of christian principles. Jesus Christ's attitude and expressions do provide some guidance for christians in political relations. Jesus recognized the political government and its legitimate functions in terms of maintaining order, collecting taxes and adopting a monetary system. He said, "render to Caesar the thing that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mark 12:17). Jesus "lays down the fundamental principles which must guide His disciples in those future crisis in this human authority - State and Church - makes conflicting claims."¹⁵

Though the main purpose of Jesus Christ was the redemption of persons, not the reconstruction of the government or society, yet He laid down the fundamental

15. H.D.A. Major, et al., The Mission and the message of Jesus, E.P.Dutton & Co., New York, 1938, p.148.

principles by which christians are to be guided in political activities. Since the State is God's instrument to promote order and well-being, it is the consequent duty of the christians to support it by being good citizens, paying taxes and honouring those in power (Romans 13:1-7). Being a Roman citizen, Paul appealed to his privileges as a citizen. At the same time, he recognized that the christian's true citizenship is in Heaven (Phil. 3:20). But just as Roman colonists sought to fashion the life of a new colony after the model of Rome, so the christian must seek to fashion the Christian community in accordance with the laws of Heaven.

Some christian circles deny that christian ethical responsibility extends into the political realm, contending that the christian ethic applies only in personal relations. Whereas others in the christian community become so concerned with the problems of the social order that they tend to neglect the spiritual needs of the individual.

As C.L. Hminga remarks:

"Politics was working the opposite way and was sowing seeds of mistrust and even hatred of other people. The armed insurgency that took place in 1966 marred the Mizo image as a christian people in the eyes of other tribes around them."¹⁶

16. Hminga, C.L. Rev. Dr., The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram, Published by Baptist Church of Mizoram, Serkawn, 1987, pp.303-304.

Lalsawma*, however, contends that "salvation of spiritual part of man is preached in Mizo christianity, and there is need to present afresh the social aspect of the Gospel."¹⁷

With the coming into Mizoram of Liberation theology, there is more emphasis on working for the oppressed classes who it is argued are also created in the same image of God like all other human beings. So the christian's duty is concerned with the transformation of the entire society, with the liberation of the whole humanity from all forms of oppressions whether on the grounds of religion, colour, social status, sex, etc.

Unlike the earlier times, christianity has started losing its transforming power in the Mizo society. The message of christian brother-hood is preached mainly in the pulpit, it receives only lip service. In spite of many testimonies of born-again experience throughout the land, the social life is moving from bad to worse. Let me quote here Shri Kanito Sema:

* The first Mizo who got M.Th. Degree.

17. Quoted from C.L. Hminga, Op.cit., p.304.

"A great victory of spiritual society lies in its overcoming the desire of excessive material prosperity. This is far from being practiced in the christian world. Social behaviour in the North-East region projects that spiritualisation work is, up to the present phase, not yet successful. ...Those who preach the Gospel also go from door to door during election campaigns with bags of money, and those who are faithful to the Gospel accept election bribe. ... "Even Jesus will be defeated in election, without the money with Him."¹⁸

In the light of the christian message thus I would end my dissertation with once again referring to Gandhi's discussion of the concept of Swaraj or Self-rule. This I find necessary to do because of the tendency in the North East of equating freedom with mere political autonomy. Gandhi employed the term Swaraj in its specific and genetic sense. While he organized the Indian masses for Swaraj conceived as a constitutional, democratic political order, he at the same time stressed on its economic, mass, or organic content. For Gandhi, Swaraj literally means 'Self-rule' and its original connotation meant autonomy of the moral self where strict control is exercised over the senses. "The word Swaraj is a sacred word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint,

18. Kanito, V.C.Sema, 'A Critical assessment of Christian Acculturation of the North-East', Ed. by Sujata Miri in Religion and Society of North-East India, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi; 1980, p.75.

and not freedom from all restraint which independence often means. Citations from Gandhi's writings can be multiplied to show that he pinned his faith in self-Swaraj as of prime importance in the fight for Swaraj in the collective sphere. Gandhi taught that there is no greatness except greatness within one's own kind; no universality except the universality within one's province; no freedom except the freedom within one's own belonging."¹⁹

19. Ernest Hocking, William, 'On Freedom and Belonging', in S. Radhakrishnan (ed.) Mahatma Gandhi : Essays and Reflections on His Life and Work, Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, 1956, p.102.

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