

Chapter 6

Mizoram

Lal Pudaite

1. Physical Features

Location:

Mizoram lies in the north east end of India, much of its southern part sandwiched between Bangladesh and Myanmar. It is situated between 21.56 to 24.31 degrees north latitude and 92.16 to 93.26 degrees east longitude, extending over a land area of 21,087 square kilometers. The Tropic of Cancer passes by the capital city, Aizawl. The length of the state from north to south is 277 km. At the broadest from east to west, it is 121 km.

Its major length in the west borders the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, spanning 318 km. In the east and the south, its border with the Chin Hills and Northern Arakans of Myanmar extends to about 404 km. On the Indian side, Mizoram is bounded by the states of Assam, Manipur and Tripura. The length of its borders with these states extends over 123 km, 95 km. and 66 km, respectively.

Districts–8; Sub-Divisions–15; Development Blocks–22; Villages–817; Towns–22; City–1. There are no City or Town Councils. These are administered by Local administration Department (LAD) of the State Government. Autonomous District Councils – 3, namely, the Chakma, Lai and Mara District Councils in the southern region.

Geography Natural Resources:

The mountain ranges in Mizoram run from north to south and largely taper from the middle of the state towards the north, the west and the south. The ranges in the west are steep and precipitous while those in the east are somewhat gentler. The average height of the hills in the west is 1000 meters, gradually rising to 1,300 meters in the east. There are several mountain peaks of medium height. The highest peak in Mizoram is Phawngpui (Blue Mountain), which is 2,157 m. high

and is located in the southeastern part of the State. A list of hill ranges, peaks and rivers in Mizoram is included in Appendix A.

Mizoram is interspersed with numerous rivers, streams and brooks. The important rivers in the northern part of the state, flowing northwards, are the Barak (Tuiruang) and its tributaries, the Tlawng (Dhaleshwari), the Tuirial (Sonai) and the Tuivai. The Tuivawl, a tributary of the Tuivai, is another important river in the area. The Barak, the Daleshwari, the Tuivai and the Sonai are navigable for considerable stretches. The Daleshwari in particular had been the main entry and exit routes for Mizoram through the ages. Forest produce like timber and bamboo are floated down the river from the interior of the hills to the plains of Cachar in Assam while food, consumer goods and merchandise are brought by boats from the Assam plains to the hills of Mizoram. Before fair weather road from Silchar in Cachar district of Assam to Aizawl was constructed during World War II, the administration depended entirely on this river for transportation of men and material. The Barak and the Tuivai constitute the borderline between Manipur and Mizoram and the two territories have through the centuries shared the facilities provided by these rivers.

The most important river in the southern region of the state is the Chhimtuipui (Kolodyne) with its four main tributaries – the Mat, the Tuichang, the Tiau and the Tuipui. The Kolodyne flows into Mizoram from Myanmar and turns west first and then southward within Mizoram and reenters Myanmar. Though interrupted by rapids, some stretches of the river in Mizoram are navigable. The Khawthlangtuipui (Karnaphuli) and its tributaries – the Tuichawng, the Phaireng, the Kau, the Deh and the Tuilianpui – form the western drainage system. The Karnaphuli enters Bangladesh at Demagiri; at its mouth sits the port city of Chittagong.

Much of the potential of the river systems and water resources in Mizoram remains largely unexploited. The utilization of the hydro-potential for generation of energy, for example, in whatever form, large scale, mini or micro, is still fractional. There has been a modest improvement in the supply of drinking water but the sector lacks rational and systematic approach. The current condition of water transportation is less than retrogressive, partly because of the non-availability of transit facilities through Bangladesh.

There are three small plains in the state scattered over the mainly hilly terrain. The plains have thick layers of rich alluvial soil. The largest of these plains is the Champhai Plains, 10 km long and 5 km wide, and is situated near the Myanmar border, 150 km to the east of Aizawl. Another plain area is at Vanlaiphai, 90 km away to the southeast of Aizawl. It is 10 km long and $\frac{3}{4}$ km wide on average. The third such area is at Thenzawl, 100 km south of Aizawl. These plains have been put mainly to paddy cultivation. In addition, there are several small level grounds beside some of the rivers, which have been developed for wet rice cultivation.

The common rocks found in Mizoram are sandstone, shale; silt stone, clay stone and slates. The rock system is weak and unstable, prone to seismic influence. Soils vary from sandy loam and clayey loam to clay, generally mature but leached owing to steep gradient and heavy rainfall. The “soils are porous with poor water holding capacity, deficient in potash, phosphorous, nitrogen and even humus. The pH shows acidic to neutral reaction due to excessive leaching.” (Environment & Forest Department Report 2003). Appendix B contains more detailed information on geological conditions and minerals of Mizoram.

According to the report (2003) of the Department of Environment and Forests, 83 per cent of the total area of the state (21,087 sq. km.) is covered by forests. However, due to the traditional practice of shifting cultivation called ‘*jhuming*’, uncontrolled fire, unregulated felling and arbitrary allot-ment of land to individuals, two-third of the area is reported to have been partly depleted and degraded.

The different types of land cover in Mizoram as estimated by Landsat Imagery are shown below: (sources: Department of Environment and Forest)

Different Types of Land Cover in Mizoram

<u>Type of Land Cover</u>	<u>Area (in sq.km)</u>
1. Closed (good) forest	4,190
2. Closed forest affected by shifting cultivation	13,520
3. Forest degraded by shifting cultivation	2,600
4. Non-forest	640
<u>5. Water bodies</u>	<u>140</u>
Total	21,090

Bamboo:

Mizoram has abundant natural bamboo resources. Around 57 per cent of the area of the state is covered by bamboo forests, located in the areas ranging in height from 400 m to 1500 m above the mean sea level. These forests are situated mainly in the river banks and abandoned jhum lands, forming a dominant secondary vegetation.

Both the clump forming and non-clump forming bamboos are found in most parts of Mizoram. The exception is the high land parts of the eastern region. There are 20 species of bamboo in the state, of which *Melocanna baccifera*, locally called 'Mautak', is the dominant. Forming no clumps, it is a fast spreading bamboo. The culms grow up to 8-10 m tall and are extensively used for construction of houses in the rural areas, especially for walling and flooring, and temporary dwelling of various sorts. They are also used for furniture, fencing, weaving and pulping, but are not yet processed for industrial use. During rainy season, the shoots form an important item of food for the population. At present, the State Government claims to have received annually Rs. 8 million in revenue mainly from bulk sales of unprocessed bamboos. This is done through the *Mahal* system, a practice of contracting out the rights of harvesting bamboos to individuals or firms on payment of nominal royalties.

The dominant bamboo in North East India, the *Melocanna baccifera* is said to have a life cycle of 48 years, at the end of which it flowers and bears fruits and dies. The fruits when eaten by rodents apparently increase the fertility of the latter, resulting in an explosion of the rat population in a short time. Once the bamboo fruits are exhausted, the rats turn to eating whatever food grains available in the farms or in storage, causing severe depletion of food supplies for the population and resulting in famine. Such occurrence on two occasions in the past has been recorded in Mizoram. The next flowering of the bamboos is forecast to occur in 2007.

Climate:

Mizoram as a whole receives an average rainfall of about 3000 mm a year, with Aizawl getting 2380 mm and 3,178 mm for Lunglei in the south. Rainfall is usually evenly distributed throughout the state. During rains the climate in the lower hills and river gorges is highly humid and exhausting for people, whereas it

is cool and pleasant in the higher hills even during the hot season. A rather peculiar characteristic of the climate is the incidence of violent storms during March-early May. Strong storms arise from the north-west and sweep over the entire hills, often causing extensive damages to 'kacha' (temporary) dwellings and flowering perennials.

Temperature varies from about 12 degrees C in winter to 30 degrees C plus in summer. Winter is from November to February, with little or no rain during this period. Spring lasts from end February to mid-April. Heavy rains start in June and continue up to August. September and October are the autumn months when the rain is intermittent.

2. Socio-Political Structure

Historical Background:

Except for those written after the advent of the British in the late 18th century, there is no recorded history of the Mizos. Some of the tribes living outside of Mizoram prefer to call themselves 'Zomis or simply Zos'; 'mi' affixed to these terms means 'people or person/s'. The British variously referred to them as Lushais, Kukis (old or new Kukis, depending on the period of their contacts with the tribes) and Chins in Myanmar. All modern historians belonging to the various tribes, however, agree that all the tribal groups inhabiting the immediate neighborhood of the present state of Mizoram - in such areas as in Myanmar, Bangladesh, Tripura, Assam and Manipur – once belonged to the same proto-tribe. They often refer to themselves collectively as 'Zo Hnahthlak', people of Zo ancestry, origin or progeny.

While some of the tribes living outside Mizoram such as the Hmars, the Paites, the Thadous or Kukis, etc. still prefer to assert their sub-group identities for practical political or other reasons, the trend toward integration in a larger identity is gradually gaining strength. This growing awareness of belonging to a larger identity has the potential to upset in future the balance of the existing political demarcations in the sub-region.

Despite the absence of recorded history, most researchers conclude that the Mizos came to their present abode from southern China, possibly Yunnan province, by

gradual migration through northern Myanmar. Dietary practices, customs, traditional values, legends, oral history, folklore and linguistic affinity are some of the bases on which these investigations are conducted. Although there can be no certainty about the period in which the Mizos migrated to the present Chin Hills in Myanmar, it is generally believed that this took place about four to five hundred years ago. However, the Mizos of Mizoram appear to have arrived at their present settlement relatively recently, perhaps in the late 17th or early 18th century. Animesh Ray, a researcher of considerable thoroughness, put it in the early 18th century (Mizoram, India –The Land and The People Series 1993). As their oral history attests, the last wave of the migration of the Mizo tribes from Myanmar to India took place at about the time, or soon after, the institution of hereditary chieftainship gradually overtook their earlier practice of warrior chieftainship. Once hereditary rulers were installed, genealogy, even if orally passed on, became a reliable record of sort. Based on the genealogy of the chiefs, “early 18th century” appears to be the most likely period.

Traditional Institution:

Although other Mizo tribes adopted and practiced hereditary chief-tainship, the Sailo Chiefs of the Lusei or Lushai tribe were the most durable, perhaps, because they were the most enlightened. At any rate, their mode of governance became the norm for rural administration in much of the Mizo or Zo inhabited areas in pre-independent North East India. The British did little to interfere with the system of administration practiced by the Chiefs, except in rare cases of extraordinary misrule. Instead, they devised ways to ensure maintenance of law and order and social order through the Chiefs. Indeed, this practice of “indirect administration” was formally provided for in the Government of India Act, 1935, and on the basis of this Act, an official order, named ‘Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Order,’ defining the areas to be covered, was issued by the King in Council on March 3, 1936.

The following paraphrase of an order issued by the Superintendent of Lushai Hills in 1898 also makes this clear:

1. Every Chief is responsible for all that goes on in his village. All orders affecting a village shall be sent to the Chief through the Circle Inspector (an official appointed by the British to liaise with the Chiefs).

2. Every Chief shall adjudicate all civil disputes between people of his village. He shall also dispose of all criminal cases, except those in which a person is killed or badly wounded. A Chief's order would not be interfered with unless he had acted in bad faith.
3. The Chiefs are responsible for ensuring that records are kept of the following:
 - i) All births and deaths in the village;
 - ii) All movements of people into or out of the village and
 - iii) All changes the licensed guns.

The authority of the Chief, though nearly absolute within his domain which may consist of one or more or a group of villages, was often restrained in practice by the Council of Elders (Upas), an advisory body appointed by the Chief to assist him in the performance of his duties. The members of this Council were usually so selected by the Chief as to represent and safeguard the interests of the different clans or sub-tribe groups among his subjects. Captain T.H.Lewin, a former British Administrator in Lushai Hills, was so impressed by the administrative system of the Mizo Chiefs that he described it as "a democracy tempered by despotism" worthy of being "classed among the visions of Utopian philosophy." (Exercises in The Lushai Dialect 1874).

In return for his services, the Chief was entitled to: 1) Fathang – six bushels of rice grain from every household; 2) Sachhiah (Meat Tax) – anyone who bagged a four-legged big game must present him one of the hind legs; and 3) whenever his house required to be repaired or rebuilt, his subjects would do it for free.

Institution of Zawlbuk (Bachelor's Quarters):

Apart from the dispensation of the Chief and his Elders, the main instrument for ensuring discipline, instilling moral education, maintenance of law and order and the smooth functioning of the society was the institution of Zawlbuk. The exact date when this institution came about cannot be pinpointed. It is, however, certain that this tradition came to be established after the Mizos entered India and the Chief felt secure enough to regulate the management of social order for his subjects.

Though everyone was responsible to make sure that theft and other crimes were not committed, there had to be an organizing agency that was capable of ensuring

this. This is what the Zawlbuk did. All boys from the age of about 10 to till they were married and had one or two children were required to sleep at Zawlbuk, a large dormitory like structure usually located in the middle of the village. This is where the boys were trained to fit themselves into society. Before a boy attained puberty, he was taught to shoulder his responsibilities for the community such as fetching water, collecting wood for use at the Zawlbuk, cleaning the Zawlbuk and its surrounding, and tending the Zawlbuk fire, which was used for lighting as well as for warmth. All the traditional values that the community held dear were passed on to the youth via the Zawlbuk life by way of practical demonstration.

A Historical Background:

By the early thirties, Christianity, which entered Mizoram for the first time on January 11, 1894 via the Welsh Missionaries, had become the religion of the overwhelming majority of the Mizos. The Church had set up schools and rudimentary health services. Literacy was spreading fast. A few young Mizos had even gone to universities. At the same time, common people had begun to give up their old ways. Western ways of dressing and thinking had begun to spread, especially among the young men. Social life centered on the ways of Zawlbuk had gradually disappeared and had been replaced by that revolved around the Church. Through the organizing activities of the Church they began to understand the advantages of forming groups for focused goals.

The mass movements of the times for independence in mainstream India, too, inspired in a few young men as yet undefined ideas about possibilities in politics. And they started thinking in terms of organizing themselves for common purposes. Thus was born the first district wide and secular organization, Young Mizo Association (originally named Young Lushai Association after the name of the District) on June 15, 1935. A missionary initially headed the association; and its objectives were entirely non-political, namely, 1) to use leisure for beneficial activities; 2) to serve for the welfare of the people and 3) to promote Christian way of living. In the same year was founded the Mizo Zirlai Pawl (Mizo Students Union) with a motto: 'Unity is strength.' Its aim was to promote understanding, cooperation and unity among all Mizo students, regardless of whether they lived in Mizoram or outside. Both organizations grew rapidly and soon became effective vehicles for the promotion of fellow feeling and unity amongst the young Mizos of various regions.

World War II and the anticipation for Indian independence during the same period were really that set the Mizos to think about politics. Once Burma fell to the Japanese, they became the frontline. Near panicking British administrators mobilized the Chiefs and the people to pledge loyalty to the Imperial Crown and to resist the advance of the Japanese army at all costs. Even before the war, a large number of young Mizos had enlisted in the British Indian Army and many of them were now fighting alongside the British. And, naturally, the families and friends of these soldiers were inclined to side with the British.

At the same time, increasingly tense were the anxieties of the Mizos for their future in the new dispensation that was to follow independence of India. It is also obvious that the then British administrators of Mizoram had given them more than a hint that the Mizos could still have the option to opt out of the three dominions (India, Pakistan and Burma) to be created by the Independence of India Act, 1947 even as late as on August 14, 1947. Copies of the relevant documents are in Appendix C. These documents as well as the Resolutions of the Chin-Lushai Conference held at Fort William, Calcutta in 1892 (also in the same appendix) were to form later the bases on which the Mizo National Front (MNF) 'declared' independence for Mizoram and resorted to insurgency in March, 1966.

Political Parties:

Thus, the objectives of the first two political parties formed immediately preceding independence also reflected the anxieties and debates of the times.

The Mizo Union, formed on 9 April 1946, was first named Mizo Common People's Union, reflecting the anti-Chiefs sentiments of the common people. Many had suspected that the British, working with the Chiefs, were trying to encourage a policy of isolated independence for Lushai Hills or Mizoram. The District Conference that had been convened in January 1946 by the then Superintendent, A. R. H. McDonald to advise him on future administrative set up for the Hills had had half of its members composed of Chiefs, in the face of opposition by the commoners. To enlist the support of the elite and the enlightened and liberal chiefs, the name of the party was changed to Mizo Union. However, it remained a party of the common people.

As independence was drawing near, there were sharp differences of opinion regarding the future of Mizoram. Though the Mizo Union was in favour of

staying within India, a secessionist group came up in the Party favouring merger with Burma. (Their long term goal though not specified appeared to be independence. The draft of the Burmese Constitution had included the right to secession by the States within ten years vide Chapter X). The group, supported by most of the Chiefs, broke away from Mizo Union and formed a party called the United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO) on 5 July 1947.

In 25 January 1947 the Constituent Assembly of India (the drafting body of the Indian Constitution) appointed an Advisory Committee on minorities, tribal areas and related matters under the chairmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Committee in turn constituted a Sub-Committee chaired by Gopinath Bardoloi for the northeastern tribal areas and the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas. This became popularly known as the Bardoloi Sub-Committee and the members co-opted from Mizoram were Ch. Saprawnga and Khawtinkhuma, representatives of the Mizo Union.

On the basis of various memoranda submitted to it by political groups, including McDonald's District Conference and the Mizo Union, Bardoloi Sub-Committee in its Report to the Constituent Assembly suggested a special setup for the tribal areas. It recommended that the tribal people should be free from any fear of exploitation or domination by the advanced section of the people from the plains and that they should have full freedom with regard to their traditions, customs, inheritance, social organizations, village administration, etc. The pattern of administration recommended for the tribal areas in the North East thus took shape in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution.

Early Elected Bodies and Related Activities:

After independence, as a prelude to the District Council, a 35 member Advisory Council was created and the elections to the Council were held on 15 April 1948. The Mizo Union captured all the seats, except two won by the UMFO. The Mizo Union soon came into conflict with Superintendent L. L. Peters, who was openly siding with the Chiefs over the latter's role in future administration. The Mizo Union then launched non-cooperation movement in December 1948, which lasted till February 1949 and for months thereafter in some far-flung areas.

District Council: As envisaged by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, which was adopted on 26 January, 1952, six autonomous districts with District

Councils came up in Assam – the Mizo District Council being one such district. Regional Council was set up in the Pawi-Lakher Region in southern Mizoram. The Advisory Council had been dissolved in November 1951 and the election to the District Council was held on 4 April 1952. The total strength of the Council was 24, of which 18 were to be elected and six nominated. Out of 18 seats, 17 were won by the Mizo Union and one by UMFO. The District Council was inaugurated by Bishnuram Medhi, Chief Minister of Assam on 25 April 1952.

Under the Constitution, the District Council has law making powers concerning;

- (1) Management of land and forests other than reserve forest;
- (2) Use of canal or water for the purpose of agriculture;
- (3) Regulation of the practice of *jhum*;
- (4) Establishment of village or town committee and matters relating to village or town administration including public health and sanitation.
- (5) Appointment or succession of chiefs or headmen;
- (6) Inheritance of property;
- (7) Marriage and divorce; and
- (8) Social customs.

The District Council also has the power to constitute village councils and courts, appoint its officers and to prescribe procedures.

The Regional Council exercises all these functions within its area. There are certain exclusive jurisdictions of the District Council, which covers primary schools and the medium of instruction for them, dispensaries, markets, cattle pounds, ferries, fisheries, roads and waterways. The District or Regional Council has financial powers to levy taxes, fees, tolls, etc. over the subjects it is empowered to legislate. It also has the power to control or regulate money lending or trading by non-tribals within its area.

The first budget of the Council in 1952-53 was RS. 17,175 – which was mainly for establishment. From the start, the Council suffered from chronic financial inadequacy despite a grant announced by Prime Minister Jawharlal Nehru during his visit to Mizoram in October 1952.

Village Councils and the Abolition of Chieftainship: Through the sustained pressure of the Mizo Union, the Assam Government passed the Lushai Hills (Acquisition of the Chief's Rights) Act in 1954. In August 1954, the rights and

interests of 259 Chiefs in the District Council area were taken over by the Council and the Regional Council assumed those of 50 Chiefs in the Pawi-Lakher Region. Village Councils were constituted to perform basically the same functions as hitherto discharged by the Chiefs and their *Upas*. The Mizo Union won the election to all the Village Councils, which was held on 24 July 1954, thus vindicating its stand for the abolition of chieftainship.

Demand for a Hill State: As they experienced some measure of autonomy within the confines of the Assam state, the Hills people started demanding for more. In 1953, the United Mizo Freedom Organisation (UMFO) passed a resolution demanding the formation of a hill state consisting of Manipur, Tripura, the Autonomous Districts of Assam and the North Eastern Frontier Agency (now Arunachal Pradesh). The attempt to impose the Assamese language as the official language of the state and the alleged discrimination by the Assam government against these areas were other reasons advanced. The resolution was one of several submitted to the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC), which was visiting Assam in 1954. (The Commission was charged to look into demands in various parts of India for re-demarcation of state boundaries or reconstitution of new states and to make recommendations to the Government of India). The Mizo Union also cited ‘Assam’s discrimination” against hill people as the source of the clamour for a separation from Assam and demanded for the integration of the Mizo inhabited areas of Manipur and Tripura with Mizo district.

The SRC did not recommend creation of a Hill State; instead urged a review of the powers and the functioning of the district councils. The Nagas had boycotted the SRC. Most tribal leaders and their people were unhappy with its recommendations. The leaders met at Aizawl in 1955 and formed the Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU) to demand the creation of a hill state comprising the hill districts of Assam. The UMFO merged with EITU. As some parties like the Mizo Union did not join the EITU, a more inclusive forum to work for the same demand was set up at a meeting of hill leaders at Shillong on 6 and 7 July 1960. The forum was called All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC), which resolved at its meeting at Haflong in November 1960 that the hill districts should separate from Assam and form an eastern frontier state.

In 1961, Assamese became the official language of the state, amid vociferous protests by hill leaders. Disillusionment felt by the hill leaders with the

government in Delhi and with the state authorities in Assam, in particular, crystallized into bitter opposition to their continued inclusion within Assam.

On its part, the Central Government offered what was termed the Scottish Pattern of autonomy, which still fell far short of the autonomy expected by the hill people, let alone, statehood. The Mizo Union boycotted outright the Commission designated to work out the details of the Pattern as it stuck to a demand for statehood for the Mizo populated areas. No Mizo leaders could afford to be moderate any longer. The more radical they appeared, the more they appeared to gain in popular support.

The Mizo National Front (MNF) and Insurgency:

Such was the situation in Mizoram when Laldenga, the founder of the Mizo National Front, came on the political arena in 1961. Opportunely for him, a famine brought about by an explosion of rat population resulting from the flowering of bamboos (called *mautam*) had ravaged the entire Mizoram hills two years earlier. Resentment against the Assam government for its “delayed and negligent” famine relief operations was high. A number of voluntary bodies sprung up to provide relief to the famine stricken people. The Mizo National Famine Front launched by Laldenga in 1960 was one such an organization, which achieved a striking success in enlisting volunteers. The Front dropped the word “Famine” from its name and, on 22 October 1961, became the Mizo National Front (MNF), a political party with an avowed aim of achieving an independent and sovereign Mizoram. (A copy of the Memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister of India, demanding independence, is at Appendix D). The party grew rapidly, especially amongst the youth. By 1963, it managed to gain in a bye-election two seats of the State Assembly vacated by the Mizo Union as well as 145 Village Councils. However, the Mizo Union retained its primacy in the rural areas, winning 220 Village Councils.

Insurgency: Once the MNF declared ‘independence’ as its goal, it followed that it would have to resort to armed struggle to try and force the Indian government to concede independence to Mizoram. After preparing for three years, on 28 February 1966, the MNF volunteers commenced an armed struggle for independence and attacked different Government stations all over Mizoram. On 1 March it declared independence for Mizoram. Laldenga and sixty others signed the declaration, which appealed to all independent countries to recognize

'independent' Mizoram. With some lulls in the fighting, the rebellion 'officially' lasted 20 years, till the MNF armed cadres laid down their arms upon the signing of the so-called Peace Accord in 1986, technically termed 'Memorandum of Settlement.' (Appendix E).

A brief assessment of the insurgency movement as a whole, however, may be relevant. The primary question that has often been raised is whether Laldenga actually intended to lead the MNF into an open rebellion against the government of India. It has been argued that he was exploiting the disgruntled youth of the time in order to propel himself into political prominence. An ex-serviceman and ex-clerk of the District Council, suspended for misappropriation of funds, Laldenga had been a political nobody. He was no doubt an exceptionally charismatic demagogue. On the other hand, there was no doubt that most of the MNF cadres, particularly the educated, had been fully aware of the inevitability of a protracted armed struggle and had been prepared for it, believing that independence would ultimately be a possibility. Even if Laldenga had not intended it originally, his own followers would have made rebellion inexorable. The question for him then really became how and when to end the insurgency.

According to Biakchhunga, who served as Chief of the MNF Army from 1971 to 1978 and then briefly acted as President, citing the urgency to "make contacts with foreign powers" Laldenga and his family along with a small escort left Mizoram for East Pakistan on the night of the uprising itself, i.e. 28 February 1966. He came back to Mizoram for about a week in December of that year to attend the first MNF Parliament Session at Sialsir village. These were the two occasions on which Laldenga was personally present in Mizoram throughout the duration of the rebellion. At the Parliament Sitting, Laldenga handed over the entire task of running the underground government that had been set up by the MNF to the Vice-President, Lalnunmawia, who kept his charge from December 1966 to May 1969. During this period, the bulk of the MNF underground activists remained within Mizoram. They then moved south to Chittagong Hills in East Pakistan in early 1969. On 20 May 1969, Laldenga again took over the Presidency of the MNF from Lalnunmawia. Since then, most of the rebel activities were carried out on specific missions directed from outside India. (Hnam Kalsiam or Nation Building, Biakchhunga 1996 and personal interview with him).

Soon after Laldenga reclaimed the overall charge of the movement, he secretly sent Rozama and Vanlalngaia, ranking Intelligence Officers of the MNF, as emissaries to make contact with the officials of the Indian government. Though these messengers were arrested by the Indian Police at Karimganj on 5 July 1969, before they could reach Delhi, the result of their interrogations by the Police was bound to have been conveyed to the Indian Intelligence. It may thus be safely assumed that the Indian authorities became aware of Laldenga's readiness to end the insurrection on a bargain. Vanlalngaia said to this writer on 11 August 2004, "On that fateful day when Laldenga dispatched us to make peace overtures to the Indian officials, I realized that the struggle for independence ended then and there." This was around the time the 'sub-state' of Meghalaya, comprising the Garo Hills and the Khasi and Jantia Hills, was being formed. Mikir hills and North Cachar Hills were given option to join the sub-state. It became apparent that Meghalaya, without firing a single bullet, would soon attain full statehood. The future of Mizo Hills, however, significantly remained to be decided.

As for Laldenga's "mission" to mobilize foreign governments for aid to the MNF movement, on account of which he had absented himself for nearly three years from the scene of the real struggle, his performance seemed rather dismal. The Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan, which was always looking for an opportunity to fish in India's troubled political waters, naturally facilitated his move to East Pakistan and later to West Pakistan or rather Pakistan after the creation of Bangladesh. Even the ISI did not seem to lavish him with funds. The current Chief Minister of Mizoram, Zoramthanga, then Private Secretary to Laldenga, often speaks today in public speeches of the times when they had to "pray" all night to God to provide them with needed funds and of how miraculously they were always provided. The reason behind the ambivalence of the ISI towards the MNF must have arisen from the suspicion that Laldenga was not resolute in the struggle he had initiated, a suspicion that was beginning to exasperate the educated cadres of the MNF soon after the move to East Pakistan. China's assistance to MNF either in the form of weapons or training seemed nominal. It was also apparently a one time affair and, according to Biakchhunga, it was discontinued due to "difficulties of communication."

It became clear that from late 1969 onwards, Laldenga was secretly searching ways to make contact and commence negotiations with the government of India. However, this was about the time India was preoccupied with the liberation movement in East Pakistan and later with the birth pangs of Bangladesh.

Apparently, the impending fall of East Pakistan greatly demoralized the MNF leadership. Zoramthanga, the then Private Secretary to Laldenga, even proposed on 16 December 1971 that they might surrender to the advancing Indian forces at Subalong. (Biakchhunga). The main forces of the MNF were also later occupied in settling down in the Arakan Hills of Myanmar, as they could no longer stay in independent Bangladesh. As Laldenga and his personal staff were on their way to Islamabad, former Vice-President, Lalnunmawia and a Minister, R. Zamawia were deputed on 18 December 1971 once again to sound out the Indian authorities for peace talks.

It was only since November 1973, after Laldenga settled down in Pakistan, that regular contacts between the MNF and Indian authorities began. In a letter to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi dated 20 August 1975, Laldenga stated, "Since November 1973, my officials have been meeting your representatives to discuss the question of restoration of peace and normalcy in Mizoram..." In this letter, he asserted that the solution of the Mizoram problem could be found within the framework of the Indian Constitution and revealed that his senior colleagues did not know as yet his overtures to the Indian government. He requested "the utmost secrecy" be kept about his peace moves and sought the help of the government in persuading his radical colleagues to come to the negotiating table.

The story after this in a nutshell was that of Laldenga and his coterie working together with the Indian Intelligence in the attempt to "persuade" the "radical elements" in the MNF to accept a settlement within the Indian Constitution. Those who could not be persuaded were pressured or sidelined or marginalized. However, it took much effort and time before the entire MNF outfit could be brought around to agree to cease fire. Settlement could perhaps have come earlier, but for the fact that the political situation within Mizoram from 1979 to 1984 was such that no arrangement could be made for Laldenga to become the Chief Minister without election, the minimum prize that he would have wished for, for giving up arms. During this period, the People's Conference Party, a regional political party, was in power and the Chief Minister, Brigadier (Rtd) Thenphunga Sailo would not give up his office unless he was defeated in an election.

It was only after the Indian National Congress (I), a party that could be directed and controlled from Delhi came to power in 1984 that the prospect for peace in Mizoram became bright. The then Chief Minister, Lal Thanhawla offered to vacate his office in favour of the MNF chief Laldenga if that would facilitate the

peace negotiations, much to the relief of the people who were by now extremely frustrated at the protracted negotiations.

After resumption of talks in late 1984, the two sides finally came to a settlement in early 1986. The Memorandum of Settlement was signed on 30 June 1986. The text of the accord is at Appendix E.

As provided for in the agreement between the Indian National Congress and the MNF, upon the signing of the peace accord Laldenga was installed as the Chief Minister of Mizoram on 21 August 1986. Before the signing of the accord, Laldenga had amended the constitution of the MNF making it a political party. The MNF became a regional party in Mizoram.

Major Political Parties: Indian National Congress:

The District Branch of the Indian National Congress was established by A. Thanglura on 11 April 1961 when Mizoram was still one of the districts of Assam. Its presence in Mizoram remained uneventful and lacking in influence till the election to the fourth and last District Council in April 1970, in which the Congress won 10 out of 18 elected seats. In the election to the newly created Union Territory of Mizoram held in April 1972, it won six seats whereas the Mizo Union got 21 seats out of the 27 elected members. Soon after this election, the Mizo Union, which had formed the government in the Union Territory, decided to merge with the Congress. Since then, the party has been playing a leading role in the affairs of Mizoram, either as the ruling government or in opposition.

For the first time the Congress came on its own into power in Mizoram in the 1984 election to the UT Assembly. It won 20 seats against 8 by the PC. Lal Thanhawla, the President of the party, became the youngest Chief Minister in the country on May 5, 1984. Upon the conclusion of the peace settlement between the MNF and the central government, however, Lal Thanhawla vacated the Chief Minister's office and the MNF President, Laldenga became the Chief Minister on August 21, 1986. He became the Deputy Chief Minister instead.

After a short break, the Congress again formed the Mizoram government, upon winning the sixth Assembly election in 1989 with 23 MLAs out of the 40 seats. The last time the Congress came into power was in the election to the Assembly

held on November 3, 1993. It contested the election jointly with the Mizoram Janata Dal, a name briefly assumed by the People's Conference party led by Brig. T. Sailo. The two parties together won 24 seats as against 14 by the MNF and two Independents. Though the People's Conference Party or Janata Dal withdrew from the coalition government after 5 months, with the support of eight MLAs who defected from the MNF and the PC, the Congress government managed to serve its full term. In the State elections held after this, in 1998 and 2003, the Congress won only 6 and 12 seats respectively and thus had to be in opposition. To some justifiable extent, the Congress has been blamed for bringing corruption into the politics of Mizoram. Its refusal to continue development plans initiated by its predecessor Ministry, the Sailo government, is responsible for the lack of infrastructure in Mizoram. And these are the main reasons for its failure to come back into power. Credit must be given to the introduction by the Congress of the New Land Use Policy (NLUP), a plan to replace the practice of jhuming by settled cultivation, even though it was largely unsuccessful. The concept behind the policy has highlighted the seriousness of the problem.

Lal Thanhawla remains the President of the Party and as the leader of the largest group of MLAs (12) in Opposition, he is the official Leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly. At present, the party is the second largest political party in Mizoram.

Mizo National Front (MNF):

Founded on 22 October 1961 as a revolutionary party to fight for independence of Mizoram by Laldenga, it was transformed into a normal political party on the day of the signing of the peace accord between it and the government of India. Upon the death of Laldenga, Zoramthanga was elected President of the party and remains so till today.

For the first time, the MNF contested the 1987 election and won with a 25 member's majority. Congress won 13 and PC two. Its rule was, however, short-lived. As two of its MLAs broke away from the party on August 9, 1988, the Ministry was reduced to a minority and the Assembly had to be dissolved. After a brief President's Rule, another election was held on January 21, 1989, in which the Congress replaced the MNF government.

In the next two terms of the State Assembly, the MNF remained in opposition and staged a come back only in the 1998 election. It fought the election jointly with the MPC and the two parties together won 33 seats. Zoramthanga, the MNF leader, was installed as the Chief Minister while the MPC President, Lalhmingthanga, became the Deputy Chief Minister. As the MNF on its own has a majority in the legislature, the MPC members were evicted from the Ministry within less than a year. In the last Assembly election held on November 20, 2003, the MNF won 21 seats; and in alliance with two independents and 1 former MPC member, it formed the present Ministry. It thus remains the largest political party in Mizoram.

Corruption in high places appears to be less rampant in the present MNF government than it was in the time of the Congress. However, its practice of openly bestowing favours to loyal party workers is its drawback. While such a practice may earn votes at the time of elections, it prevents the government departments from fully focusing on development works. It has also yet to work out a thorough going plan for infrastructure development, for example, in the energy sector, without which no effective development programmes can be pursued in Mizoram.

Mizoram People's Conference (MPC):

Upon retirement from the Army in early 1974, Brigadier Thenphunga Sailo set up a Human Rights Committee to monitor and record human right abuse and excesses committed by the security forces, especially on the innocent civilians, in the course their operations against the insurgents. The reports prepared by this group were brought to the notice of the central government, with the result that the security forces became more careful and less high-handed in their operations. The Human Rights Committee became very popular and many people hailed Brigadier T. Sailo as a father figure and protector.

With a view to playing an effective role in the affairs of Mizoram, the Committee thought of setting up a political party and convened a general conference of people of all walks of life. The conference decided to form a political party named 'People's Conference' (PC) on April 17, 1975. Brig. T. Sailo was elected the first President. It was the first party in Mizoram, which clearly defined its objectives, particularly with regard to development plans for the territory. Its

candidate, Dr. Rothuama won the 1976 Parliamentary election with an impressive margin.

In the second election to the Mizoram Assembly, PC won 23 out of 30 seats and its President Brig. T. Sailo became Chief Minister on June 2, 1978. However, due to internal dissension, the PC government fell; the Assembly was dissolved and President's Rule had to be imposed on November 11, 1978. After five months of President's Rule, fresh elections to the Assembly were held again. This time also, the People's Conference won a majority of 18 MLAs and new Ministry headed by Sailo was sworn in on May 8, 1979. The ministry served its full term of five years but was ousted in the 1984 election by the Congress (I). For the first time in Mizoram, the Sailo government embarked upon infrastructure development for energy, transport and communications, rail links, etc. Despite the continuing insurgency situation, it managed to lay substantial foundation for future development work. However, these development foundations have not been consistently pursued by successive ministries till today.

The PC party was later renamed 'Mizoram People's Conference (MPC) party. Apart from briefly sharing power in coalition ministries with the Congress(I) in 1994 and with the MNF in 1998, it has not been in power since 1989. With only two MLAs in the current legislature, it looks destined to disappear from the political landscape.

(The present writer convinced the President of Mizo Union and key advisers of the advantages that might accrue then from merging with an all India party. He also drafted the terms of the merger).

Social Organisations: YMA: The Young Mizo Association:

The YMA, which was founded in 1935, with a total membership of 145004 in 2003 in the northern zone alone, is still thriving. Its membership is open to both officials and non-officials. All political parties cultivate its support, though it has managed to remain to be seen as neutral and non-political. Its role in the preservation of traditional values and useful customs, and even in the maintenance of law and order is pivotal. Its approach to issues concerning the community is often conservative and at times tends to infringe on individual liberties.

Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP):

This Association of Mizo Women was founded in the early 50s and has spread all over the state. Its available membership figure for the 5 districts of northern Mizoram in 2003 was 1,57,302, making it probably the largest NGO in India. Its motto is: To help others, though in the course of time, it has tended to concentrate on women issues. The YMA and MHIP are the two main NGOs, which are engaged in effective social work and charitable activities in the rural areas. As leaders of large and influential organizations, the leadership of these associations in the urban areas tends to waste time and energy in irrelevant popular activities.

Mizoram Upa Pawl (MUP) or Mizoram Senior Citizen's Association:

Founded in the early 80s, the association in 2003 had 50400 members in the northern zone of Mizoram. The membership is open to men and women above the age of 50. Its aim is to preserve traditional values and to work for the welfare of senior citizens.

Mizo Zirlai Pawl (MZP) or Mizo Student's Association:

The association was established in 1935 and has since gained preeminence as the forum of the youth. It was originally concerned with the interests and welfare of the Mizo students, especially in the endeavour to create understanding and unity among them. In addition, it has now transformed into a non-partisan political pressure group on various issues affecting not only the student community but also Mizoram as a whole. Its leaders have also increasingly used it as a staging ground for entry to full time participation in politics.

The Churches:

The Mizos take pride in proclaiming that their community is 100 percent Christian. Christianity is indeed omnipresent in the life of the community.

This is amply demonstrated by the fact that no community activities can commence without what is termed '*hunserh*,' a brief dedication service where some verses of the Bible is read, followed by a prayer for blessings on the particular activity of the occasion.

The established Churches are the Presbyterians in the north and the Baptists in the South. The Roman Catholic Church is also present and is slowly gaining adherents. There are a few other denominational groups with widely differing number of followers. The Churches organize their activities under various wings such as the youth, women, children and a common social front. In addition to the regular Church services, a number of camping crusades are held every year.

The liberal minded often allege that too much time is wasted on religious activities. The imposing presence of religion in the life of the community also appears to promote conformity while, in real terms, it does little to reform the daily lives of its adherents. As the result, uprightness in appearance and form without inner reform, indeed, hypocrisy seems to be slowly becoming a norm in Mizo society.

3. Economic Profile

The economic life of the Mizos has always been centered around *jhum* or shifting cultivation. During the rule of the Chiefs, the chiefs distributed *jhum* land every year from the land under their control to their subjects. The Village Councils now do the allocation of *jhum* land by letting the villagers draw lots. The sizes of the plots used to be usually between 1.5 and 3 hectares per family, depending on the number of able-bodied persons in a family. However, as land available for *jhuming* is becoming less due to allotment of lands to individuals, plot sizes in recent years have become smaller. Besides, the earning per man day in this practice of farming is so low that many young people now prefer to work as wage earners in services and other sectors.

Jhum sites selection is done in November/December and by mid February, felling of the vegetation is usually finished. The dried vegetation must be set on fire preferably before the early rains in mid March. After the unburned debris of trees and bamboos are cleared, the plot is ready for cultivation.

The crops grown in the plots are mixed. Paddy remains the principal crop and others that are inevitably grown are common vegetables and pulses for household consumption. Nowadays, cash crops such as ginger, tumeric, bird's eye chilly, oil seeds, maize, sugar cane, etc are grown. A variety of spices, herbs, flowers, fruits and oil seeds like sesame, soybeans and mustard and cotton can grow well in

Mizoram. The basic problem is the method of farming the land, that is, the practice of shifting cultivation, which causes depletion of forests and biodiversity, soil erosion as also a complex of environmental damages. Crop yields from unlevelled lands cannot be very high either and new scientific thinking says that it is better to improve them through scientific methods than through replacement with plantations which represent an alien interaction into a scientific pro-environmental as well as silk zone. It is important to better jhum restrict its spread and involve micro-credit agencies and give better alternative markets. The jhumias is poor and marginalized. His work and that of his fellow ----- to be and improved. That lives and income grow, instead of condemning them with the prejudice of government and insensitive "encouragements". Alternative arrangements such as settled farming have not worked. This remains the basic task facing the governments that has yet to be structurally dealt with. Attempts to change the practice of jhuming through the programmes initiated by the Congress under the New Land Use Policy and by the present MNF government under the Mizoram Intodelh (Self Sufficiency) Project (MIP) have so far made no substantial difference.

Indicators of Current Status

The following selected facts and figures may help in assessing the current economic standing of Mizoram:

Population – 891058; females per 1000 males: 938; persons per square kilometer: 42; rural population: 53.9 per cent. (2001 Census).

Food grains production – paddy: 109,205 MT; maize: 14879 MT and pulses: 4986 MT. (2002-2003).

Per capita income – Rs. 7517 (1993-94 in current prices). Compare this with an all India average of Rs. 7185.

Employment breakup – farmers (mainly *jhuming*) 66 per cent; manufacturing – 5 per cent and government employees, trading and services – 29 per cent.

Sources of the domestic product of the State – 40 per cent from farming, 15 per cent from manufacturing and 45 per cent from government employees, trading and services.

According to the central Planning Commission, those who were in 1993 below the poverty line (BPL) in Mizoram were 26 per cent (about 200000) whereas the State government reckoned it to be 56.07 per cent.

Literacy is 89.49 per cent as compared to all India's 52 per cent. While in literacy among the states of India Mizoram is placed second after Kerala, the drop out rate from Grades I - V in 1994-95 was 63 per cent. This clearly shows that the number of those who are able to go to High Schools is quite limited. For examples, in Aizawl District the number of enrolment in Primary Schools in 2001 was 33874, those who went on to High Schools was 18389 and those went to Higher Secondary Schools was 5705. This is largely in an urban area where the schools are relatively well equipped with teaching staff and instruments. The corresponding figures for Champhai District, mostly rural area, are – Primary School, 14577, High School, 4947 and Higher Secondary School, 402. (Figures for the whole State are not yet available).

Resources:

Mizoram has no known mineral resources, which are commercially exploitable. The few surveys that the Geological Survey of India and the Oil and Natural Gas Commission have conducted so far did not find any. In addition to human resources, the only natural resources of Mizoram are its fertile but fragile soil, forests, sub-tropical climatic condition in slopes of varied elevation and highly conducive to growth of various fruits, flowers and crops, and its numerous rivers. About these natural resources have already been detailed.

Infrastructure:

As noted earlier, Mizoram is critically deficient in infrastructure development particularly in the physical kind. The few initiatives taken by the Sailo Ministry in 1979-84, especially in the power sector, have remained unimplemented. A brief account of what has been done in this sector will show the actual state of affairs.

Energy:

The potential in this sector is enormous, particularly in the generation of electricity by means of the hydropower. Beside the active investigations that were conducted on hydropower projects such as Tuirial (60 MW), Tuivai (210 MW) and Serlui-B (12 MW), the Bairabi Hydel Project (120 MW) on the Tlawng or Daleshwari River had been ready for execution in the early 80s in the tenure of the Sailo Ministry. The successor Ministries continued to ignore the project. It has now been revised with a reduced capacity of 80 MW. With the new policy of

commercialization of large hydro projects in India, however, the State government faces a serious funding problem, unless the central government makes exception for Mizoram.

The North East Electric Power Corporation (NEEPCO) has taken up Tuirial and Tuivai, but progress is slow. Only 12 percent of the electricity produced by these projects will be owned by the State and the rest of its requirement will have to be purchased. The Power Department is currently undertaking five Mini/Micro Hydel Projects: Tuirial-B (12 MW); Maicham (11MW); Tuipanglui (3 MW); Kau-Tlabung (3MW) and Lamsial (500 KW).

The Power Projects under investigation are: Kolodyne I - 120 MW (completed and pending for techno-economic clearance); Kolodyne II – 300 MW; Tuipui - 30 MW; Bairabi II – 50 MW; Tuichang – 30 MW; Tuirini – 60 MW and Tuivawl – 50 MW.

The current position regarding supply and consumption of electric power is: Estimate of requirement: 102 MW as against existing supply of 72 MW; Electricity generated by the State: 22 MW (Diesel – 16 MW and Mini/Micro – 6 MW); Purchased from neighbouring States: 50 MW and shortage: 50 MW.

Transports System:

The length of the network of roads in the State as on March 31, 2001 was 4122.37 kilometers, which included 328 kilometers of National Highways constructed and maintained by Border Road Organisation (BRO). Motor-able roads connected 704 villages and the road length per 100 square kilometers was 19.54 km. (The Draft Five Year Plan for 2002 – 2007). Not only is construction of roads in the hilly terrains difficult, maintenance of these roads is extremely expensive. Often there are days when some areas remain inaccessible due to blockage of roads by landslides or other damages caused by heavy rains. Except for the National Highways and a few leading roads, much of the road length in Mizoram is unusable for load bearing heavy vehicles.

The main supply route for Mizoram is the National Highway-54 from Silchar in Assam to Aizawl and beyond. If this road is blocked even for a few days, many consumer goods become scarce. The other roads linking Mizoram with Manipur and Tripura are not yet pliable by heavy vehicles on a regular basis. Even

otherwise, these States cannot supply the requirements of Mizoram as they are equally remote from the centers of manufactured goods as Mizoram is.

Mizoram's hilly terrain limits the scope of rail and air links. There are not many stretches of level land where long runways can be made. On December 12, 1998, the first airport was opened at Lengpui, near Aizawl, where medium-sized jet aircraft can land and take off. No facilities for transportation of air cargo are available yet. Nor is there any flight landing facility. The entire airport building is over-large, over-expensive and underutilized. It is another example of the Center's partnership and local ----- without a proper cost-benefit analysis. The only rail link to Mizoram is by a narrow gauge railroad, which terminated at Bairabi, a town situated at the bank of Daleshwari, 3 km. from Assam border. Surprisingly, the urgency of development and expansion of this lone rail link does not seem to register with the present authorities.

Two Inland Waterways, on the Karnafuli river between Chittagong and Demagiri in Mizoram and on the Daleshwari river, that were in much use during the British rule became virtually unused after the partition of India. After the construction of the Kaptai Dam on the Karnafuli in Bangladesh, a huge area around Demagiri has been submerged. This created a good potential for inland water transport in the area, provided understanding in the matter can be reached between the governments of Bangladesh and India. The Tlawng or Daleshwari joins the Barak in Cachar and was used by the Mizos for travel and transportation down to areas, which have become Bangladesh, and even to Shillong and the plains of Assam in India. Except for floating down forest produce like bamboo and timber, Mizoram hardly uses this route any more, perhaps, due to uncertain transit facilities beyond Cachar.

The Barak river and a long stretch of its tributary, Tuivai, was also much used by the inhabitants of northeast Mizoram and the southeast area of Manipur for supply and travel route. Due to insurgent activities across the rivers on the Manipur side, the use of these waterways has become erratic. The Kolodyne in South Mizoram can also, perhaps, be harnessed for transit to Akyab in Myanmar, once the projected hydro dams on it are constructed.

Yet 4.7 million Rupees was earmarked for development of inland water-ways in the plan for 2002-2007-a reflection of poor planning and perception and especially when one consider the huge investment in air links.

Communications:

As the network of post offices depends for the dispatch of mails on the physical transport system, its services are relatively slow. Non-courier mails from Delhi take a week or more to reach Aizawl while Speed Post takes about 3 to 4 working days. The population per Post Office in 1993-94 was 1920. As of June 2003, there were nine telephone exchanges in Mizoram with working connections in the Secondary Switching Area, numbering 54255 subscribers. The telephone equipment currently has the capacity for 73120 connections. Mizoram is now linked by an underground optic fibre wires. The telecom system still does not have the capacity for information highway. During the year preceding June 2003, 1027 new Internet connections were provided.

Water Supply:

Water supply during the dry season has always been a special problem of Mizoram. The villages were traditionally situated on hilltops, as a part of the strategy for defence against on coming enemies. The practice has still continued. Thus, the only viable way to provide water supply to these settlements is to pump river water to a reservoir located on a high point above the settlements and distribute the water by gravity. This is being done for the urban areas and some selected villages. With the chronic shortage of electric power supply, it will be a long way before adequate supply of water, if at all, can be arranged for the people of Mizoram.

The Department of Public Health Engineering, which is responsible for water supply and sanitation, also promotes tapping of underground water by means of hand pumps. A number of these pump sets have been distributed yearly. With severe depletion of underground water during dry season, this is a poor supplement to water supply work. Harvesting of rainwater is a practice long known in Mizoram. Since there is usually excess of rainwater during the rainy season, with improved collection, storage and distribution facilities, rainwater can be gainfully harvested and substantially augment the water supply during the dry season. The government of Mizoram has yet take meaningful initiatives in this direction.

Human Resources:

The department of School Education and that of the Higher and Technical Education are in charge of human resource development. Like in the rest of India, a scheme for quality education for all (Sarva Shiksha Abhyian) was introduced in 2003 in Mizoram. Under this scheme, all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years are expected to attend school. In 2003, there were 8,985 out of school children from this age group as compared to 17,993 in 2002, representing a signal progress. For the age group of 15 to 35 years, a new project called 'Eradication of Residual Illiteracy' (ERIP) has been introduced. With the implementation of these two projects, the State expects to achieve full literacy by 2007.

The main weakness of the education system has been the continuing lack of technical equipment and quality staff for science and technical education at the school level. This has cumulatively resulted in a very low proportion of scientists and technologists among the educated Mizos. There is also a distinct lack of what might be termed 'scientific temper' among the intellectuals. At present, except for veterinary sciences, there is no degree level school for engineering or medical subjects. The Mizoram University, which opened in 2001, has not been able to introduce courses in physical sciences.

The Present Position of Educational Institutions in Mizoram:

Primary Schools: 1225; Middle Schools: 777; High Schools: 408; Colleges: 30; Polytechnics: 2; Teachers Training Institutes: 2; University: 1. There is a University of Veterinary Sciences run by the central government. There is also a Regional Institute for Nursing, Laboratory Technicians and Pharmacology owned by the North East Council (NEC). There are a few departmentally managed, diploma levels, vocational training institutes for information technology, mechanics, etc.

Public Health:

In terms of persons per public health care establishments, Mizoram may have the most health care facilities among the States of India. With 14 hospitals in the State, the number of persons per hospital bed in 1991 was already 627, the lowest among the North East States. The next lowest, Arunachal's was 755 as compared to all India for 1324 persons. But this is about quantity, not quality. The main

problem affecting the health care system in Mizoram, like in education, is the lack of equipment, medicines and specialists, compounded by erratic and fluctuating electric power supply. Without adequate diagnostic, radiological and other laboratory facilities, the most competent physician cannot be effective.

Because of this persisting problem, most patients with complicated cases, especially those who require sophisticated surgery, had to be referred to private medical institutions outside Mizoram in such places as Gwahati, Kolkata, Vellore, Chennai, Delhi and Bombay. This not only creates easily avoidable hardships for the people, but is also a serious drain on the finances of the State since so many of its employees undergo medical treatment outside the State. The fact that patients who need bandages or syringes have often to buy them from private suppliers outside the hospital amply demonstrates the seriousness of the situation.

The government is currently constructing a hospital designed to serve as Referral Hospital, to be so equipped and staffed as to obviate the necessity of sending patients to places outside the State. With the basic foundation of the health care system in disarray as it is now, it is doubtful if the government will be competent enough to manage such a hospital.

The number of health care centers managed by the government are as follows: Subsidiary Health Centers: 351; Primary Health Centers: 58; Community Health Center: 9.

Banking and Finance:

The common people in Mizoram seldom use banking instruments for their financial transactions. They mostly use cash money. Those who use banks do it mainly for saving or term deposits. Taking loans from banks against collaterals is also popular. The number of 'bad loans' is said to be high, particularly those loans extended by the first financial institution set up by the State, Zoram Industrial Development Corporation (ZIDCO).

ZIDCO was set up by the State government in collaboration with the Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) to foster the start up and the growth of industries in Mizoram. Another semi-financial institution, Mizoram Khadi and Village Industries Board (KVI) in 1986, was set up to promote various types of small scale and cottage industries. These two institutions extend credits to individuals and cooperative bodies for starting small industries. Part of the

funding for the loans they service comes from the central credit institutions for development.

There are two central government sponsored financial institutions, North Eastern Development Finance Corporation (NEDFI) and National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD), which have recently opened branch offices in Mizoram with junior official representatives. These two have yet to make substantial contribution to the development of Mizoram. Full fledged banks that are operating in Mizoram are: State Bank of India (SBI); Vijayya Bank; United Commercial Bank; Mizoram Cooperative Apex Bank; Mizoram Rural Bank and Mizoram Urban Cooperative Bank. The Credit-Deposit ratio in 1996 was 16.

The banks in Mizoram were not authorized to deal in foreign currency exchange until recently. The State Bank of India is now authorized to do so.

Selected Economic Sectors with Prospects: Agriculture:

The major agricultural crops, total yield for each crop in 2002-2003 in metric tons, and the area sown in hectares are given below:

	yield	Area		Yield	Area
	metric ton	hectares		metric ton	hectares
Paddy(jhum)	67,076	41,356	WRC	33,725.0	12,905.0
HYV	8,404	2,806	Maize	14,879.0	7,489.0
Pulses	4,986	4,666	Oilseeds	5,285.0	7,132.0
Tapioca	1,330	232	Sugarcane	7,443.0	1,370.0
Potato	726	369			

As already explained elsewhere, shifting cultivation of rice is uneconomic and has no future. Alternative crops that have already been identified as suitable for Mizoram, especially horticultural crops, must be encouraged.

Horticulture:

Systematic promotion of horticulture in Mizoram is recent, although plantation of fruits like orange, hatkora (of citrus family) and pineapples has been in long practice. Mizoram has been identified to be ideal for a variety of horticultural

crops. The State government is now making a thrust in this sector. The crops with potential are briefly described in the following:

Production in 2002-2003:	Area in Ha.	Production: MT
Fruits:	21,150	57,858
Plantation Crops:	3,478	6,844
Vegetables:	7,581	40,970
Spices:	7,058	36,439
Roots & Tubers:	850	5,286.

- A. Fruits: Grape: *Bangalore Blue* is cultivated in an area of about 1,000 Ha. in the eastern high altitude area. The yield is 70-80 quintal/acre. Passion Fruit: Cultivated so far in about 2,000 hectares, it is said to grow well again the eastern region. Orange: Mandarin was popular but has declined owing to disease. It is being revived with improved seedlings. Banana – growing is getting large scale and is now marketed in Meghalaya and Assam. The variety of banana grown in Mizoram is perhaps the best in the world.
- B. Spices: Turmeric – Lakadang variety as well as the traditional turmeric, native to the place, grows well. The native turmeric called ‘Ai-eng’ can grow as shrubs in wooded sites and can be left wild for a few years. Its roots do not deteriorate but multiply and the quality appears to improve. Promotion of this crop is at the initial stage. Only 2785 MT was harvested in 2002-2003. Ginger – has been increasingly grown, but with frequent price fluctuation, its prospect is uncertain. It also causes serious soil erosion. In 2002-2003, 47,821 MT was harvested. (This was obviously not included in the spices production listed herein earlier). Chillies – a variety of chillies has been grown. Bird’s Eye chilly is indigenous to Mizoram and is the most sought after for export.
- C. Plantation: Arecanut – is grown in the western and northwestern lowlands. It does not yet meet local consumption.
- D. Flowers: Rose- grows well and has good prospects but not enough yet for export outside the State. Anthurium – was tried for mass production only

in 2002. It is already sold as cut flower in metropolis of other States. It can be harvested in six months and appears to be better in quality than those grown in other States. Bird-of-Paradise (BOP) – was introduced two years ago. It was expected to flower in 3 years, but has done so this year. It seems to have a bright future.

Other varieties of horticultural crop being tried are black pepper, cardamom, jatropa carcus, vanilla, etc. Medicinal herbs, native to Mizoram, have also yet to be identified and the case of growing others to be explored.

Forest-Based Industry:

Apart from processing horticultural crops when it has in optimum quantities, the most suitable industrial sector for Mizoram appears to be forest-based. Bamboo in particular is plentiful and is easily renewable. At present, due to the shortage of electric power, large-scale industrial plants cannot be set up.

Others:

In 2002, there were 1500 cottage and small-scale industries operating and producing goods worth Rs. 370.5 million. There were 4258 registered small industries in 2003. (Mid Term Appraisal of Five-Year Plan). Animal Husbandry, Fishery, Sericulture and Tourism sectors are not yet in the take-off stage.

Tourism, however, seems to have a good potential, if international standard infrastructure and facilities can be provided. Mizoram can be projected as a unique and exotic tourist destination.

4. Relations with Neighbouring Regions

Apart from the inter-States interactions initiated by the North Eastern Council (NEC), the present political leadership of Mizoram does not maintain much interaction with its neighbours. This may be partly because the current party in power, the MNF, is a regional party with no direct links to other parties. However, with several problems in common with the other States in the region, such as security, law and order, infrastructure needs, health care, etc., close coordination with them cannot but be useful.

Relations with Assam:

One outstanding problem with Assam is the issue of the northern boundary of Mizoram with the Cachar District of Assam. The present demarcation was specified by Section 6 of the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act, 1971. Vide Section 4.2 (1) of the Peace Accord signed with the Government of India in 1986 the MNF Party accepted it. And the then Congress government of Mizoram countersigned the Accord, implying that the State government also accepted it. The MNF and the Congress are the only two political parties, which came into power after the 1986 Accord. Since their hands are tied by the Accord they had signed, they are not in a position to dispute the boundary arrangement.

However, from the time of the Mizo District Council in the 1950s till the early 1980s, the authorities in Mizoram as well as the general public had been objecting to what was fixed first as the de facto boundary of the then District and later of the Union Territory of Mizoram. The UT government even constituted a 'Fact Finding Committee' in 1973 on the matter. The 'Summary Finding' of that committee stated, " The Mizos are unsatisfied with the line and manner in which their Northern Boundary with Cachar was fixed arbitrarily by the British and are likely to remain so for generations to come, unless and until it is refixed based on certain reasonable grounds like historical, traditional and occupational backgrounds. From the study of the boundary fixation herein related, it is clear that there was such a line and in its final form is represented by the Inner Line of 1875."

This is not a live political issue at present, but the general public has still not accepted the boundary. NGOs like YMA and MZP have been keeping the issue alive by raising it in public and the media. And the State government may one day be forced to dispute the boundary in the future.

Under the existing Inner Line regulations, Indians other than Mizos as well as foreigners are required to obtain Inner Line Permit (ILP) before entering Mizoram. There is therefore no problem of migration from Assam into Mizoram. There is, however, a large floating population of masonries, carpenters and construction workers from Assam, particularly the Kaimganj area of Cachar, scattered all over Mizoram. Some who came without ILP or overstayed their Permit or commit crime are occasionally deported by the authorities.

As Mizoram's entire supply of manufactured and essential goods and construction materials comes from or through Assam, it cannot afford to disrupt its relationship with Assam. No trade figures are available, as interstate trades are not recorded. The entire surplus of cash crop produces of Mizoram, such as chilies, ginger, cotton, oilseeds and other product like orange and grapefruits are sold to Cachar. Way back in 1994, a group called 'Hnam Chhantu' (a group campaigning for self reliance for Mizoram) conducted a research on the extent of the dependence of Mizoram on food products of Assam. The food items selected were vegetables, cooking oil, fish and eggs. They found that the city of Aizawl alone consumed these items in one month, which cost at the time over Rs. 28 million.

Relations with Manipur:

Mizo tribes or people of Mizo origin inhabit the southern and western hill areas and some parts of the northern region of Manipur. These people freely come and go. As insurgent groups have been active in these hills areas, a number of people from the area, especially the South District of Manipur, fleeing from the disturbed area, have been migrating to Mizoram. The migrants are largely accommodated and face no difficulty in integrating into the society. A National Highway from Aizawl crosses into the southeast of Manipur and there are thrice weekly flights of Indian Airlines between Aizawl and Imphal. There is a steady flow of people on both sides.

Two small insurgent outfits, based in Manipur, are occasionally active in the northern part of Mizoram. The Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA) claims to work for the reunification of what it terms 'Zomis' or tribes of Zo origin and is active in the Paite inhabited area of northeast Mizoram. The Hmar People Convention (Democratic) or HPC (D) demands the curving of Hmar Autonomous District Council in the Hmar tribe occupied area of mid north Mizoram and occasionally launches its activities either from Cachar Hills of Assam or southwest Manipur. Their leader, Lalhmingthang, hailed from Khawlian village of Mizoram and now usually resides at Lakhipur in Cachar District. The ZRA personnel are mostly drawn from Paites of south Manipur while those of the HPC (D) is a mixture of Hmars from Manipur and Mizoram. Some times, the insurgents of the Manipur valley, the Meiteis, also cross over to northern Mizoram and encounter the security forces.

The Nagas demand the integration of all the Naga inhabited areas of India. If this is agreed to by the Government of India, a large chunk of northern Manipur will have to be integrated into Nagaland. In that event, the Mizo tribes of southern Manipur are likely to fight for incorporation into Mizoram. The Meitei insurgents foresee this and are steadily asserting their writ over the area. This is a possible future issue that can seriously complicate the relationship between Manipur and Mizoram.

Relations with Tripura:

Mizoram and Tripura are, perhaps, the least interactive of neighbours. Some 7000 Brus, a non-Mizo ethnic group, fled from western Mizoram to Tripura in 1998 and are now encamped as refugees in two locations there. They are being looked after by the central government, though their presence could strain the services sector in the area. The refugees' claim that the Mizos tried to force them to convert into Christianity and that they had to flee Mizoram for fear of being persecuted. The Mizos amongst whom the Brus had lived and the State government vehemently denied this. They in turn claim that false rumours spread by vested interest working against Christianity in Mizoram alarmed the Brus and they migrated to Tripura of their own accord. During the last election to the Legislative Assembly of Mizoram in November 2003, there was an unsuccessful attempt by the Opposition parties and some NGOs to block the postal ballots cast by these refugees.

The Tripura Chief Minister alleged in 2003 that there were some training camps in Mizoram of the insurgent groups fighting against his government such as the All Tripura People's Liberation Organisation and the All Tripura Tiger Force. Given the mobility of the mostly hill men fighters operating against the Tripura government and their familiarity with the jungles of the 66 km. long border with Mizoram, it is quite possible that they sometimes set up shelters on the Mizoram side of the border. The present Chief Minister of Mizoram, Zoramthanga, a former rebel leader, has often been accused by the Opposition Parties of secretly enlisting the support of insurgents such as HPC (D) and ZRA and of abetting the transportation of weapons by the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isaac-Muivah) or NSCN (I-M) through Mizoram. These accusations have not been proved or conclusively substantiated, as there has not been constituted a formal enquiry to look into these matters.

Across the state boundary in Tripura is the Jampui Hills range, which is peopled by the Mizos in about a dozen villages. These people look towards Mizoram for their cultural succour. A number of the educated among them migrated to Mizoram and some of them occupy high official posts. They make no political demand and provide a potential useful bridge between the two States, though they have not been used as such so far.

There is no direct air link with Tripura. Two fairly good roads link the two States. There are markets along the road across Kanhmun (Mizoram) on both of the border. Some manufactured goods of daily needs and local agricultural products are traded in these markets. Some goods smuggled from Bangladesh especially processed baby foods and used clothes pass into Mizoram at this border. The trade between the two States is negligible.

External Relations: Relations with Bangladesh:

In the scheme with which India has so far conducted its relationship with Bangladesh, the interests of the North East States, particularly of Mizoram, do not seem to figure prominently. (A copy of declassified Note on Indo-Bangladesh Relations is at Appendix F). This is perhaps due to the fact that the spirit and the level of bilateral cooperation have not attained the stage where detailed sub-regional concerns can be accommodated. It can also be because the Mizoram government has not made concrete structural proposals to the Government of India for beneficial relationship between the State and Bangladesh.

Some officials and non-official trade representatives including the Chief Minister have recently made visits to Bangladesh with the ostensible purpose of improving the officially non-existent trading relations. Without agreed border trade posts and transit arrangements at the level of the two national governments, and improved land transport system in the border areas, there can be no meaningful trade exchanges between Mizoram and Bangladesh. The manner in which India pursues its relations with Myanmar (noted herein after) clearly attests to this. The political leadership in Mizoram sometimes spoke of proposals for setting up border trade posts along the border with Bangladesh. But such proposals do not figure in the notes of the Ministry responsible for the conduct of India's external relations.

As noted earlier, inland water transport and border trade posts, to begin with, can be easily arranged on the Karnafuli River and the Kaptai dam area in the south.

What is missing appears to be close coordination by the State government with the central government. Small scale informal trade does exist in the area, with mainly bamboos and some agricultural products going into Bangladesh while fish and some merchandises come from there.

Except for a few underground Bru or Tuikuk volunteers, who are demanding a separate administrative arrangement for themselves in the northwestern area of Mizoram, the border area is largely free of insurgents. As the border with Bangladesh can be freely crossed in all seasons, however, migration from Bangladesh, particularly of the Chakmas, has long been a problem disturbing the Mizos. During the British rule and after Indian independence till 1954, the Standing Orders issued by the successive Superintendents of Lushai (Mizo) Hills District specified the Chakmas as foreigners and they were required to obtain permits to work in Mizoram. The Chakma tribe was also not listed among the minority tribes in the Indian Constitution at the time of its adoption. In the 1941 Census, there were 18 Chakmas in Mizoram and their number shot up to 15,297 in 1951. By 1971, when the Parliament passed the North Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act (NEAR Act), they became so numerous that the Government of India decided to set up the Chakma Autonomous District Council within Mizoram.

No public protest was orchestrated against the creation of Chakma District at the time. The then District Council formed by the Congress had not objected to the proposed NEAR Act; and on October 2, 1971 the General Assembly of the Mizo Union also accepted it. The PC party started the campaign against what it termed as the unjust creation of an administrative district for foreigners. Upon coming into power in 1979, the PC government headed by Brig. T. Sailo prepared plans to differentiate genuine Indian Chakmas, who entered Mizoram before January 26, 1952 from those Chakma foreigners who came after the adoption of Indian Constitution. It proposed to expel the latter, but could not execute its plans as the government was voted out in the 1984 election. In 1986, three MLAs from the PC party tabled a draft resolution in the State Assembly, proposing the dissolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The MNF and the Congress combine voted against it and defeated it. (Proceedings of the 6th Session of the Fourth Legislative Assembly of Mizoram - pp.161). Since then, the Chakma issue has been kept alive of and on mainly by the MZP. Political parties also often rake it up during election years. The population of Chakma District as per 2001 Census was 34,528.

Relations With Myanmar:

Mizoram does not maintain direct political relationship with Myanmar, as the subject is the concern of the central government in Delhi. However, the Government of India conducts its relationship with the Myanmar regime, essentially with a view to promote and safeguard the interests of the North East States especially those bordering Myanmar. Without the active cooperation of the Myanmar authorities, India is clearly aware, the major problems of the North East, namely insurgency, underdevelopment, drugs and arms smuggling cannot be eliminated. A number of agreements that India has concluded as also its proposed projects with Myanmar clearly attest to this. Officials of the State government have invariably included in the Indian delegations when such delegations are mandated to discuss matters concerning the respective North East States. As a democracy, India is naturally bound to favour a democratic Myanmar, but its vital interests compel active cooperation with whatever regime that country has. A copy of a declassified Note on Indo-Myanmar Relations is at Appendix H.

The major project proposals that concerns Mizoram are India's offer to upgrade Rhi-Tiddim and Rhi-Falam roads linking Mizoram with Chin State, setting up of border trade post at Zokhawthar-Rhi and the Kolodyne or Kaladan Multimodal Project for a combination of inland water transport and highway linking southern Mizoram to Rakhine. These projects and other ideas of infrastructure links were already initiated during the time when the present writer was Indian Ambassador to Myanmar in the mid 1990s. It was however not possible to take them up quickly as the Myanmar authorities were at times frustratingly cautious and slow to respond. The bridge on the border river, Tiao, and a smaller one farther into Myanmar were constructed by India in that time, though. The same Mizo ethnic groups inhabit the entire regions adjoining Mizoram on the Myanmar side. And, perhaps, this is part of the reason that makes Myanmar cautious. The presence of some Chin pro-democracy activists in Mizoram and the fact that the Chin insurgents (the Chin National Army) have occasionally taken shelters inside Mizoram have not helped matters.

Though the border trade post is yet to be officially opened, the age-old traditional informal trade goes merrily on. Sources in the Customs authorities indicated that the goods "seized" during the last three years were:

2000-2001: Rs. 13.2 million; 2002-2003: Rs. 17.6 million; 2003-2004: Rs. 38.6 million. These are supposed to be the costs of goods confiscated and sold in auction by the Customs. Except for narcotics and arms, real seizures are rare and so are real auctions. Except for trade in head loads of local produces within 30 kilometers on both sides of the border, the entire trade is illegal. And the Customs officials are supposed to seize all goods that come from Myanmar. However, this is not the case in reality. In the assessment of knowledgeable circles, the above figures should represent only 40 per cent of the trade or even less.

The main items of trade that come from Myanmar are: kitchen wares and gadgets; entertainment electronics like TVs, Hi-fi sets, radios; watches; electric goods; garments and other textile products; jewelries including unworked gold and precious stones; furniture and carpentry tools; etc. Light goods and not so light goods like refrigerators and washing machines that a household needs are all available. Vendors often sell them from house to house. The products smuggled are mostly made in China, Japan, S. Korea, Thailand and Taiwan.

The goods that enter Myanmar have been estimated by the Customs to cost about the same as those that come from there. These are mainly Indian made products such as light building materials like kitchen and bathroom fittings and fixtures, bicycles and spare parts, sewing machines, all kinds of pharmaceutical products including proxyvon (which is abused), finished leather products, textiles (loin cloth pieces), plastics and linoleum products, etc. Much of the smuggled drugs and pharmaceuticals is said to reach southern China. Once legal border trade posts are established on both sides of the border and the roads across Mizoram are improved, the volume of trade exchanges is likely increase substantially. Then, there will have been an official channel that can be abused.

A large number of Myanmar “guest workers” (considering the size of Mizoram population) are in the State. Apart from a few handloom weavers from the plains of Myanmar, most of these workers are from the Chin Hills, who can become fluent in Mizo language in a matter of weeks as they belong to the same ethnic group. They are mainly engaged in menial jobs like housemaids, gardeners, drivers, farm workers and daily labours while a few are in trading and services. Before 2003, their number hovered around 40,000, about 5 per cent of the State population. In late 2003, an incident of rape of a minor girl committed by one of them triggered a widespread protest and a large number were forced to leave

Mizoram, thereby attracting adverse comments even by the UN Human Rights Commission and the Amnesty International.

The State government has since started registering these workers and regulating the duration of their stay. Their number is said to have dwindled somewhat. However, the registration is done only at Zokhawthar-Rhi whereas the porous border can be crossed and is crossed at several points in the dry season. International agencies tend to regard these workers as victims of political oppression. They are more of 'economic migrants', some temporary, some not so, much like the Bangladeshis moving into India by various means elsewhere.

Regional Cooperation:

Situated on the northeast end of the country, Mizoram is among the remotest of outposts in the North East. If the Partition put back the economy of the NER by a quarter-century, as reckoned by B. G. Verghese, (India's North East Resurgent, 1996), it must have put back the economy of Mizoram at least by half a century. The Partition completely cut off its main traditional market, now Bangladesh, and rendered its only inland waterways, the Karnafuli and the Daleshwari, useless. Its only fragile link to the rest of the world became by a mountainous fair weather road from Cachar to Aizawl, which was subjected to frequent blockages by landslides during the rains. Though this road has been much improved and became a National Highway, it remains the main supply line for Mizoram. Fifty-seven years after independence, the isolation of Mizoram is still acute.

In order to break out of its isolation, it is an absolute must for Mizoram to have access not only to a network of transport systems but also to other infrastructure linkages in the NER and beyond. The proposed or existing Asian Highways (AH) and the Trans-Asian Railways (TAR) systems do not include Mizoram. It seems to remain a "forgotten patch" of geography. Without access to the regional or sub-regional transport systems, it will obviously not be able to benefit from the regional cooperation intended by such groups as the Bay of Bengal Initiatives on Multi-sector, Technical and Economic Cooperation, the South Asian Development Quadrangle and the Kunming Initiatives.

Following are a layman's suggestions to give additional connectivity to Bangladesh while providing Mizoram the much-needed integration to the regional network of transportation:

1. While the proposed diversion of AH from Sylhet - Karimganj (Assam) – Silchar – Jiribam – Imphal – Tamu (Myanmar) may still stand, the existing road link from Agartala – Aizawl – Champhai (Mizoram) – Tiddim or Falam (Myanmar) can be extended to AH either in Bangladesh at Sylhet itself or in Cachar (Assam). This will also bring Tripura, Mizoram and Chin Hills, all underdeveloped States, into the AH network. The immediate advantage is that there are no insurgent activities anywhere along this road whereas Jiribam – Imphal section of the other route is in the middle of insurgent area. The sections in Mizoram and Chin Hills in Myanmar pass through hilly terrains but can be upgraded without much difficulty, as they are essential supply lines constantly in use. Government of India has already offered to upgrade Rhi – Tiddim and Rhi – Falam roads.
2. Linking Chittagong by Highway-cum-Inland Waterway via Kaptai dam and Demagiri (Mizoram) to the proposed Multi-Modal Highway-cum-IWT Project on the Kaladan through the existing road in Mizoram from Lunglei to Saiha is another possibility. Another road can also be constructed in south Mizoram to link with the proposed Chittagong – Yangon road, which is already in advanced stage of construction.
3. Once transit through Bangladesh by rail and road to Kolkhata is possible, linking the existing network of roads in the middle section of Mizoram will not be difficult.
4. If Tripura is linked by rail across Akhaura in Bangladesh, the same can be extended to the proposed Hydel Project at Bairabi in Mizoram by road-cum-rail, thereby extending farther into Mizoram via IWT.
5. Linking Jiribam by rail or road or both to the proposed Hydel Project at Tipaimuk on the Barak River may also be feasible. This again will provide IWT links to the interior of both Manipur and Mizoram.

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Appendix A

Table 1
Rivers in Mizoram

No.Name of river	Length in Kilometer (in Mizoram)
Tlawng (Dhaleshwari)	185.15
Tiak	159.39
Chhintuipui (Kolodyne)	130.46
Khawthlangtuipui (Karnaphuli)	128.08
Tuichang	120.75
Tuirial (Sonai)	117.53
Tuichawng	107.87
Mat	90.16
Tuipui (Khawchhak)	86.94
Tuivawl	72.45
Teirei	70.84
Tuirini	59.57
Serlui	56.35

Note: Tui in Mizo language means water.

Table 2
Hill Ranges and Peaks in Mizoram

Name of Range/Peak	Height(in metre)
Blue Mountain (Phawngpui)	2,157
Lengteng	2,141
Surtlang	1,967
Lurhtlang	1,935
Tantlang	1,929
Vapartlang	1,897
Chalfithlang	1,866
Hranturotlang	1,854
Zopuitlang	1,850
Tawitlang	1,837
Mawmrangtlang	1,812
Puruntlang	1,758
Hmuifangtlang	1,619
Saireptlang	1,555
Sakawrhmutuaitlang	1,535
Reiktlang	1,485
Thorantlang	1,387
Buia Hmuntlang(Aizawl)	1,383
Serkawn (Lunglei)	1,222
Laipuitlang (Aizawl)	1,188
South Hlimentlang (Aizawl)	1,179

Note : Tlang in Mizo Language mean hills.

Appendix B
GEOMORPHOLOGY, GEOLOGY, STRAITIGRAPHY, MINERALS ETC.
OF MIZOARM

Geomorphology

As the terrain is very immature in response to recent tectonism, topographical features show prominent reliefs. The major geomorphic elements observed in the area are both structural and topographic 'heights' 'depressions', 'flats' and 'slopes' sculptured on the topographic surface in a linear fashion. The physiography of the state shows north-south trending steep, mostly anticlinal, longitudinal (linear fashion) parallel to sub-parallel hill ranges and synclinal narrow valleys with series of parallel hammocks on topographic highs. In general, the western limbs of the anticlines are steeper than the eastern limbs. In many cases faulting has produced steep fault scarps.

Geology

T.H.D. La-Touche was the first geologist who explored the Mizo Hills. He took short traverses of the Mizo Hills falling within the then Assam-Arakan geological province. In his findings published in the records of the Geological Survey of India in 1891, the area was reported to consist of a great flysch facies of rocks comprising monotonous sequences of shale and sandstone which were thrown into north-south trending folds. He believed that the rocks were the southerly continuation of those of the Cachar Hills and were probably laid down in a delta or estuary of a large river during the late Tertiary period. Two main lithostratigraphic groups were established, viz., the Barail and the Surma. Rocks of the Tipan group are also present. All these rocks are of Tertiary age. In 1964, M.M. Munshi mapped the rocks of the central part of northern Mizoram. He divided the rocks of the Surma series into Bhuban and Boka Bil stages. According to him the rocks were thrown into folds representing a series of longitudinal anticlinal effect.

Further studies in 1972 have led to subdivision of Bhuban and Boka Bil group into lower, middle and upper formations. Different structural patterns of Barails and Surmas were studied. The rocks belonging to Surma group have been laid down in relatively shallow water, near the shore basin under conditions as would have prevailed in lacustrine or deltaic environment.

Later studies indicate that the sedimentation took place in deep sea flysch environment by the action of turbidity current mechanism.

Straigraphy

Of the two main lithostratigraphic groups found in Mizoram, the Barail group is of Oligocene age and has a total thickness of 4,500 m. It is further subdivided into three formations, Rengi (uppermost), Jenam and Laison (lowermost). The Surma group is of Miocene age and has a total thickness of 6,000 m. It is subdivided into two formations, the upper one being Boka Bil and the lower one being Bhuban. The Surma group overlies the Barail group with a clearly defined unconformity.

Barail Group

This group of rocks which is in the east is different from those of the Bhuban formations lying to the west. The Barails are predominantly shales and siltstones with bands of weathered, medium grained yellowish sandstones. These are rather soft and micaceous. Some hard and dark grey compact quartzite bands are present. These rocks exhibit, on weathering, pink, violet, greenish grey and white colourations.

Surma Group

The lower Bhuban formation under this group contains fine grained, compact, bluish ash and grayish coloured massive sandstones. Siltstones and silty shales also occur. The middle Bhuban comprises compact, medium to fine grained and grey to dull yellow coloured bedded sandstones. This occurs with well laminated, iron stained, green shales, silty shales and silt with shales and muds. The upper Bhuban comprises mostly hard, compact, massive, bluish grey to grey coloured sandstones with siltstones and shale interlamination. The shales are olive green in colour. Sandstone bands sometimes contain large calcareous boulders of various shapes and size.

The rock samples near Sairang have yielded some microfossils. These have been identified as Ostracoda: *Leguminocytheres* sp., *Foraminifera* : *Ammonia* cf. *beccari*, *Ammonia* cf. *pappalios*, *Globigerina* sp. 1, *Globigerina* sp. 2.

The rocks belonging to the Boka Bil formation occur conformably over the upper Bhuban. It is represented by soft, grey coloured and medium to fine grained

feldspathic sandstones. Sandy shales with interlaminated siltstones and grey sandstones also occur. Brownish yellow ferruginous sandstones are occasionally present.

Geological Structure

The rocks of the state lie on highly compressed asymmetrical anticlinal ridges and narrow valleys with parallel to sub-parallel sub-vertical axial planes. The axes of the folds show convergence pattern in the directions of plunge. The limbs of the major folds are folded into small anticlines and synclines mostly in chevron style. The folds are long ones with axes running in nearly north-south direction, in continuation of the north Cachar Hills. The overall fold geometry maintains similarity throughout the state. The intensity of fold movements is greater in the steeply, and are possibly overturned at places.

Primary sedimentary structures recorded in the area are of deep sea flysch type structures, viz., graded bedding, flute casts, load casts, ridge structures, chevron marks, parting lineations, groove marks, ripple drift cross laminations, ripple through convolutions and complete sequence of turbidite structures. The palaeocurrent directions shown by all primary features reveal a mean southerly transport direction indicating a southerly basinal plunge.

Geological History

The rocks of the Mizo Hills are the southern extension of those of the Surma valley. They fall within the part of Tripura-Mizoram miogeosynclinal basin which evolved after the regional uplift of the Barail group of sediments from the Indian Ocean. The deposition of later sediments took place after the uplift of the Barails in a tectonic trough having a 'bell-shaped' pattern.

The sediments was transported along the canyons and conyon-extension valleys to the lower slopes or continental rise, where the deposition took place from turbidity current. The thick bedded greywackes were deposited in the channel areas. The silt and shale interlaminations were deposited in the inter channel area. A shallow sea might have existed here during the late Boka Bil time as is evidenced by the presence of large scale planer cross-bedding, through cross-bedding and coarse grained sandstone with less clay in the top of the synclinal cores.

The Mizo Hills are southward continuation of the Patkai range. Geological

evidence indicates that these areas formerly were a part of the estuary or delta of a large river issuing from the Himalayas in the Tertiary period. Primary evidences of such theory include marine fossils of the Tertiary age found in Mizoram. Some such fossils have been unearthed in Lunglei District. These were found embedded in grey sandstones and shales.

The beds of the Mizo Hills appear to have been laid down in a sea which was separated from the Burmese Sea during the Cretaceous times.

Mineral Resources

No major mineral deposits of economic importance have been reported so far in the state. All attempts by the Geological Survey of India were unsuccessful in locating any promising mineral occurrence of economic importance. Further exploratory operations are in progress with the objective of locating promising mineral deposits including oil and gas. Some Occurrences have been reported. An Occurrence of 3 m long and 10cm thick grey pyrite bearing lignite streak in ferruginous brownish yellow soft Boka Bil sandstone has been found at a place south of Chubel village (92°25'55":24°03'30"). Rare disseminations of pyrite in siltstone has been found on the west bank of the Dhaleswari river between Baichhali bridge (92°39'45" 23°50'30") and Lengpui (92°38'45":23°49'45") along the road. Search in the nearby areas did not reveal more exposures of these minerals.

Building Material

The Massive and hard lower and upper Bhuban sandstones are being used as road metal in different parts of Mizoram. This material is very extensively available in the state. These can be conveniently used for construction of building.

Gas and Oil

In 1964 M.M Munshi reported indications of the occurrences of oil, saline springs and a few gas seepages in the central part of northern Mizoram. Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) is working in the area and has succeeded in locating several gas seepages.

Limestone

At a place north-west of Saitual village (92°39'00":23°41'15") in the Tamdil Lui nala section (92°51'30":23°44'30") sporadic occurrences of small quantities of limestone have been reported.

Appendix C-1

MANIFESTO TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE LUSHAI HILLS CONCERNING THE DECISION OF THE CHIEFS OF THE LUSHAI HILLS TO OFFER TOTAL RESISTANCE TO ANY INVADER

The decision of the Lushai Chiefs of the North on April 4th, and those of the South on April 16th, to offer total resistance to any invader places the Lushai Hills on the same basis of Total Defence as the peoples of England, Scotland and Wales. We are all from now on men and women, bound indissolubly together to respond to any call that may be made upon us.

Life for us from now on is no longer individual; it is communal. The failure of one village or another may bring death to many others.

We must not fail.

The road will be hard-not spectacular. We may lose life, limbs, or our loved ones. The enemy may not even come to the Lushai Hills, but we must assume he will and be prepared so we shall be strong.

It may be of interest to consider how this trial has been placed upon us.

The Chiefs of the Lushai Hills had two courses open to them :-

1. Not to oppose any invader, condoning his incursion, and falling to his promises, so broken elsewhere.
- 2 To oppose any invader

How could the Chiefs follow course 1? The enemy come with no good intention. They have no peace to bring who have murdered the people of China for nearly five years, Any who have fallen to their promises are now paying the price and for the hope of physical security have now to behave as slaves, pay high taxes, pay high taxes, and to suffer to make great the War Lords of Japan.

The Chiefs and people of Lushai could only follow course 2. But if we are to face toil and tribulation, it behoves us well to ponder. It behoves us to weigh the results that hang upon our sacrifices.

You will remember that in 1935 the British peoples enacted an Act which had for its purpose the inauguration of Dominion Status for India. The British peoples could have included the destiny of Lushai straight away with that of the Indian peoples. But they made Lushai what is now known as an "Excluded Area" and they retained the right to protect Lushai from subjection to any other majority control.

Was that not an Act which gave proof that the British people's wish was to protect Lushai Land, and to ensure that the destiny of Lushai passes to no other hands without the consent of the Lushai peoples?

Forty-five years of close contact between the Lushai and the British people have served to disclose that there is no basic incompatibility between the British and the Lushai day to day outlook on life. The same harmony cannot be claimed in relation to any close contacts elsewhere.

If Lushai Land were handed over to India or Burma what chance would we, who are Lushais, have of entering into the social and cultural framework of either power at this late stage, bearing in mind the fact that geographically or culturally we never have been a part of either.

So Lushai's destiny has really hung in the balance ever since 1935 when it became apparent that the desire of the British Government was to place the destiny of India in the hands of her own people.

If we can understand that, then how could the Chiefs and the peoples of the Lushai Hills on reflection choose any other course but to resist the invader? To remain passive at a time of trial for the peace-loving peoples of British, America, China, Russia, and all the Democracies would surely result in these great Nations ceasing, after the war, to evince any further interest in the peoples and the Land of Lushai, linking them up for ever elsewhere.

No! the Chiefs have made a wise decision. Let all of us be careful to see that we are worthy of the wisdom displayed by the Chiefs. Besides, the Lushai people have always been very loyal to His Majesty and it is natural that they should choose to stand by the Government in any hour of trial.

We penalty for any failure on our side may be cruelty and death at the hands of

the enemy.

Some may feel we are not strong enough to resist. I we are too weak hearted to resist we must not expect to stand favourably in the eyes of the United Nations.

But we are strong. Let me give you some good reasons, apart from the fact that our General will do all he can to see we get what fighting help is possible.

In 1963 following upon the 1935 Government of India Act, Lushai's fate was clearly in the balance.

If we were to be deserving of the consideration of the great British peoples who have been Lushai's firmest friends for long we has to show we were a virile people, united, and keen to raise ourselves, to rise to national and united status.

The Superintendent, Lushai Hills, created certain avenues by which the Lushai peoples could prove themselves worthy. The Village Welfare Committee System was a great encouragement to a much needed unity. It brought Christians and non-Christians nearer, lessened the gap between Vhiefs and people, the Chiefs and the Church, the men and the women. The 10-point code created a means for unity in out senses of what was expected to any good Lushai citizen. The Lushai Hills Cottage Industries created the means by which the skill of Lushai might spread far and wide and by which Lushai might unite together in pride and satisfaction for the gifts of skill handed down from our forefathers. Lushais themselves write from Cairo and from Quetta and from elsewhere, proud to see Lushai products being used by the Army institutions and others, while even now Lushai articles have been specially sent by the Government of India to Johannesburg, the city of Gold, in Africa, as an example of our ancient and contemporary art.

Then in 1938, you, who keep in touch with world affairs, will remember the Munich agreement of 1938, by which Mr.Chamberlain managed to put off war with Germany for one more precious year, The Superintendent, Lushai Hills, them intensified the above avenues to create our national strength and unity and intensified Circle Conferences among Chiefs, culminating in October, 1941 in a full District Durbar of Circle Representative Chiefs from the North and the South Lushai Hills. Such a body is the initial personification of Lushai national life. It would be difficult to aspire to nationhood without such institutions as the above.

Thus from disunity we have progressed to unity. From suspicion and fear and petty disputes and rivalries we have come nearer and more unified in outlook, more alive to the importance of ourselves being worthy to beseech British never to abandon us to any other power except with our consent. This happy attainment has been due very greatly to our friends the Missionaries in our midst who have spent much and their energies that we shall prosper and rise.

So if we must suffer because a grabbing enemy is not far from our and we know we struggle for something worth while, viz., the security of our whole future.

I appeal to each member of the Educational salaried cadre exert his influence among the people to obey and to help their Chiefs and village elders in their responsible tasks.

I make a personal appeal to each important member of the Lushai Church, North and South, to afford similar support to the endeavour of our unhappy peoples in meeting this threat of unprovoked aggression.

Together we can most certainly stand:

Disunited we must not only fall, but we shall bring death and destruction on ourselves far in excess of what which we may have to meet as a brave and united nation.

It is the wish of the Government that those non-Lushai who are not essential as part of the administrative war machine should leave the Lushai Hills for this short period of distress, which we hope may not be longer than one year at the most.

It is for this reason that those non-Lushais who are not directly concerned with the administration will be leaving the Hills temporarily.

The enemy is not here. The enemy may never dare to come. What we will be doing from time to time will be done so that if he comes, we shall not be taken by surprise and unprepared.

Let there be no panic. Panic is weakness, not a sign off bravery. It wastes energy, and hinders our security.

The Lushais are a manly and a martial race.
Let us never forget this truth.

Appendix C-2

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETING OF THE ACCREDITED LEADERS LUSHAI HILLS HELD AT AIJAL ON 14TH AUGUST, 1947.

Chairman: Mr L.L. Peters, Superintendent, Lushai Hills (Elected)

PRESENTN:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. KHAWTINKHUMA | 2. R. THANHLIRA, B.A |
| 3. VANTHUAMA | 4. PASTOR CHHUAHKHAMA |
| 5. BRIG KAWLKHUMA,(SA) | 6. KHUMA |
| 7. LALBUAIA | 8. HRANGAIA |
| 9. MUKA | 10. ROSIAMA |
| 11. VANCHUANGA | 12. CHAWNGHNUAIA |
| 13. PHILLIPA | 14. CAPT NGURLIANA (SA) |
| 15. PACHHUNGA | 16. VANLAWMA |
| 17. VANKHUMA | 18. LAIHNUNA |
| 19. CHHUNRUMA | 20. PASTOR ZAIREMA, B.Sc., B.D. |
| 21. RINA | 22. ZAWLA |
| 23. SENA | 24 ROSEMA |
| 25. LALUPA | 26. LALHEMA |
| 27. SAIAITHANGA | 28. PASTOR LIANGKHAIA |
| 29. LALBIAKTHANGA | 30. LALROPIUA |
| 31. SUAKA | 32. HMINGLIANA |
| 33. LALANA | 34. LIANHNUNA |
| 35. PASENA | 36. LIANSILOVA, CHIEF |
| 37. LALBUANGA, CHIEF | 38. LIANZUALA, CHIEF |
| 39. LAMHLIRA, CHIEF | 40. KAMLOVA |
| 41. CH. NGURA | 42. ZAMI (MRS KHAWTINKHUMA) |
| 43. KAPTHLUAI | 44. BIAKVEKLI (MRS BUCHHAWNA) |
| 45. LALRONGENGA | 46. THANSEIA (Ex-Sub) |
| 47. R. ZUALA (Ex-Jamadar) | 48. DAHRAWKA, V.A.S |
| 49. KAPTHIANGA | 50. SAIHLIRA, B.A. |

1. Resolved that owing to the unexpected acceleration of the date of transfer of power by the British Government and as the Lushais have not as yet been definitely informed in the details as to what is to be the proposed future

constitution and form of administration of the district and as section (7) sub-Section (2) of the Indian Independence Bill does not clarify the situation, it is accordingly thought that His Excellency the Governor of Assam should kindly inform them in writing as to what these are to be, also whether Lushais are at this stage allowed the option of joining any other dominion, i.e. Pakistan or Burma. Resolved further that superintendent, Lushai Hills, should kindly communicate above request of the Lushai to the Adviser to His Excellency, the Government of Assam in order to clarify these points.

2 Resolved that if the Lushais are to enter Indian Union their main demands are :-

(i) that the existing safeguards of their Customary Laws and land tenure, etc, should be remained.

(ii) that Chin Hills Regulation, 1896 and Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873 should be retained until such time as the Lushais themselves through their District Council or other District authority declared that this can be abrogated.

(iii) that the Lushais will be allowed to opt out of the Indian Union, when they wish to do so subject to a minimum period of ten years.

Sd/- L.L PETERS

14-8-1947

Superintendent,

Lushai Hills

No. 6927-76 G of 21-8-47

Copy forwarded to all the leaders who took part in the proceedings.

Sd/- L.L PETERS

Superintendent,

Lushai Hills

Appendix C-3

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND ITS CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY THROUGH THE ADVISORY SUB-COMMITTEE BY THE MIZO UNION

MIZO MEMORANDUM

Memorandum of the case of the Mizo people for the right of territorial unity and solidarity and self-determination within the province of Assam in free India submitted to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India and its constituent Assembly through the Advisory Sub-Committee for Assam and fully excluded areas and partially excluded areas.

Pursuant to the resolution passed by the General Assembly of the Mizo Union at Aijal in September 1946 subsequently supported by the Mizo Conference at Lakhipur (Cachar) in November 1946 this memorandum prepared by the Mizo Union and supported by the Mizos outside the Lushai Hills- Manipur State, Cachar, Tripura and the Chirragong Hill Tracts, etc.

The memorandum seeks to represent the case of Mizo people for territorial unity and integrity of the whole Mizo population and full self-determination within the province of Assam for the realization of which an appeal is made to His Majesty's Government, the Government of India and its constituent Assembly to make a special financial provision from year to year for a period of ten years or until such time as the Mizos shall assert that they and maintain their self-determination without this financial provision.

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

The Mizos are a numerous family of tribes, closely knitted together by common tradition, custom, culture, mode of living, language and rites. They are spread over a wider area extending far beyond Manipur State, Cachar, Tripura State, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Burma contiguous with the boundaries of the present Lushai Hills District which was carved out arbitrarily for administrative purposes.

The Mizo people have been known under different names. They were wrongly identified as Kudis during the time of Lord Warren Hastings when Administration

of Chittagong sought help of the British against the Kuki raider and it continued to be applied to the whole group until 1871 when it was supplanted by the term Lushai as a result of the active and prominent part taken by the Lushai. Sub-tribe of Mizo race, against the British Expedition known as the First Lushai Expedition. The present Lushai Hills District was thus carved out of the Mizoram for administrative convenience and the Mizo people living within the District came to be known as Lushais while the other Mizos left out of the Lushai Hills District and annexed to the surrounding districts, continued to be known as Kuki without their consent. However, the solidarity of the Mizo people as a race and a distinct block is testified by the names of places, mountains and ranges on the Lushai Hills, Cachar, Manipur, Tripura, Chittagong Hill tracts, Burma, known and called after the name of them. Shakespeare, Stevenson, Liangkhaia, Shaw, Kingdonward and Kim of the Statesman are some of the authorities on this.

The Mizos have nothing in common with the plants nor with the Naga or Manipuri etc. They are a distinct block. The areas now under their occupation are mostly hilly except the eastern portion of Cachar district extending to the Barial range in the North Cachar Hills. Whenever they go and wherever they are, they carry with them primitive customs, culture and mode of living in its purest origin, always calling and identifying themselves as Mizo.

The nomenclature of the word 'KUKI' was and is ever known to the Mizos ; it was a name merely given to them by the neighbouring foreigners.

Again, it was wrong that the word Lushai should be used as covering all the Mizo tribes since it is misrendering of the Lusei, only sub-tribe of the Mizo race. Hence though, perhaps, not originally intended, it has created a division. Only the word 'Mizo' stands for the whole group of them all: Ludei, Hmar, Ralte, Paite, Zo, Darlawng, Kawm, Pawi, Thado, Chiru, Aimoul, Khawl, Tarau, Anal, Puram Tikhup, Vaiphei, Lakher, Langrawng, Chawrai, Bawng, Baite, Mualthuam, Kaihpen, Pangkhua, Tlanglau, Hraangkhawl, Bawmzo, Mirta, Dawn, Kumi, Kiangte, Kiang, Pangte, Khawhring, Chawngthu, Vanchiau, Chawhte, Ngente, Rnthlei, Hnamte, Tlau, Pautu, Pawite, Vangchhia, Zawngte Fanai etc. all closely related to one another culturally, socially, economically and physically thus forming a distinct ethnical units.

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN

- (a) the Mizo people in the Lushai Hills alone number 1,46,900 with an area of 8,143 square miles according to the census of 1941.
- (b) The Mizo population of Manipur State contiguous to the Lushai Hills again comes to about 70,000 with an area of about 35,00 square miles
- (c) The Mizo in the Cachar District contiguous to the Lushai Hills number about 9,000 with an area of about 300 square miles.
- (d) In Tripura State contiguous to the Lushai Hills, the Mizo again number approximately 7,000 with an area of about 250 square miles.
- (e) In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, contiguous to the Lushai Hills, the Mizo population is generally approximated to be 15000 with an area of about 3000 square miles.
- (f) In the Chin Hills (Burma) also contiguous to the Lushai Hills who are now commonly known and termed as the Chins, number not less than 90,000 with an area of about 3800 square miles occupied by them.

The total Mizo population of the contiguous area alone thus comes roughly 3,38,400 and the areas about 18,9993 square miles.

It is a great injustice that the Mizos having one and the same culture, speaking one and the same language, professing one and the same religion, and knit together by common customs and traditions should have been called and known by different names and thrown among different people with their homeland sliced out and given to others.

The whole contiguous area of the Mizo population as detailed above occupies the middle and the most important portion of India's Eastern Frontiers. It is, therefore, the more imperative that His Majesty's Government, the Government of India and its constituent Assembly should do the just and proper thing and grant the Mizos their just demand for TERRITORIAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY.

MIZO HISTORY AND BRITISH CONECTION

The Mizo people were independent, each village forming an independent unit, and their country was never subjugated by the Maharajas of Manipur, Tripura and Chittagong nor by the Kacharis. However, there had been frontier clashes between the Mizos and the neighbouring people which ultimately brought the British to the scene in 1871. The Mizo country was subsequently annexed to the British territory in 1890, when a little less than half the country was carved out for the Mizo people and name Lushai Hills while the rest have been parceled out to the adjoining districts. Since then Mizos have remained loyal, friendly and peaceful. At all time, whenever the British needed help as World War I,

Abhor Expedition, Houkip Rebellion, and World War II, the willing services of the Mizo people were readily available.

The Mizos have an efficient systems of administration and discipline. Being a distinct block they retain to a considerable degree their ancient and traditional laws, and customs and organizations, beginning from village under the guidance of the Chief and the Elders, while young and old have their respective leaders in all walks of life.

Except the Cachar, the Mizo people are excluded from the Government of India's Act and the areas inhabited by them are kept as a special responsibility of the Governor of the province in his capacity as the Crown Representative and the Legislature have no influence whatsoever. In other words, the Mizos have never been under the Indian Government and never had any connection with the policies and politics of the various groups of Indian opinion.

Now that the British are quitting these Mizos who have never been under the Indian Government and whose ways are all different from others, cannot be thrown on a common platform with the rest of India. It is therefore, important to the highest degree that the Mizos be given self-determination in its fullest form.

THE PRESENT GENERAL CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY :

As stated in the foregoing paragraphs, the Mizo areas are mostly excluded. The political officer is supreme in every respect. The education is mostly carried on by the Christian Missionary groups, The general communication of the country is

extremely poor. The land is extremely hilly without good roads; and the people poor and simple, primitive and divided into tribes and clans. The highest education is mostly derived from outside the district; but in mass literacy the Mizo people is highest in Assam. The people are mostly intelligent and as such given equal terms they always outshine their fellow-workers of other community in the fields and at home. They are born strategist. Their greatest short-coming is lack of finance as a result of their trade and commerce and limited scope open for them. Their areas stretch from north to south parallel with the Burma border line for defence along the eastern border of India.

This being the background, it is all the more imperative that the Mizoram be given special financial provision by the Central from year to year while allowing them their territorial integrity as anything short of this will be detrimental to their upbringing. In other words, the Centre shall grant financial provision from year to year for the purpose of development of the country while the district shall join autonomous Assam through legislature with adequate representation and be also eligible to the provincial services with due reservations at the same time retaining their territorial integrity and self-determination : as otherwise thrown among forty crores of Indians the 3,38,400 Mizos with their unique systems of life will be wiped out of existence.

OUR CASE

In the light of the facts stated in the foregoing paragraphs and in view of geographical position and the strategical importance of the Mizoram for the defence of India and taking into consideration the unique characteristics of Mizo polity and compact block of Mizoram – this Memorandum is placed with the authority for –

1. Territorial unity and solidarity of the whole Mizo population to be known henceforth as Mizo and Mizoram for Lushai and Lushai Hills District, retaining the sole propriety right over the land.

2. Full self-determination with the province of Assam :

(a) With the National Council having the supreme legislative authority and executive body and judiciary within the district the composition and function of which will be prescribe by rules.

(b) Any concurrent subjects in which the district may be connected with the autonomous province of Assam or India as a whole shall be by negotiation with the national councils which will be set up according to wishes of the general public, any legislation may be applied to the district only with sanction of the national council with any modification.

(c) Special financial provision by the Centre from year to year until such time as the Mizos shall assert that they are able to maintain their territorial and self-determination without this financial provision.

ALL ABOVE ITEMS SHALL BE SUBJECT TO REVISION ACCORDING TO THE FUTURE TREND OF EVENTS TO THE EXTENT OF SECEDING AFTER TEN YEARS.

For this end it is to be understood that the democratic system of Government in its purest form shall at the very outset be introduced. Passed and approved by the Mizo Union representatives conferences at Aijal, Lushai Hills, Assam on 22nd April, 1947.

Sd/- KHAWTINKHUMA
President

26-4-1947

Sd/- VANTHUAMA
General Secretary
The Mizo Union, Aijal
Lushai Hills
Assam

Appendix D

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA BY THE MIZO NATIONAL FRONT GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, AIZAWL, MIZORAM ON THE 30TH OCTOBER 1965

This memorandum seeks to represent the case of the Mizo people for freedom and independence, for the right of territorial unity and solidarity; and for the realisation of which a fervent appeal is submitted to the Government on India.

The Mizos, from time immemorial lived in complete independence without foreign interference. Chiefs of different clans ruled over separate hills and valleys with supreme authority and their administration was much like that of the Greek City-State of the past. Their territory or any part thereof had never been conquered or subjugated by their neighbouring states. However, there had been border disputes and frontier clashes with their neighbouring people which ultimately brought the British Government to the scene in 1844. The Mizo country was subsequently brought under the British political control in February, 1890 when a little more than half of the country was arbitrarily carved out and named Lushai Hills (now Mizo District) and the rest of their land was parceled out of their hands to the adjoining people for the sole purpose of administrative convenience without obtaining their will or consent. Scattered as they are divided, the Mizo people inseparably knitted together by their strong bond of tradition, custom, culture, language, social life and religion wherever they are. The Mizo stood as a separated nation even before the advent of the British Government having a nationally distinct and separate from that of India. In a nutshell, they are a distinct nation, created, moulded and nurtured by God and Nature

When British India was given a status by promulgation of Government of India Act of 1935, the British Government, having fully realized in the distinct and separate nationality of Mizo people, decided that they should exclude from the purview of the new constitution and they were accordingly classed as an EXCLUDED AREA in terms of the Government Order, 1936. Their land was then kept under the special responsibility of the Governor-General-in-Council in his capacity of the Crown Representative ; and the legislature of the British India had no influence whatsoever.

In other words, the Mizos had never been under the Indian Government and never had any connection with politics of the various groups of Indian opinion. When India was in the threshold of Independence, the relation of the Mizos with the British Government and also with the British India were fully realised by the Indian National Congress leaders. Their top leader and spokesman Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru released a press statement on the 19th August 1946 and stated : ‘the tribal areas are defined as being those along the frontier of India which are neither part of India, nor of Burma, nor of any Indian State, nor of any foreign power.’ He further stated: ‘ The areas are subsidized and the Governor-General’s relation with the inhabitants are regulated by sanads, custom or usage. In the matter of internal administration, the areas are largely left to themselves.’ Expressing the view of the Indian National Congress, he continued, ‘Although the tribal areas are technically under the sovereignty of His Majesty’s Government, their status, when a new Constitution comes into force in India, will be different from that of Aden over which the Governor-General no longer has executive authority. Owing to their inaccessibility and their importance to India in its defence strategy, their retention as British possession is most unlikely. One view is that with the end of sovereignty in India, the 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.’

From the foregoing statement made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Government of India Act of 1935, it is quite clear that the British Government left the Mizo Nation free and Independent with the right to decide their future political destiny.

Due solely to their political immaturity, ignorance and lack of consciousness of their fate, representatives of the Mizo Union, the largest political organization at that time and Fifty accredited Mizo leaders representing all political organizations including representatives of religious denominations and social organizations that were in existence submitted their demand and choose integration with free India imposing condition, inter alia. “THAT THE LUSHAIS WILL BE ALLOWED TO OPT OUT OF INDIAN UNION WHEN THEY WISE TO DO SO SUBJECT TO A MINIMUM PERIOD OF TEN YEARS.”

The political immaturity and ignorance which lead the Mizo people to the misguided choice of integration with India was a direct result of the banning by

the British Government of any kind of political organization till April 1946 within Mizoland which was declared 'a political area.'

During the fifteen years of close contact and association with India, the Mizo people had not been able to feel that their joys and sorrows have really ever been shared by India. They do not, therefore, feel Indian. Being created a separate nation they cannot go against the nature to cross the barriers of nationality. They refused to occupy a place within India as they consider it to be unworthy of their prosperity. Nationalism and patriotism inspired by the political consciousness has now reached its maturity and the cry for political self-determination is the only wish and inspiration of the people, ne plus ultra, the only final and perfect embodiment of social living for them. The only aspiration and political cry is the creation of MIZORAM, a free and sovereign state to govern herself, to work out her own destiny and to formulate her own foreign policy.

To them Independence is not even a problem or subject of controversy: there cannot be dispute over the subject nor could there be any different of opinion in the matter. It is only a recognition of human rights and to let others live in the dignity of human person.

While the present world is strongly committed to freedom and self-determination of all nations, large or small, and to promotion of Fundamental Human Rights, and while the Indian leaders are strongly wedded to that principle – taking initiative for and championing the cause of Afro-Asian countries, even before the World body, particularly deploring domination and colonization of the weaker nations by the stronger, old and new, and advocating peaceful co-existence, settlement of international disputes of kind through the medium of non-violence and in condemning weapons mankind, the Mizo people firmly believed that the Government of India and their leaders will remain true to their policy and that they shall take into practice what they advocate, blessing the Mizo people with their aspiration for freedom and independence per principle that no one is good enough to govern another man without that man's consent.

Though known as head-hunters and a martial race, the Mizos commit themselves to a policy of non-violence in their struggle and have no intention of employing any other means to achieve their political demand. If, on the other hand, the Government of India brings exploitative and suppressive measures into operation, employing military might against the Mizo people as id done in the case of Nagas,

which God forbid, it would be equally erroneous and futile for both the parties for a soul cannot be destroyed by weapons.

For this end, it is in goodwill and understanding that the Mizo Nation voices her rightful and legitimate claim of full self-determination through this memorandum. The Government of India, in their turn and in conformity with the unchangeable truth expressed and resolved among the text of HUMAN RIGHTS by the United Nations in its august assembly that in order to maintain peace and tranquility among mankind every nation, large or small, may of right be free to work out her own destiny, to formulate her own internal and external policies and shall accept and recognize her political independence. Would it not be a selfish motive and design of India, and would it not amount to an act of offence against humanity if the Government of India claim Mizoram as part their territory and try to retain her as their possession against the national will of the Mizo people simple because their land is important for India's defence strategy?

Whether the Mizo Nation should shed her tears in joy to establish firm and lasting friendship with India in war in peace or sorrow and anger, is upto the Government of India to decide.

Sd/- S. LIANZUALA
Sd/- LALDENGA
General Secretary,
President
Mizo National Front, Mizoram

DATED AIZAWL THE 30T OCTOBER 1965

Appendix E
MEMORANDUM OF SETTLEMENT PREAMBLE

1. Government of India all along been making earnest efforts to bring about an end to the disturbed conditions in Mizoram and to restore peace and harmony
2. Towards this end, initiative was taken by the late Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi. On the acceptance by Shri. Laldenga on behalf of the Mizo National Front (MNF) of the two conditions, namely, cessation of violence by MNF and holding of talks within the framework of the Constitution of India a series of discussions were held with Shri. Laldenga. Settlement on various issues reached during the course of the talks is incorporated in the following paragraphs.

RESTORATION OF NORMALCY

- 3.1 With a view to restoring peace and normalcy in Mizoram the MNF Party, on their part-takes within the agreed time-frame, to take all necessary steps to end all underground activities, to bring out all underground personnel of the MNF with their arms, ammunition and equipment to ensure their to civil life, to abjure violence and generally to help in the process of restoration of normalcy. The modalities of bringing out all underground personnel and the deposit of arms, ammunition and equipment will be worked out. The implementation of the foregoing will be under the supervision of the Central Government.
- 3.2 The MNF Party will take immediate steps to amend its Articles of Association so as to make them conform to the provision of law.
- 3.3 The Central Government will take steps for the resettlement and rehabilitation of underground MNF personnel coming overground after considering the schemes proposed in this regard by the Government of Mizoram.
- 3.4 The MNF undertakes not to extend any support of Tripura/Tribal National Volunteers (TNV) Peoples Liberation Army of

Manipur (PLA) and any other such groups, by way of training, supply of arms or providing protection or any other manner.

LEGAL ADMINISTRATIVE AND OTHER STEPS

- 4.1 With a view to satisfying the desires and aspirations of all sections of the people of Mizoram, the Government will initiate measures to confer statehood on the Union Territory of Mizoram, subject to the other stipulations contained in this Memorandum of Settlement.
- 4.2 To give effect to the above, the necessary legislative and administrative measure will be undertaken including those for the enactment of Bills for the amendments of the Constitution and other laws for the conferment of Statehood as aforesaid, to come into effect on a date to be notified by the Central Government.
- 4.3 The amendments aforesaid shall provide, among other things, for the following :-
- (1) The Territory of Mizoram shall consist of the territory specified in Section 6 of the North Eastern Area (Re-organisation) Act, 1971.
 - (2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, no act of Parliament in respect of :-
 - (a) Religious or social practices of the Mizos
 - (b) Mizo customary law or procedure
 - (c) Administration of civil and criminal justice involving decision according to Mizo Customary law.
 - (d) Ownership and transfer of land, shall apply to the State of Mizoram by resolution so decides.Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to any central Act in force in Mizoram immediately before the appointed day
 - (3) Article 170, clause (1) shall, in relation to the Legislative Assembly of Mizoram, have effect as if for the 'Sixty' the word 'forty' has been substituted.
5. Soon after the Bill for conferment of Statehood becomes law, and when the President is satisfied that normalcy has returned and that conditions conducive to the holding of free

and fair elections exist, the process of holding elections to the Legislative Assembly will be initiated.

6. (a) The Centre will transfer resources to the new Government keeping in view the change in status from a Union Territory to the State and this will include resources to cover the revenue gap for the year.
(b) Central assistance for plan will be fixed taking note of any residuary gap in resources so as to sustain the approved Plan outlay and the pattern of assistance will be as in the case of special category State.
7. Border trade in locally produced or grown agricultural commodities could be allowed under a scheme to be formulated by the Central Government, subject to international arrangement with neighbouring countries.
8. The Inner Line Regulations, as now enforce in Mizoram will not be amended or repealed without consulting the State Government.

OTHER MATTERS

9. The rights and privileges of the minorities in Mizoram as envisaged in the Constitution, shall continue to be preserved and protected and their social and economic advancement shall be ensured.
10. Steps will be taken by the Government of Mizoram at the earliest to review and codify the existing customs, practices, laws or other usages relating to the matters specified in clauses (a) to (d) of para 4.3. (II) of the Memorandum, keeping in view that the individual Mizo may prefer to be governed by Acts of Parliament dealing with such matters and which are of general application.
11. The question of the unification of Mizo inhabited areas of other States of form one administrative unit was raised by the MNF delegation. It was pointed out of them, on behalf of the Government of India, that Article 3 of the Constitution of India prescribes the procedure in this regard

but that the Government cannot make any commitment in this respect.

12. It was pointed out on behalf of the Government that as soon as Mizoram becomes a State.

(i) The provisions of the part XVII of the Constitution will apply and the State will be at liberty to adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State as the language to be used for all or any of the official purposes of the State.

(ii) it is open to the State to move for the establishment of a separated University in the State in accordance with the prescribed procedure.

(iii) In the light of the Prime Minister's statement at the joint conference of the Chief Justice, Chief Minister and Law Minister held at New Delhi on 31st August 1985, Mizoram will be entitled to have a High Court of its own, if it so wishes.

13. (a) It was noted that there is already a scheme in force for payment of ex-gratia amount to heirs/dependants of persons who were killed during disturbances in 1966 and thereafter in the Union Territory of Mizoram. Arrangements will be made to expeditiously disburse payment to those eligible persons who had already applied but who had not been made such payments so far.

(b) It was noted that consequent on verification done by a joint team of officers, the Government of India had already made arrangements for payment of compensation in respect of damage to crops, building destroyed/damaged during the action in Mizoram; and rental charges of buildings and lands occupied by the Security Forces claims will be settled. These pending claims will be settled expeditiously. Arrangements will also be made for payment of pending claims of rental

charges for lands, buildings occupied by the Security Forces.

Sd/ LALDENG
On behalf of
Mizo National Front

Sd/- R.D. PRADHAN
Home Secretary
Government of India

Sd- LALKHAMA
Chief Secretary
Government of Mizoram

Appendix F

Ministry of External Affairs (BSM DIVISION)

INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

General

1. India's relations with Bangladesh are cordial, friendly and cooperative and wide-ranging. Cultural affinities with India in general and West Bengal in particular and ethnic linkages with India's north-eastern States greatly enhance the level of people-to-people contacts.

Visits

2. India and Bangladesh interact regularly on various operational matters. There has also been a regular flow of high level visits. The last VVIP visits took place in June 1999 when Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee accompanied by a high-level official delegation including the External Affairs Minister; Shri Jaswant Singh visited Dhaka on the occasion of the inaugural run of the bus from Calcutta to Dhaka. Shri Brajesh Mishra, Principal Secretary to PM and National Security Adviser visited Dhaka on October 26-27, 2001 as Special Envoy following formation of the new Government in Bangladesh.

3. Begum Khaleda Zia, Prime Minister of Bangladesh called on PM on January 4, 2002 at Kathmandu on the sidelines of the SAARC Summit. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh met PM at Islamabad during the SAARC summit in January 2004. Various regional and bilateral issues were discussed during the meeting.

4. Mr. M. Morshed Khan, Foreign Minister of Bangladesh paid an official visit to India on 16-17 June 2002 and again on 13-16, February, 2003. He again visited India from 31 May – 4 June 2004 as a special envoy of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh after the formation of the government carrying a letter from the Prime Minister of Bangladesh addressed to the Prime Minister of India and to Smt. Sonia Gandhi. The Finance Minister of Bangladesh visited India in May 2003.

5. The External Affairs Minister Shri Yashwant Sinha paid a goodwill visit to Bangladesh on 24-25 August 2002 and again in July 2003 for the bilateral Joint Economic Commission meeting.

6. Foreign Secretary Shri Kanwal Sibal visited Dhaka from 29 –30th April, 2003 for the Foreign Secretary level consultations. Foreign Secretary Shri Shashank visited Bangladesh from 8 – 11 March 2004. During the visit decision was taken to resume the ‘Trade talks’ to discuss FTA between the two countries and the issue of Non Trade barriers. It was also agreed to hold Foreign Office consultations in the first half of June 2004 as also to reactivate the Home Secretary level dialogue between the two countries (Dates are being worked out)

Infrastructural links

7. Proposals for cooperation the transportation sector are under discussion between the two governments. These include passenger and freight movement by road and rail and movement of freight through IWT mode. In a recent development, Government of India has designated Jet Airway and Air Sahara as Indian carriers besides Indian Airlines and Air India to operate agreed services between India and Bangladesh. Jet Airways and Air Sahara have approached the civil aviation authorities of Bangladesh for the operationalisation of the proposed air services.

Bus services

8. An Agreement to commence a bus service between Calcutta and Dhaka was inaugurated on 19 June’99 in the presence of the Prime Minister of both countries. Talks for renewal of the Agreement / Protocol for the Calcutta –Dhaka bus service were held on 14 –15 March 2002 and the Agreement has been further extended till October 2004.

9. During MOS(EA)’s visit to Dhaka in January 200, it was agreed that a bus service between Agartala and Dhaka would be started. Subsequently, an Agreement and a Protocol regarding operation of the proposed bus service were signed in Dhaka in July 2001. The bus service started in September,2003.

Rail links

10. There are three board gauge (BG) rail links : (i) Gede (India)-Darsana (BD),(ii) Singhabad-Rohanpuur (BD) and (iii) Petrapole (India) Benapole(BD). Wagons are taken to and from the border by the engines of each side. Two metre gauge links exist between Birol-Radhikapur and Shahbazpur- Mohishashonpur. A working agreement was signed in July 2000 to restore the Petrapole – Bebapole railway link. The freight train, which was formally inaugurated in January 2001, is expected to considerably facilitate movement of cargo trade takes place. An agreement between the Government of India and the Government of Bangladesh for Running of Passenger Train Services between India and Bangladesh was also signed in July 2001 in Dhaka. Regular service is yet to commence.

11. Both sides have also agreed on the need to link Agartala and Akhaura by rail.

Inland Water Transit & Trade [IWT&T] Protocol

12. The IWT&T Protocol has been operational since 1972 and is renewable every two years. It permits the movement of goods and barges/vessels through the river systems of Bangladesh on eight specific routes between Calcutta and points in Assam (Dhubri, Karimganj). Talks were held in Dhaka in October, 1999 where the Protocol on Inland Water Transit and Trade between India and Bangladesh and India was renewed for two years upto October 2001. Pending the holding of the Protocol renewal talks the IWTT Protocol has been extended till 3rd August 2004. Under the Protocol, Calcutta, Haldia, Pandu and Karimganj on the Indian side and Narayanganj, Sirajganj, Khulana and Mongla on the Bangladesh side have been declared as Ports of Call. However, there is no provision for multimodal transshipment of Indian goods through Bangladesh.

Trade & Economic ties

Trade

13. India's exports to Bangladesh showed a significant increase in the early 90s. There was a decline in 1996 – 97 and 1997 –98 in our exports to Bangladesh due to fall in rice exports. The exports rose again in 1998 –99 due to large-scale import of rice by Bangladesh due to the devastating floods of 1998. Bangladesh exports to India have been growing since 1997 – 98. Recent trade figures are as follows :

(In US\$ Million)

	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03
Exports to BD	932.58	1184.00	940.00	1250.00
Imports from BD	64.88	62.28	50.40	84.00
Trade Gap	867.70	1121.72	889.60	1166.00

14. Major items of export from India are : food grains (this is sporadic, dependent on floods and can be very substantial as in 1990-91 and 1998-99 (US\$ 267 million and US\$ 526 million respectively), cotton yarn, fabrics, made-ups, machinery, instruments, glass/glassware, ceramics and coal. Major items of import from Bangladesh are : raw jute, jamdani saris, inorganic chemicals, leather etc.

Tariff concessions to Bangladesh

15. India has been progressively reducing tariffs for Bangladesh items under the Bangkok Agreement and under SAPTA. India has extended tariff concessions to Bangladesh on more than 2000 tariff lines under SAPTA. All Quantitative Restrictions have been removed in full for SAARC country imports from 1st August 1998.

16. Bangladesh has been requesting for unilateral tariff concessions on select items of export interest to Bangladesh to help them reduce trade deficit with India. During PM's visit to Bangladesh in 1999, he had announced

India's acceptance. In principle, of the request for duty-free access on a non-reciprocal basis for select items of export interest to Bangladesh. While indicating this, he added that a Joint Group of Experts should meet to discuss this issue along with that of restoration of multi-modal communication links between the two countries and framework for border trade.

17. However, as a gesture of goodwill, India had offered 100% tariff concessions on 16 products groups consisting of 40 tariff lines to Bangladesh during the Trade Review Talks in April 2002 held in Dhaka. Duty free access was announced for items under another 39 tariff lines during the Trade Review Talks held in March 2003.

Trans-shipment

18. During the visit of the Commerce Minister of Bangladesh in May 1999, it was agreed to set up a Joint Group of Experts of examine modalities for (a) the movement of goods from one point in India to another through Bangladesh by Bangladesh carriers, (b) border trade and (c) tariff concessions. Meeting of the Joint Group of Experts is yet to be held.

Credit

19. An Agreement to extend a credit line of Rs.200 crore to Bangladesh was signed in June '99. the Bangladesh Government has allocated the amount of Rs. 200 crores for import of double-decker buses by BRTC (Rs. 30 crores), import of 13 BG locomotives by BD Railways (Rs. 92 crores) and import of rail, sleepers, fastenings, etc. for dual gauge in Dhaka-Yoydevpur section of BD Railways (Rs. 78 crores).The credit line has been almost fully utilised. Currently discussions are on for extension of a \$150 million dollar denominated credit line to Bangladesh.

Investment

20. There are 28 Indian joint ventures in Bangladesh with equity participation equivalent to US \$ 16.5923 million and 7 wholly owned

subsidiaries with total equity of US \$0.6136 million (as on October 30, 2000). Areas covered include textile spinning, building industry, chemicals, software data processing, and automobiles sector etc.

Joint Economic Commission

21. The External Affairs Minister visited Dhaka in July 2003 as co-chairperson to attend the 6th meeting of the Joint Economic Commission between India and Bangladesh. All issues of economic and commercial interest were discussed in a comprehensive manner. Discussions were held on a possible new line of credit that could be denominated in US dollars. A number of proposals in the Railway sector were discussed including those on introduction of containerised services by rail and the Sealdah-Joydevpur passenger rail link. It was agreed that the Joint Working Group at the level of Joint Secretaries of Commerce would meet in Dhaka by the middle of October 2003 to begin negotiations on a bilateral Free Trade Agreement. A decision was taken to flag off the Dhaka Agartala Bus service. Cooperation in new areas such as S&T, IT and Agriculture was also discussed. It was agreed that the Standing Committee of officials would meet once when the JEC convenes and once in between the sessions of the JEC to effectively monitor developments.

Trade Agreement

22. The Trade Agreement between India and Bangladesh was signed on 4 October 1980. The Agreement had been since then extended for 3 years with mutual consent. On its last expiry, Bangladesh suggested that the Agreement be reviewed fully; hence its validity has been extended pending a thorough reassessment. The Trade Agreement provides for the holding of regular trade review talks. The Bangladesh Commerce Secretary visited New Delhi on May 10-11, 2000 for Trade Review Talks in March, 2003 in New Delhi.

Regional Organisations:

23. India and Bangladesh are both founder members of SAARC and BIMST-EC, the new grouping established in 1997 for cooperation around the Bay

of Bengal. The main sectors of co-operation in BIMST-EC are trade, investment, industrial cooperation, human resources development, tourism, energy, transportation, infrastructure, technology, fisheries, agriculture and nature resources.

Sharing of Water of Common Rivers

Treaty on sharing of Ganga Waters

24. The Treaty between India and Bangladesh on sharing of the Ganga Waters at Farakka was signed on 12 December 1996. Sharing of waters of the Ganga under the Treaty is based in an indicative formula viz., when the total available water is 70,000 cusecs or less, each side receives 50%; when the total flow is 70,000-75,000 cusecs, Bangladesh gets 35,000 with the balance for India.; when the total flow is 75,000 cusecs or more, India will take 40,000 cusecs and release the balance for Bangladesh.

25. The sharing formula is subject to the provision that during the driest part of the lean season (i.e., March 1 to May 10) India and Bangladesh will each received a guaranteed 35,000 cusecs of water in 3 alternate 10-day periods each. There is an emergency provision for consultations in case the total amount of water available falls below 50,000 cusecs. The Treaty is for 30 years, with a provision for reviews after every five years. Either side can also call for a review after 2 years.

26. The Treaty has worked well during the last six lean seasons; the sharing arrangements are due for review.

Joint Rivers Commission (JRC)

27. During that visit of the Prime Minister to Dhaka in January 1997, it was decided to reactivate the Joint Rivers Commission (JRC) at the level of Water Resources Ministers. In July 1997, our Water Resource Minister visited Dhaka and discussed a wide range of issues. A Joint Committee of Experts (JCE) headed by Secretary Water Resources was set up in 1997, to hold discussions on sharing of waters of common rivers. Priority was accorded by the commission to

sharing the Teesta waters. So far six meetings of the JCE have been held, the last in January 2004. Since there was a wide difference in the position of the two sides, the JCE constituted a Joint Technical group (JTG) mandated to suggest the Terms of reference for Joint Scientific Studies and Interim sharing formula for the sharing of lean season flows. One meeting of the JTG has been held in May 2004. The 34th Session of the JRC was held in Dhaka on January 12-13, 2001. Both sides discussed, inter alia, the issues of embankments on Common/border River, sharing of the Teesta waters and other common rivers, improvement of flood forecasting and warning and sharing of experiences on containing arsenic contamination of the underground water. Expert level meetings on various aspects of rivers waters have been taking place regularly. The last meeting of the JRC took place in September,2003

Border management and Security

28. Government has shared concerns on several issues related to border management cooperation with Bangladesh, including control of smuggling, illegal immigration, trafficking in women and children and insurgency. The Government of Bangladesh has assured India of its commitment not to allow the use of its territory for activities prejudicial to Indian interests.

29 There is a system of institutionalised interaction for discussion on border management through the meeting of the Home Secretaries, Joint Working Group and the Director General level talks between the Border Security Force and the Bangladesh Rifles. These have been taking place regularly. The Bangladesh Home Minister visited India in December 1999; the 8th Joint Working Group Meeting was held in Dhaka from January 22-23, 2003. The India-Bangladesh Home Secretary level talks took place in New Delhi on April 26-27,2000. Director General-level talks between BSF and Bangladesh Rifles have been held regularly, the recent ones in January 2004 at Delhi and from 28 April –3 May, 2004 at Dhaka.

30. Despite the institutional mechanisms for resolving border-management issues, the India-Bangladesh border witnessed serious incident in April 2001. The Bangladesh Government has been apprised at the highest level about the depth and intensity of the national feelings in India. The Government feels that the incidents reflected criminal adventurism on the part of certain elements in

Bangladesh and should not be permitted to affect the traditionally close and friendly relations between the two countries. Both Governments have instructed the border forces to exercise restraint and meet regularly to deal with any problem that may arise from time to time.

Revised Visa Regime

31. Visa regime between India and Bangladesh is governed by the revised travel arrangements signed in Dhaka in May 2001. These arrangements seek to facilitate grant of long term multiple entry visas to businessmen, investors, professionals, research scholars and students and for people visiting on medical grounds.

32. There is extensive people-to-people contact between India and Bangladesh. Our Missions in Bangladesh (Dhaka, Chittagong and Rajshahi) issue some 1000 visas a day on an average or 300,000 visa a year. There is no visa fee.

33. It is estimated that well over 50,000 students from Bangladesh pursue higher studies in India; around 100 students come under various scholarship schemes, while the majority are self-financing. Cultural troupes from India visit Bangladesh regularly under ICCR and other auspices. The Indian High Commission has set up a Dance and Music Teaching Centre in Dhaka. The last India-Bangladesh Cultural and Academic Exchange Programme (CAEP) expired on Dec. 31 1999. The CAEP will, however, remain in force till a new agreement is signed. The commercial screening of Indian films in Bangladesh is banned. The former Government of East Pakistan introduced the ban in mid '60s and since then it has not been revoked.

Appendix G

Ministry of External Affairs (SEA-I Division)

INDIA – MYANMAR RELATION

Introduction

Indo-Myanmar relations are rooted in shared cultural and religious ties. Both countries also share a long land and maritime boundary. A large population of Indian origin lives in Myanmar. Geo-strategic factors make it logical for India and Myanmar to have a close relationship.

2. Our relations with Myanmar are reflective of our common desire to cooperate with each other in order to promote peace and tranquility along the border, to achieve sustained economic development in both our countries and to foster people-to-people interaction. A Treaty of friendship was signed in 1951. Recent years have seen a steady growth of exchanges and broad-basing of ties.

Current Status of Bilateral Relations

3. Institutional mechanisms for facilitating regular dialogue on issues of bilateral interest have been set up, mainly in the form of Foreign Office Consultations (held at the level of Foreign Secretary/Deputy Foreign Minister in Yangon in 1993; New Delhi, 1994; Yangon, 1999; New Delhi, 2000; Yangon 2002, October, 2003) National Level and Sectoral Level Meetings (9th NLM was held in Yangon in October, 2003); Border Liaison Meetings (the 22nd Border Liaison Meeting was held in April, 2003).

4. An agreement on curbing demand and preventing illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and related matters was signed during the visit of Foreign Secretary in 1993. A Tripartite Maritime Agreement among India, Myanmar and Thailand determining the trijunction point in the Andaman Sea was concluded in October 1993. Gen. Maung Aye's visit to Shillong in January, 2000 and the talks during it at the military to military level and at the political level with the delegation led by the Commerce Minister,

Shri Murasoli Maran prepared the ground for his week long visit to India in November, 2000 at the invitation of the Vice President. Gen. Maung Aye's delegation included the Myanmar Deputy Prime Minister and seven other ministers. Gen. Maung Aye called on the President and PM, and had meetings with the Vice President, EAM, Home Minister, the leader of opposition and others. Gen. Maung Aye's visit was significant in that it led to a resumption of bilateral cooperation.

5. High-level exchanges have continued. EAM visited Myanmar in February, 2001 for the inauguration of the Tamu-Kalemyo road and the Remote Sensing and Data Processing Centre. In April, 2002 EAM again visited Yangon for the Indian-Myanmar-Thailand Ministerial Meeting on Transport Linkages. The Foreign Secretary's visited Myanmar in November 2002 and the Myanmar Foreign Minister's visited to India in January, 2003. EAM and FM Win Aung Signed a Protocol on Constitutions between the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India and the Minister Foreign Affairs of the Union of Myanmar. Myanmar Foreign Minister U. Win Aung visited once again as a Special Envoy of Sr. General Than Shwe, Chairman, SPDC from July 10-11, 2003. During the visit he met EAM and called on PM to hand over a letter from Senior General Than Shwe addressed to him. U. win Aung explained the position of the Myanmar Government on the domestic developments evolving detention of Aung San Suu Kyi on May 30, 2003. Our Minister for commerce and Industry Shri Arjun Jaitley visited Myanmar from July 14-16, 2003 to sign an MoU on the establishment of a Joint Trade Committee. Shri Arun Shourie, Minister for Communications & Information Technology visited Myanmar from August 25 – 30, 2003. A MoU on IT cooperation was signed during the visit. The Vice President visited Myanmar from November 2 – 6, 2003 at the invitation of the Vice Chairman, SPDC Vice Senior General Maung Aye. This was the first VVIP visit from India since 1987.

Forthcoming Visits:

6. There are pending invitations on our side to the President, PM, Home Minister, HRD Minister, Minister for Communications & IT and Disinvestment, and the Lt. Governor of Delhi. Pending invitations on the Myanmar side include those to Secretary-1, the Minister of National Planning & Economic Development, and the Chairman of the Civil Service Selection & Training Board. The Myanmar side had proposed a visit by Chairman, SPDC in February,

2004 but in view of domestic developments, PMO has postponed consideration of the visit to the second half of the year.

Re-opening of Consulates :

7. The improvement in relations has also manifested itself in the re-opening of our Consulate General in Mandalay in July, 2002, formally inaugurated during Foreign Secretary visit in November 2002. The Myanmar Consulate General in Kolkata started functioning in September, 2002.

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION

8. Projects: An important plank of our policy has been to foster cooperation with Myanmar by implementing mutually beneficial cross border projects. The upgradation of the 160 km. Long Tamu-Kalewa road in Myanmar across Manipur was taken up in 1997 and completed at a cost of about Rs. 120 crores by the Border Roads Organisation. It was inaugurated by EAM in February 2001 and , under a MoU signed in May, 2001, GOI is committed to maintaining the road for a period of six years. GOI have also offered to build the Rhi-Tiddim and Rhi-Falaam road sections across Mizoram. A technical team from India visited Myanmar for discussions on these road sections in June 2003. RITES has recently submitted a financial and technical proposal for the project which is under examination.

9. With regard to the Kaladan Multimodal Transport Project, RITES have completed the DPRs for both the IWT component and the highway component. These reports have been sent to the Myanmar government for comments and have been sent internally to the Ministries of Commerce, Shipping, Road Transport & Highways and State Government of Mizoram for comments. A composite delegation led by JS (SEA-I) visited Myanmar in May, 2004 and held discussions with Myanmar side. It was decided to hold a Senior Officials Meeting (SOM) on the Project in Yangon in September, 2004.

10. The Myanmar side had proposed a hydro-electric project on the Chindwin River at Tamanthi across Nagaland. Data collection etc. is being carried out. A pre-feasibility study has been proposed by NHPC, which has been

approved subject to certain conditions which are being met. ONGC Videsh Ltd. And GAIL have acquired 20% and 10% of participating interest in the A-1 block off the Rakhine coast. ONGCVL had also put their bid for A-III Offshore Gas Structure but the contract was offered to DAEWOO of Korea. However, with the strong efforts by our Mission, the Myanmar Ministry of Energy has now organized a tripartite Meeting for OVL and DAEWOO on 3rd August, 2004.

Credit Lines

11. In April 1998, a credit line of US \$ 10 million was extended to Myanmar, which utilised for rolling stock and industrial equipment. Another credit line of US \$15 million credit was provided in November, 2000 and used for import from India of power generators and transmission equipment, textile printing and dyeing machinery, bicycle parts, sewing machine parts and setting up a steel foundry. In October, 2002 Government of Myanmar requested another credit line of US \$ 25 million, an agreement for which was signed during the visit of the Myanmar Deputy Foreign Minister for Foreign Office Consultations in October, 2003. Separately, EXIM Bank of India has offered a credit line of US \$5 million to the Myanmar Foreign Trade Bank (MFTB) and/or the Myanmar Investment & Commercial Bank or to both jointly.

12. A credit line of US \$10 million has also been offered for financing of four projects discussed during the visit of the Indian Minister for IT & Communications to Myanmar in August 2003 in the areas of Rural Telecom, E-learning, E-Governance and an Optical Fibre Link between Tamu and Moreh. Now, we are proposing to establish an OFC Link along the Trilateral Highway between India, Myanmar and Thailand, response on which is still awaited from Myanmar side.

13. India has also offered a Credit Line of the amount of US\$ 56 million for upgradation of the Yangon-Mandalay Rail Link. The composite delegation led by JS (SEA-I) and comprising representatives from RITES, Railway Ministry and EXIM Bank sorted out the issue with Myanmar Ministry of Rail Transportation in May,2004. It was decided that out of the credit line of 56 million US dollars, 28million US dollars would be spend on purchase of railway engines and rolling stock and rest would be spent on conduct s study on the exact requirement of Myanmar Railways, which would be funded by MEA.

Trade

14. India-Myanmar trade grew steadily in the 1990s to reach a level of US\$328 million in 1997-98. In 2002-02 the trade turnover amounted to US\$ 427.9 million. In 2001-02 Myanmar's exports to India were of the order of US\$ 354.74 million. Myanmar's imports from India for the 2001-02 was US \$ 82.26 million. In 2002-02, India was the second largest market for Myanmar's exports.

15. India's imports from Myanmar are dominated by agricultural and forest based products. Myanmar is the second largest supplier of beans and pulses to India, next only a Australia, accounting for one third of India's total requirements of imported pulses. Myanmar contributes to nearly one fifth of India's imports of timber, second only a Malaysia. India's exports to Myanmar; though small, range from primary commodities to manufactured products. Primary and semi-finished steel along with steel bars and rods constitute over half of India's exports' pharmaceuticals are the next most important item. Indian drugs and pharmaceuticals have established a market presence and major Indian pharmaceutical companies like Ranbaxy and Dr. Reddy's laboratories are represented in the country. Export of plant and machinery and consumer goods is though small, is showing potential.

16. A Joint Trade Committee has been set up at the ministerial level. The MoU for establishing this mechanism was signed during the visit of Minister of Commerce in July 2003. A target for bilateral trade of US\$ 1 billion was set for the year 2006.

Border Trade

17 Although trade in traditional goods on head basis has been the practice since a long time, the Border Trade Agreement signed in 1994 and operationalised in April, 1995 gave it a legal framework. Presently, Moreh-TAMu in the Manipur sector is the sole border trade point. A second border trading point at Zowkhatar-Rhi is due to be opened shortly.

18. In October, 1998 it was decided to allow trade on Letter of Credit basis and an MOU on banking arrangements for L/C trade was signed under which the Myanmar Economic Bank at Tamu and the United Bank of India at Moreh are the designated banks for negotiating L/Cs. Border trade is also permissible in cash US Dollars.

Commercial Contracts

19. There has been a welcome increase in institutional contacts between the business communities. Union of Myanmar Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (UMFCCI) and CII and the Myanmar Computer Federation (MCF) in February 2001. At a luncheon meeting addressed by the Myanmar Foreign Minister in New Delhi on 20 January, 2003 CII announced a five point action plan on Myanmar proposing inter alia, made-in India Show in Yangon in February, 2004.

Science & Technology

20. A Science and Technology Agreement signed in 1999, during the visit of Myanmar's S&T Minister to India, provides a structured format to cooperation through a Joint Working Group (JWG). The JWG held two meetings in April, 2000 and December, 2001. The third meeting was held in December, 2001. A joint oceanographic survey of the Andaman Sea was carried out in April-May 2002. ISRO assisted Myanmar in setting up of a data processing centre in Yangon for remote sensing applications and agreed to supply satellite data free of charge for two years. The Centre was inaugurated during EAM's visit to Myanmar in February, 2001.

HRD

21. HRD has emerged as an important area of bilateral cooperation. From 44 in 1995-96, 99 Myanmar candidates have already gone to India in 2002-03 out of a total 103 slots under the TCS of Colombo Plan, ITEC and the GCCS of ICCR. In addition to these schemes, training has also been imparted to Myanmar officials under different on going projects and three Myanmar students were admitted to IISc, Bangalore in 2002 for post graduate course in aerospace

engineering. An MoU has been signed on the deputation of teaching personnel from India for short-term courses at universities in Myanmar (MEA-Ed.CIL-Government of Myanmar).

Culture

22. Performances by Indian cultural troupes in Myanmar have been organized on a regular basis since 1997. Along side, we have also sponsored visits of Myanmar cultural troupes of India. We have also extended assistance in imparting training to Myanmar archaeologists in India, dating of cultural artefacts, and presented books on religion, art and culture to various institutions in Myanmar. A bilateral Cultural Cooperation Agreement was signed during the visit of the Myanmar Cultural Minister to India in January-February, 2001. In October, 2002 Department of Culture forwarded a draft Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP), for implementing the Cultural agreement on a sustained basis, which is under consideration of the Myanmar side.

23. The shared heritage of Buddhism provides an added dimension. Buddhist pilgrimage groups, sponsored by the Myanmar Government have been given gratis visas since 1996. Myanmar maintains monasteries in Bodh Gaya; these have been run from the pre-independence days.

Regional Cooperation

24. Myanmar's membership of ASEAN, BIMST-EC and Mekong Ganga Cooperation has introduced a regional/sub-regional dimension in our bilateral relations with it and imparted added significance in the context of our 'Look East' policy. At ASIAN + Indian Summit in November, 2002. Myanmar supported our case for such Summit to be held on an annual basis. A few proposals for cooperation are under discussion with Myanmar within the framework of ASEAN's IAI programme.

Trilateral Highway among India, Myanmar and Thailand

25. At a trilateral ministerial level India-Myanmar-Thailand meeting held in

Yangon on 5-6 April, 2002 it was agreed that the sides would cooperate on the construction of a highway from Moreh in India to Mae Sot in Thailand through Bagan in Myanmar. The sides also agreed to promote a highway from Kanchanaburi in Thailand to the Dawei port in Myanmar and from there the shipping links to Indian ports. At the last meeting of the Foreign Ministers held in New Delhi in December, 2003 the financing of phase one of the highways was considered. The outcome of the meeting was that Thailand agreed to finance upgradation of the part of the highway close to their border from Thaton to Myawaddy (198 km) through a soft loan of US\$ 58.608 million.

26. India agreed to consider offer of a Line of Credit at concessional terms to the Government of Myanmar for financing new construction from Chaungma-Yinmabin (30km) and Lingadaw-Letsegan-Pakokku (48 km.). These links would establish a serviceable road link from Moreh to Mandalay. It was also agreed to consider similar financing of the upgradation to two-lane standard of the YinmabinPale-Lingadaw (50km) road. This would provide a link between Yangon and Bagan through which the highway must run. Further, it was agreed to consider, subject to internal approvals, financing of the upgradation of the Bagan-Meiktila (132 km.) segments. However, subsequent to the meeting the Myanmar Foreign Minister in a letter to EAM has made some proposals to the effect that Myanmar itself would construct the highway with financial assistance from Thailand and India. This matter is under examination.