THE CHAKMA AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL: ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

BY

LOISY LALMUANPUII

Department of Political Science

Supervisor Prof. JangkhongamDoungel



Submitted

In partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Department of Political Science of Mizoram University, Aizawl

DECLARATION

I LoisyLalmuanpuii, hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record work done by me, that the contents of this dissertation did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to do the best of my knowledge toanybody else, and that this dissertation has not been submitted by me for any other research degree in any other University or Institute.

This is being submitted to the Mizoram University for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science.

LOISY LALMUANPUII

HEAD OF DEPARMENT

SUPERVISOR



MIZORAM UNIVERSITY AIZAWL: MIZORAM

www.mzu.edu.in

Post Box No. 190 Gram : MZU

Phone : (0389) 2331610 /

2331609 Mobile:

09436148905/08119922353 Email:jdoungel@gmail.com

Prof. JangkhongamDoungel
Department of Political Science &
Director, Internal Quality Assurance Cell (IQAC)

No.MZU(PSC)/faculty/M.Phil/2021/01

Dated: 8th March,, 2021

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Ms. Loisy Lalmuanpuii** has prepared the dissertation titled "*The Chakma Autonomous District Council: Origin, Growth and Development*" under my guidance and supervision for M.Phil degree in Political Science, School of Social Sciences, Mizoram University. In preparing the dissertation, **Ms. Loisy Lalmuanpuii** has complied with all the requirements as laid down in the M.Phil regulations of the University. This dissertation is the original work of the scholar and has been submitted for any degree to any other University.

Date: 10.03.2021 Prof. Jangkhongam Doungel

Aizawl (Supervisor)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Firstly, I am thankful to the Almighty God for his guidance and manifold blessings.

I sincerely acknowledge my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. JangkhongamDoungel for his constant guidance and supervision. His dedication and keen interest, timely advice, meticulous scrutiny and scholarly advice helped me to complete my dissertation.

I also sincerely express my deepest gratitude to my family for their support, encouragement and help.

I thank profusely the officials and staffs of Chakma Autonomous District Council for providing me the required documents and data that I need for my Research.

I also thank Mr.Punyo Kumar Tongchangya, Liaison Officer of Chakma House, Aizawl for his invaluable help.

I also thank PuTetea of Chawngte 'P' for his hospitality during my field work in Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C')

My sincere gratitude goes to Lalengkima and Lalbiakzami, Research Scholar for their constant guidance and help.

I also express my sincere gratitude to Mr.InlonChakma, for his help to meet all the leaders of different organisation in the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

I also thank Anthony Vanlalruata for driving me to different places during my field work.

I express my heartfelt gratitude to Samuel Lalruatfela, Research Scholar for his invaluable help.

I thank Dr.SuwaLalJangu, Assistant Professor, Department of Political

Science, MZU for conducting plagiarism test of my Dissertation.

I sincerely express my thanks to all the Faculties and Non-Teaching Staff of

the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University for making a beautiful

working atmosphere.

Lastly but not the least, I thank my colleagues Liansangpuii, Samuel

LalrempuiiRokhum, Lalhminsangi, Ramengliana and AshishThesongtiMonsang for

their cooperative attitude and making a beautiful working environment.

Dated: 24/02/2021

(LOISY LALMUANPUII)

Aizawl

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFR Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation

CHT Chittagong Hill Tract

DC Deputy Commissioner

OB Office Bearer

Capt. Captain

LHADC Lushai Hills Autonomous District Council

PLTU Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union

PLRC Pawi-Lakher Regional Council

MRC Member of Regional Council

NEARA North Eastern Reorganisation Act

CEM Chief Executive Member

MDC Member of District Council

EM Executive Member

ADC Autonomous District Council

CADC Chakma Autonomous District Council

GPF General Provident Fund

CPF Central Provident Fund

EPF Employees' Provident Fund

VCC Village Council Court

SDCC Sub-ordinate District Council Court

DCC District Council Court

IPC Indian Penal Code

INC Indian National Congress

CJP ChakmaJatiyaParishad

BJP BharatyaJanata Party

MNF Mizo National Front

MLA Member of Legislative Assembly

AD Anno Domini

NLH North Lushai Hills

SLH South Lushai Hills

SBI State Bank of India

LADC Lai Autonomous District Council

MADC Mara Autonomous District Council

LIST OF TABLES/FIGURES

Fig 2.1	Political map of the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 2.2	Chakma Autonomous District Council Emblem
Fig 2.3	Chakma Autonomous District Council Flag
Fig 3.1	List of Legislative Secretary to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 3.2	List of the Chief Executive Member of the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 3.3	List of Chairman of the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.1	First General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.2	Second General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.3	Third General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.4	Fourth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.5	Fifth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.6	Sixth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.7	Seventh General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.8	Eight General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.9	Ninth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.10	Tenth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council
Fig 4.11	List of President of the District Congress Committee

CONTENTS

Declaration			
Certificate			
Acknowledgement			
Abbreviations			
List of figures			
		Pg no	
Chapter 1	Introduction	1 - 23	
Chapter 2	Migration and settlement of Chakma in Mizoram	24 – 44	
Chapter 3	Administrative set up in Chakma Autonomous District		
	Council	45 – 76	
Chapter 4	Electoral politics of the Chakma Autonomous District		
	Council	77 – 104	
Chapter 5	Conclusion	105 – 117	
	Bibliography	118 – 123	
	Appendix		

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the advent of the British in India, the present hill areas of the North East was an independent domain ruled by their Chief. The Ahoms from Burma came to Brahmaputra valley in 1226 and established their kingdom in upper Assam. They began the policy of conquest and annexation. By 1700 the whole Brahmaputra valley was conquered by the Ahoms. The rise of Moamaria in 1769 shook the foundation of the Ahom kingdom. Gaurinath, the Ahom king sought military assistance from the British. In 1792, Captain Welsh was sent to suppress the Maomarias rebellion.¹

During the reign of Chandra Kanta in 1816, the Burmese started interfering in the internal affairs of the Ahoms.² Chandra Kanta was disposed from his throne by Buragohain and Purandhar Singh succeeded him. Chandra Kanta sought for the help of the Burmese and the Burmese invaded Assam for the second time and restored Chandra Kanta for the second time. The Burmese found Chandra Kanta not reliable in course of time and invaded Assam for the third time. Chandra Kanta fled to Goalpara and sought the help of the British. The Treaty of Yandaboo 1826 was concluded on 24th February, 1826 between the British Authority and Burmese King (King of Ava).³ By the Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826 the British acquired the control

 $^{^{1}}$ V. Venkata Rao. (1976). A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company LTD. p.20

² *Ibid.* p.20

³ Naorem Sanajaoba. (1988). Manipur Past and Present Volume I. Delhi: Mittal Publications. p.471

over the whole of Brahmaputra Valley. Thus Assam came under the control of the British Empire. David Scott was appointed as the Commissioner of Assam.⁴

The British came in contact with the different tribes of the hill area neighbouring to Assam. The Garos were the first hill tribe that came in contact with the British. The territory of the Garos was annexed by the British in 1816. Cachar, North East Frontier Tracts which was inhabited by Matak, Akas, Kapachors, Duplas, Abors and Miris, Mishmis; Naga Hills, North Cachar Hills, Mikir Hills, Jaintia Hills, Khasi Hills and the Lushai Hills were annexed by the British Empire one after another. Minimum administration was carried throughout the territory of the hill tribes. A minimum interference with the powers and functions of the Chiefs, village organisation and other local authorities was adopted by the British. The British knew the peculiarity and distinct features of the hill tribes and the need to preserve their identity. To prevent the assimilation of the hill tribes by the British subjects, the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation (BEFR) of 1873 was enforced. The regulation gave power to the Lieutenant Governor to prescribe a line to be called Inner Line in each of the tribal areas beyond which no British subjects and certain classes of foreign residents could pass without a licence or pass.

The British came in contact with the Lushai due to the continuous raid of the British subjects by the Lushais. The extension of the tea garden by the British reached the territory of the Lushai. The Lushai felt that their ancestral land had been encroached by foreigners and they tried to defend it. Raids after raids took place in

⁴ V. Venkata Rao. (1976). *A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company LTD. p.21

⁵ *Ibid*. p.28

⁶ *Ibid.* p.46

annexed the Chin Hills and Lushai Hills so, Chin Hills and Lushai Hills came under the control of the British Empire. The BEFR 1873 was enforced in the Lushai Hills in 1930. Under the British administration, the Lushai Hills was placed into two administrative units, namely, the North Lushai Hills(NLH) and the South Lushai Hills(SLH). The NLH was placed under the control of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and the SLH was under the administrative control of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. On 1st April, 1898, the southern tract of the Lushai Hills was combined with the northern part and placed under the control of the Chief Commissioner of Assam as Lushai Hills.

Tract'. According to this Act, all laws whether provincial or Indian, solely intended for the backward tract would apply only as directed by the Governor-in-Council. Further the Governor was authorised either to enforce or not to enforce to the areas, the laws passed by the Provincial Legislature with or without modifications and exceptions as he thought fit. The Government of India Act 1935 classified the Lushai Hills into Excluded Area. According to this Act, the areas which fall under the Excluded Area were excluded from reform and normal administration. The Provincial Government had no jurisdiction and the revenues expended in this area were not votable. As per the arrangement of the Government, in 1945 P.F. Adams was directed to consider the proposal for establishing and developing local self government among the hill people of undivided Assam. The purpose of the study of Adam's was to secure advancement by peaceful and progressive administration and

the growth of democratic spirit among the hill tribes. Various recommendations were made after consultation with different local officers. Adams proposed the establishment of Village Councils consisting of recognised Chief, assisted by Elders. He also suggested for establishment of Sub-Tribal Council where the members would themselves elect their Office Bearers (OB). The Sub-Tribal Council would elect their member representatives to the Tribal Council in proportion to their population strength. All the proposed legislation with respect to the tribal shall be discussed in the Tribal Council and the decision taken by the council shall be informed to the Government.⁷

J.H. Hutton, the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills and N.E. Parry, the Superintendent of the Lushai Hills respectively suggested the constitution of the North East Frontier Province. The then Governor of Assam, Sir Robert Reid was in favour of the establishment of the North East Frontier Province. Reid suggested the district starting from the Bay of Bengal, the hill tracts of Arakan, Pakkoku, the Chittagong and the Chin Hills, the Lushai Hills and the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Mikir Hills, part of the Chindwin District and the hill areas administered on the west bank of the Chindwin, from the upper Chindwin District, the Hakuang valley with the Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts, the Lakhimpur Tract, the Hill areas in Manipur and Tripura and the isolated Shan states of Thangdut on the west bank of the Chindwin should be constituted into a Province. But the proposal was rejected by the Government of India. This proposal of North East Frontier Province was also known as Crown Colony.

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⁷*Ibid.* p.148

⁸*Ibid.* p.150

The Cabinet Mission studied the various demands and issues with regard to the hill tribes of Assam (North East India). As per the recommendation of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly set up an Advisory Committee under the Chairmanship of Sardar Vallabhai Patel. The Advisory Committee appointed three Sub-Committees to deal with the tribals namely, North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Area Sub-Committee, Excluded Area and Partially Excluded Area (other than) Assam Sub-Committee and North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan Tribal and Excluded Area Sub-Committee. The North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Gopinath Bordoloi was entrusted to study the conditions of tribals of Assam and submit its report to the Advisory Committee. The Bordoloi Sub-Committee took on the spot study of the various demands and needs of the different hill tribes in the North East.

Bordoloi Sub-Committee visited Lushai Hills in 1947 and co-opted two representatives from the Mizo Union, Saprawnga and Khawtinkhuma. Since Mizo Union was divided into two factions, both the factions appeared before the committee to share their views. The right wing led by Vanlawma and Pachhunga supported the District Conference with 20 general seats and 5 for the Chiefs while Dengthuama opposed the District Conference on the ground that it differentiated the status between the Chiefs and the Commoners in democratic set up. Dengthuama on

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⁹ *Ibid.* p.157

the other hand suggested that the whole of Lushai Hills should be divided into 20 circles where each member should be elected whether he was Chief or Commoner. 10

The District Conference demanded that in case Lushai Hills joined Assam, there should be at least three representatives from the Lushai Hills in the Assam Legislative Assembly. All matters relating to land tenure, agriculture and social customs, primary education, immigration, civil and criminal justice including capital punishment must be administered by the District Conference. It could be certained that the District Conference was in favour of being a part of Indian Union.

Macdonald, the Superintendent of the then Lushai Hills before the Bordoloi Sub-Committee stated that there should be a constitutional body elected by the district for the management of their affairs. He stated that Mizos should be permitted to govern themselves in accordance with the Constitution approved by the Government of India. The Government of India should provide certain amount as grant-in-aid, but if they do not observe any of the conditions the subsidy would be stopped automatically. 11

Rev. Zairema held the view that Mizos should have local autonomy. According to him, local autonomy means that the unification and solidarity of all the Lushais living in contiguous areas in a single Political System. After that they should be called Mizos and the land they inhabitant should be called Mizoram. He also stated that Mizo should retain the sole proprietary right over land and they should be given full self-determination within the province of Assam. There should be a

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p.163 ¹¹ *Ibid.* p.164

national council having supreme power to make laws and there should also be executive authority for the enforcement of the laws. The composition of the national council and its functions should be determined by rules. Any legislation, State or National, shall be extended to the district with the approval of the national council. He advocated Lushai Hills to be a part of Assam. 12

Vanthuama held the view that Lushai Hills would be within the Indian Union so long the Lushai Hills were economically backward. The moment they were financially stable, they would secede from the Indian Union. Pachhunga on the other hand wanted to remain under the Indian Union and should not be controlled by the Government of Assam. He rather wanted direct control from the centre.

The Women's Union consisting of Mrs.Khawtinkhuma, Mrs.Lalnghinga and Mrs.Kapthluaii demanded adult franchise and reservation of two or more seats in the District Conference for women. Adult Franchise according to them meant all adults above the age of 18 should have the right to vote. Dengthuama and Rev. J.J.M Nichols Roy shared the same view. The demand of the Adult Franchise was accepted by the Bordoloi Sub-Committee.¹³

R. Thanhlira, the Editor of the Mizo demanded as much autonomy as possible for Mizoram. H.K. Bawichhuaka held the view that the widest possible selfdetermination should be given to the Lushai Hills and all the Mizo territories must be amalgamated with Lushai Hills. Defence, communications and foreign affairs should be with the Government of India and other subjects must be decided through

¹² *Ibid.* p.165 ¹³ *Ibid.* p.166

negotiations. He also stated that Lushai Hills would be a part of Assam provided adequate representation was given to the district in the Legislative Assembly. ¹⁴ The Bordoloi Sub-Committee also met well known personalities and government servants to express their views with regard to the future of the Lushai Hills. The views of different well known personalities were taken into account and made a decisive recommendations based on the views of the tribal people.

The Bordoloi Sub-Committee recommended the setting up of the administration of tribal areas, based on the concept of regional autonomy in all matters affecting their customs, laws of inheritance as well as administration of justice, land, forest, etc. ¹⁵The recommendations made by the committee were put forward for discussion at the Constituent Assembly. After much heated debate and deliberations, the Constituent Assembly adopted the provisions of Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India for administration of the tribal areas in the states of Assam. The provision was incorporated in Article 244(2) and 275(1) of the Constitution of India. Article 244(2) now deals with the application of the sixth schedule in tribal areas of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura but Article 224(2) in the original Constitution dealt only with Assam because Meghalaya, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland were only districts of Assam at that time. Article 275(1) deals with the funding pattern of the Autonomous District Council under the provision Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. ¹⁶

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¹⁴ *Ibid*. p.167

¹⁵ Jangkhongam Doungel. (ed.). (2016). *Autonomy Movements and the Sixth Schedule in North East India*. Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. p.113

¹⁶ Government of India, *The Constitution of India as on 1st June, 1996*, Department of Publication, New Delhi, 1996. p.151

The Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India provides a compact mechanism for self government, safeguarding the traditional customs, rights and practices of the tribal people and preserving their distinct culture and identity. It gives them constitutional body to bring about a limited change within a static framework. It also provides for the creation of Autonomous District Councils and Regional Councils.

The Government of Assam enforced the provision, provided by the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India and dissolved the Interim Lushai Hills Advisory Committee on November 12th, 1951.¹⁷ The Lushai Hills Advisory Committee in 1949 for democratisation of the Committee. In fact, the Lushai Hills Advisory Committee was the interim District Council before the inauguration of the Lushai Hills Autonomous District Council.¹⁸ Lushai Hills was accorded an Autonomous District Council (ADC) under the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. Meanwhile, the educated elites of the Pawis and Lakhers were conscious of their political fate. Being considered as a minority in the Lushai Hills they felt the need of separate administrative unit where they can fully administered by themselves. Z.Hengmang and Vako who were elected members of the Lushai Hills Advisory Committee since 1949 from the Pawi-Lakher region, were timely aware of the creation of Regional Council for sub-minority tribes within the ADC under the provision of Paragraph 1(2) of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.¹⁹

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¹⁷ Chaltuahkhuma. (1981). *Political History of Mizoram*. Aizawl: L.B. Press. p.77

¹⁸ Jangkhongam Doungel. (ed.). (2016). *Op Cit.*, p.7

¹⁹ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2020). Evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (C.A.D.C) and its Constitutional basis. *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol.11(1). p.4

They immediately consulted the Superintendent and apprised him of the necessity for formation of Regional Council for the Pawis and Lakhers. As advised by the Superintendent, they submitted an application for permission of the formation of political party. It was already granted by the Superintendent. The government servants of the Pawis and Lakhers tribes at Lunglei were consulted by the two leaders and asked their advice for their future course of action. Through the advice of the government servants of the Pawis and Lakhers tribes at Lunglei, an assembly was convened at Lawngtlai on 25th October, 1949. All the representatives from the villages of the Pawi-Lakher region attended the conference. The Pawi-Lakher Tribal Union (PLTU) was constituted in the Assembly held at Lawngtlai on 25th October, 1949 and Z.Hengmang was elected as President.²⁰

The Mizo Union leaders began to be aware the demand of the Pawi and Lakher tribes. They pleaded to the leaders of the Pawi and Lakher tribes to stop their demand for the sake of Mizo integrity. But the demand of separate council was continued by the Pawi and Lakher leader. The leaders of the PLTU vigorously pursued their demand for the creation of separate administration unit. Lushai Hills Autonomous District Council later the Mizo District Council was inaugurated by the then Chief Minister of Assam, Bishnu Ram Medhi on 26th April, 1952 at Aizawl. After one year, the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council (PLRC) was inaugurated at Lunglei with headquarters at Saiha on 23rd April, 1953 by CH. Saprawnga, Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Assam. Some of the Chakmas became Member of District Council (MDC) in Mizo District Council and Member of

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²¹ *Ibid*. p.7

²⁰ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2010). *Evolution of District Council Autonomy in Mizoram*. Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. pp.32-33

Regional Council (MRC) in PLRC. The Chakmas began to be aware of having the usefulness of autonomous constitutional body.

The political consciousness of the Chakmas grew gradually from the second General Election of the PLRC. They affiliated themselves with the National parties like Indian National Congress (INC). They realised that there was a vague scope in the Mizo District Council and PLRC to safeguard their interest, preserve their culture, customs and traditions and promote their social, educational and economic development. So they aspired to achieve separate District Council for themselves. From 1953, the Chakmas expressed their grievances through a series of memoranda, submitted to the Governor and Government of Assam demanding a separate entity where they can have autonomous constitutional body of their own.

In course of time, the Central Government in pursuance of the demands of the Mizos for a higher political status upgraded the Lushai Hills to the status of Union Territory of Mizoram on 21st January, 1972. Meanwhile the two tribes of the PLRC i.e Pawis and Lakhers too demanded a higher political status which could enable them to protect their distinct culture and identity. On 12th September 1971, the Central Government decided to create a separate council for the Pawis and Lakhers. Knowing that, the Chakmas continue to put forward their demands to the Central Government. Leaders like Atul Chandra Chakma and Kristo Mohan Chakma continued to press their demand to the Central Government for the creation of a separate political entity for the Chakmas. The Chakmas led by Kristo Mohan Chakma submitted a number of memoranda to Governor of Assam, demanding Regional Council for the Chakmas since 1952. The demand was to integrate all

Chakmas in Mizo District Council and Pawi-Lakher Regional Council. The movement, started by Kristo Mohan Chakma was continued by Atul Chandra Chakma to create Regional Council for Chakmas of the PLRC. Over and above that, the Government of India was sympathetic to the cause of the Chakmas. Ultimately, on 2nd April, 1972, the PLRC was trifurcated into three Councils, namely, Pawi Regional Council, Lakher Regional Council and Chakma Regional Council and the three Regional Councils were subsequently upgraded to the status of full-fledged Autonomous District Council on 29th April, 1972.²²

Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) began to function with headquarters at Barapansury later shifted to Chawngte 'C'(Kamalnagar). It is situated in the extreme south western part of Mizoram in Lawngtlai District. ²³The council has a total number of 24 members out of which 20 members are elected and 4 members are nominated. Within the jurisdiction of CADC, there are 88 villages and it has a total of 33 administrative departments. ²⁴

Settlement and migration of Chakma in Mizoram:

The Chakmas are not original settlers of Mizoram (Lushai Hills) but they migrated from Chittagong, Bangladesh. The Chakmas are Buddhist by faith who are now found in Indo-Bangla sub-continent. They reside mostly in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh; Assam, Tripura, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh in India and Arakan in Myanmar.²⁵ The Chakmas association with the Lushai Hills can

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²²*Ibid*. p.8

²³ Jangkhongam Doungel. (ed.). (2016). *Autonomy Movements and the Sixth Schedule in North East India*. Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. p.54

www.cadc.gov.in. Retrieved on 17th February 2020

²⁵ Jangkhongam Doungel. (ed.). (2016). *Op Cit.*, p.51

be traced back to 1894 when some parts of the Chakma villages near Demagiri were transferred to South Lushai Hills by the British administration and was placed under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and those Chakma areas remained under unified Lushai Hills when South Lushai Hills and North Lushai Hills were amalgamated into Lushai Hills District in 1898 under the province of Assam. The construction of the Kaptai Dam in 1960 had destroyed the inhabitant areas of the Chakmas. As a result they fled to their neighbouring areas and scattered in many North Eastern states like Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Tripura. They reside in the entire western belt of Mizoram bordering Bangladesh.²⁶ The inhabited areas are highly underdeveloped and most of the people are living below the poverty line.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Autonomous District Councils (1997) edited by L.S. Gassah is a compilation of different papers presented at the seminar held in 1994 on the topic 'Autonomous District Councils: The sixth schedule, autonomy and development'. It consists of 32 papers covering the states of North East. The first seven chapters deals with the evolution, development, analysis of the framework, operation and the critical appraisal with regard to the provisions of Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The last five chapters deal with the relevance of Sixth Schedule in today's world. The remaining chapters deal with the provisions of Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India relating to various North Eastern states like Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p.52

Evolution of District Council Autonomy in Mizoram (2010) written by Jangkhongam Doungel is an in-depth study of the genesis of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The author traces the historical background of the tribals of the then undivided Assam. The evolution of Lushai Hills Autonomous District Council, Pawi-Lakher Regional Council and the emergence of the three Autonomous District Councils were analysed. It was the study on political history and political development of the Sixth Schedule area of Mizoram with a case study of Lai Autonomous District Council. The author also highlights the ethnic origin of the Lais and their relationship with the Maras. The book deals with the analytical study of the working of the Lai Autonomous District Council with special emphasis on electoral politics till 2002. The author has also made an attempt to critically assess the working and performance of the District Council and the relationship with the State Government.

A Century of Tribal Politics in North East India 1874-1974 (1976) written by V. Venkata Rao is about the political developments in North East India. It consists of 18 chapters divided into 3 parts. The first part consists of 4 chapters. It talks about the political development in North East. The author highlights the profile of the North East, the annexation by the British colonialism and the constitutional position during the British era. The traditional political institutions of the tribal are also being discussed. The second part of the book deals with the formation, functions and working of the District Council. The last part of the book deals with the formation of different states of the North East. The author also touches upon the political parties and the elections to the legislatures.

Government and Politics in Mizoram (1987) written by R.N. Prasad is a diligent analysis of the genesis and development of politics in Mizoram. The book focuses on the pre-British era till the post independent era. It contains a detailed knowledge of what is happening in Mizoram from the advent of the British till the formation of government in Mizoram. Various political parties which have evolved and played a significant role in the political development of Mizoram are highlighted. The author also mentions the recent developments that took place within Mizoram at the time of his work.

Autonomy Movements and the Sixth Schedule in North East India (2016) edited by Jangkhongam Doungel extensively deals with the working of Sixth Schedule and different autonomy movements in North East region. It is a compilation of the works of different scholars and academicians who have a fine knowledge with the constitutional system and autonomy movements of their respective areas. The book deals with a systematic analysis and assessment with regard to the genesis, amendments and development of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule in different states i.e. Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura. Further it also deals with autonomy movements, local self-government and demand for Sixth Schedule in North Eastern states where Sixth Schedule is not enforced. The autonomy movement with different dimensions and perspective is also deliberated in this book.

The Chakmas: Life and struggle (1988) written by S.P. Talukdar focuses on the origin, social and customs, belief and political development of the Chakmas. The book deals with the origin of the Chakmas in a systematic manner. Their social race

and identity have also been discussed. The author analyses the inhabitant areas of the Chakma tribes and their struggle for political identity. Being a stateless society, they have gone through a lot of challenges and obstacles in order to maintain a separate identity of their own. They were being deprived of their political rights until an Autonomous District Council was given by the Government.

Genesis Of Indigenous Chakma Buddhists and their Pulverization Worldwide (2010) written by S.P. Talukdar trace the genesis of the Chakma tribe and also encompass the tribe with the Buddhist religion. He deliberately highlights the indigenous Chakma tribe and their traditional settlement. The author also depicts the status of the indigenous Chakma tribe, their native dwelling place and how they are being displaced due to development plans taken up by the government. To quote him the indigenous Chakmas are now in holocaust winter - the sands of time is running out of them. Buddhism according to the author is the native religion of the Chakma, he opines that Chakmas without Buddhism is nothing and Buddhism without Chakmas is nothing in India.

Cross Border Migration Mizoram (2004) edited by Sangkima is a book that comprises of articles related with the migration and settlement of different tribes of in Mizoram. The Riangs, Chakmas, Gorkhas and Myanmarese were extensively studied. The economic and political cause of the coming of the Chakmas in Mizoram and their settlement and their rapid increase in population is highlighted. The impact of the settlement of the Chakmas is also studied in this book.

Chakma Chanchin (1996) published by Tribal Research Institute, Art & Culture Department, Aizawl is a book written by F. Lianchhinga funded by Baptist

Headquarter at Lunglei. The author visited the inhabitant areas of the Chakmas both within and outside Mizoram. He extensively studied the origin and their native settlement. The book is an in-depth analysis of the Chakmas, their socio-cultural life and their traditions, customs and beliefs. The author also highlights the Chakma script and their traditional songs and rituals.

Political Problems of Mizoram: A study of ethnic politics with special reference to the Hmar people's movement (2011) written by Lalsiamhnuna is an indepth analysis of the autonomy movements of the Hmar people in Mizoram. The book traces the genesis of political development in Mizoram. A detailed study on the origin of the Hmars, the movement that brought to the demand of autonomy within their areas and their insurgency were analysed. The author also highlights the different tribes residing in Mizoram along with their political development. Upon analysing the autonomy movements of the Hmars, the author also highlighted the Chakma tribe. The inhabitant areas of the Chakmas, their struggle with the demand of autonomy administration were highlighted in this book.

Autonomy movement and development constraints in the Sixth Schedule area of North East India (2019) is an article written by Jangkhongam Doungel which focuses on the autonomy movement and limitations of development in the Sixth Schedule area of North East India. The writer highlights the origin and development of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The article focuses the different states of the North East India where Autonomous District Council is functioning. The issues and hindrances with regard to the functioning of the Council are being deliberately discussed in state wise. The writer highlights the

challenges faced by the Autonomous District Council in Meghalaya with regard to the inadequate funding and their enjoyment of lesser power compare to the other states. A few details of the Chakma Autonomous District Council are also highlighted. The role of Autonomous District Council, Autonomous Councils and Territorial Council for socio-economic development of their respective areas has been critically analysed.

An in-depth analysis of the political history of the Chakmas with special reference to the evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (2019) written by Jangkhongam Doungel is an article that extensively deals with the political development of the Chakmas in Mizoram. The article studies the status and settlement of the Chakmas in different historical era. The writer deliberates upon the demand of the political autonomy in the Chakma inhabitant areas of Mizoram. The creation of the Chakma Autonomous District council is also studied. The issue that arises against the Chakma Autonomous District Council with the civil societies of Mizoram is also highlighted. The role and functioning of the Council is also heavily discussed in this article.

Evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) and its Constitutional Basis (2020) written by Jangkhongam Doungel is an article that indicates the emergence of the Chakma tribes in Mizoram. The article analyse the status of the Chakma, their habitat in the different periods, such as pre-colonial, colonial and post independence era. The political development of the Chakma since its inception was highlighted. The demand of the autonomy was well studied in the article. It critically examines the factors and consequences of the Chakma

Autonomous District Council and the tension that it gives to the Mizo society. The constitutionality and legality of the emergence of the Chakma Autonomous District Council has been thoroughly discussed in this article.

District Council under the Sixth Schedule (1994) written by S.K. Agnihotri is an article that deals with the different district councils under the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India in North East India. The article traces the evolution of the administration of the hill areas from the advent of the British in North East India. The regulations and Acts passed by the British for the general administration of the Hill areas have extensively discussed in this article. The change and development in the hill areas that were caused by the change in the regulations of the administration is also studied. The deficiencies found in the functioning of the district council are also elaborated. The structural powers and functions of the District Council are widely discussed in this article.

Constituent Assembly and the Sixth Schedule: with special reference to Mizoram (2010) is an article written by J. Zahluna which traces the genesis of the District Council in Mizoram. The article discusses the evolution of the District Council in Mizoram in a detailed manner. The writer deliberates upon the role of the Bordoloi Committee for the creation of the provisions of the Sixth Schedule and the opinions of the Mizo Union for establishment of the administration within the tribal areas. The article draws out the much heated debate held in the Constituent Assembly for implementation of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India in the tribal areas, the creation of the District Councils and Regional Councils and thereafter elections conducted within the region.

The article, *Tribal Movements for Autonomous State in Assam* (1987) by Monirul Hussain elaborates in detail how the Karbi Anglong District Council and North Cachar Hill District demanded for autonomy administration in Assam. The writer indicates that the demand for autonomy in Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hill District is rooted in the long history of the demand for the separation of Nagaland, Mizoram and later the constitutional experiment with an autonomous tribal state which became Meghalaya. The demands for the separation of the two districts i.e. Karbi Anglong and North Cachar Hill urged from the time of independence of India. The agitation of the tribals and the challenges faced while demanding the autonomy is widely discussed.

From the above review of the existing literature, it is evident that the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India have drawn attention of the academicians. However no specific and extensive studies have been done on the Chakma Autonomous District Council. In this regard, the researcher feels the need to study the present work to fill up the gap in the existing literature.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Prior to the advent of the British, the tribals led a life of autonomy. The British conquered the land of the tribal with a minimum administration. The tribals in the North East India are different from the mainland with regard to their sociocultural life. Knowing the peculiarity and uniqueness of the tribals of Assam (North East India), the Constituent Assembly of India incorporated the provisions of the Sixth Schedule in the Constitution of India where tribals have the authority to administer according to their customs and belief. The council stands for the welfare

of the backward tribe whose economic and social conditions are still far from development.

The central government, knowing their backwardness, showers with different development schemes and funds. Almost a century, they have been showered with numerous funds for their development and welfare. Indeed, some development took place but it is not as expected. The Autonomous District Council indeed preserves and protects the tribal areas but they are not free from limitations. Thus, this study focused on the emergence and development of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focused upon the evolution, administrative set-up and political development of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. It deals with the overall functioning and development of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- 1. To trace the evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.
- 2. To study the administrative set up of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.
- 3. To study the political development in Chakma Autonomous District Council.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the factors responsible for the evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council?

22

2. What are the administrative set up and functioning of the Chakma Autonomous

District Council?

3. What is the level of political development in Chakma Autonomous District

Council?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study is both historical and analytical in nature. It is both qualitative and

quantitative in approach. The work is based on both primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consist of data collected through government office documents and

interviews. The secondary sources consist of books, journals and articles.

CHAPTERIZATION

CHAPTER I: Introduction

The first chapter covers the background and evolution of the provisions of

Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India and emergence of the Autonomous

District Council and Regional Council in Mizoram. It also includes review of

literature, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, methodology,

research gap and chapterisation.

CHAPTER II: Settlement of the Chakma in Mizoram and formation of the Chakma

Autonomous District Council

The second chapter deals with the migration and settlement of the Chakma in

Mizoram, the demand for Autonomous District Council and the formation of the

Chakma Autonomous District Council.

23

CHAPTER III: Administrative set up in Chakma Autonomous District Council

The third chapter focuses upon the administrative set up of Chakma

Autonomous District Council. It highlights the structure of the three organs namely

legislative, executive and judiciary. It also deals with the functioning of different

departments.

CHAPTER IV: Political development in Chakma Autonomous District Council

The fourth chapter focuses upon the electoral politics of Chakma

Autonomous District Council and political issue. It also highlights the formation and

functioning of political parties and political development in Chakma Autonomous

District Council.

CHAPTER V: Conclusion

This chapter highlights the summary of the findings and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF CHAKMA IN MIZORAM

The word 'Chakma' or 'Chukma' is a generic term given to the predominant hill tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tract dwelling in the corridor link of Arakan from mid 18th century to mid 20th century.²⁷ It is also spelt Tsakma, or Tsak or Thek as called in Burmese. The origin of the Chakmas varies to different scholars and historians. There is no clear evidence of the origin of the Chakma. T.H. Lewin traced their origin to the country of Chainpango, or Champanugger. Some said it is near Malacca and this would ascribe them to be Malay origin, while on the other hand, Champanugger is situated far to the North-Western Provinces of Hindoostan.²⁸ Those who hold the latter view said that they are descendent from a Khettrie family of the name Chandra.²⁹ The facial characteristic of the Chakma tribe are of Mongoloid stock and not Aryan extraction, moreover only of late years the use of Arracanese vernacular has died out among them. The majority of the tribe claimed themselves to be descendent from a Hindu family of good caste.

According to Jtiya Dhirasekara the Chakmas originated from the Southeast of Asia. Their culture and practices has a close entity with the Burmese and Shan tribe. The Chakmas along with the Pyu tribe migrated towards the west of Thayetmyo in the Arakan state. They are a part of Tibeto tribe.

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²⁷ S. P. Talukdar, (1988). *The Chakmas: Life and Struugle*. Delhi: Gian Publishing House. p.5

²⁸ T.H. Lewin, (1896). *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and the dwellers therein*. Culcutta: Bengal Printing Company Limited. p.86

²⁹ *Ibid.* p.87

The tribes of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) are classified into two as Toungtha and Kyongtha. Toungthas are those tribes who live in forest in the hills but the Khyongthas are the tribes who live near the river. The Chakmas are classified as Khyongtha tribe. The Chakmas were regarded as original Muslims. When the King of Chittagong and his soldiers were on their way to fought a war with the Arakanese, the Priest casted his spell towards them. The soldiers were in fear when they saw the Arakanese King. So the Arakanese King captured them all and made them slaves. Later these slaves got married with the Arakanese women and their descendents were called Chakma. R.H.S Hutchinson opines that the Chakmas were the Arakan tribe who migrated to the Chittagong. In the beginning they were the worshippers of Allah, so to be called Muslims. They had a close affinity towards the Tsak or Tsek tribe. The origin and history of the Chakmas varies with different scholar. It is hard to trace the genesis of the Chakmas due to lack of written literature about history of the Chakmas. However majority of the Chakmas claimed that they came from Champaknagar in the kingdom of Anga and they are the descendants of the Bijoygiri.³⁰ They also claimed that they belong to the ancient Sakya clan where Great Buddha was born. The modern Chakmas are the original inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tract.

Chakma settlement in Chittagong Hill Tracts

The Chakmas started moving from Arakan into the bordering area of Bengal in the plains of Chittagong in the year 1052 AD.³¹ Similar to other indigenous people

³⁰Jyoti Bikash Chakma. (2015). The great exodus of the Chakmas and its aftermath: an overview.

Chakma Literary Journal. Vol.1(1). p.98 ³¹ Ibid. p.98

of the world, the Chakmas are independent on their own before the colonization period. The Chakmas who settled in the CHT are known as Annakya Chakmas and those who settled in Arakan are known as Doinghak Chakmas and Tangchangya Chakmas.³² Raja Bijoygiri was believed to be the first legendary King but his reigning years was not recorded. The first recorded King was Jabbar Khan who ruled from 168 to 1705. The Chakma king ruled without disturbance from outside till the advent of the Mughal rule in Deccan.³³With the entry of the Mughals in Chittagong, several wars began to start.

After wagging several wars, a negotiation was made between the Chakma King and the Mughals. The Chakmas obtain permission to allow the traders to trade with the hill cultivators on a payment of 11 mould of cotton which was transported through the river Karnaphuli. It also gave permission to hill cultivators to buy their necessity items such as, salt, dry fish and other essential items from Chittagong. The Chakma King could rule without any disturbance from the side till the entry of the British. The British authority reached the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1787 which changed the fate of the Chakmas.³⁴

The pact made between the Nawab of Bengal and the Mughals concluded that the East India Company received the western part of Nizampur road of Chittagong. The rest of Chittagong was left to the Chakmas. In 1763, the Company fixed the territory of the Chakmas: 'the hills from the river Pheni to the Sangoo and

³²Jangkhongam Doungel. (2015). An indepth analysis of the political history of the Chakmas with special reference to the evolution of the Chakmas Autonomous District Council. *Chakma Literary Journal*, Vol.1(1), p.181

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³³Jangkhongam Doungel. (2020). Evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (C.A.D.C) and its Constitutional basis. *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol.1(1). p.2 ³⁴ *Ibid.* p.3

from Nizampur road in Chittagong to the hills of the Kookie Raja'. ³⁵The policy of the British toward the Chakmas slowly degraded the powers of the powerful Chakma King and annexed the inhibited area of the Chakma tribe. Like the Mughals, the British first followed the policy of non-interference with the Chakmas.

Kallindi Rani, a powerful Chakma ruler during her reign tackled a number of conspiracies from her own people. A noble named Nilo Chandra Dewan openly revolted against her and to crush the revolt, Kallindi asked the help of Kookies and the Lushais. This was a period where her people migrated to their neighbouring Kingdom of Tripura. Successive murderous outrages were committed by the Kookies upon the British subjects residing in Tripura. As a result, the British administration began in the CHT in the year 1860. The Chakma kingdom was divided into two administrative units such as Chittagong (plain area of Chittagong) which was included in Bengal as regulated District and CHT which was retained as non-regulated District. CHT was protected from the non indigenous tribe by the Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual Regulation of 1900. It was further placed under the 'Excluded Area' by the Government of India Act 1935.

The partition of India in 1947 has changed the fate of the Chakmas living in the CHT. The partition was done based on religion. The inhabited area of the Chakma tribe so called the CHT was to be placed under the Union of India at first. The Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission Sir Cyril Radcliffe placed the

 35 S.P. Talukdar. (1988). *The Chakmas life and struggle*. New Delhi: Gian Publishing House. p.35 36 *Ibid.* p.38

³⁸ *Ibid.* p.99

³⁷ Jyoti Bikash Chakma. (2015). *The great exodus of the Chakmas and its aftermath: an overview*. Chakma Literary Journal. Vol. *I(1)*. p.99

CHT under the dominion of Pakistan. The Pakistan Government made several amendments in the Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual Regulation, 1900 which resulted in the abuse and misappropriation of land and resources, that caused a cruelly crush on culture, religion, identity and aspirations of the hill people. The Pakistan Government threatened the indigenous tribes based on their religion. The fear of religious persecution was created. The government favoured and encouraged a mass influx of the Bengali Muslim to the area inhabited by the Chakmas and it was a tough time for the Chakmas to fight against the influx. It resulted in mass displacement of Chakmas into India.

Another serious blow for the Chakmas was the construction of Kaptai Dam. The dam was constructed in 1960 across the Borgang(Kharnaphuli) river.³⁹ The hydro-electric dam constructed by the government has a tremendous impact on the settlement of the Chakmas. The Rangamati town, where the Chakma Raja lived was submerged under water. More than one lakh of the Chakma population had no choice but to left their traditional inhabited area and flew to their neighbouring place. This huge displacement that took place due to development project of the government was like a nightmare which leaves them as a stateless society.

Chakma settlement in Mizoram

Prior to 1890, continuous raids were experienced by the British subjects by the Lushais. In order to check the repeated raids of the Lushais, the capital of the Chittagong was shifted from Chandrogona to Rangamati by Capt. Lewin, the then

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³⁹ Jyoti Bikash Chakma. (2015). The great exodus of the Chakmas and its aftermath: An Overview. *Chakma Literary Journal*. Vol.1(1). p.102

Superintendent of the Hill Tracts in 1869. The stepping stone of the settlement of the Chakma in the territory of the Lushai Hills was the Lushai expedition of 1871-1872 conducted by the British Force. In the Lushai expedition of 1971-1872, the reigning Queen of the Chakmas, Kallindi Rani assisted the British in supplying coolie for transporting essential item of the British Force. These Chakmas who came as coolie in the first expedition went back to their own territory and none of them remained in Lushai Hills but they began to know about the Lushai Hills.⁴⁰

The Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-1890 marked the establishment of the British rule in the Lushai Hills. When the British fully annexed the territory of the Lushai, it was difficult for them to control the whole territory of the Lushai as a separate administrative unit. After prolonged discussion it was finally decided to transfer the southern Lushai Hills (a part of the Chittagong Hill Tracts which had previously formed a part of Bengal) to Assam. The boundary of the hill tracts was originally demarcated by the British as follows:

"The Eastern boundary is formed by a line running from the South East hill of Tippera along with the course of the Tuilenpui or Sajuk river to its junction with the Karnafulee and hence along the course of Tuichang across the Uiphum range to the west and along the Thega Khal to its headwaters thence westward along the watershed of the Wey Bongtlang until it meets the southern hill station of Keokradong on the Arakan frontier. The administrative headquarters was located at Rangamati",41

⁴⁰ F. Lianchhinga. (1996). *Chakma Chanchin*. Aizawl: Tribal Research Institute. p.39

⁴¹ S.P. Talukdar. (1988). *The Chakmas life and struggle*. New Delhi: Gian Publishing House. p.41

The amalgamation of the North Lushai Hills and the South Lushai Hills into a single administrative unit automatically placed Lushai Hills, as a district of Assam province in 1898 and a new demarcation of boundary was proclaimed by the government. The proclamation of the government runs as follows:

"Government of India No. 591- EB, whereas the territories known as the South Lushai hills, were by a proclamation No.1697 – E, dated the 6th September 1895, issued under the government of India Act 1865(28 and 29 Vict., Cap. 17) section 4, included within the lower provinces of Bengal, and whereas the tract known as Ruttan Puya's villages, including Demagiri in the Hill Tracts of Chittagong is also included within the said lower provinces, and whereas it is expedient that the said territories and tract should now be placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam; known to all men and it is hereby proclaimed, that the Governor General in Council has been pleased, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 3 of the Government of India Act, 1854 (17 and 18 Vict., Cap. 77) and with the sanction and approbation of the Secretary of the State for India, to take the said territories and tract under his immediate authority and management, and to place them under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and further to direct that henceforth they shall be included within the province of Assam". ⁴²

The Chakma Raja had to forego some of his lands and his subjects who were inhibiting beyond the river Tega Khal due to this revised boundaries. The Chakmas association with the Mizo could be traced back to the year 1894 due to the transfer of some Chakma villages nearby Demagiri from Chittagong administration to South

⁴² *Ibid.* p.41

Lushai Hills. Under the order passed by Sir Charles Elliot, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1892, Demagiri and the surrounding villages which were inhibited by the Chakmas, were to be included in the Lushai Hills and should be placed under the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Since then some Chakma villages legally became a part of Lushai Hills.⁴³

In 1905 Chakmas began to migrate in the area of Gerauluksora (Samakkah lui) and Lamthai (Tablabagh). During this time, the Lushais were very few in number. Since then the early settlers began to inhibit the areas of Tiante, Lungno, Thingsen, Muallianpui village. The number of Chakma settler increased, so the Chakma settlers were ordered to pay a sum of foreigner tax Rs. 5/- per year. 44 The Chakmas who were engaged in Labour Corps during the World War II entered Mizoram and settled down. The construction of the Kaptai Hydro-electric Project constructed by the Pakistan government submerged a large area of Chakma inhibited villages. A mass displacement took place. A large number of Chakmas who lost their land due to the construction of dam settled in the western belt of Mizoram in the district of Lawngtlai and established their own village. It is noteworthy that in the pre-independence era, the present Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) areas were territory of the Zo-ethnic tribes, namely Tlanglau, Bawm and Pang which had been administered by their Chiefs. The present CADC area was also known as Uiphum Tlangdung and was the domain of Tlanglau Chiefs. At that time there were

⁴³ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2015). An indepth analysis of the political history of the Chakmas with special reference to the evolution of the Chakmas Autonomous District Council. Chakma Literary *Journal*. Vol.1(1). p.183

44 F. Lianchhinga. (1996). *Chakma Chanchin*. Aizawl: Tribal Research Institute. p.43

only few Chakma populations in the area who were engaged as labourers in the agricultural farm by the Tlanglau chiefs.

Demand and formation of Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Lushai Hill was granted ADC according to the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. In a similar way the PLRC was constituted for the Pawi and Lakher tribes. The Chakma population was represented in both Mizo District Council and the PLRC. The Lushai Hills Autonomous District Council (LHADC) officially started functioning on 26th April, 1952 and the PLRC began functioning officially from 23rd April, 1953.⁴⁵ The Chakmas could not bag even one seat in the first general election of the PLRC in 1953 because there were no much Chakma population at that time. However, the population increased with regular influx from Chittagong in Bangladesh. The Chakmas also could not secure even a single seat in the first LHADC. Thus the voice of the Chakmas could not be heard in both the LHADC and the PLRC.

Medhi Chakma was nominated in the second term general election to the LHADC later called the Mizo District Council as a result of amendment of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India by Indian Parliament in 1954. In the third and fourth term of the Mizo District Council, Hari Kristo Chakma was elected as Member of District Council (M.D.C) in 1962 and 1970 respectively. ⁴⁶ Chakma representative could also be found in the PLRC since the second term general

⁴⁵ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2010). *Evolution of District Council Autonomy in Mizoram*. Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. p.34

⁴⁶ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2020). Evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (C.A.D.C) and its Constitutional basis. *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. *1*(1). p.4

election. Atul Chandra Chakma was elected as member of the PLRC in the second, third and fourth term election of 1958, 1963 and 1970 respectively. Arun Kumar Dewan added the representation of the Chakma in the PLRC by winning in the fourth general election of 1970. He was inducted as the Deputy Chairman of the PLRC.

The political consciousness gradually grew amongst the Chakma. They became conscious of their political rights and started working in safeguarding their interests as well as in fulfilling their political aspirations. They realised that there was a vague scope in the PLRC to safeguard their interests, preserve their culture, custom and tradition and promote social, education and economic development. They started aligning themselves with the national parties like the INC. Due to difference in the customs and beliefs; they were not engaged in the regional political parties like the Mizo Union. The Chakma National Sadhin (Freedom Party) was formed as a political platform to deliberate their grievances and fulfil their interest and to take more active part in politics.⁴⁷

The Chakmas claimed themselves to be the second largest tribe in the Lushai Hills numerically but the representation in the Mizo District Council and the PLRC was not appropriate. In fact, Chakma might not be the second largest tribe as they claimed but they were the largest among the non-Zo-ethnic tribes in Lushai Hills who were more than the Brus even at that time. Infact, exclusion of the two-third Chakmas from the Regional Council by the government was criticised. A separate

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⁴⁷ Jyotir Moy Chakma. (2016). Formation and Functioning of the Chakma Autonomous District Council: Issues and Challenges. *Autonomy Movements and the Sixth Schedule in North East India*. by Jangkhongam Doungel (Ed.). Guwahati: Spectrum Publications. p.57

Regional Council was demanded to the State Re-organisation Commission in 1954 taking the conditions of the above grievances. 48 From 1953 - 1972, a series of memoranda was submitted stating their grievances and demanding a separate political entity for their tribe. In 1967, Kristo Mohan Chakma submitted memorandum to the then Union Home Minister, Y.B. Chavan demanding a Regional Council consisting all the Chakma inhabited areas of the Lushai Hills with its Headquarter at Demagiri (now Tlabung).⁴⁹

In the mean time, right from its establishment, the PLRC could not function properly due to absence of common language. The leaders of different tribe namely the Pawi, Lakher and the Chakma could not communicate properly due to language differences. They could not function properly to meet the needs of the people due to difference in culture. In 1958, the Lakhers decides to keep themselves away from the PLRC meetings. 50 In 1966, the Mizo National Front (MNF) upholds violent methods against the Government of Assam and the Government of India to get better political status. The MNF alleged that autonomy given to the District Council under the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India was too limited for better development and the welfare of the people. Insurgency broke out in Mizoram. After certain negotiations and deliberations, the Government of India decided to uplift the Mizo District Council to the status of Union Territory with a new name Mizoram.

The three communities viz the Pawi, Lakher and the Chakmas knowing that it was a golden chance to pursue higher political status and more autonomy for their

⁴⁸ *Ibid*. p.57

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p.58

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p.58

own tribe demanded a higher autonomy to the Government of India. In September, 1970 leaders like Chhunga and Dengthuama from Mizo District Council and leaders namely F. Manghnuna, Sapliana, K. Sangchhum, Mylai Hlychho, Zakhu Hlychho, S. Hiato and Atul Chandra Chakma from the PLRC visited Delhi to press their demand for separate District Council.⁵¹ Atul Chandra Chakma separately demanded a District Council for the Chakma tribe pledging that the Chakmas were different from the rest of the tribes of Lushai Hills in terms of socio-cultural identity. He alleged that the Chakmas constitute ten thousand populations in the Mizo District.

The Special Secretary for Union Territory, Pimputkar was convinced by the argument of Atul Chandra Chakma. He later conveyed the matter to the Chief Comissioner of Mizoram and some higher authority of the Government of India. Mr. S.J. Das the Chief Commissioner and AC Ray, DC of Aizawl also supported the cause for the Chakmas and made all possible arrangements for the creation of the CADC.⁵²

On pressing the demand of a separate political entity, the Chakmas were divided into two groups to press their demand. The first group was led by Kristo Mohan Chakma, who was from outside the geographical area of the PLRC. From 1953, they demanded a separate administration which would include all the Chakma inhabited areas of the Lushai Hills. The other group led by Atul Chandra Chakma from within the PLRC geographical area. Along with the leaders of the PLRC, the Chakmas led by Atul Chandra Chakma demanded a separate entity without any specific boundary. The Chakmas firmly decided and demanded for a separate

⁵¹ *Ibid.* pp.58-59 *Ibid.* p.59

regional council. In the mean time, Atul Chandra Chakma submitted a memorandum to the Government of India on December 1971 for the creation of a separate regional council consisting of all Chakma inhabited areas from Tuipuibari to Parva. ⁵³

The dissolution of the Mizo District Council has been decided when the Lushai Hills was upgraded to a status of Union Territory on 21st January 1972. The then Chief Executive Member of the erstwhile Mizo District Council, Zalawma and his Cabinet continued to govern till the Assembly Election was conducted. At the same time S.J. Das was appointed as the Chief Commissioner of the newly created Union Territory of Mizoram as interim arrangement. S.J. Das took keen interest in the formation of a separate political entity due to the role of Pimputkar. During the Chief Commissionership of S.J. Das, Mizoram was divided into three administrative districts. Consequently, the northern part of Mizo District Council area came to be known as the Aizawl district with Aizawl as its capital and the southern part of Mizo District Council area was known as Lunglei District with its headquarters at Lunglei. The PLRC area was known as Chhimtuipui District after the name of Chhimtuipui river with headquarter at Siaha. The PLRC was further trifurcated into three regional councils, namely, the Pawi Regional Council, the Lakher Regional Council and the Chakma Regional Council on 2nd April, 1972 as per notification No.CCMP/3/72-77 of 1.4.1972 of the Administrator of Mizoram.⁵⁴ The headquarters of the Pawi Regional Council was located at Lawngtlai, Lakher Regional Council at Siaha and the Chakma Regional Council at Borapansury which was later shifted to Kamalanagar (Chawngte C). Administrative arrangement was made in such a way

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⁵³ *Ibid.* pp.59-60

⁵⁴ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2020). Evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (C.A.D.C) and its Constitutional basis. *Research Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol.*11*(1). p.6

that, the existing Members of the Regional Council would automatically be members of their respective Regional Council.

A.C. Ray who was the last Deputy Commissioner of Lushai Hills District also played an important role in the evolution of the CADC since he was the administrator who practically dealt with administration and governance of the Lushai Hills on the eve of its upgradation to Union Territory of Mizoram. He state that the Chakma area could be used as a buffer zone by the government against the insurgency spearheaded by the MNF because Chakmas would not be trustworthy to MNF. The idea of the creation of District Council for the Chakmas was initiated in the Uiphum Tlangdum, the ancestral land of the Tlanglau which had already been overpopulated by the Chakmas and it was felt that there is no harm in creating District Councils for the Chakmas from ancestral land of the Tlanglau chiefs.⁵⁵

The provision for the creation of new Regional Council, increase or diminish of Regional Councils and creation of more than one Regional Council from the existing Regional Council was not provided in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. Only the provision for creation of Autonomous District, increase of the area of Autonomous District as well as increase and diminish of the Autonomous District are incorporated in the Sixth Schedule in Paragraph 1, sub paragraph 3. Steps have been taken up carefully to initiate through constitutional process by an act of Parliament. The North Eastern Reorganisation Act (NEARA) of 1971 was the solution. The NEARA was enacted by Parliament on 30th December, 1971 and became effective with the effect from its publication in the Gazette of India on 6th

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p.6

January, 1972. The NEARA has 9 parts and 10 schedules of its own and touches many parts, schedules and articles of the Constitution of India which concern North Eastern States in particular and mainland India in general. Three states, namely, Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura and two Union Territories, namely Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram from North East India earlier loosely known as Assam were created.⁵⁶

The NEARA, 1971 inserted clause (h) in sub-paragraph 3, Paragraph 1 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India which states 'divide any autonomous region into two or more autonomous regions and define the boundaries thereof' and also inserted amendments in the Sixth Schedule namely, paragraph 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12 and 20.⁵⁷ S.J. Das, Chief Commissioner of Mizoram in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (h), sub paragraph 3 of paragraph 1 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India notified the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council (Reorganisation) Order, 1972 vide No. CCMP/3/72/7077 dated 01.04.1972 that the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council shall be trifurcated into three regional councils, namely, the Chakma Regional Council, the Lakher Regional Council and the Pawi Regional Council with effect from 2nd April, 1972.⁵⁸

Interim government of each council was formed as a measure for governance of the area. The Chief Commissioner of Mizoram had appointed interim Chief Executive Members (CEM) for the three regional councils namely, L. Chinzah for the Pawi Regional Council; Zakhu Hlychho for the Lakher Regional Council and Atul

 ⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.8
 57 *Ibid.* p.8
 58 *Ibid.* p.8

Chandra Chakma for the Chakma Regional Council. The CEM of each Regional Council constitutes its own Cabinet. The Lieutenant Governor as Administrator of Mizoram by public notification ordered the dissolution of the Mizo District Council as per the Mizo District Council (Miscellaneous Provision order, 1972) on 29th April, 1972 and with this order the Mizo District Council ceased to exist. On the same day when the dissolution of the Mizo District Council was promulgated the three Regional Councils was upgraded to full-fledged Autonomous District Council. The Pawi Regional Council became the Pawi Autonomous District Council, Lakher Regional Council to Lakher Autonomous Regional Council and the Chakma Regional Council to the Chakma Autonomous Regional Council. The Chakma Autonomous District Council was the smallest in the geographical area with its headquarters located at Borapansury later changed to Kamalanagar (Chawngte C).⁵⁹

The Pawi-Lakher Autonomous Region (Re-organisation) order, 1972 demarcated the boundaries of the Chakma Autonomous Region as per powers confer in Paragraph 1, sub paragraph 3 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The boundary of the Chakma Autonomous Region as notified under order No.CCMP. 3/72/78-79 of 02/04/1972: ⁶⁰

North: From the confluence of the Chawngte Lui with the Tuichawng Lui down the latter to its confluence with the Saihasei Lui; thence up the Saihasei Lui to its source on the Vaizawlkawn saddle, then in the westerly direction across the Uiphumtlang range to the source of the Sihsang Lui; thence down the Sihsang Lui to its

⁵⁹ Jangkhongam Doungel, Evolution of District Council Autonomy in Mizoram, Op. Cit. Pp. 68-69

⁶⁰ A Chronological Report of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar: Mizoram. (2017). New Delhi: Vimal Enterprises. p.1

confluence with Kawrpui (thega) on the western boundary of the Union Territory of Mizoram.

West: from the last mentioned point, the boundary runs in a southerly direction along the western boundary of the Union Territory of Mizoram.

South: thence the boundary runs in an easterly direction along with Southern boundary of the union Territory of Mizoram up to the point where the first stream of the source of the river Sanghatuilo Lui meets the boundary of the Union Territory of Mizoram.

East: the boundary thence runs northwards along the Sanghatuilo Lui up to its confluence with the Tuichawng Lui near survey point height 405 and thence along the Tuichawng Lui northwards up to its confluence with the Chawngte Lui.

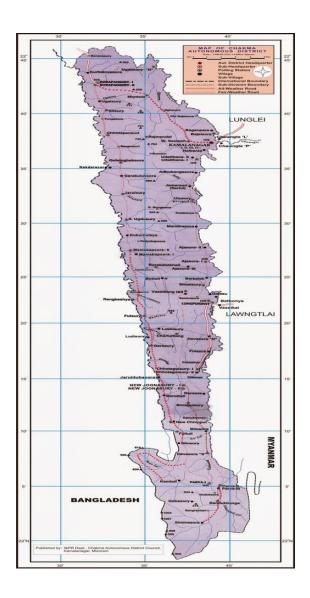


Fig 2.1 Political map of the Chakma Autonomous District Council⁶¹

Emblem and Flag:

The Chakma Autonomous District Council in its 5th term of existence adopted the Emblem and Flag during the summer budget session in 1997.62 The Emblem bears two royal tuskers holding a wheel having eight spokes. The tuskers are standing on two hills and the sun is seen rising in between the hills bounded by a

61 www.chakmaland.blogspot.com retrieved on 15th February 2021

⁶² A Chronological Report of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar: Mizoram. (2017). New Delhi: Vimal Enterprises. p.2

pair of ears of corn. The tusker is a traditional symbol of royalty/authority. It also symbolises health, vigour, strength and energy. The wheel symbolise speed and progress. The eight spokes on the wheel represents the noble eight fold path professed by Gautama Buddha. Hills represent the hilly terrain of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The rising sun symbolise eradication of darkness and ignorance while the ears of corn symbolise abundance of granary⁶³.



Fig 2.2 Chakma Autonomous District Council Emblem⁶⁴

The Flag is a tri-colour which is 3ft x 4.5 ft. The green colour is at the top and white in the middle depicting the emblem and the red at the bottom which are of equal shape and sizes. The green colour at the top signifies progress, prosperity and economic development. The white colour in the middle symbolise peace, purity and truthfulness basing on spirit of the emblem depicted at the centre. The red colour

⁶⁴ https://www.sentinelassam.com/tags/Chakma-National-Council-of-India retrieved on 4th March, 2021

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⁶³ A Chronological Report of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar: Mizoram. (2017). New Delhi: Vimal Enterprises. p.2

symbolise strong determination, enthusiasm, spirit of working for all round development of the council and the nation as a whole.⁶⁵



Fig 2.3 Chakma Autonomous District Council Flag⁶⁶

The CADC came into existence in the initial stage with Atul Chandra Chakma as the first Chief Executive Member (CEM). Only 15 villages were under the jurisdiction of the CADC at that time. The Council began to function with a grants received from the government amounting to 66 lakhs. However the funds increased when Mizoram attained Statehood to 155 lakhs approximately. With the increase in population, new villages were constituted. In 1996, they had 68 villages.⁶⁷ With the passage of time, the CADC grew gradually and acquired more powers and autonomy. At present the CADC has 24 members, 20 elected members and 4 nominated members.

⁶⁵ A Chronological Report of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar: Mizoram. (2017). New Delhi: Vimal Enterprises. p.2

⁶⁶ https://www.images.app.goo.gl/yJNP3 retrieved on 4th March, 2021

⁶⁷ L. B. Chakma. (1997). Chakma Autonomous District Council Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1972-1997), Kamalanagar: Mizoram. Titagarh: M/s Linkman Production. p.19

With an area of 686.25 square kilometres, the CADC shares international boundaries with Bangladesh and Myanmar.⁶⁸ It also shares inter-district boundaries with Lunglei District in the north and Lai Autonomous District Council in the east. As per 2011 census the population of the CADC consist of 45, 307 people. The literacy rate is 46.38% as per 2011 census.⁶⁹ At present 88 villages are residing within the jurisdiction of the CADC.⁷⁰ The headquarters is located at Kamalanagar (Chawngte C) where as the Sub-Headquarters are located at Boarapansury, Longpuighat, Kukurduleya and Parva.⁷¹ Toijong and Thega are the two main rivers that flow across the CADC area.

⁶⁸ https://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 4th January 2020

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Interview with Pronjit Bikash Chakma, Executive Secretary of the Chakma Autonomous District Council on 16th December 2020

⁷¹ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2015). An indepth analysis of the political history of the Chakmas with special reference to the evolution of the Chakmas Autonomous District Council. *Chakma Literary Journal*. Vol.1(1). p.192

CHAPTER 3

ADMINISTRATIVE SET UP CHAKMA AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL

The Chakma Autonomous District Council is the smallest in geographical area among the Autonomous District Council in Mizoram. Its geographic area is 686.25sq.km. ⁷²The Headquarters of the CADC was initially located in Borapansury, later shift to Kamalanagar (Chawngte C). It is often referred to as a miniature state. The organisational set up is akin to that of the Central Government and the State Government with three main administrative organs, namely the Executive, Legislative and the Judiciary. The CADC has 31 functioning departments. The total strength of the staff is 894.⁷³

The working of the three organs of government in the form of legislative, executive and judiciary signify the autonomous powers of the District Council in exercising control over its administered area. Each organ is headed by a separate Administrative Head of Department, such as, Executive Secretary for the Executive branch, Legislative Secretary for the Legislative branch and Court President and Recorder for the Judicial branch. The post of the Executive Secretary is quite similar to the post of Chief Secretary of the State Government and Cabinet Secretary to the Union government. The Legislative Secretary can be compared to the Secretary, Assembly Secretariat of the State Government or Secretary General to the Lok

⁷³ Letter to the Deputy Commissioner, Lawngtlai District, Lawngtlai NO.G.25020/63/2019-PLG(CD)/Planning and Development Department, Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar by Pronit Bikash Chakma, Executive Secretary, Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar.

⁷² https://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 12th December 2020

Sabha/Rajya Sabha of the Union Government. The post of the Court President and Recorder is similar with the Chief Justice of the High Court as well as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

The Chief Executive Member (CEM) is the head of the political executive whose status can be stated as the Chief Minister of the State Government and Prime Minister of the Union government. As the Chief Minister and the Prime minister is assisted by their Cabinet Ministers, the Chief Executive Member is assisted by his Executive Members. The Chairman of the Council is the replica of the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Lok Sabha.

LEGISLATIVE

The District Council Secretariat is the Legislative wing of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. It is the law making institution which frames all the Rules and Regulations. Unlike the Union or the State governments, the District Council Secretariat or the Legislative Department is not fully independent or separated from the Executive because the legislative department is treated like other usual departments of the Council. The appointment, posting, promotion and transfer of officers and staffs of the District Council Secretariat are controlled by the Executive Committee of the District Council. No separate budget is made for the District Council Secretariat or Legislative Department.

The Legislative department has the power of summoning and prorogation of the Chakma Autonomous District Council Session. The salary, allowances and pensions of the member of the District Council lies within their functions. All the legislative matters are taken care by the Legislative Department. Matters relating to powers, privileges and immunities of the Member of the District Council lie within the powers of the legislative department. It has the power of appointment of Advisory Committee. The legislative department is responsible communication/co-operation with the leaders and Whips of various parties and groups representing different parties in the Session. The Secretary to the District Council Secretariat looks after all the legislative works of the District Council Secretariat. All departmental, inter-departmental and official correspondences are circulated by him. The Under Secretary and the Office Superintendent assist him in carrying out the official functions. The list of the Secretary to the District Council, CADC is given in a table below:⁷⁴

Sl.No	Name	Period	
		From	То
1	Dipak Kumar Chakma	12/04/1980	08/03/1982
2	Purnendu Bikash Chakma	09/03/1982	15/09/1985
3	Dayal Chandra Chakma	16/09/1985	29/11/1987
4	Digambar Chakma	30/11/1987	25/03/1988
5	Nitya Ranjan Talukdar	26/03/1988	25/06/2000
6	Kushal Kumar Chakma	26/06/2000	07/05/2003

⁷⁴ Chakma Autonomous District Council, Records and Documents, Legislative Department, 19th December, 2020, Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C'), Mizoram

7	Laxmi Bhusan Chakma	08/05/2003	26/03/2008
8	Nilo Baran Chakma	27/03/2008	25/06/2009
9	Purnendu Bikash Chakma	26/06/2009	05/06/2009
10	Digambar Chakma	06/01/2014	Till date

Fig 3.1 List of Legislative Secretary to the CADC

Rules, Regulations enacted in the Chakma Autonomous District Council 75

- 1) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Agricultural Land) Act' 1982
- 2) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Forest) Act' 1992
- 3) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Group A,B,C & D Posts) Recruitment Rules' 1992
- 4) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Management and Control of Primary Schools) Regulations'1993
- 5) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Profession, Trades, Callings and Employment Taxation) Regulation' 1995
- 6) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Customary Law) Code' 1997
- 7) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Constitution and Conduct of Business etc.) Rules' 2002
- 8) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Land and Revenue) Act'2002

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⁷⁵ Interview with Digambar Chakma, Legislative Department, Chakma Autonomous District Council on 16th December, 2020.

- 9) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Revenue Assessment)
 Regulation'2002
- 10) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (District School Education Board)
 Rules'2002
- 11) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Village Council) Act' 2003
- 12) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Salaries and Allowances of Chief Executive Member and Executive Members) Rules' 2003
- 13) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Salaries and Allowances of Chairman and Deputy Chairman) Rules'2003
- 14) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Salaries, Allowances and Pension of Members) Rules'2003
- 15) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Constitution and Conduct of Business etc) (Amendment) Rules'2003
- 16) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Right to Information) Rules' 2006
- 17) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Election to Village Councils)
 Rules'2007
- 18) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Constitution and Conduct of Business etc.) (Amendment) Rules'2007
- 19) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Constitution and Conduct of Business etc.) (Amendment) Rules' 2008

- 20) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Allocation of Business) Rules' 2009
- 21) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Transaction of Business)
 Rules'2009
- 22) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Constitution and Conduct of Business etc.) (Amendment) Rules'2011
- 23) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Salaries and Allowances of CEM/EM/Advisor to CEM/Chairman/ Dy. Chairman/Vice Chairman Planning/Opposition Leader/Member and Pension of Member) (Amendment) Rules'2012
- 24) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Constitution and Conduct of Business etc.) (Amendment) Rules'2012
- 25) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Motor Vehicle Taxation)
 Regulation'2014
- 26) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Trading) Regulations' 2016

Apart from the rules and regulations enforced in the CADC, there are quite a certain number of rules passed by the Council which are yet to be approved by the Governor. The Rules which are to be approved by the Governor are as follows:⁷⁶

1) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Administration of Justice)
Rules'2016

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⁷⁶ Interview with Digambar Chakma, Legislative Department, Chakma Autonomous District Council on 16th December, 2020.

- 2) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Money Landing & Control)
 Regulations'2016
- 3) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Employees Pension Fund)
 Rules'2016
- 4) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Group A,B,C & D Posts) Recruitment Rules'2016
- 5) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Village Council) (Amendment)
 Rules'2016
- 6) The Chakma Autonomous District Council Service Rules, 2016 (Group A & B) (Gazetted Posts)
- 7) The Chakma Autonomous District Council Service Rules'2016 (Group B) (Non-Gazetted and C, D Posts)
- 8) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Forest) (Amendment) Bill'2020
- 9) The Chakma Autonomous District Council Secretariat (Recruitment and Condition of Services) Bill'2020
- 10) The Chakma Autonomous District Council Technical Service (Group A & B Posts Recruitment) Bill'2020
- 11) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Salaries and Allowances of Chairman and Deputy Chairman) (Second Amendment) Bill'2020

12) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Salaries and Allowances of Chief Executive Member and Executive Member) (Second Amendment) Bill'2020

13) The Chakma Autonomous District Council (Salaries, Allowances and pension of Member) (Third Amendment) Bill'2020

EXECUTIVE

The Executive functions of the CADC are vested in the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is headed by the Chief Executive Member (CEM) but the administrative responsibility of the Executive Committee lies with the Executive Secretary who is appointed by the CEM. 77 Certain departments are created with the approval of the Governor in accordance with the provision laid down in paragraph 6, sub-paragraph 2, of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.⁷⁸ The Executive Committee is collectively responsible for all executive orders issued in the name of the District Council.

The first Executive Committee of the Chakma Regional Council later Chakma Autonomous District Council was constituted by the Administrator of Mizoram with three members, namely the Chief Executive Member and two Executive Members on 2nd April, 1972. The Administrator also appointed Chairman and one Member of Regional Council (MRC). Thus, the Chakma Regional Council

⁷⁷ Jangkhongam Doungel, (2015). An indepth analysis of the political history of the Chakmas with special reference to the evolution of the Chakmas Autonomous District Council. Chakma Literary *Journal*. Vol.1(1). p.196

78 Vijay Hansaria. (2019). Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. Gurgaon: LexisNaxis. p.82

originally composed of 6 members in the legislature. ⁷⁹ Dayal Chandra Chakma

served as the first Executive Secretary. The following were the first members of the

CADC:

1) Atul Chandra Chakma Chief Executive Member

2) Mayurdhwaj Chakma Chairman

3) Ananda Kumar Chakma **Executive Member**

4) Guno Dhar Chakma **Executive Member**

5) Sattya Chakma **MDC**

6) V. Satliana **MDC**

In the first election to the CADC held on 26th December, 1972, eight members were elected as Member of the District Council (MDC). The Executive Committee of the CADC was constituted with only three members, the CEM and two Executive Members (EM). Nilo Moni Chakma was the CEM and Chitra Mohan Chakma was the Chairman of the Council. The Administrator nominated Bhrigu Moni Chakma as the MDC of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The Government formed by Nilo Muni Chakma was ousted by passing a vote of no confidence. A new Executive Body was formed and Sneha Kumar Chakma was sworn in as CEM from 27th December, 1973 till 1st May, 1976. Nilo Muni Chakma was appointed as Chairman from 12th December, 1975 till 23rd January, 1978. No-

⁷⁹ H. C. Thanhranga. (2007). *District Councils in the Mizo Hills (updated)*. Aizawl: Lengchhawn Press. pp. 109-110

Confidence motion was moved against Sneha Kumar Chakma and he was removed from his office. Laichoka Tongchangya formed an Executive Body after the removal of Sneha Kumar Chakma and sworn in as CEM. The Government of Mizoram did not approved the Executive Body formed by Laichoka Tongchangya and dissolved the Government. ⁸⁰In 1976, the Government created a separate Civil Sub-Division named Chawngte Civil Sub-division for the whole CADC and some other villages which do not fall under the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. ⁸¹ Since the Government of Mizoram dissolved the Executive Body formed by Laichoka Tongchangya, the SDO (Civil) of Chawngte carried out the administration work on behalf of the Administrator (Lt. Governor of Mizoram) till the end of the first term of CADC. ⁸²

The Second General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council was held on 23rd January, 1978. Jalak Kumar Tongchangya was nominated as MDC of the CADC by the Administrator. The Chairman of the Second term Chakma Autonomous District Council was Ganga Chakma and Nilo Moni Chakma as the CEM with four EMs. Bijita Nanda Dewan was appointed as Chairman on 26th July, 1980 till the end of the second term due to the demise of the incumbent Chairman, Ganga Chakma on 9th November, 1979.

The Third General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council was held in two phases on 7th and 14th December, 1983. The birth of Congress in 1980 had changed the election scenario. It was the first time in CADC election was

⁸⁰ F. Lianchhinga. (1996). Chakma Chanchin. Aizawl: Tribal Research Institute. pp.61-62

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⁸¹ L. B. Chakma. (1997). *Chakma Autonomous District Council Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1972-1997)*, *Kamalanagar: Mizoram*. Titagarh: M/s Linkman Production. p.82

⁸² F. Lianchhinga, Chakma Chanchin. *Op.Cit.*, p.62

conducted on party basis. The Congress formed the government by winning 9 seats out of 10 seats. Rumani Chakma was sworn in as the CEM. During this term, there was a frequent change in the CEM. Pulin Bayan Chakma succeeded Rumani Chakma. Again Pulin Bayan Chakma was replaced by Nutan Kumar Chakma. This council has two EMs. Like the CEM, there was a continuous change in the Chairman of the Council. Nutan Kumar Chakma, Punya Chakma and Doyal Dhan Chama held the post of Chairman in succession during this term. Doyal Dhan Chakma was nominated by the Administrator of Mizoram as a MDC of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.83

The fourth General Election to the CADC was held on 3rd January 1988. The Congress once again formed the Government by winning 10 seats out of 11 seats. The Executive Body was headed by Pulin Bayan Chakma (CEM) along with other two Executive Members. Punya Chakma was sworn in as the Chairman and Binoy Biswa Chakma as Deputy Chairman. During this term, the Government created additional post called the post of Vice-Chairman, Planning and Development. Adi Kanta Tongchangya opted for the newly created post and in place of him Pranab Kumar Chakma was appointed as the EM. Samrat Sur Chakma was appointed in the additional post of the Executive Member. Hiran Kumar Chakma and V.L Piangenga were nominated as MDC of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.⁸⁴

The fifth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council was held on 12th January 1993. For the third time, the Congress again came into power and formed the government. The Executive Body consist of Pulin Bayan Chakma as

⁸³ L. B. Chakma. (1997). *Op.Cit.*, pp.84-85
 ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* pp.86-87

the CEM and five Executive Members. Adi Kanta Tongchangya was the Chairman of the Council. Nutan Kumar Chakma held the post of Vice-Chairman, Planning and Development. The resignation of Pulin Bayan Chakma from the CEM and Adi Kanta Tongchangya from the Chairman reshuffled the Executive Body. A new Executive Body was formed in 11th July, 1994. Rasik Mohan Chakma was sworn in as Chairman and Adi Kanta Tongchangya as the CEM of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.⁸⁵

The Sixth General election of the CADC was held on 13th January 1998. The Congress again formed the government by winning 10 seats out of 13 elected seats. The newly formed political party i.e Bharatya Janata Party (BJP) could manage to secure a single representation. The Executive Body was constituted with Pulin Bayan Chakma as the CEM and six EM. Adi Kanta Tongchangya was the Chairman of the Council. Kin Chandra Chakma, Laluapthanga, Aroti Chakma and Nutan Kumar Chakma were nominated by the Governor as MDCs of the CADC. During this term, the Congress was back by dissidents. The dissidents group led by Rasik Mohan Chakma dethroned Pulin Bayan Chakma by passing a vote of no-confidence against the Congress government.7 Congress MDCs joined the newly established political party i.e Mizo National Front (MNF). After passing floor test, Rasik Mohan Chakma formed the MNF government and remained in power from 2000 till the end of the term.

The Seventh General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council was held on 15th February, 2003. The independent candidates extend their support to

85 *Ibid.* p.88

MNF and a coalition government was formed by the MNF and independent candidates. The Executive Body was constituted with Rasik Mohan Chakma as the CEM with three Executive Members. Gokul Chandra Chakma was the Chairman of the Council. Dayal Chandra Dewan, V.Kapliannawla, Nutan Kumar Chakma and Champa Chakma were nominated as MDCs by the Governor. Nutan Kumar Chakma was assassinated towards the end of the term, in place of him, Daya Kumar Chakma was inducted as nominated member (MDC) till the remaining term. ⁸⁶

The Eight General Election to the CADC was held on 5th March, 2008. The Congress came back in power by winning 10 seats and formed the government. The Executive Body was constituted with Kali Kumar Tongchangya as the CEM with other five EMs. Sushil Kumar Chakma was the Chairman of the Council. Buban Kumar Chakma was the Vice-Chairman, Planning and Development. Belpudi Chakma, C.Bahula, Anup Kumar Chakam and Purna Muni Chakma were nominated by the Governor to the Chakma Autonomous District Council as MDCs. The Ninth General Election to the CADC was held on 17th April, 2013. The Congress once again came out with a marvellous victory by winning 17 seats out of 22 seats. Dr. BD Chakma was sworn in as the CEM, later resigned as he was elected from Tuichawng Constituency as MLA in the general election to Legislative Assembly of Mizoram. Kali Kumar Tongchangya succeeded him. During this term, the Executive Body consisted of nine EMs. Dayal Chandra Chakma was the Chairman of the Council. Nihar Mala Chakma, Sneha Maya Chakma, Dhak Moni Tongchangya and

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⁸⁶ A Chronological Report of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar: Mizoram. (2017). New Delhi: Vimal Enterprises. pp.5-6

Lalchangliana were nominated MDCs. ⁸⁷ The Tenth General Election to the CADC was held on 20th April, 2018. Shanti Jiban Chakma was sworn in as the CEM and Budhalila Chakma was the Chairman of the Council. It was a coalition government, formed by two ideologically opposite parties, namely, Bharatya Janata Party (BJP) and the Indian National Congress (INC). In fact, it was the first coalition government, formed by BJP and INC all over India but the government was short-lived. With the change of Government in the Council, Rasik Mohan Chakma of MNF was inducted as the CEM and H. Amaresh Chakma was appointed as the Chairman of the Council. The executive body consisted of eight Executive Members. ⁸⁸

The list of the CEM and Chairman of the CADC is given in a table below:⁸⁹

List of the Chief Executive Member of the Chakma Autonomous District Council:

Sl.No	Name	Incumbency Period	
		From	То
1	Atul Chandra Chakma	02/04/1972	22/01/1973
2	Nilo Muni Chakma	23/07/1973	16/12/1973
3	Sneha Kumar Chakma	17/12/1973	01/05/1976

87 *Ibid* nn 7-8

89 Ibid.

⁸⁸ Interview with Rasik Mohan Chakma, CEM of the Chakma Autonomous District Council on 20th October 2020

4	Nilo Muni Chakma	15/03/1978	23/01/1983
5	Rumani Chakma	27/01/1983	20/04/1983
6	Pulin Bayan Chakma	21/04/1983	02/01/1987
7	Nutan Kumar Chakma	03/01/1987	23/01/1988
8	Pulin Bayan Chakma	29/01/1988	23/01/1993
9	Pulin Bayan Chakma	24/01/1993	19/07/1994
10	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	20/07/1994	21/01/1998
11	Pulin Bayan Chakma	22/01/1998	12/12/1999
12	Rasik Mohan Chakma	14/12/1999	18/02/2003
13	Rasik Mohan Chakma	26/02/2003	20/02/2008
14	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	11/03/2008	23/04/2013
15	Dr. Buddha Dhan Chakma	25/04/2013	07/01/2014
16	Buddha Lila Chakma	20/01/2014	25/09/2015
17	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	29/09/2015	03/07/2017
18	Amit Kumar Chakma	06/11/2017	21/03/2018
19	Shanti Jiban Chakma	02/05/2018	15/01/2019
20	Rasik Mohan Chakma	18/01/2019	Till date

Fig 3.2 Chief Executive of the Chakma Autonomous District Council

List of the Chairman of the Chakma Autonomous District Council:90

Sl.No	Name	Incumbency Period	
		From	То
1	Mayurdhawj Chakma	15/04/1972	22/01/1973
2	Chitro Mohan Chakma	23/01/1973	18/04/1975
3	Nilo Muni Chakma	12/05/1975	23/01/1978
4	Gonga Chakma	24/01/1978	09/11/1979
5	Bizita Nanda Dewan	26/07/1980	23/01/1983
6	Nutan Kumar Chakma	24/01/1983	21/02/1985
7	Punya Chakma	28/03/1985	31/12/1986
8	Dayal Dhan Chakma	21/04/1987	23/01/1988
9	Punya Chakma	28/03/1988	20/01/1993
10	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	21/01/1993	16/06/1994
11	Rasik Mohan Chakma	20/06/1994	19/01/1998
12	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	20/01/1998	16/11/2001
13	Arati Chakma	25/09/2002	18/02/2003

90 Ibid.

14	Gokul Chandra Chakma	25/02/2003	19/02/2008
15	Sushil Kumar Chakma	11/03/2008	22/04/2013
16	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	23/04/2014	21/09/2015
17	Dayal Chandra Chakma	20/10/2015	19/04/2018
18	Buddhalila Chakma	04/05/2018	14/01/2019
19	H. Amaresh Chakma	31/01/2019	Till date

Fig 3.3 List of the Chairman of the Chakma Autonomous District Council

Under the Secretary and Departmental heads, the CADC runs its administration through various departments and in all there are 31 departments. As per the Chakma Autonomous District Council (Allocation of Business) Rules, 2003, there shall be a senior/selection grade officer for each department who shall be administrative head of that department. The functions perform by various departments as per the Chakma Autonomous District Council (Allocation of Business) Rules, 2003 are as follows:

General Administration and Control Department

The General Administration and Control Department is the main controlling agency of administration in the Chakma Autonomous District Council. It is responsible for the creation of sub-headquarters, ceremonial functions like celebration of Republic Day and Independence Day and allotment of residential accommodation. It prepares the administration report, census and holidays annually. It is responsible for the maintenance of the rest house, civil supply and electricity,

visit of VVIPs and other miscellaneous matters. All matters concerning to the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India are vested in the responsibilities of the department. It is responsible for recruitment, appointment, promotion, transfers and posting, leave, suspension, disciplinary action reinstatement of all categories of employees, deputation, employment return and statistic of employee under the CADC. It maintains personal service books, incumbency register of all categories of employees except teaching staff. The department also takes care of all pensioner matters, authorization of pension, commutation, maintenance and control of pension fund accounts, rules relating to pensioner matters. It also maintains law and order, security arrangements and executive Committee meetings. Election process and procedure is taken care by the department too. The total strength of staff in the General Administration Department is 104 including the staff in Rest House at different place, Primary Health Centre and Tourist Lodge. 91

Finance Department

The Finance Department takes control of all the financial powers and delegation thereof. The rules relating to pay, allowances and travelling allowances of the officials like the CEM and other EMs as well as the employees under the District Council are taken care by the department. The rules relating to grant-in-aid, management of fund and other financial irregularities, audit, rules and procedures regarding GPF/CPF/EPF, insurance schemes, loans and all budgetary matters including control of expenditure are taken care by the department. Another important

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⁹¹ The Chakma Autonomous District Council(allocation of Business) Rules, 2009 published by The Mizoram Gazette on 24.04.2010., No. C. 31025/3/2009/DCA/C, Vol – XXXIX, Issue No. 123. p.3

function of the department is the implementation of the Pay Committee The department also interprets recommendation. the fundamental rules, supplementary rules and civil service regulation having financial implications. ⁹² The total strength of the staff is 25. The total revised estimate budget of the year 2020-21 for the functioning of the department is 33.80 lakhs. 93

Land Revenue and Settlement Department

All matters regarding land revenue and land settlement are looked after by the department. The department also keeps records of the land. All land acts which are enforcing in the Chakma Autonomous District Council Act are implemented by the department. It also deals with license of trade, video and cable. The departments took control of all the compensation on account of damage of crops and private properties under the jurisdiction of the department.⁹⁴ The number of staff engage in the department is 14. The estimate budget of the financial year 2020-2021 is 23.30 lakhs.95

Planning and Development Department

The department prepares annual plan as well as five year plan for the administrative functioning of the CADC. It formulates the development plans and is responsible for publicising to the public. The Plan Schemes, enforced in the Council are implemented by the department and are responsible for evaluation. 96

⁹² *Ibid.* p 2

http://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 15th January 2021

⁹⁴ The Chakma Autonomous District Council (allocation of Business) Rules, 2009 published by The Mizoram Gazette on 24.04.2010., No. C. 31025/3/2009/DCA/C, Vol – XXXIX, Issue No. 123. p.6 ⁹⁵ *Ibid*. p.6

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p.4

estimate budget of the financial year 2020-21 is 106.66 lakhs. The department has 14 staff.⁹⁷

Public Works Department

Public Works Department constructs and maintains roads, bridges and buildings that falls under the jurisdiction of the CADC. The Department is also responsible for the construction of links roads that connects villages to one another. ⁹⁸The department has undertaken the construction of roads that connect Longpuighat to Kukurdhuleya, Secretariat building and Session Hall. The estimate budget of the year 2020-2021 is 203.72 lakhs. The total strength of staff under the department is 50.⁹⁹

Local Administration Department

The department is responsible for the development of urban areas. Improvement and development of town, development of markets, administration of town, town planning and naming of streets in town and sanitation falls under the power and jurisdiction of the department. Construction of steps, culverts and retaining walls in the town area is another function of the department. Establishment of new villages and all matters relating to village councils are taken care by the department. The total budget estimate of the year 2020-2021 is 552.83 lakhs.

Environment and Forest Department

⁹⁷ http://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 15th January 2021

⁹⁸ The Chakma Autonomous District Council (allocation of Business) Rules, 2009 published by The Mizoram Gazette on 24.04.2010., No. C. 31025/3/2009/DCA/C, Vol – XXXIX, Issue No. 123. p.6 ⁹⁹ http://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

¹⁰⁰ The Chakma Autonomous District Council (allocation of Business) Rules, 2009, *Op. Cit.*, p.5 ¹⁰¹ *Op. Cit.*

All the Forest Acts and Rules which bind the jurisdiction of the CADC are taken up the department. The department is mainly concerned with the protection, conservation and development of the forest area as well as the wildlife. The department initiates plantation scheme, and also take measures to prevent and control forest fire. Stone Quarry in the forest area is maintained by the department. Conservation of soil for afforestation, forest reserve and re-clamation of forest falls under the jurisdiction of the department. The total strength of the department staff is 98. The estimate budget of the year 2020-2021 is 570.58 lakhs.¹⁰²

Legislative Department

The department performs all the legislative functions in the CADC. Summoning and prorogation of the CADC session, planning and co-ordination of Legislative and other official business in the Session are performed by the department. It deals with the matters relating to powers, salary, allowances and pension, privileges and immunities of the MDC. The department communicates with leaders and whips of different political parties and political groups for their participation in session of the District Council. The appointment of Advisory Committees is done by the department. The total strength of the staff is 35. The demand budget amount for the year 2020-2021 is 1266.93 lakhs.¹⁰³

Law and Judicial Department

¹⁰² The Chakma Autonomous District Council (allocation of Business) Rules, 2009 published by The Mizoram Gazette on 24.04.2010., No. C. 31025/3/2009/DCA/C, Vol – XXXIX, Issue No. 123. p.4 http://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

The law and judicial department conducts trial cases concerning customary law, civil and criminal cases. It maintains the records of the cases registered within their territorial jurisdiction. It issues certificates like heirship, affidavits, succession, tribe, adoption, marriage and residential. Customary law books are being disbursed by the department. Its foremost function is to give justice to the people. It awards punishment to those who after trial are found guilty of violating the norms of the Chakma Customs or the Chakma Customary Law or any other law as may be applicable. The department has a total of 16 staff. 104

Agriculture Department

The functions perform by the department includes construction and maintenance of agriculture link roads and distribution of planting materials and disbursement of certified seeds. Procurement and distribution of machines like water pumping machineries and other agricultural implements like tractor, power tiller etc at subsidized rate and distribution of manures and fertilizers in subsiding rate are being done by the department. The total estimated budget for the year 2020-2021 is 182.85 lakhs. 105

Art and Culture Department

The Art and Culture Department has been functioning in the CADC since 1986-87. It is responsible for the construction and maintenance of District Library, Auditorium and Museum. It gives financial assistance for publication. The department is entitled to receive grant-in-aid for promotion of art and culture.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Jagat Shanta Sharma, Judicial Officer, District Council Court on 17th December 2020 ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

Making of calendars, diaries every year and also printing of a Chakma English Dictionary. It gives assistance to cultural organisation and engaged in casual cultural artist and remuneration. 106 The department has a staff of 38 in number. The present budget demand for the year 2020-2021 is 233.14 lakhs. 107

Primary School Education Department

The department deals with the matters relating to education at Primary School level. So far 101 Primary Schools have been established and functioning in the CADC area. The department consists of 13 staff and 92 teachers. A sum of Rs.2054.59 lakhs is demanded for the financial year of 2020-2021. At present, 101 Primary Schools are run in different villages within the jurisdiction of the CADC. 108

Middle School Education Department

Matters relating to education at Middle School level are being dealt by the department. Within the jurisdiction of the CADC, 66 middle Schools are functioning presently. 109

District School Education Board

The District School Education Board was constituted under Chapter –II (3) of the Chakma Autonomous District Council (Management and Control of Primary Schools) Regulation, 1993 as 'The District Primary School Education Board'. It was upgraded to District School Education Board in a regulation passed in the Monsoon

^{106 ,} L. B. Chakma. (1997). Chakma Autonomous District Council Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1972-

^{1997),} Kamalanagar: Mizoram. Titagarh: M/s Linkman Production. p.93

http:// www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*. ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*.

Session of the Fifth CADC held on 24th August, 1995. 110 As per the Chakma Autonomous District Council (District School Education Board) Rules, 2002, the Board is responsible for prescription course of instruction including teaching of practical works. It conducts and supervises the examination based on prescribed course. It also prescribes, prepares, publishes and selects text books and supplementary books. It also advises the District Council on physical, moral and social welfare of students in recognised institutions and prescribes conditions for their residence and discipline. 111 Collect fees and fines and award scholarship and prizes to the students. The recognition and withdrawal of recognition to Pre-Primary, Primary and Middle School in the CADC is done by the department. It also lays down the conditions for recognition of Schools, Pre-Primary candidates for various school courses or such other courses. It receives grants from District Council and Government and donations from private individuals and other Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), semi-government bodies or Central Government for some specific purpose and administers it.¹¹² 14 staffs are working under the department and the total estimate budget for the functioning of the department in the year 2020-2021 is 136.59 lakhs. 113

Information and Public Relations Department

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¹¹⁰ L. B. Chakma. (1997). Op. Cit., p.98

¹¹¹ The Chakma Autonomous District Council (District School Education Board) Rules, 2002. Published by The Mizoram Gazatte on 25th August, 2003. No. C. 31030/5/97-DCA. Vol – XXXII. Issue No. 231, p.7

¹¹² *Ibid.* p.7

http://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

The department of Information and Public Relation starts functioning since in 1989-90 in order to bring the Chakmas closer to mainstream national life through the use of modern communicational technologies like newspaper, pamphlet, photo exhibition, radio, television, field publicity and through cultural exchange. 114 The department is responsible for publishing newspaper and periodicals, press release, control of press, advertisement, calendar etc. and is the sole authority in public relations and mass communication. The department is headed by Prabin Chakma as Information and Public Relation Officer and 5 staffs are working along with him. A sum of Rs.60.75 lakhs is estimated budget for the year 2020-2021. 115

Fisheries Department

The Fisheries department has been handed over to the CADC in 1994-95. 116 Construction of fishery dams, fish seeds, fish food, medicines for fish rearing and giving a grand-in-aid to individual fish farmers for the development of pond are the main functions performed by the department. The department has 13 staff and the budget estimate for the year 2020-2021 is 65.20 lakhs. 117

Industry Department

The department of industry develops handloom and handicraft. It promotes village industries and gives them assistance. Procurement of tools and implements for distribution to artisans in the form of grant-in-aid is taken care by the department. Commercialisation and bottling of Duichuani mineral water project and Handloom

¹¹⁴ L. B. Chakma. (1997). Chakma Autonomous District Council Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1972-1997), Kamalanagar: Mizoram. Titagarh: M/s Linkman Production. p.96

https://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

¹¹⁶ L. B. Chakma. (1997). *Op. Cit.*, p.90

https://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

Cluster Development Project was taken up by the department in the financial year 2017-2018. The department has a total strength of 16 staffs. The estimate budget for the year 2020-2021 is 119.72 lakhs. ¹¹⁸

Social Welfare Department

The social welfare department is one of the subjects of the CADC since September 1986. At initial stage, no staffs were entrusted with the job, so they could not function properly. The department is engaged in old-age pension scheme, it identifies and selects the beneficiaries and disburse the pension. It gives assistance to old-aged people, physically handicapped people and voluntary organisations. It establishes Anganwadi centres in all villages of CADC area. Under the department, different schemes like Indira Gandhi National Old Aged Pension Scheme, Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme and Indira Gandhi National Disability Pension Scheme were taken up by the department in the year 2017-2018. The estimate budget for the financial year 2020-2021 is 99.31 lakhs. 8 staffs are working under the department.

Road and Transport Department

The department maintains the vehicles of the CADC. It is responsible for allotment of CADC vehicles and scooters. It also levied tax on motor vehicles. The

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¹¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹¹⁹ L. B. Chakma. (1997). *Op. Cit.*, p.96

¹²⁰ https://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

department has 69 staffs. The budget estimate for the year 2020-2021 is 324.46 lakhs.¹²¹

Sports and Youth Services Department

The department of Sports and Youth Services takes up all schemes for promotion of Sports and Youths. It purchases and distributes sporting materials. It is responsible for promotion of Games and Sports. The department has 6 staff and the total estimate budget for the year 2020-2021 is 93.34 lakhs.¹²²

Rural Development Department

The department focuses upon the communication of rural areas. Construction of community Hall and rural housing are the main functions of the department. The department has a total of 19 staffs. The total estimate budget of the year 2020-2021 is 145.38 lakhs.

Water Ways Department

The department is one of the most important departments in the CADC. Since the area is surrounded by Tuichawng and Thega rivers, most of the people depend on water ways transport. The department has been delegated to the CADC in 1994-95. Management of ferry ghats, and inland water ways are controlled by the department. The department also collects tax on speed boats and boats. The

¹²¹ *Ibid*.

¹²² Ibid

¹²³ L. B. Chakma. (1997). *Op. Cit.*, p.91

department has a total of 9 employees and the estimate budget for the year 2020-2021 is 66.29 lakhs. 124

Land Revenue (Taxation) Department

The Land Revenue (Taxation) department levies professional tax. The main office is located in Kamalanagar and sub-office at Borapansury. The number of employess working under the department is 8. The budget estimate for the year 2020-2021 is 39.80 lakhs. 125

Public Health Engineering Department

The department focuses upon the distribution of domestic water to every household. Development of spring sources of water, construction of public latrine and urinal in rural areas and development of rural sanitation are the main functions of the department. The number of employees working under the department is 15. A sum of Rs. 94.62 lakhs has been estimated for the budget of the year 2020-2021. 126

Adult Education Department

The department is mainly concerned with looking after the functioning of Adult Education. According to 2011census, the literacy rate of the CADC is 46% against the state average of 92%. A total literacy drive was taken up by the department in 2016 to fight illiteracy within the jurisdiction of CADC. In 2016, with the help of animators, 15 villages were identified for conducting literacy drive. A prescribe syllabus was studied by the mass people through the animators. The

¹²⁴ https://www.cadc.gov.in retrieved on 16th January 2021

¹²⁵ *Ibid*. ¹²⁶ *Ibid*.

department is run by 5 employees. A sum of 62.79 lakhs is the estimate budget for the year 2020-2021. 127

Co-operation Department

The department performs registration, inspection, audit and dissolution of cooperative societies in accordance with the provision of Mizoram Co-operative Societies Act and Rules. The budget estimate for the year 2020-2021 is 59.67 lakhs. A total number of 6 employees are working under the department. 128

Soil Conservation Department

The department implements schemes for development of terrace farming and constructs village grassing ground. It promotes plantation subsidiary schemes. The department has a total of 7 staffs. The estimate budget of the year 2020-2021 is 95.67 lakhs.¹²⁹

Sericulture Department

The department engages in cocoon rearing. Grant-in-aids were distributed to the private rearers under the promotion scheme through the department. The department is in-charge of marketing and selling of cocoon to the state government. The department consists of 7 staffs headed by Sericulture Extension Officer. The estimate budget of the year 2020-2021 is 79.22 lakhs.¹³⁰

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¹²⁷ *Ibid*.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*

¹²⁹ *Ibid*.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Department

The department gives financial assistance in the form of subsidy for cattle development, piggery and poultry and dispensary. A total amount of 139.21 lakhs has been estimated for the budget of 2020-2021.

Disaster Management, Relief and Rehabilitation Department

The department is responsible for the relief and rehabilitation of unprecedented natural and man-made calamities within the jurisdiction of the CADC. A total amount of 61.36 lakhs has been estimated for the budget year 2020-2021.¹³¹

Horticulture Department

The department promotes cultivation of flower crops, spices crops and plantation crops such as Aricanut and Coconut. Procurement and distribution of horticulture tools and implements is done by the department. It also takes hold of micro irrigations, pest control and management. The estimate budget of the year 2020-2021 is 88.79 lakhs.¹³²

JUDICIARY

Judiciary is an important organ in the functioning of the District Council. The Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, paragraph 4, sub-paragraph 4 enshrines the provision for creation of District Council Court. The judiciary is a three tier institution viz (a) The Village Council Courts (VCC), the lowest Court, (b) The

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¹³¹ *Ibid*.

¹³² Ibid.

Subordinate District Council Courts (SDCC), the intermediate Court and (c) the District Council Court (DCC) (appellate Court). 133 As per the provision of the Pawi-Lakher Autonomous Region (Administration of Justice) Rules, 1954, The Chakma Autonomous District Council Court (C.A.D.C. Court) has been established in 1972.

The VCC and the SDCC hear and try original cases under their respective jurisdiction. The DCC deals only with the appeal cases against the judgements passed by the lower courts i.e., the VCC and the SDCC. A VCC has 3 to 11 members. The members of the Village Council are also members of the VCC. The VCC mostly deals with cases of civil and petty natures. However, a VCC shall try suits and cases in which the parties belong to a Schedule tribe or tribes' resident within its jurisdiction. The VCCs mainly adjudicates on the basis of customary laws and miscellaneous tribal laws. 134 The following Sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) have been delegated to the VCCs:

Section 160 IPC **Affray**

Section 290 IPC **Public Nuisance**

Section 352 IPC Assault

Section 339 IPC Wrongful restraint of any person

Section 379 IPC Theft from outside dwelling house

Section 426 IPC Mischief

¹³³ L. B. Chakma. (1997). Chakma Autonomous District Council Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1972-1997), Kamalanagar: Mizoram. Titagarh: M/s Linkman Production. p.101 ¹³⁴ *Ibid.* pp.101-102

Section 447 IPC Criminal trespass

Section 323 IPC Voluntary causing hurt

Section 510 IPC Appearance in a state of intoxication in any public

place

Subordinate District Council Court hears appeals on the decisions or orders of VCC. The Appeal must be made within sixty days from the date of issue of order or decision. The SDCC has also the original jurisdiction in the cases mentioned under VCC when both the parties do not reside within the jurisdiction of the same Village Council. Appeal against the decision or order of a SDCC is referred within sixty days from the date of issue of an order or decision. The power of revision of a decision or order of a SDCC lies with the DCC.

The District Council Court is the Court of Appeal in respect of all suits and cases tried by the lower courts of the District Council. The DCC may order for record of any proceedings of the lower courts. It may also order for examination of records, reduce, enhance or cancel any sentence passed by the lower courts and remand cases for trial. An appeal against the order or sentence passed by the DCC lies with the Gauhati High Court, within ninety days from the date on which such an order or decision was passed. The Court President and Recorder and other Judicial Officers of DCC are designated as Magistrate First Class and can try cases of Customary, Civil and Criminal nature as triable by the Magistrate of First Class as provided under Sub-Clause (2) of Section 29 of Cr.P.C, 1973.

The DCC is having the power to try all customary, civil and criminal cases triable by Magistrate of First Class including the following sections of IPC: 129, 133, 135, to 138, 140 to 145, 152, 153(B5), 154 to 159, 161 to 171 (in respect of public servant removable by District Council), 193 (part), 201 (part), 214 (part), 215, 216(part), 217, 218, 221(part), 223, 225, 225(part), 225A, 225D, 229, 233, 235, 237, 241, 242, 246, 248, 252, 254, 261, 263 to 267, 269 to 280, 282 to 289, 291 to 298, 304A, 306(part), 309, 312(part), 318, 324, 332, 334 to 338, 385, 403, 404(part), 406, 411, 414 to 419, 421 to 425, 427, 428, 434, 448, 451(part), 453, 454(part), 456, 461, 462, 465, 468(part), 482 to 489E, 491, 498, 500 to 502, 504, 505(part), 508 and 509. It may also try cases triable by a Session Court under paragraph 5(1) of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, if the Governor empowers it. In case of appeal against the judgement of a Judicial Officer of the DCC, the Court President and Recorder may review such a trial or constitute a Bench of two or more Judicial Officers to decide on such an appeal as per the Administration of Justice Rules 2016. In case of division of opinion, the Court President and Recorder may support either of the opinion of the Bench member and which shall prevail. An appeal against the judgement of the District Council Court can be placed only at the Guwahati High Court.

CHAPTER 4

ELECTORAL POLITICS OF THE CHAKMA AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL

The political consciousness of the Chakmas grew after the formation of the CADC. It was the relentless service and a priceless dedication of a few Chakmas that the present ADC could evolve. Not even a single political party exist in the region till 1980s. The Indian National Congress emerged as the first political party. The Indian National Congress (INC) dominated the political scenario for many decades. The lonesome regional party called the Chakma Jatiya Parishad (CJP) was established with the aim to organise Chakma through regional party. 135 The CJP could not survive in the CADC due to lack of funds for its strong establishment. Among the leaders of the Chakmas, they felt the need of establishing a new political party which can compete with the INC. The eminent INC leader Nilo Muni Chakma resigned from the INC and established the Bharatya Janata Party (BJP) in 1993. The role of BJP could not be seen much in the political scenario. Later, in 1999 the Mizo National Front (MNF) party came into existence and started functioning in the jurisdiction of the CADC. The MNF after its establishment plays a vital role in the region and could secure majority in the election to the District Council. With the second wave of Modi's Government into the scene of Indian politics, the BJP made

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¹³⁵ Interview with Ramani Chakma, former Vice President of CJP on 18th December 2020 at Kamalanagar.

its entry in Mizoram and revive the BJP party in the Chakma District. Presently, the BJP is playing active role in the CADC with a great hope that they could form government in the next general election.

The electoral politics of the CADC is very much affected by the electoral politics of the State. The Congress flourished for more than a decade in the CADC area was due to strong establishment of the Congress in the State politics. At present, the MNF is in full swing in the state as well as in the CADC. The state election had a great impact on the election to the CADC.

First General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

Prior to the establishment of the CADC, no political party existed in the CADC. The first General Election to the CADC was held on 17th January, 1973. The candidate filed their nominations as an independent candidate. Nilo Muni Chakma from Barapansury – I constituency was appointed as the CEM. The Administrator of Mizoram nominated Bhrigu Moni Chakma of Ajasora as the MDC of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Nilo Muni Chakma held the office of the CEM from 23rd July, 1972 till 16th December, 1973. Sneha Kumar took up the office of the CEM from 17th December, 1973 onwards. In the middle of 1976, no confidence motion was put up against Sneha Kumar by Laichoga Tongchangya and Sneha Kumar was ousted from the Chief Executive Membership. Laichonga Tongchangya was elected as the CEM. The Government did not approve the proceedings of the CADC Session and the Sub-Divisional Officer (Civil), Chawngte was asked to carry the administration function till the next General Election. The table below shows the

list of elected members and their constituencies of the first general election of ${\rm CADC.}^{136}$

Sl. No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	Nilo Muni Chakma	Barapansury I	Independent
2	Sneha Kumar Chakma	Vaseitlang (N)	Independent
3	Laichoga Tongchangya	Vaseitlang (S)	Independent
4	Chitra Mohan Chakma	Kamalanagar	Independent
5	Ganga Mohan Chakma	Jarulsury	Independent
6	Atul Chandra Chakma	Damdep	Independent
7	Malkham Chandra Riang	Parva	Independent
8	K. Rotlinga	Barapansury II	Independent
9	Bhrigu Muni Chakma	Nominated	Nominated

Fig.4.1 First General Election of CADC

Second General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Second General Election to the CADC was held on 23rd January 1978. Like the first election, all candidates filed their nominations as independent. Nilo

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¹³⁶ A Chronological Report of Chakma Autonomous District Council, Kamalanagar: Mizoram. (2017). New Delhi: Vimal Enterprises. p.3

Muni Chakma was again appointed as CEM for the second time. Jalak Kumar Tongchangya was nominated as MDC of the CADC by the Administrator. The demise of Gonga Chakma on 9th November, 1979 caused Bye-election. Muahbaap Chakma was elected as Member of the CADC. In the last part of 1982, the Government sanctioned delimitation of the number of the District Council Constituencies by granting two more seats which increased the number of total seats to ten elected seats and one nominated seats. The list of the elected members of the District Council is given below: 137

Sl.No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	Nilo Muni Chakma	Vaseitlang (S)	Independent
2	Bijita Nanda Dewan	Kamalanagar	Independent
3	Sukra Muni Chakma	Barapansury –I	Independent
4	Chitra Kumar Chakma	Vaseitlang (N)	Independent
5	Gonga Chakma(L)	Jarulsury	Independent
6	V.Sapliana	Barapansury – II	Independent
7	Tawnenga	Parva	Independent
8	Kalapu Tongchangya	Damdep	Independent
9	Jalak Kumar Tongchangya	Nominated	Nominated

¹³⁷ *Ibid*.

10 Muahbaap Chakma Jarulsury(Bye-election) Independent

Fig 4.2 Second general election to the CADC

Third General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The third General Election to the CADC was held in two phases on the 7th and 14th December, 1982. The establishment of the INC in the jurisdiction of the CADC created a mile stone in paving the way for party politics in the area. It was the first time election which was conducted on party basis. Out of the ten elected seats, the INC won nine seats and one independent candidate was elected to fill the seats. During this term there was frequent change of the CEM. Rumani Chakma was appointed as CEM from 27th January, 1983 till 20th April, 1983. No-Confidence motion was passed against the Executive Body formed by Rumani Chakma. Pulin Bayan Chakma was appointed as CEM from 21st April, 1983 till 2nd January, 1987. Nutan Kumar succeeded Pulin Bayan Chakma and sworn in as CEM from 3rd January, 1987 till 23rd January, 1988 after passing a vote of no-confidence against Pulin Bayan Chakma. The Government again increased the number of elected seats from ten to eleven. The following are the list of elected members:¹³⁸

Sl.No Name of Member Name of Constituency Political Party

1 Nutan Kumar Chakma Kamalanagar INC

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* p.4

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2	Arun Bikash Chakma	Barapansury – I	INC
3	Pulin Bayan Chakma	Rajmandal	INC
4	Ramani Chakma	Parva	INC
5	Susen Chakma	Jarulsury	Independent
6	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	Damdep	INC
7	Punya Chakma	Vaseitlang	INC
8	Biraj Mohan Chakma	Ajasora	INC
9	Jalak Kumar Tongchangya	Manabapsora	INC
10	Atul Chandra Chakma	Barapansury II	INC
11	Dayal Dhan Chakma	Nominated	Nominated

Fig 4.3 Third general election to the CADC

Fourth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Fourth General Election of the CADC was held on 3rd January, 1988. The two political parties namely, the INC and the newly formed party the CJP contested in the election. Unlike the Congress, the CJP could not win a single seat in its first election. The Congress came out victory by winning 8 seats out of 11 seats. The remaining 3 seats were bagged by candidature without party basis. The Congress formed the Government for the second time. Pulin Bayan Chakma was

appointed as CEM. Sushil Kumar Chakma and Gokul Chandra Chakma were later admitted to Congress. Nilo Moni Chakma was the only MDC who sat in the opposition bench. The Government again sanctioned the delimitation of constituencies which raise it to thirteen elected seats and two nominated seats, and the total number of seats increased to 15. The following table shows the list of elected members of the Fourth General Election to the CADC:¹³⁹

Sl.No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	Bimal Kumar Chakma	Kamalanagar	INC
2	Nilo Muni Chakma	Barapansury I	Independent
3	Pulin Bayan Chakma	Rajmandal	INC
4	Satya Chandra Chakma	Parva	INC
5	Pranab Kumar Chakma	Ugudasury (S)	INC
6	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	Damdep	INC
7	Punya Chakma	Vaseitlang	INC
8	Samrat Sur Chakma	Ajasora	INC
9	Sushil Kumar Chakma	Mainabapsora	Independent
10	Gokul Chandra Chakma	Barapansury II	Independent
11	Binoy Biswa Chakma	Rengkashya	INC

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¹³⁹ *Ibid*. p.4

12	Hiran Kumar Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
13	V.L.Piangenga	Nominated	Nominated

Fig 4.4 Fourth General Election to the CADC

Fifth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Fifth General Election to the CADC was held on 12th January 1993. The CJP since its inception could not function properly, and could only last for a period of 2 years. The Congress was the only political party which contested in the election. Out of 13 elected seats, the Congress could manage to win 11 seats and the remaining 2 seats were bagged by independent candidate. The Congress once again ruled the Council by huge majority. The Congress formed the government and Pulin Bayan Chakma was appointed as the CEM. The two independent candidates later joined the Congress party. This period the Congress did not have any opposition in the Council. The nominated seat was increased from two to four by adding two more seats in the CADC by the Government. The list below shows the elected members and nominated members of the Fifth General Election to the CADC:¹⁴⁰

Sl.No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	Bimal Kumar Chakma	Kamalanagar	INC
2	Rasik Mohan Chakma	Barapansury I	INC
3	Pulin Bayan Chakma	Rajmandal	INC

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¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*. p.5

4	Satya Chandra Chakma	Parva	INC
5	Arun Kumar Chakma	Ugudasury (S)	Independent
6	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	New Jagansury	INC
7	Punya Chakma	Vaseitlang	INC
8	Samrat Sur Chakma	Ajasora	INC
9	Sushil Kumar Chakma	Mainabapsora	INC
10	Gokul Chandra Chakma	Barapansury II	INC
11	Prema Ranjan Chakma	Rengkashya	Independent
12	Nutan Kumar Chakma	Udanthana	INC
13	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	Bilosora	INC
14	Hiran Kumar Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
15	V.L. Piangenga	Nominated	Nominated

Fig 4.5 Fifth General Election to the CADC

Sixth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Sixth General Election to the CADC was held on 13th January 1998. The Congress along with the Bharatya Janata Party (BJP) fought the election. Out of the total 13 elected seats, the Congress manages to win 10 seats. BJP secure a single seat, the remaining 2 seats was occupied by independent candidate. The Congress formed Government. Pulin Bayan Chakma was again sworn in as the CEM. 7 elected

Congress MDCs joined the newly formed MNF and dethroned the Congress government by passing a vote of no confidence motion against Pulin Bayan Chakma on 14th December, 1999. A new government was formed by the MNF and independent MDCs under the leadership of Rasik Mohan Chakma. Rasik Mohan Chakma was sworn in as the CEM for the remaining term. The list of elected members of the Sixth General Election to the CADC is given below:¹⁴¹

Sl.No	Name of Member		Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	Sneha Dini Talukdar		Kalmalanagar	ВЈР
2	Rasik Mohan Chakm	a	Barapansury I	INC
3	Pulin Bayan Chakma		Rajmandal	INC
4	Purna Chandra Chakma		Parva	Independent
5	Pranab Kumar Chakma		Ugudasury (S)	INC
6	Adi Kanta Tongchangya		New Jaganasury	INC
7	Punya Chakma		Vaseitlang	INC
8	Samrat Sur Chakma		Ajasora	INC
9	Sneha I	Bikash	Mainabapsora	Independent
	Tongchangya			

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¹⁴¹ *Ibid*. p.5

10	Gokul Chandra Chakma	Barapansury II	INC
11	Binoy Biswa Chakma	Rengkashya	INC
12	Hiran Kumar Chakma	Udanthana	INC
13	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	Bilosora	INC
14	Kina Chandra Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
15	Laluapthanga	Nominated	Nominated
16	Aroti Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
17	Nutan Kumar Chakma	Nominated	Nominated

Fig 4.6 Sixth General Election to the CADC

Seventh General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Seventh General Election to the CADC was held on 15th February 2003. MNF fought the election for the first time. Out of 13 elected seats, MNF could bag 5 seats. The Giant Congress was backed by dissident. It was a setback for the Congress that the Giants of the Congress joined the MNF headed by Rasik Mohan Chakma. The Congress could only share the same number of seats with the MNF. For the first time in the Chakma Autonomous District Council, there was a hung Assembly. The MNF in coalition with the independent candidates formed government. The Government again increased the number of seats by delimitation of Constituency

from 13 to 17 for the next General Election. The following table shows the list of elected members of the Seventh General Election to the CADC: 142

Sl.No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	Punya Chakma	Kamalanagar	INC
2	Rasik Mohan Chakma	Barapansury I	MNF
3	Pulin Bayan Chakma	Rajmandal	INC
4	Purna Chandra Chakma	Parva	MNF
5	Pranab Kumar Chakma	Ugudasury (S)	MNF
6	Hiranand Tongchangya	New Jaganasury	Independent
7	Buddha Lila Chakma	Vaseitlang	INC
8	Samrat Sur Chakma	Ajasora	INC
9	Sneha Bikash	Mainabapsora	MNF
	Tongchangya		
10	Gokul Chandra Chakma	Barapansury II	MNF
11	Prema Ranjan Chakma	Rengkashya	Independent
12	Hiran Kumar Chakma	Udantana	INC
13	Samir Tongchangya	Billosora	MNF

142 *Ibid*. p.6

14	Dayal Chandra Dewan	Nominated	Nominated
15	V. Kapliannawla	Nominated	Nominated
16	Nutan Kumar Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
17	Champa Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
18	Daya Kumar Chakma	Nominated	Nominated

Fig 4.7 Seventh General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

Eight General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Eight General Election to the CADC was conducted on 5th March 2008. The Congress once again returned to its position by winning 10 seats and formed the Government. Kali Kumar Tongchangya was appointed as CEM. MNF, no doubt became a single largest opposition party by winning 7 seats. The Government increased the number of constituency from 17 to 20 for the next election. The table below shows the list of elected members of the Eight General Election to CADC:¹⁴³

Sl.No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	H. Amaresh Chakma	Kamalanagar (S)	MNF
2	Rasik Mohan Chakma	Barapansury I	MNF
3	Anil Kanti Chakma	Rajmandal	MNF
4	Susen Chakma	Ugudasury (S)	INC

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p.7

5	Mohan Chakma	Parva	INC
6	Hiranand Tongchangya	New Jaganasury	MNF
7	Buddha Lila Chakma	Vaseitlang	INC
8	Taranisen Chakma	Ajasora	INC
9	Sushil Kumar Chakma	Mainabapsora	INC
10	Dr. BD Chakma	Barapansury II	INC
11	Prema Ranjan Chakma	Rengkashya	MNF
12	Ajoy Kumar Chakma	Udantana	INC
13	Kali Kumar	Bilosora	INC
	Tongchangya		
14	Buban Kumar Chakma	Devesora(S)	INC
15	Aroti Chakma	Kamalanagar (N)	INC
16	Arun Kumar Chakma	Chatapansury	MNF
17	Lokhi Dhan Chakma	Longpuighat	MNF
18	Belpudi Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
19	C. Bahula	Nominated	Nominated
20	Anup Kumar Chakma	Nominated	Nominated

21	Purna Muni Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
22	Parimal Chakma	Kamalanagar(N)Bye-	INC
		election	

Fig 4.8 Eight General Elections to the CADC

Ninth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Ninth General Election to the CADC was held on 17th April, 2013. The Congress, MNF and BJP fought the elections. MNF bagged 3 seats and sat in the opposition. The Congress again formed the government by winning as many as 17 seats and formed the Government. Dr. B.D. Chakma was sworn in as the CEM. Later he resigned as he was elected as MLA in the General Election to Mizoram Legislative Assembly from Tuichawng Constituency. The demise of Indralal Chakma from the Mondirosora Constituency led to bye-election on 1st December, 2015 a bye-election was conducted. Laxmi Bikash Chakma who contested from BJP ticket was elected which enabled the BJP to secure a single seat in the Council. The list of the elected members in the Ninth General Elections to CADC was given below:¹⁴⁴

Sl.No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	H. Amaresh Chakma	Kamalanagar (S)	MNF
2	Parimal Chakma	Kamalanagar (N)	INC

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¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*. p.8

3	Dayal Chandra Chakma	Barapansury I	INC
4	Pulin Bayan Chakma	Rajmandal	INC
5	Mohan Chakma	Parva	INC
6	Susen Chakma	Ugudasury(S)	INC
7	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	New Jaganasury	INC
8	Buddha Lila Chakma	Vaseitlang	INC
9	Taranisen Chakma	Ajasora	INC
10	Sushil Kumar Chakma	Mainabapsora	INC
11	Dr. BD Chakma	Barapansury II	INC
12	Gyana Sankar Chakma	Barapansury II	INC
13	Amit Kumar Chakma	Rengkashya	INC
14	Ajoy Kumar Chakma	Udantana	INC
15	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	Bilosora	INC
16	Punya Chakma	Kamalanagar IV	MNF
17	Indralal Chakma	Mondirosora	MNF
18	Laxmi Bikash Chakma	Mondirosora	ВЈР
19	Chitro Kumar Chakma	Longpuighat	INC

20	Purna Muni Chakma	Jaruldubosora	INC
21	Buban Kumar Chakma	Devasora (S)	INC
22	Amar Smriti Chakma	Chatapansury	INC
23	Nihar Mala Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
24	Sneha Maya Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
25	Dhak Moni Tongchangya	Nominated	Nominated
26	Lalchangliana	Nominated	Nominated

Fig 4.9 Ninth General Election to the CADC

Tenth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council

The Tenth General Election to the CADC was held on 20th April, 2018. The three parties, namely Congress, MNF and BJP filed their nominations. 64 candidates were in the fray for 19 MDC Constituencies. The election to Fultuli constituency was withheld by the Gauhati High Court, Aizawl Bench following the challenge of the decision of the Returning Officer on the rejection of the nomination filed by MNF candidate, Samir Tongchangya on the ground that his seconder was a Government servant under CADC. The election resulted in a hung Council where no single party could emerge to form a majority. The MNF secured 8 seats, Congress 7 and BJP 5. For the first time in the history of India, the two different ideological parties, the Congress and BJP formed a coalition Government. Shanti Jiban Chakma was sworn in as the CEM. The BJP-Congress led Government could last only for about 9 months. The differences between the Congress MDC and the BJP MDCs led

to the fall of the government because 6 Executive Members resigned and withdrew their support to Shati Jiban Chakma. Four Congress MDCs along with the seven MNF members extend their support to Rasik Mohan Chakma which led to the formation of the MNF Government in the Council. After conducting the floor test, Rasik Mohan Chakma was sworn in as the CEM on 18th January, 2019. The following are the list of elected members of the Tenth General Elections to CADC:

Sl.No	Name of Member	Name of Constituency	Political Party
1	Rasik Mohan Chakma	Borapansury I	MNF
2	Kusum Lota Chakma	Borapansury II	ВЈР
3	Shanti Jiban Chakma	Chhotapansury	ВЈР
4	Durjya Dhan Chakma	Kamalanagar (N)	MNF
5	Anil Kanti Chakma	Baljeisora	ВЈР
6	H. Amaresh Chakma	Kamalanagar (S)	MNF
7	Sanjeev Chakma	Kamalanagar (W)	ВЈР
8	Ajoy Kumar Chakma	Udalthana	INC
9	Charan Singh	Ugudasury (S)	MNF
10	Onish Moy Chakma	Mondirasora	INC

¹⁴⁵ https://www.cadc.gov.in/members-of-the-10th-cadc-printer-friendly/ retrieved on 4th March, 2021

11	Mohesh Boran Chakma	Ajasora	MNF
12	Uday Tongchangya	Mainabapsora	MNF
13	Buddha Lila Chakma	Vaseitlang	INC
14	Lakhi Dhan Chakma	Longpuighat	MNF
15	Amit Kumar Chakma	Rengkashya	INC
16	Hiranand Tongchangya	Damdep	BJP
17	Lakkhan Chakma	Jaruldubosora	MNF
18	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	Fultuli	INC
19	Bubon Kumar Chakma	Devasora (S)	INC
20	Mohan Chakma	Parva	INC
21	Lal Moni Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
22	P. Thantluanga	Nominated	Nominated
23	Milon Sushi Chakma	Nominated	Nominated
24	Namita Chakma	Nominated	Nominated

Fig 4.10 Tenth General Election to the CADC

For the past 47 years, the Congress had influenced the CADC. The image of other political parties could be seen only a decade ago. In the last general election, the BJP led coalition government came into existence but it was short lived. It is

97

noteworthy that the struggle for power was between the two parties, i.e. MNF and

Congress. It was more or less a two party system. Due to lack of development and

unemployment, out of all the promising manifestos, promising of jobs was a trending

voting bank in the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. 146

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC)

The Indian National Congress has been formed in 1980; eight years after the

birth of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The Chakma District Congress

Committee was established under the Presidentship of Late. Shri Kristo Mohan

Chakma in the year 1980. Baneswar Chakma was the Vice-President and Madan

Kumar Chakma was the Secretary and Binanda Chakma was the Joint Secretary. It

has grown into an impactful political movement. The Congress party professes an

inclusive and prosperous growth that does not discriminate on the grounds of reigion

and social aspect. At present, the District Congress Committee is headed by Rumani

Chakma. The present Office Bearers of the District Congress Committee is given

below:¹⁴⁷

President

: Rumani Chakma

Vice President

: i) Sushil Kumar Chakma

ii) Laxmi Bikash Chakma

Treasurer

: Hiran Kumar Chakma

146 Interview with Rasik Mohan Chakma, CEM of Chakma Autonomous District Council on 17th

December 2020 at Kamalanagar.

¹⁴⁷ Chakma District Congress Commitee, Records and Documents, Chakma District Congress Committee Office, Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C'), Mizoram, 19th December, 2020

General Secretaries : i) V.	L.Piangenga
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- ii) Rajesh Chakma
- iii) Bog Bono Chakma
- iv) Victor Talukdar

Joint Secretaries : i) Arun Bikash Chakma

- ii) Prasanjit Chakma
- iii) Sangkhuma
- iv) V. Ronghakliana
- v) Juvi Chakma
- vi) Shanti Bijoy Chakma

The two eminent leaders of the CADC, Pulin Bayan Chakma and Adi Kanta Tongchangya are the Advisor of the District Congress Committee. The following tables show the list of the President of the District Congress Committee: 148

Sl. No	NAME	Period
1	Kristo Mohan Chakma	1980 – 1982
2	Baneswar Chakma	1982 – 1986
3	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	1986 – 1987

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

4	Nirupam Chakma	1987 – 1989
5	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	1989 – 1992
6	Nutan Kumar Chakma	1992 – 1997
7	Pulin Bayan Chakma	1997 – 1999
8	Nirupam Chakma	1999 – 2005
9	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	2005 – 2010
10	Kali Kumar Tongchangya	2010 – 2013
11	Adi Kanta Tongchangya	2013 – 2014
12	Buddha Lila Chakma	2014 – 2017
13	Amit Kumar Chakma	27/02/2018-02/11/2018
14	Rumani Chakma	03/11/2018 – till date

Fig 4.11 List of President of the District Congress Committee

The Party is organised into three groups. The District Congress Committee being the main organ, the Youth Congress and the Mahila Congress form the other two organs. The Youth Congress is headed by Lokesh Chakma, Zoramfela as Vice-President and Amar Bindu Chakma as Treasurer. The General Secretary post is held by Raju Dev Barman. T.K. Sawzag Manna. Binoy Chakma, Juliet Lalhriatpuii and D.Nikhil Chakma are the Joint Secretaries to the Youth Congress. The Mahila Congress is the women wing of the Congress. It is the platform where women can

actively participate in politics. At present, the Mahila Congress is headed by Bimalini Chakma. Rajo Laxmi Chakma and Anjana Chakma held the post of Vice-President. Nehar Mala Chakma held the Treasurer Post. The General Secretary is Mangala Chakma. The Joint Secretaries are Sadana Devi Chakma, Devi Chakma, Santi Devi Chakma, Rajo Laxmi Chakma. The Congress party is the giant party in the whole Chakma Autonomous District Council.

The Congress party had governed the Chakma Autonomous District Council for several decades. After its establishment, in the third General Election to the CADC in 1982, out of 10 elected seats, the Congress secured 9 seats and formed the first Congress Government with Nutan Kumar Chakma as the CEM. The Congress again enormously won the fourth General Election to the CADC which was held on 22/01/1988. Out of 11 elected seats, the Congress could secure 8 seats and formed the Government. Pulin Bayan Chakma was appointed as the CEM and Punya Chakma was appointed as Chairman. In the fifth General Election to the CADC which was held on 12/01/1993, out of 13 elected seats, the Congress bagged 11 seats and formed the government. Pulin Bayan Chakma was again appointed as the CEM and Adi Kanta Tongchangya was appointed as the Chairman.

On 13th January 1998 the Sixth General Election to the CADC was held. The Congress bagged 10 seats leaving only 3 seats for the other parties and independent candidate. Pulin Bayan Chakma was inducted as the CEM for the third time. The Seventh General Election to the CADC was held on 15th February, 2003. The Congress could not secure majority and sat in the opposition. Out of 13 seats the Congress could bag only 5 seats. After 5 years of being in the opposition, the

Congress again came back to power in the Eight General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council which was held on 5th March, 2008. Out of 17 elected seats, the Congress made a margin victory by winning 10 seats. Kali Kumar Tongchangya was appointed as the CEM and Sushil Kumar Chakma was appointed as the Chairman.

The Ninth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council was conducted on 17th April, 2013. It was a remarkable year for the Congress once again. Out of the 22 elected seats, the Congress made a drastic victory by winning in 18 seats. Dr. Buddha Dhan Chakma was inducted as the CEM. Later on he resigned on 1st June, 2014 as he was elected MLA from Tuichawng Constituency. Due to the resignation of Dr. Buddha Dhan Chakma, Buddha Lila Chakma was appointed as the CEM of the remaining terms with effect from 20th January, 2014. However the Congress faced a severe setback in the next General Election. The Tenth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council was held on 20th April, 2018. The Congress could win only 7 seats and could not form a government as a single party. The Congress and BJP formed a coalition government under the leadership of Shanti Jiban Chakma. The government could only last for 9 months. The 6 members of the coalition government support the MNF and MNF formed the government and Congress sat in opposition.

CHAKMA JATIYA PARISHAD (CJP)

The Chakma Jatiya Parishad (CJP) was formed on 3rd February, 1987 at Aizawl as a result of the request of Laldenga, the then Chief Minister of Mizoram. ¹⁴⁹ Its main aim was to organise Chakma through regional party and strive to preserve their ethnic identity. ¹⁵⁰ The headquarters of the party was located at Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C'). In the year 1988, the CJP got a status of registered party and got their recognition from the Election Commission of India. The 'Rising sun' as an election symbol was allotted to the CJP. Binod Basu Chakma was elected as the President and Rumani Chakma was elected as the Vice-President. The other office bearers include Gasya as Treasurer, N.K Chakma as General Secretary and N.B. Chakma as Chief Organiser. There were also 2 Joint Secretaries, 5 Secretaries and 38 Executive Members. The CJP function with 2 blocks in Lunglei and Aizawl Districts and 70 units in the Chakma Autonomous District Council. ¹⁵¹

The CJP was able to form the Government with the defection of some Congress MDCs to CJP in 1987. N.K Chakma, the then General Secretary of the party was the Chief Executive Member and the government lasted for 8 months. The party charged membership enrolment fees of Re 1 per head. The party lasted only for about 2 years. The party filed their nominations in the fourth general election but none of the CJP candidates were elected. Though the CJP could not penetrate the electoral politics of the Chakma Autonomous District Council, a

¹⁴⁹ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2010). *Evolution of District Council Autonomy in Mizoram*. Guwahati: Spectrum Publication. p.161

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Ramani Chakma, President Congress and former Vice President of CJP on 18th December 2020 at Kamalanagar

¹⁵¹ Jangkhongam Doungel. (2010). *Op. Cit.*, p.162

¹⁵² L. B. Chakma. (1997). *Chakma Autonomous District Council Silver Jubilee Souvenir* (1972-1997), *Kamalanagar: Mizoram.* Titagarh: M/s Linkman Production. p.86

remarkable role was played by the CJP was the lonesome regional party in the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

BHARATYA JANATA PARTY (BJP)

The Bharatya Janata Party (BJP) was established in 1993 under the leadership of Nilo Muni Chakma. The Congress serves as the only political party right from the establishment of the CADC. The CJP could not survive due to minimal support from the masses and it could not stand the strong wave of the Congress. An idea emerged from some leaders that the need for establishment of a strong party to compete the Congress so to provide more political platform to the people because it will be beneficial for the CADC. Nilo Muni Chakma defected from the Congress and established BJP in the Chakma Autonomous District Council area. Nilo Muni Chakma was elected as the President and Nutun Chakma was elected as the General Secretary. 153

After its formation, the BJP contested in the Sixth General Election which was held on 13th January, 1998. 4 candidates filed their nomination but could only secure a single seat. Sneha Dini Talukdar was elected from Kamalanagar constituency from BJP ticket. The BJP could not secure a single representation in the later elections till Laxmi Bikash Chakma was elected in the bye-election conducted due to the demise of Indralal Chakma from Mondirosora Constituency in the Ninth General Election, 2013. However, in the Tenth General Election to the Chakma Autonomous District Council, BJP filed nominations in 20 constituencies

153 Interview with Prityrup Chakma, General Secretary, District BJP Committee on 12th February.2021 at Aizawl

¹⁵⁴ District BJP Committee Office, Records and Documents, Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C') on 18th December 2020

and secured 5 seats. No single party could form majority which resulted in a hung Council. The BJP made alliance with the Congress to form majority. As a result a coalition Government was formed in the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Shanti Jiban Chakma was sworn in as the CEM. It was the first time that the BJP came into power. But the government could only last for about 9 months due to differences between the Congress MDCs and the BJP MDCs. It was the first time in Indian political system that the two ideologically different parties, namely, BJP and INC formed coalition government and a lot of hue and cry was also raised from different directions. However, ideologically opposite parties could not share the same platform for a long time and political opportunism was proved by their controversial coalition. Four Congress MDCs extended their support to MNF which led to the formation of MNF government. BJP again sat in the opposition.

The party had three organs i.e the District Committee, the District Mahila Morcha and the District Yuva Morcha. The Mahila Morcha is the women wing where women play active part in the party. The Mahila Morcha at present is headed by Shanti Devi Chakma. Under this wing, 72 units are actively functioning in the CADC area. The District Yuva Morcha is a platform where the youth take active part in the party. Amar Smriti Chakma is the incumbent President of the District Yuva Morcha. Like the Mahila Morcha, the Yuva Morcha too has 72 units that are actively functioning in the whole CADC area. The District Committee is the main organ of the party. At present the OBs of the District Committee are as follows: 155

President : Alak Bikash Chakma

45

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Prityrup Chakma, General Secretary, District BJP Committee on 12th February,2021 at Aizawl

Vice President : i) Mallika Chakma

ii) Nilomuni Chakma

iii) Sneha Bikash Tongchangya

iv) Taranisen Chakma

General Secretary : Prityrup Chakma

Joint Secretary : i) Lokhi Dhan Chakma

ii) Nuachand Chakma

Treasurer : Dayal Chandra Chakma

IT Convener : Ranbir Chakma

The District Committee has 36 executive members. The Committee is again organised into Block and Unit level. The Block level is also known as Mandal Committee. In the whole CADC there is only one Block which is known as Kamalanagar Mandal Committee, headed by Santosh Chakma. The Block is again divided into units. At present there are 20 Units in function. The Modi's wave in the Central Government also swept across Mizoram and led a massive growth of the party. Prominent leaders like Dr.BD Chakma joined the party which results in a strong establishment of the party. In 2018, three elected MDCs from the Congress joined the party headed by Buddha Lila Chakma. Along with three elected MDCs, 7

106

former MDCs have joined the party. At present, the BJP plays major opposition role

in the CADC. 156

MIZO NATIONAL FRONT

The Mizo National Front (MNF) traced its origin in the Chakma Autonomous

District Council through V. Kapliannawla. V. Kapliannawla was an Evangelist who

preached the Gospel of God in different villages of the CADC area. He started his

political career in Congress. He was an Executive Member of the Congress

Chhimbial Committee. When MNF returned from underground, Laldenga, the

President of MNF party invited him to join MNF and established MNF in CADC

area. At first he declined but Laldenga continuously invited him to join the MNF.

Later, he resigned from the Congress and joined the MNF. In January, 1999 he was

appointed as Block MNF President in CADC area. He alone sowed the seeds of

MNF in the Mizo inhabited areas in CADC. As a result he could establish MNF unit

in all the 5 Mizo inhabited areas i.e Ngharum, Saizawh West, Charluitlang, Damdep

II and Parva III. 157

After establishing MNF unit in Mizo inhabited villages, he then took steps to

form MNF unit in Chakma inhabited villages. On 24th March, 1999 the first MNF

unit in Chakma village was established in Udurthana. By the end of July, MNF unit

was formed in the entire Chakma inhabited village. The first elected OBs of the

Chakma District MNF are as follows:

President

: V. Kapliannawla

156 Ibid

¹⁵⁷ Interview with V. Kapliannawla, Senior Adviser Chakma District MNF on 16th February 2021

Vice President : Alkipsanga

General Secretary : Sanlianmawia

Treasurer : Sangplirha later succeeded by Sanleiala

Right after its establishment, 6 Congress elected MDCs headed by Rasik Mohan Chakma defected from the Congress and joined the MNF. The MNF put up no-confidence motion against the Congress government. As a result, MNF formed a new government in the Chakma Autonomous District Council headed by Rasik Mohan Chakma. The MNF faced their first election in the Seventh General Election held in 2003. Out of 13 elected seats, 5 seats were bagged by the MNF. The MNF in coalition with the independent MDCs formed the government. Rasik Mohan Chakma was sworn in as the CEM. In the next General Election, MNF sat in opposition by winning 7seats out of 17 seats. Again, in the Ninth General Election, 2013 the MNF could not win the majority rather the number of seats secured was reduced to 3 due to strong influence of the Congress in the State Government. In 2018 election, MNF could bagged 8 seats and sat in the opposition due to coalition government formed by BJP and Congress. However, the difference between the Congress MDCs and BJP MDCs led the fall of the government. Four Congress MDCs extended their support to MNF and formed the government. Rasik Mohan Chakma was sworn in as the CEM.

108

The MNF plays an important role in the Chakma Autonomous District Council

right from its establishment. At present the MNF has 5 blocks and 93 units. 158

The present OBs are as follows:

President : Rasik Mohan Chakma

Vice President : Puma Chandra Chakma

Treasurer : H.Amaresh Chakma

General Secretaries : i) Dayal Chandra Dewan

ii) Durjya Dhan Chakma

iii) Arun Kumar Chakma

iv) Kalsoga Chakma

There are 10 Secretaries and 12 Joint Secretaries who help the General

Secretaries to carry out duties and functions of the party. The party also create

portfolios like the Chief Organizer, Deputy Chief Organizer and Chief Receptionist.

30 organizers are appointed by the President which is headed by the Chief Organizer

and Deputy Chief Organizer. Bidhya Mangal Chakma is appointed as the Chief

Organizer and Gurka Dhan Chakma as Deputy Chief Organizer. 159

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Rasik Mohan Chakma, CEM and President MNF Chakma District on 17th December 2020 at Kamalanagar

¹⁵⁹ Mizo National Front District Headquarters Records and Documents, Mizo National Front District Headquarters Office, Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C') on 16th February 2021

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The advent of the British to India had changed the fate of the hill tribes who settle in the North Eastern part of the British conquered India. To extend their empire, the British came in touch with the hill tribes of the CHT and undivided Assam. The hill tribe led a life of autonomy and establish separate kingdom with their chiefs. The British administration in CHT began in 1860 as a result of the successive murderous raids committed by the Kokkies. The Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual Regulation of 1900 protects the CHT from non-indigenous tribe.

Likewise the British administration began in the hill tribes of undivided Assam due to continuous raid committed by the hill tribes. The British slowly colonised the hill areas and start their administration. The distinctiveness and uniqueness of the hill tribes were recognised by the British. The hill tribes were smaller in number and they were in danger of assimilation if they contacted the mainland India. To prevent from assimilation and preserve their distinct identity, the British adopted the BEFR Act of 1873. This Act was not repealed even after the British left India but rather continue to enforce till today.

The independence of India has changed the fate of the Chakmas. The Chakmas who practice Buddhist religion by faith hope that they would be within the jurisdiction of India since the partition was based on religion. Unfortunately, the inhabited area of the Chakmas, i.e the CHT was a part of Pakistan dominion. Other than the Chakmas, there are also other hill tribes, such as, Bawmzo (Bawm), Pang

Khua (Pang), Lusei (Lushai), Bru etc in Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Pakistani Government mistreated and threatened the indigenous tribe due to difference in religion. They favoured mass influx of the Bengali Muslim to the CHT which resulted in mass displacement of the Chakmas to nearby areas. The construction of Kaptai Dam was another massive threat for the Chakmas. Most of the inhabited areas of the Chakmas were submerged under water which led a massive displacement from their native homeland. It was sad to know that the homeland of the Chakmas was wiped off by the hydro electric project of Kaptai Dam which left them be a stateless society.

The Chakmas contact with the Lushai and Lushai Hills began when the British conducted the Lushai Expedition 1871-1872. The pact was made between the Chakma Queen Kallindi Rani and the British to contribute Chakma coolies to carry the British goods while marching towards the Lushai Hills in the Lushai Expedition of 1871-1872. After the British conducted the expedition all the Chakmas went back to their native place but, none of them remained in the territory of the Lushai. The British administration began in the Lushai Hills when the British conducted the Chin-Lushai Expedition of 1889-90. The territory of the Lushai hills was divided into two separate administrations. The Southern part of the Lushai Hills was place under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The Northern part was placed under the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

Lushai Hill was amalgamated as a single administration in 1898 by placing the SLH and the NLH into a single administrative unit. The official transfer of land from Chittagong to the SLH by the British administrator led some villages of the Chakma near Demagiri to be under the jurisdiction of the Lushai Hills. The first settlement of the Chakmas was seen here after paying a foreigner tax of Rs 5 per year to the District Superintendent of Lunglei. The present CADC was originally the inhabited areas of the Zo-ethnic tribes namely, Tlanglau, Bawm and Pangs. The continous influx of Chakmas from Bangladesh assimilated the Tlanglau, Bawm and Pangs and the Chakmas began to be the largest tribe settled in the Uiphum Tlangdung which was earlier the domain of the Tlanglau Chiefs.

The independence of India led the fate of the hill tribes of the undivided Assam a vague future. The leaders of the Indian Union know the uniqueness and distinctive features, and the difficulties to carry normal administration like the mainland people. On top of that the leaders of the hill tribes pledge that they were never a part of India and a full autonomy should be given to the hill tribe. The Constituent Assembly as per the recommendation of the Cabinet Mission Plan set up the Advisory Committee to study upon the rights and status of minorities and tribal people. The Advisory Committee set up a Sub-Committee called the North East Frontier Tribal and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee headed by the then Chief Minister of Assam Gopinath Bordoloi. The Sub-Committee was commonly known as Bordoloi Sub-Committee to seek the remedial measures for the administration of the hill tribes.

The Bordoloi Sub-Committee made an extensive tour and visited different parts of the hill areas of Assam to study the needs for administering the tribals. The sub-committee visited Lushai Hills in 1947 and met leaders of different political parties, Church leaders, Chief Representatives, Government Servants, Women

Representatives, Ex-Servicemen etc. The views of the Lushai varied, some leaders were in favour of joining Indian Union while some demanded complete secession from the Indian Union. The sub-committee after interacting with different leaders submitted their recommendation to the Constituent Assembly. The recommendation submitted by the Bordoloi Sub-Committee was discussed in the Constituent Assembly. After much heated debate, the Constituent Assembly adopted the provision of sixth schedule to the constitution of India where the tribals were given autonomy to administer on themselves on the basis of religion, custom and traditions.

As per the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, the LHADC and the PLRC for the Pawis and Lakhers was set up in the Lushai Hills. Some of the settlement areas of the Chakmas in the Lushai Hills fall under the jurisdiction of the PLRC. The leaders of the Chakmas knew the benefits of being facilitated under the provision of Sixth Schedule and started demanding a separate council for their own. The two political leaders Kristo Mohan Chakma and Atul Chandra Chakma continuously pressed their demands to the government of Assam as well as to the Union Government. Since the PLRC could not function smoothly due to communication problem, the leaders of the PLRC demanded a separate Autonomous Council for both the Pawis and Lakhers. Atul Chandra Chakma was a MRC in the PLRC. Along with the leaders of the Pawi- Lakher Regional Council, Atul Chandra Chakma demanded a separate political entity where the Chakmas could run their administration of their own in a specific jurisdiction.

Meanwhile, the group led by Kristo Mohan Chakma demanded a separate political entity where all the Chakma inhabited areas fall under a single administrative unit. Memoranda after memoranda were sent to the Union Government stating the need for the creation of a separate political entity. After a long press and continuous demand, when the status of the Mizo District council was upgraded to Union Territory in 1972 by the North Eastern Reorganisation Act, 1971, the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council was trifurcated into three regional councils viz Pawi Regional Council, Lakher Regional Council and Chakma Regional Council. The three Regional Councils were later upgraded to Autonomous District Council, Pawi Regional Council was changed into Pawi Autonomous District Council later change to Lai Autonomous District Council, Lakher Regional Council to Lakher Autonomous District Council later Mara Autonomous District Council and Chakma Regional Council to Chakma Autonomous District Council.

The CADC was the smallest regional council with a geographic area of 686.25.sq km. Very soon after its establishment; the Chakma Regional Council had 6 members in the legislative which was constituted by the Lieutenant Governor of Mizoram. Atul Chandra Chakma was appointed as the CEM by the Administrator of Mizoram. The first election to the CADC was held on 26th December, 1972. All the candidates filed their nomination as independent candidate since there was no political party that functioned within the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The council began to perform its function with a very less amount of budget and administered their areas according to the powers granted by the provision of Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India.

The political consciousness gradually grew among the Chakmas which led to the existence of the Indian National Congress Party in 1980. The Congress after its establishment contested in the Third General Election of the Chakma Autonomous District Council and came out with a marvellous victory by winning 9 seats out of 10 seats and formed the government. To participate more in politics and to have more platform, a regional party called the CJP was established in 1987 but could not penetrate and compete with the giant Congress and it only survived for about 2 years. Again in 2010, the Seventh Executive Council was divided into two groups. The dissident group led by Rasik Mohan Chakma ousted the CEM Pulin Bayan Chakma and joined the MNF. At present, the political parties that are actively functioning in the CADC were the Congress, MNF and BJP.

As time passed by, the State Government entrusted different departments to ADC through enhancement of power. At present, the Council can legislate laws on 20 subjects as per the provisions of the Sixth schedule to the Constitution of India. The council was vested with different departments under its control. At present 31 departments are functioning under the CADC.

The Chakma Autonomous District Council celebrates its 48 years of existence. Within 48 years a lot of development has taken place in the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The establishment of the council was a boon for the Chakmas. The administration is carried out as per the Chakma customary laws and traditions. A total number of 83 villages have been set up under Chakma Autonomous District Council. Each village has a Village Council where the

village council administered their own areas. A periodical election is conducted where the people elect their own village council members.

The positive impact of the establishment of the Chakma Autonomous District Council is the rise in the literacy rate. The council has established the District Council School Education Board that would be responsible for the development of education in the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Under the District School Education Board, the setting up of Primary schools, Middle schools and Pre-primary school is carried out extensively. At present, there are 101 Primary schools and 66 Middle schools. More than 100 teachers are engaged in both Primary and Middle school. The council also set up Kamalnagar College to pursue higher studies for their people and the college is now provincialised by the Government of Mizoram and it is known as Government Kamalanagar College. The setting up of primary school, middle school and college created up job opportunities where many educated persons get employed.

Defection and political instability which is very prevalent in the other two Autonomous District Councils is not much seen in the Chakma Autonomous District Council. It may be because there were no other political parties which could compete with the Congress for a long period of time. The people are not so much aware of the political ideology. The strong growth of the Mizo National Front proves that the ideology of the party does not concern the people. The coalition government formed by the Congress and the BJP clearly shows that the ideology of the political party does not play any role in the voting behaviour as well as formation of government in

the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The struggle for power oversees all differences of the ideologies.

Another remarkable development is the setting up of a separate department for the Adult education. As per 2011 census, the literacy rate of the Chakma Autonomous District Council was very low. Literacy drive was conducted by the department where the illiterate adults were imparted reading and writing in order to transform them into literate person. 12 villages were selected at the first phase and literacy drive will be tutored by the animators. A prescribe syllabus was made by the District School Education Board where the person has to learn the prescribe syllabus and give test. The council receives numerous schemes from the Central Government where the people can set up and sustain their own economy. The departments like Agriculture, Horticulture, Industries and Inland waterways disbursed central schemes which could be made useful for the people. Through the agriculture department, the farmers could buy expensive agricultural tools and implements at subsidised rate which is a much relief for the poor farmer.

Another positive impact of the establishment of the Chakma Autonomous District Council is that the Council is the only political platform where the Chakmas can express their thoughts and grievances. The council opens a new look in their politico-socio cultural life. The establishment of the council has a great impact on the social life of the Chakmas. Modernisation swept across the areas. The dress, way of living and their culture is slowly diverging toward the global culture.

The change in the economic status of the Chakma is no doubt the outcome of the autonomy administration. Since they administered on their own and could set up certain departments which functions under the Council, it resulted in creation of job for the people. With the availability of job security, the economic status of the Chakma gradually grew. It is noteworthy to mention that the Central Government showers the Autonomous District Council with different development funds and schemes which develop the area as well as build up the economic status of the Chakmas.

Despite the positive outcomes, a lot of challenges is faced by the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Since the Council is governed by the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, the Governor plays an important role in giving assent and nomination of the minority members to the District Council. As per the provision, the Governor nominates members in the District Council from a minority community. In actual practice, the members are nominated by the Minister of the District Council affairs on the advice of the Chief Executive Member while the Governor gives his assent only. However, nominated seats are usually given to person who will support the ruling party; so, it is often resulted in abuse of minority representation in the Autonomous District Council.

The Chakma Autonomous District Council area covers only one third of the total population of the Chakmas in Mizoram. The remaining two third of the Chakma population are outside the jurisdiction of the CADC area. Thus the Council could not take up the welfare of the whole Chakmas in Mizoram. There is a demand going on to integrate the whole Chakma inhabited areas under the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

Communication is an important aspect for socio-economic development and development cannot be processed without improving communication link. It is no doubt that the roads that connect to the Chakma Autonomous District Council is in pathetic condition. During monsoon the road is in a worst condition. It is slippery with lots of sticky mud and bumpy which makes the vehicle difficult to pass. A sumo fare from Chawngte to Lunglei rise up to Rs.1000 from Rs. 400 during monsoon clearly shows how worst the condition of the roads could be. The town road is not good at all. Lots of pot holes could be found and it is difficult to move steadily.

The Chakma Autonomous District Council receives least amount of funds compared to other two Autonomous District Councils. It is the most populous District Council in terms of population density. With least development funds receive from the government, the authorities find it difficult to run the administration smoothly. There is no sufficient amount of funds to carry out socio-economic development to the fullest. The funding pattern follow by the Central Government also pace the slow development. The Council funds which are sanctioned from the Central Government is disbursed through the State Government. This takes a lot of process and the release of funds were bring delayed with results in slow development.

Unemployment swept across the Chakma Autonomous District Area, as said earlier, the population rapidly increased and the vacancies of jobs could not suffice the whole population. Increased in unemployment could be seen every year but the authorities could not offer employment to the vast unemployed mass. There are 88

villages under the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Due to unavailabity of fund, the authority could not establish schools in every village. There are still villages which do not even have Primary Schools, so children of such village should struggle a lot to receive education. Banking facilities is very poor too. In the whole CADC area, there are one State Bank of India (SBI) Branch and one Mizoram Rural Bank Branch each. A very simple Primary Health Centre is available in Kamalangar and Borapansury. There is no civil hospital so, people have to travel 4 hours journey either to Lunglei or Lawngtlai to be hospitalised in hospital.

The Congress alone ruled the Council for a long period of time. Until MNF Party emerged in the Chakma Autonomous District Council in 2010, there was no existence of strong opposition. The absence of strong opposition could lead misuse of powers and funds. As there was no strong opposition parties to watch and check the functioning of the government for many years, maladministration and rampant corruption takes place. Since the formation of MNF, it could compete with the Congress which makes the Congress to be more careful in running the administration. It is also noteworthy that the electoral politics of the State had a great impact on the electoral politics of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The politics of Autonomous District Council is parallel to the state politics.

The rampant increased of staffs in the Chakma Autonomous District Council is another setback. The staffs are in bulk number without any proper duties. With the rampant increased in the number of staffs employed under the Chakma Autonomous District Council, more than 95% of the budget share is used for salaries of the staff. Only 5% remains for the development works. Thus, the Council faced difficulties in

carrying out certain development schemes with a small amount of funds. With regard to the appointment and selection of staffs, most of the recruitment is bagged by political fitness and backdoor appointments. Nepotism and favouritism in the matter of appointment seem to be rampant in the District Council. Nepotism and favouritism in appointment, posting and promotion with extreme politicisation are rampant not only in the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) but also in the other two ADCs, namely, the Lai Autonomous District Council (LADC) and the Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC). So it is going to be unofficial norms of procedure in the functioning of ADCs of Mizoram. Most of the appointments are made with a view to extend political patronage. Thus, the service rules which are framed by the Council are often violated.

The benefit of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India does not flow down to the weaker sections of the Chakmas. The emerging new class consist of bureaucrats and leaders who dominated the very administrative scene of the council. Powers are concentrated to a few groups of people and they exploited the people and avail every benefits and opportunities. In such a way, the District Council is being misutilised by few at the cost of majority. The council is lacking far behind in other developmental aspects like electricity, water supply, sanitation and basic medical health amenities.

Despite the shortcomings and the challenges faced by the Chakma Autonomous District Council, the Council still stands for the welfare of the people. The existence of the CADC contributes to the preservation of the traditional customs and beliefs and ethnic consciousness. 48 years have gone since the birth of the

Autonomous District Council, but there is only a trace amount of development that is taking place. The leaders of the CADC and two other ADCs must be more cautious and rendered their service relentlessly to bring more developments so that the weaker sections of the society are also developed. Small departments like the inland waterways, fisheries etc should be more equipped with funds so that the department can flourish and open up a new opportunity for the youth to sustain themselves economically.

Though the Chakma Autonomous District Council is regarded as a threat to the indigenous people of Mizoram because the Chakmas are outsiders yet Chakmas can enjoy constitutional autonomy because of this privilege. The CADC is already incorporated within the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India and the Parliament can only initiate amendments, no levels of judiciary can declare the Acts of Parliament null and void. The people of the CADC area should be aware that the CADC could be preserved constitutionally with the broad idea of national integration without disturbing the peace and harmony of the state. In such a way, CADC as a constitutional body with autonomy should be utilised by the Chakmas for socio-economic development of the area and they should also be conscious not to disturb the peace and tranquillity of Mizoram.

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M.Phil. Dissertation Certificate on Plagiarism Check

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M.Phil. Registration Number	MZU/M.Phil./599 of 12.06.2020		
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	Growth and Development		
Name and institutional address of the	Prof. Jangkhongam Doungel		
Supervisor	Mizoram University, Aizawl, Pin Code: 796004		
Name of the Department and School	Department of Political Science		
	School of Social Science		
Date of Submission	March 18 th , 2021		
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Name and Signature of the Scholar : (LOISY LALMUANPUII)

Date: 18/03/2021

(Prof. JANGKHONGAM DOUNGEL) SUPERVISOR (Prof. K.V. REDDY) HEAD

BIO DATA OF THE CANDIDATE

NAME : LoisyLalmuanpuii

FATHER'S NAME : John Sawivela

SEX : Female

NATIONALITY : Indian

CATEGORY : Scheduled Tribe

PERMANENT ADDRESS : H/No.E -58/1, Chawnga Road, Khatla, Aizawl.

PHONE NUMBER : 9862004373

EMAIL ID : loissempee@gmail.com

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Sl. No	Name of Examination	Year of passing	Name of Board/University
1	HSLC	2010	MBSE
2	HSSLC	2012	MBSE
3	B.A	2015	Nagaland University
4	M.A	2017	MZU

PARTICULARS OF THE CANDIDATE

NAME OF CANDIDATE : LOISY LALMUANPUII

DEGREE : MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

TITLE OF DISSERTATION : The Chakma Autonomous District Council:

Origin, Growth and Development

DATE OF ADMISSION : 29/07/2019

(Commencement of first Sem)

COMMENCEMENT OF SECOND

SEM/DISSERTATION : January 2020

(From Conclusion of end semester exam)

APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

DRC : 20th May, 2020

BOS : 28th May, 2020

SCHOOL BOARD : 12th June, 2020

MZU REGISTRATION : 1506903

M. Phil. REGISTRATION NO.& DATE : MZU/M.Phil/599 of 12.06.2020

DATE OF SUBMISSION : 4th March 2021

EXTENSION (IF ANY) : Yes

Head

Appendix



Interview with PronjitBikashChakma, Executive Secretary, CADC on 17/12/2020 at Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C')



Interview with Rasik Mohan Chakma, CEM, CADC on 17/12/2020 at Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C')



Interview with DurjyoDhanChakma, General Secretary, Chakma District MNF on 18/12/2020 at Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C')



Interview with RumaniChakma, President Chakma District Congress Committee on 18/12/2020 at Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C')



Interview with Pulin Bayan Chakma, Ex-CEM on 18/12/2020 at Kamalanagar (Chawngte 'C')

ABSTRACT

THE CHAKMA AUTONOMOUS DISTRICT COUNCIL: ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

LOISY LALMUANPUII

MZU REGD. 1506903

M. Phil. REGD. MZU/M. Phil. /599 of 12.06.2020



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE SOCIAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE MARCH, 2021

The Chakmas are the hill tribe of the Chittagong Hill Tract dwelling in the corridor link of Arakan from mid 18th century to mid 20th century. The Chakmas assisted the British Force in Lushai Expedition 1871-1872 as coolie but none of them remained in the Lushai Hills. The Chakmas were a part of East Pakistan when India was divided into two dominions. Due to the transfer of some Chakma villages to South Lushai Hills, the Chakmas began to associate with the Lushai Hills. The present Chakma Autonomous District Council was inhabited by the Zo-ethnic tribes of Bawm and Pang and was formely called Uiphum Tlangdung. Due to mass influx of Chakmas, the Zo-ethnic tribes were assimilated by the Chakmas.

As per the recommendations of the Bordoloi Sub-Committee, the Lushai District Council later changed to Mizo District Council was constituted in 1952 and the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council in 1953 in the Lushai Hills under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The two political leaders Kristo Mohan Chakma and Atul Chandra Chakma pressed their demands to the Union Government and Government of Assam. The Mizo District Council was upgraded to Union Territory in 1972 and the Pawi-Lakher Regional Council was trifurcated into three Regional Councils on 2nd April, 1972. The three Regional Councils were upgraded to Autonomous District Council on 29th April, 1972.

The Chakma Autonomous District Council was the smallest in geographic area with 686.25. sq.kms. The headquarters is located at Kamalanagar (Chawngte C) where as the Sub-Headquarters are located at Boarapansury, Longpuighat, Kukurduleya and Parva. The council has a total number of 24 members out of which 20 members are elected and 4 members are nominated. Within the jurisdiction of CADC, there are 88 villages and it has a total of 33 administrative departments.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Prior to the advent of the British, the tribals led a life of autonomy. The British conquered the land of the tribal with a minimum administration. The tribals in the North East India are different from the mainland with regard to their socio-cultural life. Knowing the peculiarity and uniqueness of the tribals of Assam (North East India), the Constituent Assembly of India incorporated the provisions of the Sixth Schedule in the Constitution of India where tribals have the authority to administer according to their customs and belief. The council stands for the welfare of the backward tribe whose economic and social conditions are still far from development.

The central government, knowing their backwardness, showers with different development schemes and funds. Almost a century, they have been showered with numerous funds for their development and welfare. Indeed, some development took place but it is not as expected. The Autonomous District Council indeed preserves and protects the tribal areas but they are not free from limitations. Thus, this study focused on the emergence and development of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study focused upon the evolution, administrative set-up and political development of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. It deals with the overall functioning and development of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- 1. To trace the evolution of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.
- 2. To study the administrative set up of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.

4

3. To study the political development in Chakma Autonomous District Council.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the factors responsible for the evolution of the Chakma Autonomous

District Council?

2. What are the administrative set up and functioning of the Chakma Autonomous

District Council?

3. What is the level of political development in Chakma Autonomous District Council?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study is both historical and analytical in nature. It is both qualitative and

quantitative in approach. The work is based on both primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consist of data collected through government office documents and

interviews. The secondary sources consist of books, journals and articles.

CHAPTERIZATION

CHAPTER I: Introduction

The first chapter covers the background and evolution of the provisions of Sixth

Schedule to the Constitution of India and emergence of the Autonomous District

Council and Regional Council in Mizoram. It also includes review of literature,

statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, methodology, research gap and

chapterisation.

CHAPTER II: Settlement of the Chakma in Mizoram and formation of the Chakma

Autonomous District Council

5

The second chapter deals with the migration and settlement of the Chakma in

Mizoram, the demand for Autonomous District Council and the formation of the

Chakma Autonomous District Council.

CHAPTER III: Administrative set up in Chakma Autonomous District Council

The third chapter focuses upon the administrative set up of Chakma

Autonomous District Council. It highlights the structure of the three organs namely

legislative, executive and judiciary. It also deals with the functioning of different

departments.

CHAPTER IV: Political development in Chakma Autonomous District Council

The fourth chapter focuses upon the electoral politics of Chakma Autonomous

District Council and political issue. It also highlights the formation and functioning of

political parties and political development in Chakma Autonomous District Council.

CHAPTER V: Conclusion

This chapter highlights the summary of the findings and concluding remarks.

FINDINGS

1. The positive impact of the establishment of the Chakma Autonomous District

Council is the rise in the literacy rate. The council has established the District Council

School Education Board that would be responsible for the development of education in

the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Under the District School Education Board,

the setting up of Primary schools, Middle schools and Pre-primary school is carried out

extensively. At present, there are 101 Primary schools and 66 Middle schools. More

than 100 teachers are engaged in both Primary and Middle school. The council also set up Kamalnagar College to pursue higher studies for their people and the college is now provincialised by the Government of Mizoram and it is known as Government Kamalanagar College. The setting up of primary school, middle school and college created up job opportunities where many educated persons get employed.

- 2. Defection and political instability which is very prevalent in the other two Autonomous District Councils is not much seen in the Chakma Autonomous District Council. It may be because there were no other political parties which could compete with the Congress for a long period of time. The people are not so much aware of the political ideology. The strong growth of the Mizo National Front proves that the ideology of the party does not concern the people. The coalition government formed by the Congress and the BJP clearly shows that the ideology of the political party does not play any role in the voting behaviour as well as formation of government in the Chakma Autonomous District Council. The struggle for power oversees all differences of the ideologies.
- 3. Another remarkable development is the setting up of a separate department for the Adult education. As per 2011 census, the literacy rate of the Chakma Autonomous District Council was very low. Literacy drive was conducted by the department where the illiterate adults were imparted reading and writing in order to transform them into literate person. 12 villages were selected at the first phase and literacy drive will be tutored by the animators. A prescribe syllabus was made by the District School Education Board where the person has to learn the prescribe syllabus and give test. The council receives numerous schemes from the Central Government where the people can set up and sustain their own economy. The departments like Agriculture, Horticulture,

Industries and Inland waterways disbursed central schemes which could be made useful for the people. Through the agriculture department, the farmers could buy expensive agricultural tools and implements at subsidised rate which is a much relief for the poor farmer.

- 4. Another positive impact of the establishment of the Chakma Autonomous District Council is that the Council is the only political platform where the Chakmas can express their thoughts and grievances. The council opens a new look in their politico-socio cultural life. The establishment of the council has a great impact on the social life of the Chakmas. Modernisation swept across the areas. The dress, way of living and their culture is slowly diverging toward the global culture.
- 5. The change in the economic status of the Chakma is no doubt the outcome of the autonomy administration. Since they administered on their own and could set up certain departments which functions under the Council, it resulted in creation of job for the people. With the availability of job security, the economic status of the Chakma gradually grew. It is noteworthy to mention that the Central Government showers the Autonomous District Council with different development funds and schemes which develop the area as well as build up the economic status of the Chakmas.
- 6. Despite the positive outcomes, a lot of challenges is faced by the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Since the Council is governed by the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, the Governor plays an important role in giving assent and nomination of the minority members to the District Council. As per the provision, the Governor nominates members in the District Council from a minority community. In actual practice, the members are nominated by the Minister of the

District Council affairs on the advice of the Chief Executive Member while the Governor gives his assent only. However, nominated seats are usually given to person who will support the ruling party; so, it is often resulted in abuse of minority representation in the Autonomous District Council.

- 7. The Chakma Autonomous District Council area covers only one third of the total population of the Chakmas in Mizoram. The remaining two third of the Chakma population are outside the jurisdiction of the CADC area. Thus the Council could not take up the welfare of the whole Chakmas in Mizoram. There is a demand going on to integrate the whole Chakma inhabited areas under the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council.
- 8. Communication is an important aspect for socio-economic development and development cannot be processed without improving communication link. It is no doubt that the roads that connect to the Chakma Autonomous District Council is in pathetic condition. During monsoon the road is in a worst condition. It is slippery with lots of sticky mud and bumpy which makes the vehicle difficult to pass. A sumo fare from Chawngte to Lunglei rise up to Rs.1000 from Rs. 400 during monsoon clearly shows how worst the condition of the roads could be. The town road is not good at all. Lots of pot holes could be found and it is difficult to move steadily.
- 9. The Chakma Autonomous District Council receives least amount of funds compared to other two Autonomous District Councils. It is the most populous District Council in terms of population density. With least development funds receive from the government, the authorities find it difficult to run the administration smoothly. There is no sufficient amount of funds to carry out socio-economic development to the fullest.

The funding pattern follow by the Central Government also pace the slow development. The Council funds which are sanctioned from the Central Government is disbursed through the State Government. This takes a lot of process and the release of funds were bring delayed with results in slow development.

- 11. Unemployment swept across the Chakma Autonomous District Area, as said earlier, the population rapidly increased and the vacancies of jobs could not suffice the whole population. Increased in unemployment could be seen every year but the authorities could not offer employment to the vast unemployed mass. There are 88 villages under the jurisdiction of the Chakma Autonomous District Council. Due to unavailabity of fund, the authority could not establish schools in every village. There are still villages which do not even have Primary Schools, so children of such village should struggle a lot to receive education. Banking facilities is very poor too. In the whole CADC area, there are one State Bank of India (SBI) Branch and one Mizoram Rural Bank Branch each. A very simple Primary Health Centre is available in Kamalangar and Borapansury. There is no civil hospital so, people have to travel 4 hours journey either to Lunglei or Lawngtlai to be hospitalised in hospital.
- 12. The Congress alone ruled the Council for a long period of time. Until MNF Party emerged in the Chakma Autonomous District Council in 2010, there was no existence of strong opposition. The absence of strong opposition could lead misuse of powers and funds. As there was no strong opposition parties to watch and check the functioning of the government for many years, maladministration and rampant corruption takes place. Since the formation of MNF, it could compete with the Congress which makes the Congress to be more careful in running the administration. It is also noteworthy that the electoral politics of the State had a great impact on the electoral politics of the Chakma

Autonomous District Council. The politics of Autonomous District Council is parallel to the state politics.

13. The rampant increased of staffs in the Chakma Autonomous District Council is another setback. The staffs are in bulk number without any proper duties. With the rampant increased in the number of staffs employed under the Chakma Autonomous District Council, more than 95% of the budget share is used for salaries of the staff. Only 5% remains for the development works. Thus, the Council faced difficulties in carrying out certain development schemes with a small amount of funds. With regard to the appointment and selection of staffs, most of the recruitment is bagged by political fitness and backdoor appointments. Nepotism and favouritism in the matter of appointment seem to be rampant in the District Council. Nepotism and favouritism in appointment, posting and promotion with extreme politicisation are rampant not only in the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) but also in the other two ADCs, namely, the Lai Autonomous District Council (LADC) and the Mara Autonomous District Council (MADC). So it is going to be unofficial norms of procedure in the functioning of ADCs of Mizoram. Most of the appointments are made with a view to extend political patronage. Thus, the service rules which are framed by the Council are often violated.

14. The benefit of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India does not flow down to the weaker sections of the Chakmas. The emerging new class consist of bureaucrats and leaders who dominated the very administrative scene of the council. Powers are concentrated to a few groups of people and they exploited the people and avail every benefits and opportunities. In such a way, the District Council is being misutilised by

few at the cost of majority. The council is lacking far behind in other developmental aspects like electricity, water supply, sanitation and basic medical health amenities.

15. Despite the shortcomings and the challenges faced by the Chakma Autonomous District Council, the Council still stands for the welfare of the people. The existence of the CADC contributes to the preservation of the traditional customs and beliefs and ethnic consciousness. 48 years have gone since the birth of the Autonomous District Council, but there is only a trace amount of development that is taking place. The leaders of the CADC and two other ADCs must be more cautious and rendered their service relentlessly to bring more developments so that the weaker sections of the society are also developed. Small departments like the inland waterways, fisheries etc should be more equipped with funds so that the department can flourish and open up a new opportunity for the youth to sustain themselves economically.

Though the Chakma Autonomous District Council is regarded as a threat to the indigenous people of Mizoram because the Chakmas are outsiders yet Chakmas can enjoy constitutional autonomy because of this privilege. The CADC is already incorporated within the provision of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India and the Parliament can only initiate amendments, no levels of judiciary can declare the Acts of Parliament null and void. The people of the CADC area should be aware that the CADC could be preserved constitutionally with the broad idea of national integration without disturbing the peace and harmony of the state. In such a way, CADC as a constitutional body with autonomy should be utilised by the Chakmas for socioeconomic development of the area and they should also be conscious not to disturb the peace and tranquillity of Mizoram.

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