

# MIZORAM

Development of Politico-Administrative  
System and Statehood



Lalrintluanga

Serials

## ABOUT THE BOOK

At the outset, the book analyses theoretical concepts of political parties with a view to finding out appropriate concepts for application to the present study and then deals with an analytical study of the hitherto social, economic and political factors responsible for the emergence of political parties and statehood demand in Mizoram.

With reference to the geographical, social and economic profile of the land 'Mizoram' this book provides a comprehensive account of the socio-economic and political circumstances under which modern educated elite, under the auspices of the first political party, called the Mizo Union, launched a political movement for Mizoram statehood, and how far this movement was paralysed by separatist politics under the patronage of 'the United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO)' which indirectly prepared the groundwork for the outbreak of Mizo National Front (MNF) insurgency in Mizoram.

This work also assesses the impact of insurgency on the working of the political parties in Mizoram and how could the political parties reach a consensus to transform the movement for Mizoram statehood into their consensus political demand. It also appraises the activities of political and non-political organisations in Mizoram to put pressures on the local and the Union Governments to make headway for an early peaceful solution of the insurgency problem in Mizoram.

The book finally evaluates the role of political parties in their demand for Mizoram statehood and hence analyses their election manifestoes, ideologies, programmes and the stands taken by them during the Mizoram Legislative Assembly Election of 1984 where the settlement of peace and conferment of statehood on the Union Territory of Mizoram were the major issues.

The work is based mostly on primary data such as archival records available in Mizoram and some other parts of India, records and publications of various political parties and private papers of political leaders in Mizoram, petitions and memoranda of political parties and non-political organisations.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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He has participated in various academic seminars; workshops and conferences organised at local, sub-regional, regional, national and international levels and also presented some academic papers. Besides, he has some research papers to his credit published in some national and international referred journals.

He was previously a member of Board of Under-graduate Studies (BUGS), Board of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) and Board of School of Social Sciences under the North Eastern Hill University (NEHU). After the establishment of Mizoram University, he was a member of the first Board of Studies (BOS), later, the first Board of Under-graduate Studies (BUGS), the first Board of Post-graduate Studies (BPGS) and the first Board of School of Social Sciences (SSS). He is currently a member of the Second Academic Council (AC) as well as the Dean, Students' Welfare of Mizoram University.

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# **MIZORAM**

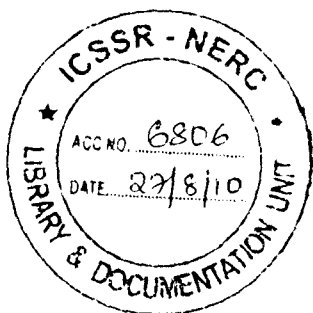
## **DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICO— ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM AND STATEHOOD**



**LALRINTLUANGA**



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## Introduction

With the exception of few, most of the states in India have traced their origins to certain complex political movements—democratic or undemocratic—spearheaded by certain political parties within or outside the constitutional frameworks of India. A reminiscence of the process of formation of states in North-East India has also given us strong evidences that, with the exception of Meghalaya and Arunachal Pradesh, all other states in North-East Region have come into existence as a result of democratic or undemocratic political movements launched by some sections of different ethnic groups in their respective inhabited areas. The long experience of the Mizos in their fight for the attainment of statehood by their ancestral land is not exception to this complex process. Although the Mizo Union launched a modest movement for the attainment of Mizoram statehood, it was only after twenty years of MNF's struggle for independent existence outside India that the Union Government granted statehood to the Union Territory of Mizoram. It is astonishing to state that no scholars have made a specific study on the subject so far, and this neglect of study on the issue of formation of Mizoram state has become discernible from the following review of existing literature on the politics and administration in Mizoram undertaken by the author.

## REVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE ON MIZORAM POLITICS

By way of proving the feasibility of carrying out the present study, the author has undertaken an extensive review of literatures pertaining to government and politics in Mizoram. S.K. Chaube's *Hill Politics in North East India* (1973) and V.Venkata Rao's *A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India* (1976) have dealt with Mizoram politics only as a part of their wider study of North-Eastern politics. These works, therefore, do not contain sufficient study of the role of political parties to solve the vexed problem of insurgency as the precondition for the creation of Mizoram state. A.C. Ray's *Mizoram: Dynamics of Change* (1982) has generally dealt with various problems pertaining to administrative development in Mizoram in the context of national integration. Nirmal Nibedon's *Mizoram: The Dagger Brigade* (1982) is mainly concerned with the Mizo National Front (MNF) Movement with some elements of journalistic romanticism though it contains some of the relevant informations on government and politics in Mizoram. S.K. Chaube's *Electoral Politics in North-East India* (1989) has dealt with the electoral politics in Mizoram only in the context of North-East India. Like the aforesaid works, R.N. Prasad's *Government and Politics in Mizoram* (1987) has dealt with the evolution of Mizoram politics with a sketchy reference to the creation of Mizoram State. Though his work is voluminous in size, it is mainly confined to the politics of the Pawi-Lakher Region of the present Mizoram State. V.I.K. Sarin's *India's North-East in Flames* (1982) has mainly focused on hostile activities of the Mizo National Front (MNF) in the context of insurgency in North-East India and thus failed to deal with the issue of conferment of statehood to Mizoram for which some of the political parties played commendable role. Another book, *A Century of Government and Politics in North-East India, Vol.III, Mizoram* (1987), written by V.Venkata Rao and his companions, is mainly concerned with the historical development of Mizoram politics up to the creation of Mizoram State. K.M. Zakhuma's *Political Development in Mizoram from*

*1946 to 1989: A Study with Special Reference to Political Parties in Mizoram* (2001) is a historical and descriptive study of political development with reference to political parties in Mizoram.

Commendable though they are in their respective fields, these published works on government and party-politics in Mizoram have not given any special attention to the role of political parties for the creation of Mizoram state.

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL PARTY

Since political parties *ab initio* played a central role for the birth of Mizoram as one of the federating states in India, it is necessary, at the outset, to have a conceptual understanding of political parties and their functions.

There are different conceptual frameworks given by many scholars, at different points of time, for studying political parties. However, it is strongly believed that certain common concepts could be identified and used for a study of political parties such as the political party being an institution of interest articulation, mobilisation of support, political recruitment and setting of value goals for the society. We will, therefore, try to apply these concepts, as long as they are relevant, to the present study of political parties with a view to understanding their roles for the creation of Mizoram state.

Modern democracy cannot function without political parties. In fact, political parties occupy a central place in a democratic system of our country. In modern form of representative democracy like ours, "political party in one form or the other is omnipresent."<sup>1</sup> The science of political parties or '*stasiology*' though of recent origin has also revealed on many occasions what lies behind the formal governmental structures. It is no longer considered enough to look upon political parties as merely performing certain traditional functions. Hence, the science of political parties helps us in understanding the functions and potential role of political parties in initiating, directing and managing social, economic and political changes. Today, political parties have become an indispensable factor in the working of a representative form

of government. It is practically through political parties that the people could democratically elect their representatives to run the government. Thus, it is correct to assert that political parties act as the backbone of a democratic system of a country. It is hence unthinkable to have a democratic form of government without political parties. In this connection, E.E. Schattschneider points out: "The rise of political parties is indubitably one of the principal distinguishing marks of modern government. The parties, in fact, have played a major role as makers of governments, more especially they have been the makers of democratic government ... (Political) parties created democracy and ... modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties." <sup>2</sup>

There is no denying the fact that India is the world's largest democratic country which has adopted the parliamentary form of government. However, Indian representative democracy, like other democracies in the world, cannot function without political parties though there is no provision in the Constitution of India (1950) for the compulsory formation of political parties like the Congress party. However, the Constitution of India provides for free elections which practically require the existence of political parties either at national, state or district levels. Moreover, India has adopted a multi-party system to give equal opportunity to all ethnic groups in different regions of the country. As a consequence, political parties have risen as legal or constitutional bodies at national or regional levels to fulfil the political aims and aspiration of various types of individuals in our country who do not agree with one another but have differences of opinion on social, economic and political questions. Accordingly, persons who hold common or similar views organise themselves into groups or units which are called 'political parties.' Sigmund Neumann also says: "To become a party to something always means identification with one group and differentiation from another. Every political party, in its very essence, signifies 'partnership' in a particular organisation and 'separation' from others by a specific programme."<sup>3</sup>

Edmund Burke, Benjamin Constant and others conceive of party as an ideological group. According to this school, the members of a party entertain a set of common basic convictions about public interest, and are ready to act in concert in pursuit of these ideals. According to Burke, 'a party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all united.'<sup>4</sup> However, modern writers regard Burke's definition of political party as normative because of its insistence on 'principle' and unrealistic because it shuts its eyes to the power conflicts and machinations of parties.

Schumpeter contradicts Burke by saying that "a party is a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power."<sup>5</sup> Schumpeter's definition of political party is more or less the same with Clinton Rossiter's definition which runs thus: "The primary function of political party in a democracy such as ours is to control and direct the struggle for power."<sup>6</sup> So, the most distinguishing element of political party in any democracy characterised by representation is its bid to capture political power or to assume governmental functions through people's mandate. In this regard, Schumpeter succinctly observes: "The first and foremost aim of each political party is to prevail over the others in order to get into power or to stay in it."<sup>7</sup> This desire of political parties to capture political power is indeed the basic and primary motive and animating force. It is, however, beyond doubt that political parties may "seek political power either singly or in cooperation with other parties."<sup>8</sup>

Political parties are conceived as voluntary groups which claim to assume the functions of government. In their attempt to assume the functions of the government, political parties never fail to notice the significance of the common interest of the people for drawing strength from them. In case a single party is unable to form the government, it may also adopt a policy to form a coalition government with the other political parties which have failed to win a majority. According to the observations made by Raymond Aron, "...political parties are voluntary groups some more organised, some less, which

claim in the name of a certain idea of the common interest and of society to assume or in coalition, the functions of governments."<sup>9</sup>

Sigmund Neumann defines political party as "the articulate organization of society's active political agents, those who are concerned with the control of governmental power and who compete for popular support with another group or groups holding divergent views. As such, it is the great intermediary which links social forces and ideologies to official governmental institutions and relates them to political action within the larger political community."<sup>10</sup> This definition is also supported by Raymond G. Gettel's definition of a political party which runs thus: "A political party consists of a group of citizens, more or less organised, who act as a political unit and who, by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carry out their general policies."<sup>11</sup> A political party may claim to have better policies and programmes than those chalked out by other political parties for the development of the people. However, it is to be conceded that those policies and programmes, however good they may be, cannot be translated into a reality unless that political party is able to form the government. Political parties are, therefore, on display during elections to compete for electoral victory. Ultimately, the party that commands majority in the legislature will form the government and carry out its policies and programmes approved by the public through elections.

Max Weber also gives a definition of political party "as associative type of social relationship... devoted to secure power within corporate group for its leaders in order to attain ideal or material advantages for its active members" who "may consist in the realization of certain objective policies on the attainment of personal advantages or both."<sup>12</sup> Political parties practically seek to capture and possess governmental power to attain ideal and material advantages for their members. In relation to this aspect, William Goodman gives one acceptable definition of a political party as follows: "A political party is an organization whose members are sufficiently homogeneous to band together for the overt purpose of winning elections

which entitles them to exercise governmental power, in order to enjoy the influence, and advantages of authority."<sup>13</sup>

Unlike the aforesaid concepts, Maurice Duverger's concept of party draws lines of distinction between national and regional political parties by making an indirect reference of regional party to his concept of "Minor Party."<sup>14</sup> However, Maurice Duverger's theory of 'Minor Parties' is primarily based on the distinction between major and minor parties reflecting the difference in their mentality.<sup>15</sup> According to Maurice Duverger, a national party is one "which is majority minded" whereas a regional party is one "which is minority minded." While distinguishing a minor party from a major party, Maurice Duverger has clarified that the "parties with a majority bent" are those, which command an absolute majority in parliament, or at least they have potential to attain majority.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, Maurice Duverger has coined the term "minor parties" referring to those which are "minority minded" and which seemingly include regional, local and such other smaller parties formed on the basis of linguistic, religious, ethnic and cultural interests. According to Duverger's view, "the concept of minor party" deserves special consideration.<sup>17</sup>

The concept of regional political party in the ultimate analysis refers to any political party at the district, provincial or regional level of a country propagating for the preservation of certain specific regional interests as differentiated from the general national interests, and whose interests are expressed either constitutionally or unconstitutionally through various demands ranging from an aspiration for a separate cultural identity, a separate political identity, or a different level of socio-economic and political development, to an aspiration for an environmental or geo-political detachment. By its very nature, a regional political party restricts its area of operation to a single region, state or district with no hope of capturing political power of being able to play a decisive role at the centre.<sup>18</sup> In fact, most of the regional political parties perceive their essential role as pressure groups for protecting and promoting the interests of regional communities. Thus, a regional political party has a regional base, a regional perspective and a regional

issue orientation "seeking the good of the state or the district rather than of the union..."<sup>19</sup>

In modern form of democracy, the constitutions naturally provide for free elections. Evidently, free elections require the existence of political parties as the means for presenting alternative policies and candidates to the public approval. In this connection, Michael Curtis also states: "Essentially party signifies a group of people who hold certain political beliefs in common or who are prepared to support the party candidates, work together for electoral victory, attain and maintain political power."<sup>20</sup> Thus, elections play a crucial role in enabling political parties to freely compete for political powers. In this connection, citizens' commitment to political parties plays an important role for the maintenance of a representative system of government.

Since the ultimate aim of a political party is to capture power usually through democratic elections, elections again play a crucial role in the process of formation of democratic governments. By way of explaining the central role played by elections in the democratic process, Giovanni Sartori also defines a political party as "a political group that contests at elections and is capable of placing through elections (free or non-free), candidates for public office."<sup>21</sup> Truly speaking, a political party cannot implement its principles and programmes placed before the people unless it is able to command majority votes to form the government. Hence, political parties seek to put up candidates in elections under their own labels with the avowed objective of capturing and possessing governmental power. A.R. Ball says: "It is this goal of attaining political power that distinguishes political parties from other groups in the political system, although the distinction is rather blurred at times, especially in regard to pressure groups."<sup>22</sup> Unlike pressure groups, political parties appeal to the general public for their success at elections in order to get control of the government apparatus. In order to make this point clear, Stephen L. Wasby also defines a political party as "an organization primarily concerned with the selection of candidates and their election to office, as well as with the running of government after electing those candidates,

and only secondarily with the determination of the issues or programs on the basis of which the government may be run."<sup>23</sup>

Under democratic systems, it is essential for political parties to contest elections to win a majority of seats in the legislature in order to control the executive branch of the government. If the party fails to secure majority of seats in the legislature, it cannot be represented formally in the decision-making bodies of the government. Political parties, therefore, make all out efforts to be represented formally in the decision-making institutions of the government. In this connection, Leon D. Epstein also says: "A political party...is a group that is involved wholly in politics, and its primary purpose is to be represented formally in the policy-making institutions of the government."<sup>24</sup>

### **Operational Definition of Political Party for the Present Study**

In the light of the preceding survey and discussion of various definitions of political party, it is, now, possible to give an operational definition of the political party, either national or regional, for the present study. Let us first look into an operational definition of national party.

#### ***National Political Party***

By combining different aspects of the nature of political parties, it is possible to define national political party as a conglomerate of different groups of members of the national society who share certain political beliefs in common and who organise themselves into a larger political community with the objective of securing and maintaining, through elections, for its leaders the control and exercise of political powers over the country's national government and of giving to its active members, through such control, ideal and material benefits or advantages. But, there are certain basic terms in our definitions which need special attention.

*In the first place*, the national political party is a 'conglomerate of different groups' because it has branches almost in all the federating units of the Indian Union. Unlike

the regional political parties, the national political party is ever greedy to expand its support base at the national level. In doing so, the national political party brings together sectional interests and overcomes geographical distances. Thus, the national political party is made up of various groups of citizens from different federating units of the entire country.

*Secondly*, the different groups of people from the federating units of the country who form the national political party are the 'members of the national society' as there is no such thing as an International political party. In spite of the claim made by the Communist International to be a worldwide political party, its component parties in different countries of the world have to function within their respective national societies in terms of national problems. Truly speaking, the Communist International is nothing but a loose federation of socialist parties that continue to maintain their distinct identities and to follow their respective political lines.

*Thirdly*, the members of different groups of the national society 'share certain political beliefs in common' which holds them together to form the national political party with the avowed objective of running the national government.

*Fourthly*, the national political party is formed by members of different components of the national society who 'organise themselves' into a larger political community. It appears now that organisation assumes great importance. It is the organisational structure that often explains the strength and efficiency of certain political parties, the weakness and inefficiency of others. Though organisation is essential even for regional political parties, it is more crucial to the national political party whose size is much larger than the former. Whether or not the national political party can effectively mobilise the citizens of the country to support its political stand greatly depends upon the quality of its organisational structure. Thus, a definite organisational structure, supported by effective leadership, is very essential particularly for the national political party to implement its political ideas meant for the development of the country.

Fifthly, our definition also states that the objective of the national political party is to 'secure and maintain', for its leaders, the 'control and exercise of political powers' over the country's national government. If the national political party fails to secure majority of seats in the Parliament, it will not be able to exercise political powers at the national level and hence no possibility of giving ideal and material benefits or advantages to its active members.

In brief, our concept of national political party resembles the underlying principle of Max Weber's definition of a political party as "associative type of social relationship... devoted to secure power within corporate group for its leaders in order to attain ideal or material advantages...."<sup>25</sup> Undoubtedly, political parties aim to secure powers for their material advantages which could be in reality only after electing their leaders to run the government. Max Weber's definition of political party is also supported by Michael Curtis' definition of political party as "a group of people who hold certain political beliefs in common or who are prepared to support the party candidates, work together for electoral victory, attain and maintain political power."<sup>26</sup> Our operational definition of national political party is also not far from Burke's definition of a political party 'as a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle in which they are all united.'<sup>27</sup> Over and above, our operational definition draws strong support from Schumpeter who defines a party "as a group whose members propose to act in concert in the competitive struggle for political power."<sup>28</sup>

### ***Regional Political Party***

Alongside of giving an operational definition of national political party, it is possible to give an operational definition of the concept 'regional parties' through the analysis of Duverger's concept of "minor party." Regional parties are those which generally and exclusively operate within a limited geographical area or within a state or which represent the interests of particular linguistic, religious, ethnic or cultural

groups whose population may be concentrated in an area as small as a single Assembly Constituency or as large as an entire state or region. In respect of their narrowly defined interests, regional political parties "stand in sharp contrast to broad ranging, diverse concerns of national parties."<sup>29</sup>

Regional parties are mostly confined to a limited geographical area. Hence, the regional parties are relatively homogeneous in their policy preferences. It may be because of these parochial interests in their policy and programmes that regional political parties do not generally aspire to secure direct control over the country's national government.<sup>30</sup> Strictly speaking, regional political parties would be in a position to exercise control over the national government only when they are the coalition partners of the national political party running the national government. The fact remains that regional parties, in general, seek the good of the state or the district rather than the Union. These are explicitly the reasons why they aim at securing control over the state government or over certain policies that have special significance for their constituencies.<sup>31</sup>

### **Functions of Political Parties**

Functions of political parties greatly differ from one political system to the other or from one society to the other. Similarly, the functions of political parties may vary depending upon the places of their origin. However, it is pertinent to maintain that both the regional and the national political parties use the same media and instruments to perform their functions.

India is the largest democratic country in the world with a great variety of race, religion and language. Keeping in view this diversity of the population, Indian democracy has preferred to adopt dual polity—one for the federal centre and the other for the federating units. Accordingly, the people of diverse interests have formed political parties either at the national or the regional levels as the means for presenting alternative policies to the public approval. In spite of the variation in the places of their origin, both the national and the regional political parties can simultaneously operate, without any constitutional restriction, within a particular

federating unit of India. Hence, in order to effectively draw the sentiment of the voters for their parties, both the national and the regional political parties have to perform certain functions in common regardless of their places of origin. It is against this background of commonality of their functions that an attempt has been made here to highlight those functions simultaneously performed by both the national and the regional political parties within the same geographical area of parliamentary or assembly constituency.

One of the most important functions of political parties is that of uniting, simplifying and stabilising the political process. The main aim of a political party is to remain united within and to divide its opponents so that it can continue to remain in power. To quote Ball, "Parties bring together sectional interests, overcome geographical distances and provide coherence to sometimes decisive government structures."<sup>32</sup> This uniting function of political parties becomes still more important in federal rather than unitary form of government.

Secondly, political parties help the people to identify and articulate their interests. While articulating the interests of one section of the society, political parties must seek to articulate the interests of other sections and exercise moderation in stressing the demand of one section over those of others. To quote Ball, "They seek to widen the interests they represent and harmonise these interests with each other."<sup>33</sup> Thus, the aggregation of interests must go hand in hand with their articulation so that consistent position could be established in keeping with the accepted values of the society. Political parties that have failed to widen their constituencies have ended as sectional or regional parties with a restricted support base. Such parties cannot by themselves aspire to capture political power at the state level and must rely on some form of coalition with other party/parties.

Thirdly, another important function of political parties is mobilisation of support. Political parties try to widen their support by mobilising the population. They seek to educate, instruct and activate the electorate. They use mass media and local organizations to maintain contacts with the relatively

politically inactive and lead them to the awareness and acceptance of various policies. These activities may be restricted to election periods so that the party's votes will increase. Besides, political parties may "seek to mobilise support by channelling supporters' non-political activities."<sup>34</sup> They may also mobilise the support of the electorate by propaganda, organised activities and by emphasising ideological differences with other parties in competitive party systems.

*Fourthly*, political recruitment is another important function of the political parties. In a democracy, the main source of political recruitment is through the political parties. Political elites are recruited mostly through political parties. It can be rightly maintained that leaders of government are normally the leaders of political parties. Each political party, therefore, tries to recruit such leaders who have a hand on the pulse of the masses and charisma.

*Finally*, political parties present issues to the people and set value goals for the society. All political parties have philosophical bases. When this philosophical base is more coherent, we are inclined to talk of ideological parties. The ideology may be important for the party workers to justify their commitment to the party, but it also serves to distinguish the party from others and allows the party to attempt to organise public opinion in a given ideological direction. The ideology of the party may be a challenge to the prevailing ideologies or an expression of agreement between the parties on existing political structures and political goals

## OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The objectives of the present study are:

*First*, to study the genesis of political parties in Mizoram with reference to the factors or forces responsible for their emergence and development in the later years.

*Secondly*, to highlight the prevailing circumstances in the then North-East Region that induced the premier political parties to initiate contradictory political movements—one for Mizoram statehood within India and the other was for complete separation of Mizoram from India.

*Thirdly*, to explore and analyse the factors and forces responsible for the birth of separatist politics which ultimately led to the outbreak of armed insurgency for secession of Mizoram from the rest of the country.

*Fourthly*, to assess the impact of insurgency on the future policies and programmes of existing political parties in Mizoram in general and the movement for Mizoram statehood in particular.

*Fifthly*, to study the role of political parties in mobilising non-political organisations, like the Church and the Students' Organisations, to support their political commitment not only for the return of peace but also for the creation of Mizoram as a full-fledged state.

*Sixthly*, to study manifestoes, ideologies, programmes and activities of political parties in the Mizoram Legislative Election of 1984 where the demand for and conferment of statehood on the Union Territory of Mizoram were the main issues..

## **METHODOLOGIES AND SCOPE OF THE BOOK**

The present study is based on different sources such as archival records available in Mizoram and some other parts of India, the records of the various political parties in Mizoram, unstructured interviews, the newspapers and the private papers of political leaders. The secondly published and unpublished data have also been extensively consulted and utilised for the present study.

Being an insider, the author was in an advantageous position to collect a variety of relevant informations from the field. He unofficially started collecting relevant data five years before the commencement of his research for the completion of this work and thus had an ample opportunity to have direct contact with the people who were directly and indirectly involved in the political movement for the creation of Mizoram as one of the full-fledged states of India.

In order to avoid receiving biased informations from the respondents, the author preferred to avoid conducting interviews to those who were involved in the political movements either for Mizoram independence or for integration

of Mizoram to attain the highest political status within the constitutional framework. The author has tried his best to avoid subjective judgement through proper analysis of the data so collected from the mentioned sources.

### SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The Scope of the study in this book falls within the limits set by the subject matter itself, that is, the emergence of political parties and their role for the creation of Mizoram state in North-East Region to become one of the federating states of India. However, the present study does not take into account those political parties which did not lay hands directly on the movement for Mizoram statehood.

### ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The whole work is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter in which an extensive review of available literatures on government and politics in Mizoram has been carried out in order to justify the need for carrying out the present study. This chapter has also dealt with theories of political party-national and regional- and, appropriate concepts have been taken from that study for application to the present work.

The *second chapter* has briefly portrayed the geographical, social and economic profile of the land 'Mizoram' to enable the readers of this work to have a clear picture of the peculiar and strategic location of the land under study.

The third chapter has traced the origin of political parties with reference to those factors and forces responsible for their emergence in the post-colonial regime in Mizoram.

In the *fourth chapter*, the organisational structures of concerned political parties have been analysed with a view to underlining the extent of contributions that a good organisation could make for the strength and weakness of political parties.

The *fifth chapter* has attempted to identify the relevant geographical, social and economic factors determining future party politics in Mizoram.

In the *sixth chapter*, an attempt has been made to examine the social, political and economic circumstances in the erstwhile Assam State and the Mizo Hills that compelled some of the premier political parties in Mizoram to spearhead a separate movement for Mizoram statehood after running away from a Hill State Movement.

The *seventh chapter* is an endeavour to explore the social, economic and political conditions in the erstwhile Assam under which some of the premier political parties in Mizoram spearheaded separatist politics leading to the outbreak of insurgency for secession of Mizoram from the Indian Union in general and the Assam State in particular. Besides, it has attempted to appraise the impact of insurgency on the working of the political parties and the ongoing movement for Mizoram statehood and how political parties had reacted to the problem of insurgency.

In the *eighth chapter*, an attempt has been made to examine the activities of political parties and some non-political organisations in paving the way for holding peace talks between the Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Government of India for the peaceful solution of the vexed Mizo problems. In addition, it has made an analytical study of the actions taken by some of the Mizo politicians to exert strong pressures on either the Government of Mizoram or the Union Government to hold peace talks, as early as possible, for the peaceful solution of the insurgency problem in Mizoram.

The *eighth chapter* has evaluated the role of political parties in the demand for statehood through the analysis of their respective election manifestoes, ideologies, programmes and activities in the Mizoram Legislative Assembly election of 1984 where the settlement of peace and conferment of statehood on the Union Territory of Mizoram was the major issue.

The *ninth chapter* is the final chapter that has brought out the summary and findings of this work.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since the work of this kind has not been done by any other scholars from within and outside Mizoram, it is hoped that

the present work will throw some light on the contributions of each of the local political parties and few non-political organisations towards the peaceful settlement of insurgency problems as the precondition for the constitutional elevation of the trouble-torn Mizoram as one of the full-fledged states of India. Besides, it is the expectation of the author of this work that what have been experienced in Mizoram would be of immense help to those political and the permanent executives, operating either at the national or the state levels, who are called upon to address rampant insurgency and terrorist problems in other parts of the country. The nation has proved from the experiences of the Mizo that no insurgent activities could help in developing a nation or a particular state- socially, culturally and economically. Further, it is hoped that, if Mizoram is generously rewarded by the Central Government for its commitment to the upholding of its new identity as 'an island of peace,' this research work would be one of the most effective instruments for carrying a message to those misguided people who are engaging themselves in insurgent activities that peace is the only gateway to progress and prosperity.

## NOTES

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