Regionalism and Mizo Politics: a Study of Mizoram People's Conference Party

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Abstract: The term 'regionalism' when it comes to Mizo politics in the Indian political scenario can be seen in the form of political movements in pluralistic approach, where regionalism has been expressed by political parties in different forms. Regional sentiment is quite strong among all the parties that even national parties in Mizoram cannot really have a national outlook in order to maintain a support base among the masses. One problem which the political parties found themselves with is that of the arriving at the workable compromise between the strong regional sentiments of the Mizos on one hand and maintaining cordial relationship with the centre on the other hand.

The study taken up is Mizoram People's Conference (MPC) Party, focusing on the importance and impact of regional parties in Mizoram. The present study examines and conceptualize the historical evolution based on Mizo identity of the party along with the formation of Human Rights Committee, electoral performances of the party, leadership issues and significant roles played the People's Conference Party in the state politics. The scope of the paper is confine from post 1970s politics till the State Legislative Assembly of 2018; to cover this time period is felt necessary in order to make the analysis complete.

Keywords:

- Regionalism
- Regional parties
- Ideology
- Policy
- Development
- Electoral performance

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I. INTRODUCTION

Mizoram is located in the north east corner of India sharing boarder with Assam in the north, Manipur and Burma in the east and the south, Tripura and Bangladesh in the west. The British entered the Mizo Hills in 1882 and officially established their authority in Mizo Hills by 1891.¹After India got independence, Mizo Hills was put under the administration of Assam as Lushai Hills District in 1952 under the 6th Scheduled of the Indian Constitution. In course of time, the District Council became UnionTerritory and was renamed as Mizoram. Along with this, three Autonomous District Councils namely the Chakma District Council, the Lakher District Council and the Lai District Council were formed under the Re- Organisation of State Act, 1971. In 1986, the underground Mizo National Front (MNF) and the Government of India signed a peace accord and Mizoram became the 23rd State of the Indian Union on 20thFebruary 1987. The State comprises of 11 Districts with Aizawl as the Capital of the State. According to 2011 census, population of Mizoram is over 10.91 lakhs; about 5.52 lakhs are males and 5.38 lakhs are females.

Political awakening among the Mizos had started during the early $1920s^2$. It appears that the Mizos were politically motivated since the passages of the Government of India Acts 1919 and 1935. There two Acts had given political aspirations by giving special status to the hill tribes. But the district authorities banned any political activities on the part of the local people other than what the authorities allowed them to do³. This sowed seeds for the formation of the first regional political party; the Mizo Union in 1946. This party favored joining the Indian Union and the abolition of the institution of chieftainship. The birth of a Mizo Union as a political party signaled the beginning of a long political struggle by the Mizos. This was followed by the formation of the

¹ J. V. Hluna (1992), *Education and Christian Missionaries in Mizoram*, p. 27.

 ² Sangkima (2004), 'Political Consciousness Leading to the formation of the Mizo Union Party in Mizoram' in *Historical Journal Mizoram*, vol- V, Issue- I, p. 2.
³ibid., p. 5.

United Mizo Freedom Organization (UMFO) in 1947, the Mizo National Front (MNF) in 1961, the Indian National Congress Party in 1961, the People's Conference Party (PC) in 1975, and the Zoram Nationalist Party (ZNP); the factional group of the MNF in 1997.

The concept of regionalism according to Lalchungnunga is 'one's love for and feeling of sentimental attachment to one's region of birth and residence over and above other regions"⁴. On its positive aspects, regionalism stands for self- identity and self- fulfillment on the part of a particular regional group, which is not always antithetical to the process of national- building. On its negative aspects, it reflects a psyche of alienation from national mainstream due to excessive centralization and discrimination from the ruling elite⁵. Seeing from the birth of political parties in Mizoram right from the starting of Mizo Union, the concept of regionalism plays an important role in Mizo politics. Afteranalyzing Mizo history, Mizo regionalism has not only taken its root in history, but also remained a dominant factor in the post- independent politics.

I. GENESISOF THE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE PARTY:

Since March 1st1966, Mizo District became a disturbed area because of declaration of independence by the MNF. It was not possible for a democratically elected government to maintain law and order. In such a circumstance, the law and order situation was maintained by the Indian Army. The Mizos found neither political leaders nor civil administrators who were ready and willing to protect the rights of civilians which were being violated by the army. It was at this time that Brig. Thenphunga Sailo, a retired Army Officer came to Mizoram and became the spokesman for civil liberty.

1.1Formation of the Human Rights Committee:

The emergence of People's Conference Party can be traced to the formation of 'Human Rights Committee' on 22nd June, 1974, which was set up to protect the rights and dignity of the Mizos. It was headed by Brig T. Sailo, the founder President of the party.⁶The Human Rights Committee right from the beginning, opposed the army atrocities and in a short period of time, it secured larger support from the society. The chairman Brig. T. Sailo toured within the state explaining what the army can and cannot do under the law, and also explained to the public their civil rights. He also met the security forces and urged them not to act in excess of the law which could defame the reputation of the army. After assessing the atrocities committed by the Army, a Memorandum was sent to the Prime Minister of India on 16th October, 1974, copies of which were sent to leading newspapers across the country which had a positive effect and the army atrocities declined rapidly.

1. 2 Birth of People's Conference Party:

The leaders of the Human Rights Committee felt the need of a change in the prevailing political situation in Mizoram and organized a meeting at the residence of Vanlahruaia, Chaltlang in Aizawl to plan formation of a new political party and resolved to convene a People's Conference at Theatre Hall in Aizawl.⁷Accordingly, a meeting was convened on 15- 17 April, 1975 for which invitations were sent to all the Village Councils throughout Mizoram.

It was well attended with representatives from 192 villages and a total of 822 delegates attended the Conference. The Conference unanimously endorsed the proposal made by Chuanvawra Tlau and a resolution was passed for the formation of a new political party on the 17th April, 1975 under the chairmanship of Lalsawia, Ex- CEM. A new party was born without a name. However, in a matter of days, delegate started referring to the new party as "People's Conference" (PC) Party.⁸ Thus, spontaneously and by unwritten consensus the new Party was named People's Conference Party. An adhoc Committee of office bearers was formed as follows:

President-	Brig. T. Sailo	
Vice President-	Rev. Sakhawliana M. A., B. D.	
Consultants-	Dr. Rothuama, MBBS	
	J. Kapthianga	
	Thangridema	
Treasurer-	Zalianchhunga.	
General Secretary- Zairemthanga.		

⁴Lalchungnunga (1994), "*Mizoram: Politics of Regionalism and National Integration*", p. 4. ⁵ibid., p. 5.

⁶ Kenneth Chawngliana (2002), *Mizoram Hruaitute Sulhnu*, p. 5.

⁷ Ngurthankima Sailo "Emergence of People's Conference Party in Mizoram and its Role in the Development of Mizoram", *Historical Journal of Mizoram* (July 2004), Vol. 5, Issue 1, p. 94.

⁸ Kenneth Chawngliana (2002), op. cit., p. 14.

The PC Party adopted a '*Cockerel*' as the symbol of the party and a *Scale* as the Party Election Symbol. It also adopted '*Green*' as the colour of the Party Flag.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the People's Conference Party:

- 1. The party will endeavour to prepare grounds for peaceful solution of the Mizo political problem.
- 2. The Party aims at the unification of all Mizo inhabited contiguous areas now forming parts of India, under a single administrative unit.
- 3. The Party stands for the wishes of the people to preserve their distinct identity Ethnically, Culturally and Socially.
- 4. The interest of the people and Mizoram shall be the guiding principles with overriding priority and precedence over those of the Party.
- 5. The Party will vow for speedy economic advancement with special emphasizes on rural development.
- 6. The Party will uphold the aims and objectives of the Human Rights Committee, Mizoram.⁹

Furthermore, the Party also selected the following political principles for its foundations:

- Non- Violence, Justice and Truth.
- Vindication of Fundamental Rights of the Mizo people as guaranteed in the Constitution of India.
- Solution of any political problems through Constitutional means within India by negotiation.
- Creation of atmosphere of goodwill, mutual understanding and cooperation between Law and Order enforcement agencies and the general public.

The new Party taught the people on the basis of the following issues:

- Human rights of the people.
- Assimilation: Firstly to prevent commercial exploitation of the Mizo by traders from outside and preventing from the uncontrolled influx of Non- Mizos into Mizoram. Secondly, to put a stop to the increasing influx of the Chakmas into Mizoram (who are neither Mizo, nor Indian) and their uncontrolled entry into Mizoram, this posed a danger of assimilation to the Mizos.
- Boundary Issue: To reconstruct the correct boundary of Mizoram as was agreed upon by the British Expedition Force and the Mizo Chief, Suakpuilala in a signed document of 1875, and not as given in the North East Area Reorganization Act, 1971.
- Economic Self- Sufficiency.
- Ethnic Identity¹⁰.

The People's Conference which emerged as a regional political party in 1974 followed the ideology of development logic. And mostly, it contests elections with the slogan of 'development and infra- structure in Mizoram', apart from trying to solve the insurgency problem, the speedy and all- round development of the Union Territory was the main concern of the party.

The aims and objectives of the People's Conference depict the nature and orientation of a strictly regional party, founded on the ethos- cultural base. Two points of its difference from other regional political parties were that it put down in black and white its interest in peaceful solution of the Mizo problem, and that it respected the human rights. The stand of the People's Conference party on the question of regionalism is explained by Brig. T. Sailo himself,

.....the Mizo people are deeply weeded to the concept of regional party as opposed to all- India party. I want to take this opportunity of once- again clarifying our party stand vis- a-vis all- India party. For some valid and special reason we want to retain regional party. Though regional in character, the PC party has a national outlook and stands fully committed to the integrity and solidarity of the Indian Union and will work towards strengthening the fibre of national unity and territorial integrity. Further, we have a working understanding with the ruling party at the Centre......we have pledge full co- operation with the ruling party both inside and outside Parliament in pursuit of the principles of secular democracy based on respect of human rights and the protection of interests of the tribal groups and other backward classes and minority.¹¹

He also explained the 'regional in character but national in outlook' concept at another place thus,

I wish to point out two possible extremes. Firstly, some of our people may tend to look at things too much in compartmental fashion and overlook matter of national importance. This will not be the right

⁹ibid., p. 15.

¹⁰ibid., p. 15.

¹¹*Public Speech* delivered by Brig. T. Sailo at the Assam Rifles Parade Ground, Aizawl on 5th May, 1979, published by the PC General Headquarter, Aizawl.

attitude because main events at national level also concerns us intimately because we are apart of the same country. Secondly and vice- versa, national leaders in Delhi, looking at things from an overall picture, may tend to submerge our identities in the swirling current of national activities and altogether obliterate our regional character. Apart from that, it is the wish of our people to maintain our respective identity ethnically, socially and culturally.¹²

The concept regionalism of the party is very clear from the above. It is an attempt to strike a workable balance between the regional sentiments of the Mizo people and maintaining a cordial relationship with the Centre for survival in the Indian political scenario.

1.4 **The Human Rights** concept, one of the important factors on which the objective and ideology of the party was a new concept which was taught by Brig. T. Sailo. During the time of political disturbance in Mizoram, the rights of the people were unheard among the Mizos. Therefore, People's Conference party taught the people and traveled throughout Mizoram to spread the awareness. The Human Rights Committee in various way enlightened the public in regards to the existing laws and rules of the country in the context of Mizoram situation in general, and the rights and duties of the citizens in particular. These education and awareness among the public brought about considerable caution and wariness on the part of the security forces in their dealings with the public. This in turn, created a feeling of security and confidence in the minds of the public, and in result the high- handed character of taking into custody without rhyme or reason and torture of innocent and ignorant villagers by the security forces personnel visibly diminished thereby bringing about tremendous relief and easement in the minds of the people.

Brig. T. Sailowanted to bring a new politics of integrity and development perspective to solve Mizo political problem. It was quite clear then that insurgency was the sole factor that caused a set- back to developments in Mizoram. The new party set itself to the task of preparing a ground for settlement of political problem. On economic development of the territory, Brig. T. Sailo felt that Mizoram lagged behind Meghalaya and Nagaland in progress and leveled charged against the Congress- Mizo Union merger ministry of corrupt practices and misuse of power which resulted in a faltering economic achievement. Though his concern for political solution of Mizoram problem was dominant, he was also intensely concerned for a quick and all- round development of the territory. Therefore, one can say that the Mizoram People's Conference party followed the ideology of development logic with promotion to regional interests. The party contests the elections with the slogan of 'development and improvement of infra- structures' in Mizoram.

1.5 Six Basic Needs:

The People's Conference Party puts its main effort to infrastructural development in order to develop Mizoram economy besides bringing political stability to the state. The party felt that self- sufficiency in economy would bring all round development and political stability in the state. Soon after the formation of the PC Ministry in 1978, the government of India had to prepare for the Sixth Five Year Plan. The commencement of the Sixth Five Year Plan coincided with the birth of the PC Ministry. In order to chalk out the strategic approach, the Cabinet meeting was held in the Conference room of Raj Niwas in June, 1978, and Brig. T. Sailo came out with the strategic plan and stressed that all the future development plans should be 'basic needs'oriented, which are self-sufficiency in food production, sufficient drinking water for all, production of Power and Electricity from Mizoram, development. These are called the '**Six Basic Needs'** which are still referred today.¹³

II. ASSAM- MIZORAM BOARDER ISSUE AND RE- UNIFICATION OF 'ZO' INHABABITED AREAS:

The relations between Mizoram and Assam began way back in the 19th Century in the boarder areas of the Cachar District of Assam. The political relations between the Mizos and the Cachar district was laid in a series of raids committed by the Mizos (then Kukis) on Sylhet and Cachar frontiers. The first recorded raid on the Cachar frontier in 1849 was committed believed to be by men of Lallianvunga's, namely Vanpuilala and Lalngura. As a result, the Government sent a punitive expedition known as Linger Expedition of 1850. The expedition lasted from 4th- 29th January. About this time, Suakpuilala, a great Mizo Western Chief, came into prominence; and for the first time, he along with other four eastern Chiefs sent emissaries in 1850 to Silchar with overtures of peace. After talks with the Superintendent, they agreed to send their representatives Chiefs and

¹² Lalchungnunga (1994), op. cit., p. 93.

¹³ Brig. T. Sailo (2000), *A Soldier's Story*, p. 107.

wished to pay tribute in return for the protection from the Pawi.¹⁴ Suakpuilala visited Silchar in December 1851, and negotiated with Colonel Lister. After this attempted expedition, there was a marked improvement on the Cachar- Mizo relations. The British authority sent John W. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Cachar to interview the Chiefs. He left Silchar on20th December, 1869 and spent three months there. During his tour, Edgar arranged, among other things, a new boundary with Suakpuilala.¹⁵ Edgar was allowed to visit Lushai Hills again in 1870- 1871. The main purpose of this trip was to finally settle with Suakpuilala the boundary fixed provisionally during his first visit. A written engagement known as "Sunnad" was executed by the two leaders on 16th January, 1871.¹⁶

One of the main concerned of the People's Conference Party since its formation is the border issue of Mizoram. The party claimed that the North-East Area Reorganization Act of 1971 does not recognized the agreement signed by the Mizo Chief Suakpuilala and the British Expedition Force in a signed document of 1875.¹⁷ The PC Ministry constituted a Boundary Commission chaired by (Late) Brig. Vankunga. The reports gave clear picture of the boundary of Mizoram and Assam and a Memorandum was submitted to the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi saying that the boundary lines of 1875 should be recognized as the boundary between Mizoram and the neighboring states.¹⁸

The PC Party declined the Memorandum of Settlement signed between the MNF and the Indian Government. In the Memorandum of Settlement, it was mentioned that "the Territory of Mizoram shall consist of the Territory specified in Section 6 of the North Eastern Areas (Re- Organisation) Act, 1971". This Section 6 of the NEARA mentioned that 'on and from the appointed day there shall be formed a new Union Territory to be known as the Union Territory of Mizoram comprising the territories which immediately before that day were comprised in the Mizo District in the existing state of Assam and thereupon the said territories of shall cease to form part of the existing state of Assam. It rejected this settlement on boundary issues, claiming that when the Union Territory of Mizoram, near Mr. Khemrianga's house.¹⁹ This milestone has crossed 94 houses and 27 housing pass, which were obtained during the District Council were put under the state of Assam. Not only this, the Assam Authority destroyed all the paddy fields of Phaisen and Buhchang areas claiming that these areas came under the North Easter Area Re- Organisation Act, 1971 Section 6.

When the PC Party came to power in 1978, it formed a committee, comprising of Brig. C. Vankunga as its Chairman, F. Malsawma and C. Chawngkunga as its members, to solve the boundary issue. The committee put a pressure on the Central Government to settle the boundary issues according to the agreement signed by the British Authority and Suakpuilala, the Mizo Chief in 1875. The party claimed that the difference between the Agreement of 1875 and the North Eastern Area Re- Organisation Act, 1971, Section 6 is about 4000 kilometers.²⁰ Besides this, all these areas were given the land rights during the District Council and Union Territory of Mizoram, and as many as 875 land holders lost their lands and assets to the Assam Government. Therefore, the PC Party under Brig. T. Sailo urged the Central Government to solve the boundary issue of Mizoram and Assam as fast as possible.

2.1Re- Unification of ZO Inhabited Areas Under a Single Administrative Unit:

One of the aims and objective of the PC Party declares that "the party will aim at the unification of all Mizo inhabited contiguous areas now forming parts of India under a single administrative unit".²¹ The PC Ministry, therefore, tried its best to unify these Mizo inhabited areas under one single administrative unit. In a memorandum the PC Party submitted to the Prime Minister of India on 17th September, 1982, urging the Centre to give special provisions that the '*Mizo inhabited areas under one administrative unit: Mizo inhabited areas of other states in India should be unified with the present Union Territory of Mizoram to form one administrative unit, that is, the State of Zoram (presently known as Mizoram) under the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution of India'.²²*

¹⁴ Alexander Mackenzie (1979), *The North East Frontier of India*, p. 295.

¹⁵ Sangkima, 'Cachar- Mizo Relation (A. D. 1832- 1890), *Proceedings of North East History Association*, North East History Association (1995), p. 134.

¹⁶ibid., p. 135.

¹⁷ Ngurthankima Sailo, 'Emergence of People's Conference Party in Mizoram and its Role in the Development of Mizoram', *Historical Journal of Mizoram*, (July 2004), vol. 5, Issue 1, p. 96.

¹⁸ Brig. T. Sailo (2000), op. cit., p. 151.

¹⁹*Memorandum of Settlement (Inbiakremna Thuthlung)*, Pamphlet issued by the People's Conference Party General Headquarters, Aizawl, 1986, p. 5.

²⁰ibid., p. 6.

²¹ Lalchungnunga (1994), op.cit., p. 90.

²² Brig T. Sailo (2000), op. cit., p. 151.

When the PC Party was voted out of power from 1984, the party used 're- unification of ZO inhabited areas' as its propaganda and tried to win the support and sympathy from the masses both inside and outside Mizoram. But due to the political disturbance in Mizoram, the party could not make much progress and the people were more interested in political stability rather than reunification of ZO people. Therefore, an organization called **Zo Re-unification Organisation known as ZORO** was founded. In a conference held at Lamka, Churachandpur in Manipur, on the 5th March, 1988, between the Zomi National Congress (ZNC) and the People's Conference it was decided that for the purpose of giving effective impact and the desire to re-unify the Zo ethnic origin on a larger scale, a Convention was to be held, to expedite the issue. In pursuance to this, the first world Zomi Convention on Re- Unification was held at Champhai Chawnchhim from 19th- 21st May, 1988.²³ The Convention was well attended by delegates from various parties and individuals. It ended in declaration of Charter of Agreement making affirmations which declared that the Zo ethnic groups were from the same ancestors and they were divided by the British colonial rulers, which was followed by the Government of India, when India got her dependence. In this convention, they adopted the following declaration as mentioned below:

1. We solemnly affirm the truth that members of Zo ethnic origin now living in Burma, India and Bangladesh, are a people of common ancestry, speaking common language, blessed with common social, culture and religious background and destined to common political fate and destiny.

2. We sincerely pledge and affirm solidarity and integration to take up a just struggle for Zo Re-Unification under one administrative umbrella within Indian Union.

3. We firmly hold the universal truth our political aspirations for Zo Re- Unification regardless of internal boundary constrains are the inalienable rights of all Zo ethnic origin. Further we solemnly acknowledge the claim for Zo Re- Unification to be wholly legitimate.

4. We firmly adopt the principle of Non- Violence for attaining Zo Re- Unification.

5. We sincerely appeal to the consciences of all heads of States and Governments under whom Zo community are citizens respectively to recognize and acknowledge the rightful claim for Zo Re- Unification. Further, we appeal to one and all believing in the Universal Human Rights to lend support to the just struggle for Zo Re- Unification at all levels and at different stages.²⁴

The annual General Assembly of the PC Party held at Vanapa Hall, Aizawl on 9th December, 1987 after careful and full discussion passed a resolution that — the General Assembly after due consideration resolved to work for the re- unification of all these areas inhabited by their forefathers into one single administrative unit within the Indian Union and through non- violence means.²⁵The historic Zomi Convention came to an end on the 21^{st} of May, 1988. It was followed by a long march from Champhai to Aizawl by foot at 6 in the morning on the 23^{rd} May, 1988. Around 300 Zo Re- Unification Volunteer (ZRV) took part in this long march.

III. ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE OF THE PARTY:

The following table shows the performance of the MPC in the State Legislative Assembly Elections:

YEAR	SEAT CONTESTED	SEATS WON	ASSESSMENT
1978	28	24	Formation of Ministry.
1979 (Mid-term Poll)	27	18	Formation of Ministry.
1984	27	8	
1987	31	3	
1989	38	1	
1993	25	14	Prior to the election, the PC Party converted itself to Mizoram Janata Dal and formed coalition ministry with the Congress-I.
1998	28	12	MJD changed back its name into Mizoram People's Conference

²³ P. Lalnithanga (2005), *Emergence of Mizoram*, p. 175.

²⁴ibid., pp. 176- 177.

²⁵ Brig. T. Sailo (2000), op. cit., p. 215.

			Party (MPC) and formed coalition ministry with the MNF.
2003	28	3	In this election, MPC made a pre-poll alliance with ZNP but the coalition could not secure enough votes.
2008	40	2	Pre-poll alliance was made between the MPC, ZNP and ZKP known as United Democratic Alliance.
2013	40	1	Alliance was made between the MNF, MPC and MDF known as Mizo Democratic Alliance.

2018: The MPC party fought the election under the umbrella of Zoram People's Movement (ZPM) formed on 1^{st} September 2017. The candidates did not contest in the name of political parties they belong to, but as independent candidates with a common symbol i.e Hat. ZPM secured 8 out of total 40 seats.

Source: CSDS Databank &Brief Report on Elections to Mizoram Legislative Assembly and Lok Sabha 1972-1999, Issued by Directorate of Information and Public Relations Department, Government of Mizoram, Aizawl.

The data provided above which shows the electoral performance of the party clearly indicates the role and the influencing power of the party declines rapidly in the state politics. Several factors like leadership issue, failure to deliver what promised to the voters, the stronger influential power of the National party i.e the Congress- I, the fight between regional parties which strengthen the lone National party in the state politics. One problem which the political parties found themselves is that of the arriving at the workable compromise between the strong regional sentiments of the Mizos on one hand and the compulsion of maintaining cordial relationship with the Centre.

IV. CONCLUSION:

As a whole, one can analyze that the People's Conference, later on came to be known as Mizoram People's Conference Party (MPC) came up at the right time, when the political disturbance of Mizoram was at its peak and the people looked up to it as their sole survivor from the oppression of the army rule. Thus, the popularity of the party grew up in a very short time. In short, the PC party in Mizoram as a regional political party rose very fast but except for short span from 1975 to 1984. Formed in 1975, the PC party came to power in the Mizoram Legislative Assembly in 1978 and continued up to 1984. Thereafter, its strength fell abruptly in the elections held after 1984. The People's Conference which emerged as a regional political party in 1974 followed the ideology of development logic. The aims and objectives of the People's Conference depict the nature and orientation of a strictly regional party, founded on the ethos- cultural base. The party ideology attempts to strike a balance between the regional sentiments of the Mizo people and maintaining a cordial relationship with the Centre for survival in the Indian political scenario.

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